

DIARY KEPT BY SCRIBE LEOPOLD WILLEM RAS

1798 - 1799

1798

NOVEMBER

- 1 24 Two *opperbongioisen* came and inspected the room of the captain and that of the slave boys. Next, they mustered the remaining personnel. I sent Assistant [Jan Pieter] Pogedt and Senior Surgeon [Johan Herman] Letzke on board with the rest of the papers. On their return they informed me that all was well on board.
- 2 25 Fine weather with the winds tending to veer. Around three o'clock in the morning I was woken by one of the slave boys, who had been sent by the captain in a *bongioisen* boat. He told me the sad news that a rising southerly wind had cast the ship adrift and she had hit a reef we had not been aware of. This caused the ship to heel over so much that she could not straighten up and it was feared that she would capsize. The captain had decided to cut down the three masts to see if this would right the ship and save the crew, ship, and cargo. The ship was back on even keel, but shortly after a large leak had been discovered and he had sent the slave to ask me for boats and large barges. A great number of coolies from the surrounding villages had already been sent on board. I sent the following request to the governor. [To Asahina Kawachi-no-kami. Ras informs him of the accident which has befallen the *Eliza*. Because the ship is not allowed within the shogunal guards, Ras requests a safe place below the *Tempelhoek*. There is too much water coming in and no amount of pumping can get it out. He also requests the governor to give orders for barges and coolies to be sent there to save as much camphor and copper as possible.]
- 3 26 I sent Assistants Pogedt and [Leendert] Geenemans and Senior Surgeon Letzke on board to assist the exhausted captain. I ordered them to unload as much of the camphor as possible and to send it by boat to the island. In the afternoon some barrels of camphor were delivered dry and were stored in a warehouse, with some of the captain's goods. In the evening the deputies returned and reported that the ship was in a terrible state and they had their work cut out to keep it afloat. The captain asked for

more coolies and both small and large barges to unload the copper and camphor that could be reached.

- 6 The hold had so much water that the camphor was floating in it. The ship has been beached by towing boats with a great deal of trouble. The whole day a strong north-westerly wind blew with gales. It was very cold. Yesterday and today 70 barges, large and small, and 163 coolies did duty.

- 27 I went on board and as much copper and camphor as possible has been unloaded. The water is pouring into the ship as fast as it is pumped and scooped out. The captain and I decided to leave the copper in large barges below the *Papenberg* until a shed has been built on shore. Two *onderbongioisen* will keep guard on each barge and the Lord of Hizen's men alongside the barges. I left Geenemans on board to assist the captain.

- 28 At five o'clock in the morning I was told the sad news that the ship had sunk. It had been towed so far that the front part is still dry at high tide. The captain had hardly any time to salvage the goods in the cabin. The captain and the crew are staying on Japanese barges. I sent divers to look for the leak. It was found on the starboardside and was about two *ikjes* long. The copper sheathing has become unstuck and they brought up the pieces. I asked the *opperbongioisen* to place two barges near the ship so they could be attached at low tide to see if the flood would raise them somewhat out of the mud. However, the skippers of the barges refused to do this, claiming that these were not shogunal boats, but they belonged to private merchants from Osaka and the skippers were afraid of any damage being done and would not take responsibility for this. They had only been hired out to salvage the cargo and to lodge the captain and crew. I sent the *rappporteur* to the governor to inform him of this unreasonable attitude and to request him to settle the matter. I also ordered the *rappporteur* to have divers raise the copper and camphor, but the costs should be decided fairly.

- 29 I went on board and had the divers raise three cannon which were lying on top of the copper. The first secretary of the governor also came on board. I requested him to make a fair settlement for us in these sad circumstances. He promised to do so and he said that the governor was doing his best to help us. Yesterday 27 barges and today 45 barges, apart

from the ones on which the captain is staying, have done duty.

30 The divers have raised more copper, but only 26 chests. They are demanding four *mas* for every chest. I put a stop to work and handed the *rappporteur* the following request to the governor.

- 10 [Ras requests the governor's help to settle the difference with the divers concerning the raising of copper and camphor. Help is also required to raise the ship, because she has lost her three masts. Two large barges are needed to raise the ship from the mud and to beach her on dry land. Ras hopes that he will be able to have the ship repaired so she can sail.]
- 11 The intendant went to the ship with 300 empty *sake* barrels to hang those on the side to see if that might raise her. To cut down on the expenses for the barges, I have decided to ask the governor for permission to have a shed built on the beach to store the copper and one for the captain and crew. I asked that the booths of the merchants which are set up on the island every year be used. He immediately
- 12 gave his permission. He even gave the booth-keepers and the *compradoors* orders to set them up at their own expense. The governor also thought that the divers' demand was unreasonable and he has written to the Lord of Ōmura to send his divers. He would offer a fair deal on the costs. I have to be patient for two or three days before the divers arrive.

DECEMBER

1 No divers have been on board, but the captain has had the sails and rigging taken from the yards. The intendant has again been to the ship and he brought 400 empty barrels to help raise her. The Chinese captains have also been on board and have expressed their regret that they had only one junk

13 to offer for our assistance. They promised that at high tide they would lend the junk to help raise the ship. A barge has unloaded some barrels of wet camphor and some of Captain Stewart's private goods.

2 I went to the ship. Today the shacks for the captain and crew were ready for them to take up residence. It has been fenced around and a guard of *onderbongioisen* and interpreters have been supplied. Because the divers from Ōmura have not yet arrived, nothing has been done on board.

- 3 Ten divers have arrived from Ōmura. They
- 14 have started to raise copper. The intendant has had the empty barrels removed, because they were of no help. The last two barges have come to the city.

4 Mainly private goods of the captain and some barrels of camphor have been unloaded. I employed every possible means to get the Company's silk gowns salvaged from the hold, but it was impossible. 84 chests of copper have been raised and also some barrels of provisions, sails, and rigging.

- 5 I sent Geenemans to the ship. On his return he told me that the divers had raised 96 chests of copper, 30 barrels of camphor, and some private goods. Stewart came on the island today to inspect

his goods. Fine weather with south-westerly and north-westerly winds.

6 128 chests of copper and some private goods have been raised. 23 barrels of dry camphor and 43 barrels of wet ditto have been brought onto the island. I had their packing removed to have the barrels dry out in the sun. I sent for the camphor merchant and asked him what I should do with the wet camphor. He said that the salt water would not harm the camphor, only the barrels needed drying out. The *Tolken College* sent Captain Stewart a present of 10 barrels of rice and 50 canisters of charcoal.

- 7 77 chests of copper and one barrel of camphor have been raised by the divers.

8 111 chests of copper and some private goods have been raised. I had the divers search for the Company's gowns, but they have not found them yet.

9 Rainy weather and only 9 chests could be raised. I requested the governor in writing to take pity on us in this disastrous year and to set the expenses we are incurring at the Japanese buying prices, and the expenses for the everyday provisions which the captain will need in this period as well.

- 10 Geenemans reported on his return from the ship that a diver from Ōmura had drowned in the hold. He had gone down without securing himself and he had probably been unable to find the hatch. His mates have looked for him until dark, but they could not find him. They refuse to go down again until the captain has had several planks removed from deck. This was done tonight during low tide. They only raised 28 chests of copper and one barrel of camphor today. At eight o'clock in the evening we felt an earthquake. Two others, which were very severe, followed at one and a quarter past one in the morning. During the day southerly and south-westerly winds and warm weather.

- 11 The drowned diver has not yet been found. Only 21 chests of copper and two barrels of camphor have been raised. The whole day showery weather with a strong north-westerly wind.

12 29 chests of copper have been raised. The drowned diver has not yet been found. I had the *rappporteur* request the governor that the *hofreisbark*, which arrived in the roadstead two days ago, lend us assistance in raising two anchors and the ship. The governor immediately gave the necessary orders. Cold weather with a strong north-westerly wind. Captain Stewart again came on the island to inspect his wet belongings.

- 13 I spoke to the *rappporteur* about the divers' sluggishness. They have to hurry up, because if the ship remains in the mud much longer, she will rot. He promised to do his utmost. I sent Geenemans away for some days to keep an eye on the copper and camphor and to lend the captain some assistance. The whole day windy weather with a south-south-westerly wind and warm. Only 27 chests of copper have been raised.

14 Warm weather with a south-westerly wind.

The *hofreisbark* went to raise the anchors. The divers have raised more copper and camphor.

