

DIARY KEPT BY OPPERHOOFD WILLEM WARDENAAR*

16 July - 28 November 1800

1800

JULY

1 16 I arrived on Deshima at half past five in the afternoon. A small two-masted brig, flying the Dutch flag and skippered by the American [William Robbert] Stewart,** and five Chinese junks were in the roadstead. At seven o'clock the *Tolken College* came for the news.

2 17 Early in the morning I convened a meeting to read the Company's papers. Then I took over the command by Your Honours' orders and commissioned Assistants [Leendert] Geenemans and [Jan Pieter] Pogedt to make an inventory of the Company's buildings, goods, effects, books, and so forth. I sent for *Opperrapporteur* Sakusaburō and asked him to request the *Geldkamer* for an account of the Company's cash, which they are keeping, to see if the Company is in the red or in the black. Sakusaburō told me that the former governor had died and an accountant from Edo, Hida Bungo-no-kami, had been appointed in his place. I thanked him for this communication and asked him to convey my compliments to him.

18 At half past seven in the morning, a start was made with the unloading of dispensary supplies and private goods. Senior Interpreters Sakusaburō and Sukezaemon came in their ceremonial attire to announce that they had been appointed as shogunal representatives and commissioners or arbitrators of the Company's trade. I congratulated them and gave them the demand for this year.

3 19 We have been unloading. The commissioner of the foreigners and the first *rapporteur burgemeester* came for the bill of lading with a host of officials of the *Geldkamer*. In the presence of Warehousemaster [Leopold Willem] Ras and Scribe [Hendrik] Doeffer I gave it to them. I could clearly see that they were very displeased that their demands had not been fulfilled. But when it became clear that the gifts would be chosen from the goods on the bill of lading, their displeasure disappeared. I asked for a fair settlement of the trade and to be granted the ex-

tra agio this year.

20 Today nothing has been unloaded, because there was a meeting in Government House about the imported goods. The *rapporteur* came to inform me that there were many goods mentioned on the bill of lading which were unknown to the Japanese or not in demand and that more cloves had been imported than could be consumed in Japan in two years. I asked him to make a good settlement. The governor asked me for the samples of the chandeliers and spangles, which I sent to him. The *onderrapporteur* came to inform me that the mustering would take place tomorrow. I asked Warehousemaster Ras what means he had come up with to obtain a price decrease for the camphor, referring to his letter to the High Government sent by the *Franklin*. He replied that last year his hopes of this had been raised by Sukezaemon, *opperrapporteur* at the time. I sent for him and told him that he should fulfil his promise to Ras and see to it that the price for the camphor was lowered. However, he said that it was true that he had raised Ras' hopes and it could have been achieved, if he were still *rapporteur*, but now it might be impossible to pull off. On my insistence that one should always keep one's promise, he undertook to set about it 'on the inside' and to let me know within a month. I sent for Sakusaburō and the others and told him that the High Government had ordered me that, if there were any complaints about servants, the *opperhoofd* be informed. I also asked for the reason of their letter concerning Assistant Geenemans. They said that something had happened / described in 1798 in the letter of the servants / because of which the governor had banished him from the country. But a while later he had improved his behaviour and the governor had allowed him to travel freely to Batavia. Merely for fear of Geenemans' short temper and to avoid any unpleasantness if he were to return, they had written to the Governor-General 'on the inside' declaring that neither Warehousemaster Ras or anyone else had urged them to do this — just as Ras declared that he had never inserted it in Captain [James] Devereux's breast, but had quietly handed it to him, because the interpreters had asked him not to hand it to Doeffer but to the captain.

* Wardenaar's diary has no marginal notes.

** See Appendix 4, Secret diary kept by Wardenaar concerning Stewart's arrival and stay in Nagasaki Harbour during this period.

6 21 I commissioned Ras and Doeffer to carry out the mustering. I also went on board as soon as the governor's secretary came onto the island. After the mustering the workmen proceeded with the unloading. I asked if the account of the Company's cash had been made, but I was told that I had to wait for a few days, because the receipts were with the intendant.

22 The ship had to raise anchor to come nearer to the shore and no unloading could be done. The commissioner of the foreigners asked me for two turkeys, which I had brought for my own use, which I promised him. The governor asked me for three balls of Surat soap and I sent them to him. Doeffer came to warn me that he had been told by some Japanese that Assistant Geenemans had brought a bill of lading with the prices in Batavia. I sent for him and demanded the bill of lading, which he immediately gave to me, saying that he had got it from Invoice-Clerk [Pieter Fransiscus] Overbeek.

23 The Company's goods are being unloaded. Sukezaemon came to ask me for permission to visit Geenemans, because the latter is claiming that I have forbidden any Japanese to visit him. I said that I would not give permission before I was told what he wanted with him. Finally he told me in secret /or on the inside/ that the governor and the commissioner of the foreigners had given him secret orders to ask Geenemans if it were true, as he had told several Japanese, that he had a copy of a letter which had been written by some interpreters to the Governor-General in which they had complained about him without the foreknowledge of the governor and which the governor wanted investigated 'on the inside'. He begged me not to let anyone know that he had told me of this secret order. I immediately warned Geenemans to be careful, but shortly after Sukezaemon came back and told me that he had already been to Geenemans and that the latter had told him that he could not retract his words and that it was true that he had a copy of the letter. I promptly sent for Geenemans and asked him where or how he had obtained the copy. He said that he had received it from a clerk at the general secretarial office, whose name he did not know. I warned him to be more careful in future and not to let any Japanese in on any private matters, if he wanted to stay out of trouble. I sent for *Opperrapporteur* Sakusaburō and asked him if it were possible to buy about fifty piculs of sheet-copper with the necessary nails, if needed by the Company, at a fair price for the coppering of ships. He said that it would be possible if they were ordered in Osaka and the governor would permit the export if I asked. He promised to deliver me a sample of the thickness and the size of the sheet-copper that is made here. The junks lying in mid-stream have been towed to their berths.

24 The Company's goods are being unloaded. I gave Sakusaburō, [Senior Interpreter] Takichirō, and [Junior Interpreter] Shōzaemon the reply of the

High Government in its letter of 5 June, §9, to their letter.* They declared that they understood it. They promised to do their best to please the Company. Also, that if two ships were to come and trade again every year, they did not think it impossible that more copper would be granted if enough sugar and other goods were imported. However, they could not vouch for this if it took too long, for the governor might well grant it to the Chinese, who keep asking for it. I tried to make them see the unreasonableness of this if it were to happen, but after they had listened to me patiently they replied that my arguments seemed to hold water, but they would like to know if I would think it fair if so much dead stock of copper were to be kept, apart from the loss on interest paid to the merchants. I replied that the unfortunate war was the main reason that all the copper had not been exported. But they riposted that this was enough reason for us, but that it was a certainty that a war was only injurious to those who were engaged in it. After some debate they said that they were certain that everything would turn out all right once peace had been restored and the Company were again able to trade as before. The fixed period of being allowed to export 2,520 chests of copper above the ordinary quota of 6,000 chests would only expire in two years. And then it would be possible to put in another request for a larger export. I handed Sakusaburō the following document for the governor.

[To Hida Bungo-no-kami. In order to oblige the Japanese, Batavia has sent a large ship with a considerable cargo, in spite of the continuing war. They have done this to oblige the Shogun and the Japanese empire, with which the Company has been trading for two hundred years. Wardenaar requests the governor to bear in mind the losses the Company has been suffering, including the foundering of the *Eliza*, and to reflect favourably on Wardenaar's request for an increase in prices for the commodities the Company has imported this year at a high cost due to the war. He also asks that the agio be granted this year as in last year.]

25 The ship is being unloaded. Sukezaemon came to inform me that in two to three days an attendant of the councillor in Edo and an attendant of the Lord of Hirado will visit the island with the commissioner of the foreigners.

26 Company's goods are being unloaded. Copper has been brought onto the island. A start has been made with the unpacking and checking of the piece-goods. I commissioned Scribe Doeffer, for want of a ship's Senior Surgeon, and Senior Surgeon [Johan Herman] Letzke to carry out this task. I sent for Senior Interpreters Sakusaburō and Sukezaemon and asked them if there was any possibility of abolishing the court journey by the *opperhoofden*, which the High Government has ordered me to do, for the Company is burdened with heavy expenses and trade is shrinking by the year and it is not able to

* In this letter the Governor-General explains that, due to the war, it was impossible to send two ships. In the future it might be possible, provided that the copper ratio would be increased. (See NFJ 426).

afford it. They replied that, as our friends, they advised me not to present such a request, for the Shogun would consider it an affront and would think that we did not want to cultivate our old friendship.