- 20 15 47 chests of copper and 6 barrels of camphor have been raised. The *hofreisbark* has raised an anchor. Warm weather with a south-westerly wind. The drowned diver has not yet been found.

16 74 chests of copper and several belongings of the captain have been raised.

17 Fine weather. 90 chests of copper have been raised.

18 Warm with a south-westerly wind. 119 chests of copper and many private goods have been raised. The *hofreisbark* has raised the heavy Company anchor. The *rappporteur* promised me that within four to five days everything would be ready to start raising the ship. The governor and the intendant are doing their best.

- 21 19 At three o'clock in the afternoon we felt a severe earthquake. Shortly after, the wind started to blow strongly from the north, but in the evening it calmed. 100 chests of copper and some dunnage and empty chests have been raised, but the drowned diver has not yet been found.

20 92 chests of copper, three barrels of camphor and some private goods have been raised. The drowned diver has been found. Warm weather with a south-westerly wind.

21 Only 85 chests of copper have been raised, but also some private goods.

22 96 chests of copper and 2 barrels of camphor have been raised. The divers of Omura have gone home for a few days to celebrate a feast in honour of their drowned mate.

- 23 23 Fine weather, warm with a south-westerly wind. The *onderrapporteur* told me that news had come that a Chinese junk had stranded in the Gotō Isles and another one off Amakusa. 156 chests of copper and some private goods have been raised.

24 Nothing has been raised, but the Japanese carpenters have opened another part of the deck to make more room for the divers below.

25 Fine weather. 40 chests have been raised. *Op-perbongioisen* came today to open the watergate and to store some of the captain's wet goods and 16 barrels of camphor.

- 23 26 Very fine weather. South-south-westerly winds during the day, veering to the north in the night. 83 chests of copper have been raised.

27 Some more bags and wet goods belonging to the captain have been stored. 98 chests of copper, some dunnage wood, and empty chests have been raised. The news about the two junks turned out to be false.

28 Nothing has been done on board. I told the *rappporteur* that I had learnt from the captain that near to the place where he is staying he had found some very good timber for masts. I wanted permission from the governor to use it. He promised to ask for it.

29 Only 78 chests of copper have been raised.

- 24 30 40 chests of copper, 70 empty ones, and 82

pieces of dunnage wood have been raised. Fine weather with south-easterly winds.

31 Nothing has been done on board. This disastrous year ends. We pray that next year the disasters of war which are oppressing the Netherlands and the disasters which have befallen us here, may end.

1799

JANUARY

1 We celebrated New Year according to our circumstances. The interpreters and other island servants presented us with fish, &c. According to custom we presented the governor with a tray of Dutch cakes. In the evening it started to rain with an easterly wind. During the night there was thunder and lightning.

- 25 2 The weather cleared during the afternoon, northerly wind. Nothing has been done on board.

3 During the night strong winds started to blow from the north, increasing to gale-force in the morning, accompanied by hail and snow. Nothing has been done on board. Tiles, plaster, and clay fell off the Doorn and the Lelie.

4 It snowed the whole day with a cold northerly wind.

5 Overcast skies, but fine, cold weather. The Japanese have started to raise the ship. The *dwars-kijker* told me that another order had come from the chief councillor that all pomp and circumstance has to be curtailed and silk clothing is no longer allowed, only linen. The governor has been the first to obey this order and is wearing linen gowns.

- 26 6 It froze during the night, but during the day the weather was very fine. In the evening the wind veered to the east and it rained the entire night.

7 Overcast skies with a south-easterly wind, suddenly veering to the north. Clear weather and cold. News has come that five Chinese junks have been sighted. Since yesterday the Japanese have been very busy raising the ship.

8 Fine weather during the day, frost during the night. I received a letter from Captain Stewart informing me that the Japanese have been busy raising the ship for two days, but were not able to do so with those small vessels, and thus work had been abandoned.

- 27 9 I sent for the *rappporteur* and gave him a request for the governor, asking him for four large barges at full moon to raise the ship. Also, that at that time the rest of the copper, consisting of 800 chests be raised by the divers.

10 The *rappporteur* told me that the governor had immediately issued orders that the divers start work tomorrow. Senior Interpreter Takichirō came to complain that Geenemans had gone to the *College* and had opened the sliding door without knocking. He had told Geenemans how unmannerly this was. When an interpreter went to the Dutchmen, he an-

28 nounced himself first. This should also be done at the College. They had started to argue and the boorish Geenemans had called him several names, saying that he was a smuggler and that Geenemans would see to it that he lost his head. Takichirō, who is also a short-tempered Japanese, had threatened to have Geenemans thrown down the staircase. Thereupon all the interpreters had conferred and had decided to inform the secretary of the governor /on the inside/ of Geenemans' boorish behaviour and to forbid all the interpreters to enter Geenemans' house.

11 Very fine weather with a north-north-westerly wind. 27 chests of copper have been raised.

29 12 Fine weather and more copper has been raised from the ship.

13 Copper has been raised. Geenemans asked me in writing to request the governor that the case between himself and the interpreters be ended. He again requested that he answer the governor in person and he wanted to draw the governor's attention to the nature of the interpreters. This will only lead to trouble because he has no proof whatsoever. He thinks that the governor has been kept unaware of what happened during the trade season. But I have been told differently, and I have been warned 'on the inside' that the outgoing governor had banished him from the country and had handed this order to his successor to be carried out after the departure of the ship. The accident which befell the ship has prevented this and Captain Stewart keeps refusing to take him.

14 Six Chinese junks have arrived in the roadstead, including two very large ones, one of which has small pieces of ordnance with which it has fired several shots between the *Cavallos* and the *Papenberg*, but not when passing the shogunal guards or entering the roadstead of Nagasaki. One of them has brought six Japanese from the domain of Ōshū. Several chests of copper have been raised.

31 15 Fine weather. A junk has been unloaded. Due to a shortage of *bongioisen* nothing could be done on board.

16 Due to the unloading of a junk nothing could be done on board. In the afternoon a strong south-westerly wind with heavy rain, which put a stop to the unloading of the junk. I sent for the *rapporteur* and handed him two documents, one for the governor and the other for the Chinese captains. I am requesting the governor's permission to ask the Chinese for two of their junks to help with the raising of the ship around the 20th and also for two barges.

32 17 The third junk has been unloaded. Senior Interpreter Takichirō and Junior Interpreter Katsunōjō came to inform me that the governor had appointed them to take the gifts to the Court. I congrat-

ulated them. They also told me that *opperbongioisen* will come tomorrow to open the Doorn and take down the gifts.

18 *Opperbongioisen* came. They opened the Doorn and the gifts were taken down. The fourth junk has been unloaded. I asked the *rapporteur* for its bill of lading.

19 The fifth junk has been unloaded.

20 Samples of the gifts have been sent to the governor for inspection. I asked the *rapporteur* for the reply to my request for the two junks and two barges. He said that the papers had been handed to the governor. The last junk has been unloaded.

21 An empty junk has been towed to its berth. Fine weather, it froze during the night.

22 Strong winds and rain during the day. One of the junks had cut its anchor and it drifted to Inasa on the other side, but it was undamaged. The second junk has been towed to its berth.

23-25 Rain. I still have not received a reply from the Chinese captains to my request of the 16th.

26 Nothing happened.

27 The gifts have been packed and put on carriages. According to custom I gave the *opperbongiois* three kinds of cakes for the governor. The *onderrapporteur* returned me the paper I had sent to the Chinese on the 16th with their reply that their junks had all suffered leaks during their journey hither through the bad weather and they could not be employed to help with the raising. I immediately prepared another document for the governor, in which I asked him for four good barges for that purpose. Strong northerly winds with snow and very cold.