- 14 They added that this was already being rumoured in Edo, because of the sending of such small ships as the *Eliza* and the *Franklin*. Although it is true that the court journey by the *opperhoofden* was more expensive, it was also a great honour, for no one but the Dutch, because of their proven willingness to obey the shogunal orders and laws, were permitted to present themselves at Court, notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese had often requested this honour, offering to present more, and more beautiful presents than the Dutch. Thus they advised me not to make this request. I let it rest in the hope that another possibility might present itself at a future date. I asked them to give the matter some more thought and I also told them that I entered a strong protest with respect to their desire that when two ships come to trade again as before, the *opperhoofd* will make the court journey every year. Up to now no price increase has been given for the imported commodities, which cost the Company more than it receives for them in Japan, nor has there been an increase in the copper quota. They replied that this was not the governor's wish, but the Court's. When two ships come to trade I can make my own demands, but they doubted that these would be accepted, for it is certain that when the war comes to an end, the imports will not cost the Company so much and for now one should hope for better times and one should also consider that there are always some articles of trade on which one loses.

27 Piece-goods are being unloaded and inspected. Copper has been delivered onto the island.

- 28 No unloading because the ship needs some copper as ballast first. Piece-goods are being unpacked and copper has been delivered. I convened a meeting and we decided that Ras and Doeff would be present at the weighing of the copper to look after the Company's interests, because Captain [James] Hutchings refuses to attend the weighing or to accept it, claiming that he is not obliged to do so. On the advice of Sukezaemon, I prepared the following document for the governor.
[To Hida Bungo-no-kami. Wardenaar informs the governor that, with the governor's permission, the Company will export the considerable amount of 120,000 pounds of camphor this year. If the governor will lower the price, the Company will certainly keep exporting large amounts in future. Wardenaar requests a price decrease for this year and to fix it for the next years, so that Batavia can regulate its orders.]
- 17

29 Copper has been weighed. Ras and Letzke attended the one scale and Doeff and Assistant [Johannes Fredrik] Fischer the other. I asked the *opperhoofd* to notify me as soon as possible of the state of the Company's cash. The attendants of the Edo ministers and the Lord of Hirado came with the

rapporteur burgemeester, the latter instead of the commissioner of the foreigners. After an hour, having partaken of some liqueurs and confitures, they left highly pleased.

- 30 Copper has been weighed and shipped. The governor has me informed that a Chinese man with a neck complaint will come to the island to consult our surgeon.

31 Copper is being loaded and the Company's goods are being unloaded. Piece-goods have been unpacked. In the evening two *opperbongioisen* came to look at the garden.

AUGUST

1 Copper has been weighed.

- 2 The ship is being unloaded and piece-goods have been unpacked. The Chinese man with the sore neck and other Chinese, captains as well as cargo, came onto the island with at least 40 to 50 *onderbongioisen* and interpreters, but by order of the governor they were forbidden to enter the room of any Dutchman, and the afflicted Chinese had to be examined by our surgeon in the *otonas'* house. After this they went for a walk around our island, but did not speak to any Dutchman, and returned to their island. I had some liqueurs and confitures taken to the *otona*, for which they thanked me. Sakusaburō and Sukezaemon came and I asked them if they had given any thought to finding a good way of having the court journey abolished. They gave a similar reply to that of 26 July. They said that they had made it known on the inside, but that the governor had replied that the previous *opperhoofden's* requests had been proposed many times at the Court and the reply had always been that no change could be made. Therefore, the governor could not grant this request and he was also afraid that a request that was reiterated so often would be held against the Dutch as being impolite and he himself would incur the wrath of the Court. He hoped that the Company would desist from its plan and would save him from the embarrassment of having to return a petition unanswered. I replied that the Japanese could easily understand that if the copper quota and the prices for the imports were not increased, the Company would not be able, with all the expenses it has to bear, to keep the trade going. Therefore changes were an absolute necessity. They sang the same old song that this was the Court's decision and only the Dutch had been given this prerogative and others had been refused it. Seeing that nothing could be done about it for the time being, I let the matter rest, repeating that changes would have to be made.
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- 20

3 Unloading. Piece-goods have been inspected. Chandeliers have been hung up and cloth has been measured.

- 4 In the afternoon I was told that the ship was empty. I commissioned Ras and Doeff to attend the inspection by the Japanese. Everything was found to be in order.
- 21

5 Copper has been weighed. Captain Hutchings declared that he needs 3,000 chests in order to lie stable. On behalf of the governor, Sukezaemon and Sakusaburō asked me why this year so many cloves in excess of the quantity demanded had been imported and so much specie /the silver money imported by me/. I have to give a written reply. I immediately prepared the following statement.

22 [To Hida Bungo-no-kami. The reason that more cloves than the quantity demanded have been imported is because no other goods were available in Batavia which are in demand in Japan. Wardenaar requests that the cloves be accepted for the ordinary price. Notwithstanding the fact that the Company is relying on the governor's generosity to accept all the cloves for the ordinary price, it is afraid that this will not be enough to pay for the expenses. Because of *Oppelhoofd* [Gijbert] Hemmij's death and the foundering of the *Eliza*, Batavia did not know how much money the Company had credited or debited here. Therefore the High Government had sent the mint specie to be put on the Company's account.]

24 6 Piece-goods have been inspected. Sukezaemon visited me and told me that, because last year a small ship had been sent with no gifts for the Shogun, this had been taken at Court as a sign that the Company intends to close the factory here. This year a senior accountant from Edo had stayed on in Nagasaki for the express purpose of increasing the copper quota of the Chinese to the detriment of the Company, should another small ship come. I doubted the veracity of his story and could not imagine what the portent of it was. Thus I merely said that this large ship and the import of great gifts cancelled it.

7 Piece-goods have been inspected and cloth has been measured. The *opperrapporteur* brought me a sample of sheet-copper.

8 *Kennislieden* inspected the piece-goods and samples were set aside for the governor. The intendant and the governor's secretary came to look at the piece-goods. I showed the sample of sheet-copper I received yesterday to Captains Stewart and Hutchings. They declared that the quality was excellent to sheet ships but the plates were too small. I inquired whether larger plates could be obtained, but I was told no. I asked Hutchings to give me the measurements of the sheets on his ship and the nails required. He immediately did so and I gave them to the *opperrapporteur* to inquire at the *Geldkamer* about the price of the sheets and the nails. The captains said that 15 piculs of small nails and five piculs of larger ones were needed for 50 piculs of plates. Not being able to settle with the *Geldkamer*, for it only settles the account after the trading season, the *Tolken College* gave me a stamped account. To my astonishment I saw that apart from Captain Stewart's debit, of which mention has been made in separate letters of 24 June and 9 November of last year sent by the *Eliza*, and which had been put on a separate account at my request, the Company owes the *Geld-*

kamer 18,000 taels on a receipt issued by Ras with the Company's seal. It also owes 3272:9:7 for a payment since the last settlement on 23 November 1799, being altogether 21.272:9:7 taels. I sent for Ras and, expressing my surprise, I asked him if this account was right. He checked it and declared that it was right and true. To my question what he had borrowed the 18,000 taels for, he replied that on his return from the court journey he had discovered that, apart from many debts to private individuals, the deceased *Oppelhoofd* Hemmij had borrowed 21,100 taels from the Company's money with the *Geldkamer*, and Ras had had to pay the *Geldkamer*. Therefore he had had to borrow another 18,000 taels to pay for the Company's cargo. I told him I would convene a meeting tomorrow and would inform them of this irresponsible behaviour, not having informed the High Government of this and having kept them in ignorance of this loan. He will have to answer for this.

27 9 The samples have been taken to Government House and the goods earmarked as presents have been sorted. I sent for Warehousemaster Ras, Assistants Pogedt and Geenemans, Pressmaster [Petrus Josephus] Boulijn and Gardener [Jacob Coenraad] Hornung. I asked them for how long and till what year they had received their monthly wages here. They declared unanimously that they had never received a doit of their wages here and were willing to take an oath on it. Senior Surgeon Letzke, whose wages had been received in full by his proxy [Dirk] Te Boekhorst at Batavia, likewise declared his willingness to do so. We held a meeting, and according to the decisions we took, I commissioned Bookkeeper [Age] Iges and Senior Surgeon Letzke to check the Doorn and the Lelie and produced yesterday's account as described in today's resolution.

10 The gifts for the Shogun have been sorted and the gifts for the Nagasaki Regents were taken to the governor.

28 11 *Kambang* goods have been unpacked. The *rapporteur burgemeester* came with the retainers of the Lord of Yanagawa and Shimabara, whom I entertained. The *rapporteur burgemeester* asked me for 25 nutmegs, which I gave to him.