28 Fine weather, nothing to report.

29 The former interpreter Danshirō and a minor servant of the late *Opperhoofd* Hemmij, by the name of Chūzō have been executed at the customary place of execution. The former has been impaled and the latter has been decapitated. The reason cannot be learned, for it is being kept very secret. But I have been told 'on the inside' that *Opperhoofd* Hemmij had proposed to the Lord of Satsuma that he send a fully-laden ship to his domain. The secret letters from Hemmij had been delivered from Deshima by Chūzō to Danshirō, and Danshirō had then delivered them to the former Senior Interpreter Monjūrō, who at present is in the service of the Lord of Satsuma, with whom Hemmij had been carrying on a secret correspondence. This has supposedly been leaked to Edo and the Court had quietly ordered this governor to have these two men executed and to keep the reason a secret. A different accusation has been entered on their sentence which has been read out, because, if this became public knowledge, this would lead to a critical situation between the Lord of Satsuma and the Court.* It would probably lead to war, of which they have great fear. For this

* According to the *Hankachō*, vol. 5, p. 312, one Namura Keisuke (who presumably is the said Danshirō) from Imakagomachi, a former provisional junior interpreter and the adopted father of Apprentice-Interpreter Namura Kisaburō, had used Chūzō, a servant of the Dutch, to pass on to the Dutch *opperhoofd* the Japanese market prices for imported goods and even to give him some medicinal products as examples. He had corresponded with the *opperhoofd* via Chūzō and had received cash for some intrigue concerning the court journey. He was sentenced to crucifixion and his adopted son Kisaburō was banished.

reason the Court had ordered the outgoing governor to go to the domain of Amakusa before his departure and build a shogunal guard-house on a mountain from which one can see as far as the Gotō Isles and Satsuma. They also told me that it was very fortunate that Hemmij had died, for otherwise he would have been banished from the country.
30-31 Nothing to report. Bitterly cold, frost during the night, but during the day fine weather.

FEBRUARY

1 Ditto.

2 After having been exhibited for three days, Danshirō's body has been removed and burned.
37 Chūzō's family had been given permission by the governor on the 29th to remove his body from the place of execution and burn it. His ashes have been buried in their customary burial place. Chūzō has been pitied by the whole of Nagasaki, for he was a kind and virtuous boy and the *opperhoofden* have lost a very good servant.

3 I went to the ship to view the plan of a rich fisherman from the domain of Suō, who has proposed to raise the ship at his own expense using 72 large and small barges. He has already prepared
38 everything. He does not want any reward if his plan succeeds, just a token present. He says he does not care for the money, but he would like the fame of having salvaged a Dutch ship. On behalf of both of us, we offered him 20 canisters of powdered sugar, which pleased him. I immediately informed the governor of this, asking permission for this endeavour. The skies started to darken in the afternoon, thunder and rain, south-easterly winds. The seventh junk has been towed in the roadstead. It fired a nine-gun salute at the *Papenberg*, but none at the shogunal guards or in the roadstead.

39 4 Senior Interpreter Yasujirō and Junior Interpreter Saiemon came in their ceremonial attire to announce that they have been appointed as *rappor-teurs* for this year. I congratulated them and recommended them to be true and faithful interpreters. The junk has been unloaded.

5 Today is Japanese New Year. I asked Yasujirō to convey my best wishes to the governor. I also received several compliments from the interpreters. Severe north-westerly gales during the night with hail and snow, very cold.

40 6 Very cold with hailstorms. Yasujirō told me that the ninth Chinese junk has suffered a great deal of damage through the storm. It had to jettison half of its cargo overboard. It had sought refuge in Satsuma, where the rest of its cargo had been loaded into barges to be transported hither.

7 Cold, in the evening a gale from the north-west.

8 Fine weather. The eighth Chinese junk has been towed in the roadstead.

9 The junk has been unloaded. Very fine weather and warm with a south-westerly wind.

10 Warm with a south-westerly wind.

11-13 Nothing to report. Very fine weather with a south-westerly wind. We have not yet received permission from the governor to let the fisherman salvage the ship.

41 14 Warm with an easterly wind. During the night rain with thunder. I sent for the *rappporteur* and asked him why the governor still has not given permission to salvage the ship. I asked him to go directly to the governor to ask for permission. In the evening the wind veered northerly reaching gale-force accompanied by snow and hail, very cold.

15 The same weather. *Opperrappporteur* Yasujirō came to inform me that the governor had granted the fisherman permission to salvage the ship.

42 16 Stormy weather. Northerly wind, hail, snow, and very cold. Nothing could be done about the ship.

17-18 Strong northerly wind with hail and snow.

19 At half past five in the morning an *opperbongiois* came and the Doorn was opened to take out the gifts. Senior Interpreter Takichirō, Junior Interpreter Katsunojō, and two *stadsonderbongioisen* headed the train. I wished them a fair journey and asked them to commend the affairs of the Company to the governor in Edo and other dignitaries they are to visit. The fisherman Kiemon has made preparations to salvage the ship.*

43 20 Fine weather, but cold. The fisherman has started taking his barges to the ship. I have been told that the outgoing governor, Matsudaira Iwami-no-kami, has been promoted to *rekenmeester* and he will return to Nagasaki in the month of *Sangat-su*, or May. I asked why he was returning so soon. The *rappporteur* said that he had heard that the governor had been put in charge of the shogunal guard-house at Amakusa, which has been mentioned on 29 February,** to ensure that it is finished as soon as possible. I set little store by this version, for I had been told 'on the inside' that all the citizens of Nagasaki are very displeased with his government, which is a very despotic one, and do not have a shred of respect for him.

44 21 Fine weather. Preparations are being made to salvage the ship. One of the junks which arrived last is busy loading.

22 Fine weather, south-westerly wind. I went to have a look at the contraption with which the ship will be salvaged. I do not doubt that they will suc-

Chūzō received the death sentence. A few Japanese supervisors of the guards of Deshima were given a reprimand. There is indeed no reference to Satsuma.

* See Katagiri Kazuo, 'Ransen shuppantetsuzuki to Murai Kiemon no chinsen hikiage jiken' (Formalities concerning the departure of Dutch ships and the salvage of a ship by Murai Kiemon) in *Kaiji-shi Kenkyū* (Journal of the Maritime History), 43, June 1986, pp. 1-23 and 'Murai Kiemon no chinsen hikiage kaiga shiryō' (Pictures of the salvage operation by Murai Kiemon), *Kaiji-shi Kenkyū*, 47, March 1990, pp. 17-36.

** Sic. January.

ceed, for the fisherman is sparing neither trouble nor expense. The second secretary of the governor has also been to have a look, as has the deposed Commissioner of the Foreigners Han'emon, to whom I went to pay my respects. He paid the captain the honour of visiting him in his humble abode and drinking a cup of tea. He expressed his regret about the disasters which have befallen the Company in the past year, and he hoped that this year might make up for everything.

45 23-25 Nothing to report. Fine weather with westerly and south-westerly winds. Everyone is busy below the *Papenberg* preparing for the salvage of the ship.

26 I sent a petition to the governor to defer payment for the rent of the nine large and small barges, which did duty for eight to ten days, until the return of the ship and to pay with canisters of sugar. The rent is about 800 taels, which can be paid for with five canisters. I hope that this decision, and the one to pay 20 canisters for the salvaging of the ship, will meet with Your Honours' approval.

46 27 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. Two Chinese junks are loading copper. According to the *rapporteurs*, the salvage will start tomorrow.

28 The junks are loading copper. The fisherman has postponed the salvaging operation till new moon on 6 March.

MARCH

1-3 Fine weather. Nothing to report.

4 The *rapporteur* told me that the governor will go to have a look at the fisherman Kiemon's contraption tomorrow. He asked me to send liqueurs, confitures, carpets, and so forth, for a fitting reception for the governor. He also asked me to go and pay my respects.

47 5 The governor went to the ship on his pleasure boat. But the increasing northerly wind and rain prevented him from coming ashore and I could not pay him my respects, because he hurried back to Nagasaki.

6-7 Fisherman Kiemon has been busy day and night fastening his barges to the ship at low tide to salvage her in the morning.

8 I was told the happy news that the ship has been salvaged and she has even been moved five ship lengths. She is now almost in front of the captain's shack. But she still is not on dry land during low tide and I asked Kiemon to refasten some of his barges to move her further so she will be on dry land. He promised to do so.

48 9 Some barrels of camphor and the Company's silk gowns have been removed from the hold, which is still holding water. The gowns are completely ruined.

10 Fifteen more bales of camphor and some belongings of the captain have been removed from the hold. In the evening Kiemon fastened a few

barges to the ship to move her further at high tide. A shogunal *dwariskijker* has been to see the ship and he had a drawing made of the ship as she lay there.* The governor went to the Chinese island to see a play which had been produced by the Chinese.

11 Kiemon has moved the ship about one *ikje* higher on the shore, but at low tide one still cannot reach the copper. I asked Kiemon to leave the work till full moon and then to move her so far up that she stays dry at low and high tide.