12 *Kambang* goods have been unpacked. Around three o'clock in the afternoon there was a slight earthquake.

13 *Kambang* goods have been unpacked. On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō came to tell me that of the requests I had made on 24 July, the one concerning the full agio has to be requested separately. I immediately did so.

14 Company's goods have been shown to the *kennislieden*. *Kambang* goods have been sorted. Lots have been drawn for the warehouses to assess the tare. The draw has fallen on the warehouse the Roos.

29 15 Lots have been drawn for the canasters and bags. 140 canasters were rolled out of the warehouses and from these 14 were chosen. The governor asked me for two *waxdammers*, which I gave to

him. Sukezaemon told me that within a couple of days *Burgemeester* Takashima Sakubei would visit me with a shogunal secret committee which had been sent to him directly by the councillors. I tried to find out what this meant, but he could not shed any light on it.

16 The tare is being assessed. I was told that small stones had been found in the sugar.

17 The tare is being assessed. Sakusaburō told me that it was time to hand the governor the Company's demand in writing and to request permission for the export. I immediately did so. Sukezaemon came to tell me that the *burgemeester* who was to bring the secret committee is unwell and their visit has been postponed.

18 Due to the persistent rain the tare could not be assessed. Ras held an auction of some clothing and other stuff that had belonged to Hemmij. An argument arose between the auctioneer, Doeff, and Geenemans. Doeff had made a lot of three pieces of canvas and had attached a note, but at the sale he mistakenly called out that these two pieces of canvas were being sold and had them taken off the table by Geenemans. But Captains Smith and Hutchings said that they had not been sold together, for then they would have offered more. Because of the argument, the same lot, namely the three pieces, were again actioned off, but Geenemans, uttering many profanities, protested. He refused to buy anything else. At dinner in the afternoon, the discussion was that everything had been sold rather exorbitantly, apart from the books. Geenemans flared up: "Yea! Books, which are worth at least 20, have been sold for half a rixdollar or a whole one!" Having been asked why he had not bought them, he replied that he refused to buy anything at such a despotic auction, of which he had proof, taking the note that had been attached to one of the pieces of canvas from his pocket. Doeff lost his temper and jumped up from his chair and wrenched the note from Geenemans, shouting: "Man, how dare you speak of despotic!" I told Doeff to return the note, for Geenemans considered it to be his piece of evidence. I tried to settle the matter, admonishing them to behave peacefully, but to no avail, the passions were at boiling point. Among other things Geenemans told Doeff: "Yea, I have noticed for some time that you are thwarting me." Doeff retorted: "Yea, I am, because I have found out that Mr Ras is a decent and honest man and you are a scoundrel. You have been spreading stories in Batavia that Ras has stolen a jewelled pin and watches from Hemmij's estate, which I have now found while making the inventory." He again jumped up from his chair and asked me to remove Geenemans from the table or he himself would go. Seeing that all my friendly admonitions for peace and quiet were of no use and fearing that more unpleasantness would occur to the derision of the Japanese, and it might easily come to pass that on this truly confused island of Deshima, where each and everyone, from the highest to the

lowest wants to be boss, I would lose all control if I displayed too much leniency, I decided to put them both under arrest. This case has been treated in this diary for the benefit of Your Honours if any complaints are lodged.

19 The tare is being assessed and gifts have been sorted. At about eight o'clock in the morning I released Doeff from his arrest and recommended him to behave in a manner more true to character in future. He promised to do so. I released Geenemans in the afternoon.

20 Gifts have been sorted. Ras auctioned some Japanese lacquerware which had belonged to Hemmij.

21 Gifts have been sorted. The tare has been assessed at barely 31 $\frac{1}{16}$ lbs for the canasters and for the bags roughly 1 $\frac{17}{32}$ lbs. Bookkeeper Iges and Senior Surgeon Letzke presented me with a report which makes clear that the Doorn and the Lelie are in a terrible state. The Japanese carpenter demands 1,020 taels for the repair of the Doorn and 1,200 taels for the Lelie. I returned his quote to have it lowered. I had the fifty shogunal *kabaaien* taken to the city for alterations. The governor asked me for a jar of butter and seven balls of soap, which I gave to him.