12 A shogunal *dwariskijker* has asked permission for a visit.

13 The said *dwariskijker* came and I treated him to the best of my ability.

14 The *dwariskijker* came with both *rapporteurs* and handed me a translation of a document from the governor, stating that in reply to my manifold complaints and requests to Governor Matsudaira Iwami-no-kami about the private trade, the Court has granted the import of caret and *neusjes*. I sent him a letter of thanks.

15 I asked the governor for *opperbongioisen*, because a boat would be coming in the afternoon with wet camphor and the Company's gowns. The camphor was stored in the warehouse and the gowns were hung out in an empty house.

16 I told the *rapporteur* to have the divers raise the rest of the copper and the camphor, because then it will be much easier for Kiemon to pull the ship higher up onto the shore. But he said that the divers are demanding four *mas* and three candareen for each chest. They claim that the water in the ship is very foul and they are afraid to become ill. I refused because I find it unreasonable, for the water in barely half a man's height. I offered two *mas* for each chest as before. I asked Kiemon to pull up the ship at the first high tide so that coolies can remove the copper. He promised me he would do so. Every day the weather is fine with westerly and south-westerly winds.

17 I had the stitching of the seams of the Company's gowns removed and I sent them to the city to have them washed as clean as possible in the river.

18 Warm weather with a south-westerly wind.

19 The ship has been raised a further 12 feet. Kiemon cannot raise her any higher until all the copper and so forth has been removed from her. He promised to have his own coolies do this and he only asked the usual wages of two *mas* and seven candareen.

20-21 The coolies of the fisherman have removed several chests of copper and some camphor.

22 All the copper and some barrels of camphor, empty chests, and dunnage wood have been removed. The ship is now completely empty. Tomorrow she will be raised so that she can be properly repaired. Easterly winds with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning.

23 Variable winds with heavy rain and thunder. I have not received a report about the ship. I

* This could be the *Oranda chinbotsusen hikiage no zu* and the *Chinbotsusen hikiage ikken shorui*, preserved in the Nagasaki Prefectural Library.

asked the *rappporteur* to do his best to obtain a speedy reply from the Lord of Hizen about the wood for the masts we asked for.

- 53 24 Fine weather with a cold northerly wind. The *rappporteur* reported that the ship has been raised somewhat this morning. I ordered him to request the governor for *bongioisen* to open the watergate tomorrow to bring the rest of the wet camphor on to the island.

25 In the afternoon an *opperbongiois* came and the last 49 barrels of camphor were stored in the warehouse. The camphor is in a very bad condition and mostly spoilt by the water.

26 Fine weather with a cold north-easterly wind. The captain has been busy day and night caulking the ship at low tide.

27 Bad weather with showers.

- 54 28 I summoned the *rappporteur* and asked him for the reply to my request for timber for masts. He said that a letter had been sent to the lord and an answer is expected in six to eight days. Rain with variable winds.

29 Cloudy skies with rain. The Company's gowns have been returned from the city. The cloth is still good, but the colours have faded and the silk wadding has been spoilt by the water.

30-31 Fine weather, nothing to report.

APRIL

1 I again told the *rappporteur* to ask the Lord of Hizen's attendants permission to take the timber.

2 Rainy weather with a north-easterly wind. A Korean fishing-boat with its crew has been towed into the roadstead by the Lord of Tsushima[*'s men*].

- 55 3 Inclement weather with rain. The *rappporteur* told me that on [28 February]* there had been four fires in Edo. He thinks the fires were started by arsonists.

4 One of the junks lying in mid-stream is loading copper.

5 I summoned the *rappporteur* and asked him for the Lord of Hizen's reply to my request for timber. He said that ten suitable trees had been chosen, but the lord had not yet given permission to fell them. I should be patient for a few more days.

6 Very fine weather, the wind south-westerly.

7 Nothing to report only that there were two fires in the city during the night, but they were soon extinguished and did not cause much damage.

- 56 8 Strong north-easterly wind with rain. The *rappporteur* told me that the lord has given permission to fell the trees. It will be delivered to the ship at no cost, as soon as the weather permits. The junks lying in mid-stream are loading copper.

9-10 Storm from the north-west. The hewing of the logs has been postponed until the weather has improved.

11 Fine weather and the governor went on an

outing to a mountain called Sakuradani, close to the shogunal guards. I had the flag hoisted as he was passing the island. Sukezaemon told me that some nights ago there had been a small fire on the Chinese island, but it had soon been extinguished.

12-13 Nothing to report. The junks lying in mid-stream are loading goods. Unsettled weather with variable winds.

- 57 14 Fine weather in the morning with a northerly wind. In the afternoon the skies darkened and the south-westerly wind gathered force.

15 Unsettled weather with north-westerly winds. Two of the junks lying in mid-stream are loading copper.

16-17 Fine weather. The junks lying in mid-stream are loading.

18 I sent for the *rappporteur* and tackled him about the timber. He said that the attendant of the lord had told him that they had started hewing yesterday and they will probably bring two logs tomorrow.

19 Two logs have been delivered to the ship. The junks lying in mid-stream are loading.

- 58 20 The Chinese are delivering goods. Two more pieces of timber have been delivered to the captain.

21 Captain Stewart and I went on an outing to a village called Mogi, two miles from Nagasaki. We enjoyed ourselves very much. The *onderbongioisen* accompanying us had been ordered by the governor to allow us all freedom and enjoyment.

22 The governor has also been to Mogi for his pleasure. Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*.

- 59 23 The Chinese are delivering goods. The last six pieces of timber have been delivered, but none fulfils the requirements. They are either crooked, short, or not thick enough.

24 The captain asked me for five Japanese carpenters to assist his ship's carpenter. I sent for the *rappporteur* and requested that the carpenters be sent to the ship tomorrow. The Chinese are delivering goods.

25 The five carpenters I asked for went to the ship and a start has been made with the construction of yards and so forth.

26 Heavy rain and strong winds and no carpenters could go to the ship.

27 Fine weather with a strong northerly wind. I had the repairs for the *otonas* noted. [List on ff. 59-60.]

- 61 28 The Chinese are delivering goods. The two junks below the *Papenberg* have put to sea. Captain Stewart asked for three logs for masts, because there was none that was suitable among the ten pieces from Hizen. I had the *rappporteur* request the governor permission to look for them at the shogunal temple called Kōtai-ji which also presented the Company with timber in 1772.** I have been told 'on the inside' that the prior has offered this to me.

29 The captain and I went to the Kōtai-ji Temple. We found three excellent trees. I immediately

* Version B gives the date.

** See Diary, 13 August 1772 a.o.

had the *rappporteur* ask the governor for permission to have them felled and I ordered him to notify me how many coolies, carpenters, and so forth will be needed, and the costs thereof.

30 The *rappporteur* brought me the carpenter's quote for hewing the wood and delivering it to the *Papenberg* for the sum of 475 taels. I immediately sent him back with this outrageous quote and told him to lower it.

MAY

62 1 He returned with a lower quote and claimed that they had summoned several carpenters and had asked for the lowest quote. They had all said that it could not be done for less than 400 taels. I told him that this was still unreasonable, but he replied that if I did not want to pay this sum, they would leave matters as they were and the ship would just have to lie there. Thus I was forced to agree, the more so as time is passing and I cannot let the captain wait because of one hundred taels more or less. I again sent the *rappporteur* to the governor for permission to hew the wood. The whole day strong winds and rain from the east, which caused more damage to the Doorn and the Lelie.

63 2 Fine weather. I asked the *rappporteur* to go to the governor again for permission to hew the wood.

3 The secretary of the Lord of Yanagawa has asked permission to visit me tomorrow. In the afternoon it started to rain heavily and the easterly wind increased to gale-force. A retainer of the Lord of Tsushima has brought a second Korean vessel with several Koreans into the roadstead.

64 4 Fine weather. The secretary came with the present *Rappporteur Burgemeester* Gorōzaemon. I entertained them and asked the *burgemeester* that a start be made soon with the hewing of the wood. I told him that if this was postponed for much longer, I was afraid that the ship would not be able to sail, for the winds are now southerly and south-westerly. He promised me that a start will probably be made the day after tomorrow. After they had tasted everything and looked around, they left.

5 I asked the *rappporteur* why the governor still has not given permission. He said that the governor had already given permission, but there are several burial places of *burgemeesters* and other authorities of Nagasaki at that spot. They are afraid that their tombstones will be damaged when the trees are felled, for they are right in the way. Therefore they are busy removing the stones and other ornaments. I had to accept this feeble excuse and be patient for two or three days.

6 It rained the entire day. Neither *rappporteur* came and I did not receive any decision on the timber.

7 The *rappporteur* came in the morning and told me that everything was ready for the felling of the trees. The Japanese carpenter has already started. I told him to ask the governor for permission for the

captain and me to have a look tomorrow, to see that everything is being done properly. Showery weather with an easterly wind.

8 Bad weather with rain. The felling of the trees has been postponed.

66 9 The weather was bad in the morning with rain and an easterly wind, but in the afternoon it started to clear. The captain and I went to the temple and we had one of the trees felled. However, when it was being lowered, the rope snapped and the burial place of the present *rappporteur burgemeester* suffered some damage. All the workmen instantly stopped work. I immediately sent the *rappporteur* to the *burgemeester* to inform him of this and tell him that the Japanese carpenter would repair the damage. He accepted this. On our return from the mountain, the prior, who had sent us an invitation yesterday, entertained us very graciously and treated us to Japanese fare and *sake*. The weather was very bad and wet and we offered to take off our boots, for one never enters an ordinary, let alone a shogunal temple, with one's shoes or boots on. However, the prior would not hear of it and let us step on his very clean mats and had his deputy show us everything.

10 Bad weather with rain and thunder. This prevented any work being done.

11 Fine weather with a northerly wind. One of the masts has been delivered to the ship and a second has been hewn. A master of repairs and an accountant visited me and I entertained them.

68 12 The last two masts have been taken on board. But like the first one they are rotten at the core and the captain has been forced to make one mast out of two. He has to look for another piece of wood and he asked the fisherman Kiemon to help him, which he did. The *rappporteur burgemeester* asked if a retainer of the Lord of Chikuzen could visit me.

13 The retainer came with the *opperrappporteur burgemeester* and I entertained them. The Chinese have been delivering their goods since yesterday and the junks lying in mid-stream are loading.

69 14 Fine weather with a south-westerly wind. A Chinese junk has left for the *Papenberg*. A start has been made with the repairs for the *otonas*.

15 The governor sailed to Nomo in full state. When he passed the island in the morning, I had the flag raised and in the evening I had a lantern hung on the flag-pole.

16 On behalf of the Lord of Satsuma, the *rappporteur* asked for all the varieties of garden seed in my possession, and also for a smoked ham and an empty clove chest. I handed them over. Overcast with a south-easterly wind.

17-18 Nothing to report. The wind easterly and south-easterly.

19 Easterly wind with intermittent rain.

70 20 The captain asked to be obliged with the barrel of pitch which had been sent. The pitch which he has ordered from the *compradoor* will not be ready for five days and he wants to tow the ship into mid-

stream at full moon. Although this is the only barrel I have at my disposal, I gave it to him.

21 Very fine weather with a south-westerly wind. Two Chinese junks have sailed for the *Papenberg*. Fisherman Kiemon has attached four barges and some small boats to the ship to tow her into mid-stream tonight at high tide. However, the plan failed.

71 22 The patrol boats of Chikuzen came to replace those of Hizen according to custom. The junk which left for the *Papenberg* on the 14th has put to sea. Another has been towed to the *Papenberg*. The boats we mentioned yesterday were again attached to the ship to tow her away at high tide. Fine weather with a south-westerly wind.

23 In the morning I was told the happy news that the ship is afloat. I went on board and had her take on copper. Shortly after an *opperbongiois* came and the ship was towed to below the *Papenberg*. Fine weather with a north-easterly wind during the day. A retainer of the Lord of Satsuma has brought a third Korean fishing-boat into the bay.

72 24 Unsettled weather with a north-easterly wind. Copper has been loaded. Two Chinese junks have put to sea.

25 Weather like yesterday. Copper has been loaded.

26 The wind has abated, but it rained the entire day and no copper could be loaded. The last two Chinese junks have left for the *Papenberg* and put to sea. In the evening the wind increased to gale-force.

27 No copper could be loaded.

28 The wind has abated and copper has been loaded.

73 29 Fine weather with a south-westerly wind. The ship has been loading copper. The captain came on the island and asked me for a thousand planks for dunnage, because many of his have drifted away and are broken. I was forced to give them to him. He also wanted empty chests, because most had been broken, but the pieces had been carefully stored. I asked the captain to gather the pieces together and I would send some coolies to fix them, because they will only serve for dunnage.

74 30 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. I had the flag raised at dawn to commemorate the conquest of Jacatra. In the morning a boat loaded with ammunition exploded near the shogunal guards due to the carelessness of the rowers. The explosion was so severe that it shook my house. Three people have lost their lives. A fourth Korean fishing-boat, which was in a very bad state, has been towed in the roadstead.

31 Nothing to report. Fine weather with a south-westerly wind. The captain has raised the main mast.

JUNE

1 At ten o'clock in the morning interpreters Takichirō and Katsunojō, who had headed the court

journey train, returned with an *opperbongiois* on the island, bringing the reciprocal present of fifty silk gowns, which were stored in the Doorn. They were entertained according to custom. The ship has loaded copper. The masts are being stepped. Fine weather, the wind south-westerly.

2 I sent for the camphor merchant and asked him how much he would charge to have 439 camphor barrels fixed inside and out with new straw mats, ropes, nails, hoops, and so forth, and for the coolies' wages. He will give me his quote tomorrow. Captain Stewart has asked me to oblige him with 300 catties of old iron, which he needs for the masts. Japanese iron is too expensive, and we would only need to pay for the cost of the making. I gave him the required catties in old hoops.

3 Fine weather with a south-westerly wind. 76 We were busy with the camphor. The second mast has been set into the ship. In the evening the sky darkened.

4-5 Fine weather with variable winds. The camphor merchant has been busy covering the barrels with mats.

6 Today the barrels were finished. In the presence of Stewart a start was made with the weighing of all the barrels. In the evening we had thunder and lightning with rain. According to the Japanese calendar the rainy season has started.

7 Nothing has been done on the island. The captain has been busy rigging the ship.

8-9 Fine weather. Because of the Japanese *Vlaggefeest* no camphor has been weighed.

77 10 The governor has been to the shogunal guards, the powder magazine, the captain's lodgings, and on board. I went there to welcome him. I took cakes, liqueurs, and so forth with me to treat him. He was very pleased that the ship was in such a good condition and he hoped that she could sail soon. Very fine weather with a northerly and south-westerly wind.

11-12 Very fine weather with south-westerly winds. We have been busy weighing the camphor.

13 I had the *rapporteur* ask the governor to have the *hofreisbark* brought in front of the watergate to take the camphor and Stewart's private goods to the ship. This will help us save on the hire for small boats, prevent the stealing of the coolies, and also avoid the risk of sending them as far as the *Papenberg*. 78 The governor immediately gave orders to the skipper of the *hofreisbark*. *Opperbongioisen* came and camphor was loaded, but in the afternoon the wind sprung up and put a stop to work.

14 The wind abated, but it rained the whole day. 15-16 Fine weather. The last of the camphor and some of the captain's goods have been loaded into the barge.

17 The barge has set off for the *Papenberg*.

18 It has been partially unloaded. In the evening it started to rain.

79 19 South-westerly storm. More plaster and clay have dropped off the Doorn and the Lelie.

20 Reasonably fine weather. The barge has been unloaded.

21-23 Fine weather with south-westerly winds. Private goods belonging to Stewart have been shipped.

24 Fine weather. Some more of the captain's private goods have been shipped. Two Korean fishing-boats have left.

80 25 It rained the whole day. The captain informed me that his ship was ready to set sail. He asked me to send him the Company's papers. I ordered the *rappporteur* to send as much drinking-water as possible on board.

26 The shogunal messenger Sakusaburō handed me a further shogunal demand and also one from the governor. I sealed the Company's papers and took them on board myself. I also took a sealed canister with three samples of the spoilt silk gowns. More drinking-water has been delivered on board. Strong northerly wind.

27 Fine weather with a northerly wind in the morning and south-westerly during the day. The captain had everything prepared to set sail at the first opportunity. Drinking-water has been sent on board.

81 28 In the morning I could not see the ship from my house. Shortly after the *rappporteur* came to congratulate me on her departure. In the afternoon I was told that the south-westerly wind had forced her to drop anchor off the *Cavallos*.

29 The *rappporteur* told me that the ship had set sail early in the morning, but was drifting off the *Cavallos* due to the calm. Fine weather and very hot with a gentle breeze from the south-south-west.