22 Gifts have been sorted and *kambang* goods have been inspected.

23 Gifts have been sorted. Some samples have been taken to the governor. Sukezaemon came to ask me for the price for the table organ clock, barrel organ, and the two table clocks. I handed them over.

24 Gifts have been sorted. Some samples have been taken to the governor.

25 A quiet day. For the first time I went with the friends of the factory and the ships, apart from Ras who stayed on the island, to the city, where we visited some temples and spent the rest of the day very pleasantly in a tea-house. We enjoyed such freedom as one could reasonably wish for. As soon as we were in the tea-house, the Chinese captains and some of the cargos who had been in the *Geldkamer*, came to visit me. In the afternoon the interpreters asked me to pay a return visit to the Chinese who were in a tea-house close to ours. I went with Doeff and Letzke. We were received very affably. There is no other example of this kind of freedom, never before has it been permitted that Dutchmen and Chinese went into the city at the same time, much less speak with one another. In short, we enjoyed complete freedom, going wherever we wanted to, and although there were at least fifty guards, *bon-gioisen* and others, with us, I have to admit that no one seemed to bother with us.

26 Japanese *Sterrefeest*.

27 Samples of the *kambang* goods have been taken to the governor. Viewing day for the merchants.

28 Viewing day for the merchants. On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō notified me that I have to pay all the private debts of *Opperhoofd* Hemmij this year or they would be subtracted from the account with the *Geldkamer*. I told him that /while it is an ar-

bitrary rule with the Japanese that the Company pays for its servants, and against which nothing can be done, because they are pulling the strings/ my masters would never want the actionable deeds of any of its servants to harm another, and therefore the debts would have been paid without this notification. After his departure I asked Doeffer to settle the account of the goods auctioned by Ras on behalf of the late Hemmij and to notify me of the balance after the legal expenses had been deducted. I asked Ras to hand me an exact account of Hemmij's private debts as soon as possible, either the originals or copies.

29 Viewing day for the merchants.

30 The cloth and other goods which have been earmarked as presents have been measured and inspected. Factory Bookkeeper Ras, Scribe Doeffer, Bookkeeper Iges, and Assistant Geenemans handed me a notice with objections to closing the books on the last day of August as ordered by the High Government.

31 Convened a meeting, in which we took notice of the tare of the sugar canisters and bags and the statement concerning the fact that the monthly wages have not been received here. We also decided to close the books as of old on the 20th of the Japanese month of *Kugatsu*. Assistant Pogedt has been qualified to make notarial statements in the case between Scribe Doeffer as auctioneer and Assistant Geenemans which occurred on the 18th. On behalf of the governor, Senior Interpreters Sakusaburō and Sukezaemon came to inform me that the cloves cannot be bought at the usual price as I had requested, but were I to sell them for the proposed price of three *mas* less, all would be accepted, although the quantity was too great for the Japanese market, and the silver money could not be accepted at all. I replied that concerning the cloves I could not sell them for the lower price /having decided to try out what one can gain by sticking to one's guns, of which I have heard and read so much/ and that I would persist with both my requests concerning the cloves and the silver. They retorted that the governor would only accept the cloves for the lower price in order to keep his word, but that he would rather that I sent them back to Batavia, because this quantity is much too difficult to sell here.

39 I replied that what I did with them was my concern, but that it was a certainty that I would not sell the cloves for three *mas* per catty. After much toing and froing they told me that it was not that the governor bore me any ill will, for he well understood the reasons I had given him for importing the amounts of cloves and silver, but that it was impossible for him to do. To show his good will the governor had me informed of this before sending me a document. He also wanted to put me at ease, that should I return the cloves and the silver to Batavia, I would only have to give the *Geldkamer* a debenture for the amount we are short. I ordered them to thank the governor for this expression of his trust. However,

the cloves and the silver were a matter for my masters and I could not damage their interests in any way. Therefore I persisted with my requests. I am grateful for the governor's trust in me, but by my oath and duty I cannot dispose of the Company's money in my own name, but if the Company's funds are short, I would give a debenture on behalf of the Company. For otherwise such a privilege could easily lead to private abuse by me or my successors and I would discuss it with the governor as soon as I had thought of a way to prevent such abuse. The latter point won their approval, but concerning the cloves and the silver they continued to nag me for an hour and a half, claiming that I would get a cargo. However, I doubted this oral promise. Finally, after I had stated that this was my firm decision and requested them to tell the governor truthfully of all of this, they left.