30 The *opperrappporteur* came in the morning and told me the pleasant news that the ship had set sail last night and was out of sight. May Heaven protect her from all disasters and enemy attacks and may she arrive safely in Batavia.

JULY

82 1-2 Nothing to report. Very fine weather, with south-westerly winds during the day and northerly winds during the night.

3 The *rappporteur* came to tell me that a young lord by the name of Matsudaira Atsunosuke had died in Edo on 10 June. He was a natural son of the Shogun and was three years old. We may not play any music for three days. Fine weather, the wind south-westerly.

4 In the morning news arrived from the guards of Hizen that a ship had been spotted. In the afternoon the *rappporteur* reported that this had been a false tidings. An extraordinarily strong northerly wind for this time of year. I hope that the ship may profit from this.

5 Fine weather with a strong northerly wind.

83 6 Fine weather and the northerly wind is continuing to blow hard. The old Senior Interpreter Yasujirō told me that he could not think of an example in his lifetime of such a prolonged drought and such

a hard northerly wind at this time of year. It is now the rainy season, which started three weeks ago according to their calendar, and we have not had more than one-and-a-half days of rain. The farmers are very worried and go to the temples every day to pray for rain. *Opperrappporteur* Burgemeester Sakubei visited me with a doctor, who is a brother of the first *opperrapportier* of this governor. I entertained them. The northerly wind is not as strong as in the past few days.

84 7 A south-westerly wind and the air is very hot and humid. At half past ten in the evening there was an earthquake. Northerly wind during the night.

8 Sultry and unsettled weather. On behalf of Commissioner of the Foreigners Seimon, the *rappporteur* asked if the commander of the shogunal guards could visit me on the 11th.

9 Clear weather with a strong northerly wind.

10 Very hot with a southerly wind.

11 The commissioner came with the commander of the shogunal guards. I entertained them. Sultry weather with a southerly wind.

85 12 Fine weather, sultry, a strong south-westerly wind and hazy sky. In the evening it finally started to rain a little, but it stopped when the moon appeared.

13 Overcast with a southerly wind. In the afternoon it started to rain and thunder.

14 Fine weather and oppressively hot. At one o'clock in the afternoon the signals were raised in the usual place to signal that a ship was in sight. Shortly after two boats from the observation posts came rowing in and brought firm tidings. The *rappporteurs* came to congratulate me on behalf of the governor. At half past nine in the evening I was told that the ship was still 30 Japanese miles off Nomo.

86 15 In the morning I was told that the ship had sailed to the west. She had dropped anchor off Amakusa, which made me doubt if this might not be another ship. In the evening I was told that a *bongiois* on duty there had informed the government that it was Captain Stewart and he had raised anchor again, but the calm and the south-westerly wind prevented him from sailing any further. At ten in the evening another patrol boat came hurrying from Nomo bringing some news to the government. I asked the interpreter on duty what the news had been, but he told me that it was secret.

RETURN OF THE ELIZA

87 16 The *rappporteur* came to tell me that it had been confirmed that it was the *Eliza*. Next I was given different bits of unpleasant information: that the ship had lost her masts, was leaking, and so forth, and that she would be staying there. I immediately sent the *rappporteur* to the secretary of the governor and requested him to tell me the truth. He soon returned and told me on behalf of the secretary that mail was expected any moment and I would be informed in full. Sultry weather and a south-westerly wind.

17 In the afternoon the *opperrapporteur* brought me a letter from Stewart in which he informs me of the sad accident which befell the ship on the 8th at the altitude of 26 degrees. A south-easterly storm veering south-westerly had caught her and she had lost her fore and main mast with the yards and sails.
 88 The mizenmast has been damaged and the ship is leaking. He asked for towing-boats to tow him in. I sent the *rapporteur* to the government with a translation of the letter and a request for assistance. At half past twelve a dispatch boat from Hizen came sailing into the bay bringing news that the observation posts had seen another sail at sea, but they were not sure whether it was a Dutch ship or a Chinese junk. At two o'clock the *rapporteur* brought the message that it was a Dutch ship, which was confirmed by the signals in the usual signalling posts.
 89 At seven o'clock in the evening the *compradoor* brought the message that the ship was still 20 Japanese miles off Koseto. In the evening it was quiet and very hot.

ARRIVAL OF THE FRANKLIN

18 At ten o'clock the ship was closer to the *Cavallos* and I went out to meet her. However, the wind was blowing gently from the south-west and the ship could not enter the bay till nine in the evening. I had great difficulty boarding the ship, because the *opperbongioisen* had grave doubts about whether she was a Dutch ship, but on giving my assurance, I was finally allowed to board her. Because there was no one on board who had been here before, I stayed on board until the ship had dropped anchor in front of the city. Then I went on shore with Junior Merchant Hendrik Doeff and the captain [James Devereux].
 90 Next the joint *Tolken College* came for the European and Indian news for the Shogun. I told them as much as I deemed opportune for them to know. Next I was told that the *Eliza* had been towed close to the *Cavallos*.

19 Captain Devereux went on board to moor the ship. At two o'clock in the afternoon the *Eliza* arrived in the roadstead. Doeff and I went on board and surveyed the disaster that had again befallen her. Stewart also came ashore. Very hot, the wind south-westerly.

20 Dispensary supplies and private goods have been unloaded. In the presence of the *burgemeesters* and commissioners the bills of lading were opened and noted. After they had read them, they were very dissatisfied and asked why no cloth, *taffachelassen*, rayskins, or anything else had been brought as presents, moreover, all the sugar was in bags, adding that this was the first time in the history of the Dutch trade with Japan that this had happened and the Court and the governor would surely take this amiss. I told them the reason of this and requested they render their assistance when speaking to the governor.
 91

21 Private goods have been unloaded.

22 Very hot and the wind south-westerly. I sent for the *opperrapporteur* and handed him the following statement for the governor.
 92 [To Asahina Kawachi-no-kami. To his great regret Ras has to inform him that due to the continuing war with England Batavia has been unable to procure any cloth and other goods which are usually imported as gifts for the Shogun and other court dignitaries. The route from the Netherlands is still closed and the outer factories in India are still in the hands of the English. Therefore this small North-American ship had to be sent hither to notify the Shogun of this. Batavia has asked all the private merchants if any goods were to be had, but there were none, otherwise two fully-laden ships would have been sent. The little that has been sent has been procured with a great deal of trouble. Ras requests the governor's mediation in presenting this news favourably to the Court. Ras will inquire on board if the private trade has imported any goods which might serve as presents.]
 93

23 Some private goods have been unloaded. Oppressively hot weather.

24 Private goods have been unloaded. In the afternoon several interpreters came with the *dwaars-kijker* and told me that the governor was greatly displeased and embarrassed about the fact that no gifts had been carried here. He has ordered me to have the rarities which the captain has imported brought ashore to see if any can be used as gifts. He added that otherwise we cannot proceed with the unloading. Doeff and I considered this and decided to oblige the Court as far as possible.
 95

25 The captain's rarities have been brought ashore. They were immediately sorted by the Japanese to be shown to the governor. The mustering has been set for tomorrow.

26 Doeff and I went on board and in the presence of the first secretary of the governor the ship was mustered, the placards were read and affixed. A start has been made with the unloading of the sugar. Rain and thunder put a stop to it in the afternoon. I requested the first secretary to present the fact that no gifts have been sent in a favourable manner to the governor.
 96

27 Nothing has been done on the island. Stewart has been to Inasa to look for six trees for masts near the temple called Goshin-ji, having first obtained permission from the governor. He found some very good ones and I requested the governor for permission to fell them. Overcast skies and some thunder, increasing during the night, accompanied by lightning and showers.

28 Fairly fine weather. Sugar, cloves, and cotton yarn have been unloaded. I asked Stewart for a written statement from both officers concerning the throwing overboard of the Company's papers. He gave it to me.
 97

29 Sugar has been unloaded. We had to put a stop to it at ten o'clock, because of the rising south-westerly wind and heavy showers.

30 The last of the pepper and cloves, and sugar have been unloaded. At two in the morning a Chinese junk arrived in the roadstead and a second in the afternoon.

31 The first junk has been unloaded. Due to a shortage of *bongioisen* no work could be done for us. Continuing oppressive heat and drought.

AUGUST

1 The second junk has been unloaded and nothing has been done on the island.

98 2 The chintzes that have been imported have been unpacked in the Doorn and all have been found to be all right. *Kennislieden* have sorted the rarities which will serve as gifts and they have been set aside to be taken to the government tomorrow for inspection. The weather continues to be oppressively hot and dry. It is causing many illnesses in the city. The *onderrapporteur* handed me the bills of lading of the two Chinese junks. That of the first seemed so incredible and false to me that I handed it back and told him to give me the true one. He replied that the same bill of lading had been given to the governor and what was written on it had truly been imported, including cloth, cashmere, cloth rash and crown-rash. I told him that I would like to go and look at the cloth and other woollen fabrics. He promised that he would ask the governor.

3 The rarities have been sent to the governor for inspection and were later returned. The governor had me informed that the 55 pieces of *armoezen* which have been sent for the Shogun were of too poor a quality to be given to His Majesty. Therefore I can do with them as I like. However, the four watches will have to be kept until further orders from Court. He has also given permission to inspect the woollen fabrics the Chinese have imported. Thus Doeff, both captains, and I went there and in the presence of the Chinese captains and the *opperbongioisen* they were shown to us. They turned out to be narrow and coarse assorted cloth rash and perpetuanas. The *opperbongiois* asked me if they were Dutch. I told him that, according to the brands, they were English, Swedish, and Danish cloths. Copper has been delivered onto the island.

4 Sugar and elephants' teeth have been unloaded. Continuing dry weather and oppressively hot.

5 The last of the sugar has been unloaded. The governor has given permission to fell four trees for masts, but we shall have to wait with the other two, because those belong to the shogunal temple.

6 Captain Devereux has asked me to ask the governor for permission to have his ship pulled on to the bank to have it careened. I did so in writing. In order not to have the ship lie empty, I had the sapanwood and tin remain in her as ballast.

7 Nothing has been done on the island. The ship has been pulled onto the bank. The governor has given permission to fell the trees.

8-10 Nothing has happened. The captain has finished cleaning the ship. Continuing dry weather and oppressively hot. The old Japanese are claiming that they have never experienced such a long period of heat and drought. It is the cause of many illnesses and deaths in Nagasaki.

11 Doeff and I have considered what to do with the 55 pieces of *armoezen*. We thought it best to sell them in the general sale. Four trees for masts have been delivered to the island.

12 The chintzes, which will be used as gifts, have been sorted by *kennislieden*. Both *rapporteurs* and the *dwaarskijker* came with the island's *otona* and told me, on behalf of the governor, that I have to write a similar statement as that of 22 July about the reason why no gifts and piece-goods have been imported. This statement, written by me, will be sent to the Court. I complied.

13 In the presence of Devereux the sample weights were balanced with the tael weights of the *Geldkamer*. 250 chests of copper were subsequently weighed and shipped on board. The governor had me informed that 15 elephants' teeth will also be employed for the court gifts.

14-15 Nothing has been done due to the *Lampjesfeest*. During the day it still is oppressively hot and during the night thunder, lightning, and showers.

16 Rest day for the Japanese.

17 Copper has been weighed for the Chinese and nothing could be done for us.

18 250 chests of copper have been weighed and shipped. Some of the captain's private goods have been brought ashore.

19 Unbearably hot. No work could be done for us because they have been weighing copper for the Chinese. The tin from the ship has been carried ashore. I asked the governor for permission to have the *hofreisbark* lie along the *Eliza* for five or six days to transfer the camphor and some goods of Stewart so that a leak just below the water-level can be stopped. Permission was granted.

20 The court gifts have been sorted. The *Geldkamer* has taken some samples of the Company's goods.

21 The last of the sapanwood has been unloaded. Doeff and I went on board to attend the customary inspection.

22 First viewing day of the Company's goods for the merchants. Stewart told me that he could not reach the leak and would be forced to unload some copper.

23 420 chests of copper have been unloaded from the *Eliza*, but the leak could still not be reached. The Japanese have sorted the *kambang* goods.

24 500 chests of copper have been unloaded. The leak is still not above the line. Continuing hot and dry weather.

25 383 chests of copper have been unloaded from the *Eliza*. Because the leak is lower than the captain thought, they had to continue with the unloading.

26 Some more chests of copper have been un-

106 loaded and finally the leak could be reached. *Kennislieden* have inspected the *kambang* goods.

27 In the presence of commissioners and *burgemeesters*, the officials of the *Geldkamer* have set the prices for the Company's goods, but the 55 pieces of *armoezen* were not sold because the offer was too low. When I paid my respects to the gentlemen, I asked them for a price increase for all commodities. They replied that in consideration of the war the governor had granted the old prices for the goods this year. But if next year another small ship with little cargo came, and in particular no presents were brought for the Shogun, the prices would be lowered. Because two different kinds of *chintzes* have been brought, they have offered one *mas* less for the narrow kind. I asked Commissioner of the Foreigners Seimon that, as no price increase has been granted and no decrease can be made in the expenses, the *agio* of 3,000 *taels* be granted as in last year. He promised to do his best.

28 The officials of the *Geldkamer* have chosen 94 *chintzes* of the first kind and 65 of the second kind. 108 They have been taken to the governor. It still is oppressively hot.

29 To everyone's great joy it finally started to pour with rain after a prolonged drought and oppressive heat of almost two months.

30 Nothing has been done on the island. I asked the *rapporteur* for the reply to my request for the two remaining trees for mast. He said that it will probably be given in a few days time.

31 Today is the Japanese *hassaku* and nothing has been done. Captain Stewart informed me that the leak in his ship had been stopped and the loading of the copper could take place. I asked the governor for permission.

SEPTEMBER

109 1 Copper has been shipped to the *Eliza*.

2 Second viewing day of the Company's goods for the merchants. A start has been made with drawing lots for the assessment of the tare of the sugar. Fifty large bags and fifty small bags have been rolled out, and lots have been drawn for ten of each. Copper has been loaded onto the *Eliza*. The governor has given permission to fell two more trees.

3 Cotton yarn and *chintzes* have been delivered to the *Geldkamer*. The tare of the sugar has been assessed. Copper has been loaded on the *Eliza*.

4 The last of the copper has been loaded on the *Eliza*.

110 5 Showery weather.

6 The barge with the camphor has gone to the *Eliza* to transfer it back to her.

7 Nothing to report. Very fine weather with a stiff northerly wind.

8-10 Nothing to report. Fine weather with a northerly wind. I asked the *rapporteurs* to have the remaining copper loaded shortly and to deliver the timber.

11 Second viewing day of the Company's goods for the merchants and the first of the *kambang*. Cloves which will be used as presents have been weighed. One mast has been delivered.

12-13 Nothing to report.

14 Sugar has been delivered to the merchants. The second mast has been delivered.

111 15 Sugar has been delivered. The merchants are complaining about some bags of sugar which have turned to syrup. They will only accept it with a bonus of six cattles on each bag, but I refused and had the warehouse closed. A mast has been finished and shipped to the *Eliza*.

16 Goods have been delivered to the *Geldkamer* and merchants. The *rapporteur* told me that the *pancados* had ordered the merchants to accept the remaining sugar with a bonus of three cattles per five bags, but they refused. At four o'clock in the afternoon a big fire started in the city. Because a strong wind was blowing from the north, it could not be extinguished before seven o'clock in the evening. Forty-four large and small houses have been burned to the ground. As the wind kept on blowing, a second fire started very close to the first one. Two arsonists had started it, of whom one has already been caught. He confessed that he had received one hundred *rixdollars* to start it. Six houses have burned down, including three large ones. It started in a garden pavilion or, as the Japanese call it, a *chaya* of a rich man, who had been pressing his debtors on the last settlement-day and who had made many enemies.

17 Work on the island has been postponed because the *bongioisen* are needed at the fire-ravaged sites. In the afternoon storm with heavy downpours.

18 This continued the whole day, but abated in the evening. I was given the unpleasant news that a great deal of plaster and clay had dropped off the *Lelie*. I had it fixed with planks.

19 All the cloves and pepper have been delivered to the merchants. The *rapporteur* came with a *Geldkamer* official and told me that the merchants will only accept the remaining 300 bags of sugar with a bonus of six cattles per bag. I told him that this was very unreasonable. I declared that I would only offer three cattles per five bags. If they did not accept, I would inform the governor.

20 Nothing has been done on the island. Stewart informed me that the last mast had a large hole through the centre and was unfit. He asked me to ask the governor for permission to look for another and I sent the *rapporteur* to the governor.

21 The governor has given permission to look for another mast. Stewart went to the temple at Inasa to look for one.

115 22 I sent for the *rapporteur* and asked him for the merchants' decision on the remaining sugar. He said that they were meeting with the *pancados* and would let me know tomorrow.

23 The *pancados* let me know that the merchants insisted on six cattles. I offered to propose to the

OCTOBER

merchants to deliver the sugar net.

24 I had the 55 pieces of armozeen and some other piece-goods, which had been left over from the gifts this year, transferred from the Doorn to the Lelie to have the merchants offer bids for them. I asked the *rapporteur* for a speedy reply to the request to fell the tree that was chosen on the 21st.

25 The *rapporteur* reported that the merchants will come tomorrow to accept the sugar which is not too damp yet.

26 The merchants came and a start was made with the weighing of the sugar. After several scales had been weighed, one of the merchants discovered that a weight of 41 catties and 5 taels was being used, which should be one of 50 catties. Therefore they were 8 1/2 catties short on each scale. I immediately had the weight taken away and had the sugar reweighed. This also turned out to be too light and on examination we found that it was a pound weight and not a catty weight. Thereupon the merchants became angry, thinking that this was premeditation on our part. They refused to carry on work nor would they accept the sugar that had already been weighed, but they left it in a warehouse in the safekeeping of the *opperbongiois*. They wanted to confer in the city first, because they thought that the other goods which had already been delivered had been weighed with that same weight. However, Deputies Pogedt and Geenemans declared that this weight had been used today for the first time and without their foreknowledge.

27 The *opperbongioisen* and the merchants came in the morning. The former informed me that the governor had decided, in order to prevent a recurrence of mishaps like yesterday, that all the weights had to be compared with a Japanese *daats* in the presence of the *opperbongiois* and the merchants. The ones which are found to be too heavy or too light will be kept in a warehouse and those which conform will be marked with one of their marks. I agreed and a start was made with the weighing, but no sugar was taken away, but everything was kept in a warehouse on the island. Two Chinese junks have been towed into mid-stream.

28 Sugar has been weighed and stored in a warehouse. 7,000 catties remained which they had rejected as being too damp and would only accept with a bonus. I ordered the *rapporteur* to ask the merchants how much bonus they wanted for every hundred catties. He said that they would have to confer first.

29 On behalf of the intendant, Shogunal Messenger Sakusaburō informed me that the four watches had been refused by the Court and they will be returned to me. Doeff and I discussed whether it would be best to sell them in the *kambang*. I asked the *rapporteur* why permission for felling the tree was not being given. He said that the blame lay with the prior of the temple, who had not yet asked the intendant for permission.

30 Nothing to report.

1 The armozeens, watches, and the *kambang* goods were shown to the merchants. The *rapporteur* told me that the merchants were willing to accept the remaining sugar without a bonus, but for a lower price. I replied that I could not do that, and would rather send the remainder back to Batavia. I ordered him to let me know if they were willing to accept the remainder with a fair bonus or not at all.

2 Doeff went with both captains to the *Geldkamer* to weigh some ducats which Devereux had imported in the *kambang*. The governor has given permission to fell the last /so I hope/ tree for Stewart. Because of all the accidents, he has used twenty trees in all. The two junks lying in mid-stream are loading goods.

3 With the governor's permission, Doeff, both captains, and I went to the *Papenberg* to sound the rocks there to find the dangerous spots. They are right in the passage and at low tide are only 3 1/2 feet under water. According to the Japanese, they lie there in the shape of a crescent. When he is lying there, Devereux will take an exact sounding with his own boat. In the evening the wind rose from the north.

4 The merchants have stated the prices for the *kambang* goods in the *Geldkamer* in the presence of Doeff and Stewart, due to Devereux's indisposition. They were low beyond expectation. They have been calculated on the basis of the heavy tael. I decided to sell the remainder of the piece-goods for the prices offered, but not the watches or the 55 armozeen. These will be returned to Batavia.

5-6 Nothing to report. The junks lying in mid-stream are loading.

7 First *Matsuri* or fair.

8 Copper has been delivered onto the island.

9 Second *Matsuri*.

10 Copper has been delivered onto the island.

11 Copper has been delivered onto the island. I asked the *rapporteurs* how things stood with the remaining sugar. They said that the merchants insisted on a lower price. They advised me to wait for the arrival of Governor Matsudaira Iwami-no-kami, who is expected on the 19th, and complain to him.

12 200 chests of copper have been weighed, but only 100 chests could be shipped due to the rain and strong wind. The rest has been stored in a warehouse. The *hassaku* has been announced for tomorrow morning.

13 Doeff and I went to present the *hassaku* to the governor and other Nagasaki Regents. Everywhere we were welcomed in a friendly manner. 350 chests of copper have been weighed and shipped.

14 *Kambang* goods have been delivered to the merchants. 350 chests have been weighed and shipped on board the *Franklin*.

15 Copper has been shipped. *Kambang* goods have been delivered to the merchants.

16 Doeff and I went to the governor for the au-

NOVEMBER

- dience of leave. According to custom the orders were read. I requested the governor to commend the interests of the Company to the Court in Edo.
- 125 The rest of the copper has been weighed and shipped. Two sample chests have been weighed net and gross and sealed.
- 17 The rest of the *kambang* goods has been delivered. Both captains prepared to leave for the *Papenberg* tomorrow.
- 18 Doeffer and I went on board both ships with the first secretary of the governor for the mustering. We accompanied them to the *Papenberg*. On taking leave of the secretary, I wished him a pleasant journey to Edo. I asked him to commend the interests of the Company to the chief councillor and the former Governor of Nagasaki, Nakagawa Hida-no-kami, who holds him in high regard. He promised to do so.
- 126 19 Governor Matsudaira Iwami-no-kami arrived in Nagasaki. According to custom I sent the *opperrapporteur* to pay him my respects.
- 20 Nothing has been done. The last mast of the *Eliza* has been finished and taken outside the watergate to be taken on board tomorrow.
- 21 Both governors went to the shogunal guards.
- 127 As they were passing the island, I had the flag raised. I sent orders to both ships to hoist their flags as well.
- 22 The mast has been taken on board the *Eliza*. Sakusaburō came and told me that the incoming governor had asked to see the four watches. I told him that when the Doorn was opened, I would send them to him.
- 23 Private goods have been shipped. An accountant visited me and I entertained him. Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*.
- 24-25 Nothing to report.
- 128 26 In the afternoon the *dwaarskijker* came with both *rapporteurs* and handed me a translation of a document from the governor. It stated that the governor has granted the separate agio of 3,000 taels for this year, but unless two ships or a large ship came to trade, we should not ask for it again, for it would be refused.
- 27-28 Private goods have been shipped. Nothing to report.
- 29 The Company's silk gowns have been packed.
- 30-31 Nothing happened.
- 129 1 There was a severe earthquake during the night.
- 2 A doctor from Hizen and a *burgemeester* visited me. Sakusaburō came to tell me that the governor had kept the four watches and would pay 30 taels each. I decided to accept this, for we shall not make a loss.
- 3 Private goods have been shipped. We had another earthquake in the morning.
- 4-5 Very fine weather, nothing to report.
- 6-10 Nothing to report. Very fine weather with northerly winds. I asked the *rapporteurs* to deliver me the shogunal demand soon.
- 130 11 Captain Stewart informed me that his ship was ready to sail. I immediately sealed the papers and sent them with Doeffer on board the *Eliza*.
- 12 The ship raised anchor in the morning and set sail. May Heaven grant that this luckless ship reach Batavia safely.
- 13 Strong south-westerly winds with showers. In the afternoon we were told that the *Eliza* was out of sight.
- 14 Clearing skies with a strong northerly wind.
- 15 Unsettled weather. In the afternoon the wind veered south-westerly increasing to gale-force, with rain. This lasted well into the night and made me worry about the safety of the *Eliza*.
- 131 16 Clearing skies with some showers from the north.
- 17-20 Nothing to report. I kept pressing the *rapporteurs* for the shogunal demand.
- 21 I received the shogunal demand. Private goods have been shipped.
- 22 Private goods have been shipped. The papers have been prepared to be sent aboard with Doeffer in the morning.
- 23 The last of Doeffer's and the captain's private goods having been shipped, I sealed the Company's papers and handed them to Doeffer. Assistant Geenemans will also travel with him. Herewith I close this diary and heartily hope for a speedy peace and that the *Franklin* may travel to the capital of the Indies without encountering any disasters.*

* The diary ends with lists of the imports and exports of the Chinese junks, 24 November 1798 - 23 November 1799. The folios are not numbered.