SEPTEMBER

1 Sukezaemon came to tell me that he and Sakusaburō had informed the governor of my protests last night, and although he did not believe that any alterations could be made to the decision, he told me 'on the inside' that the governor had immediately sent orders to the *Geldkamer* to consider the matter again and to see if it could not be resolved. He also told me that even if I sold the cloves for the lower price, I would find that they had not tried to force me into doing so, for if they were accepted, none would be accepted for the next three or four years, even for a much lower price, because there still remained so much from past years, that they did not know what to do with it. This was the reason that the governor had expressly issued a translation. However, if I returned these to Batavia, every year 7-8,000 catties would be demanded in the interest of trade. I replied that I had given my decision yesterday and being convinced of the fairness of my request, I would continue to look forward to the governor's granting of it.

2-4 Nothing happened. Feast of the Dead.

5 On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō, Sukezaemon, and the *dwarskijker* came to inform me that my request for the sale of the cloves for the full price and the silver was impossible. The governor had asked the *Geldkamer* to consider it. It had declared that the cloves remaining from years past could not be sold, and therefore they could not accept the cloves imported this year for the ordinary price. However, to meet the Company halfway and to maintain our friendship, it was willing to give half a *mas* more, notwithstanding the fact that it would rather have it that the cloves were returned or remained here unsold. I replied that I would give a reply in the morning. This experience teaches me that one does not gain much by persistence. I immediately convened a meeting and we decided that I should present another petition to ask if the cloves in excess of the quantity demanded could be ac-

cepted for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mas* more, because the Company would lose a great deal if the cloves have to be returned or have to remain here unsold, let alone the enormous sum of money the Company would owe if all the exports can be obtained. We shall also insist on the acceptance of all the silver. I prepared the following petition.

[To Hida Bungo-no-kami. To his regret Wardenaar has learned that only $12\frac{1}{2}$ *mas* per catty is offered for the cloves in excess of the quantity demanded, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mas* less than the ordinary price, and that the silver money cannot be accepted at all. Wardenaar presents for the governor's consideration how hard it must be for the Company that, in spite of all its efforts to oblige the Japanese by sending a large ship this year, notwithstanding the war, the cloves are refused at the ordinary price. Therefore he requests the governor to accept the 8,000 catties that were demanded for the ordinary price and the rest for $13\frac{1}{2}$ *mas*, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ more than the price fixed last year. This is as far as Wardenaar dare go. Otherwise he will have to return the cloves to Batavia. Concerning the silver, he again requests that it be accepted.]

6 The governor asked for some samples of the glassware that was imported in the *kambang* trade. I sent for Sakusaburō, Sukezaemon, and the *dwaars-kijker* and gave them the aforementioned petition. After having protested against it, they promised to translate and deliver it. They said that the governor had already given orders to translate the settlement I had been informed of yesterday. After two hours, Sakusaburō came on his own and told me that the governor had sent my petition to the *Geldkamer* with orders for a reply this same day and had ordered him meanwhile to wait with the translation of the aforementioned translation. He also told me that the governor had been a little displeased when accepting my petition and had said that he would like to oblige the Company, but he could not force the *Geldkamer* to suffer a loss, for he would have to account for that to the shogunal *rekenmeesters*. In the evening Sakusaburō returned and told me that he had been summoned to Government House and the governor had sent him to the *Geldkamer* to tell the officials to make a good settlement if at all possible. I thanked him for this information and asked him to assist in a speedy and satisfactory settlement, which he promised, adding that it will surely be settled tomorrow, because the prices for the other commodities will be stated within a few days.

7 Sakusaburō, Sukezaemon, and the *dwaars-kijker* came early in the morning and handed me the translation of a written order, stating that the cloves imported in excess will be accepted for $13\frac{1}{2}$ *mas* and a weight of 3,750 ducats of the silver money and the rest will remain with the *Geldkamer*, and next year the same amount will be deducted. It also stipulates that for the next three years no cloves shall be imported. I immediately prepared the fol-

lowing document.

[To Hida Bungo-no-kami. Wardenaar has taken notice of the above. He thanks the governor for this settlement. However, he requests that the stipulation that no cloves may be imported for three years be withdrawn, because the Company will not be able to import enough commodities, apart from the cloves which take up little space, to pay for a return cargo and its debts here.]

49 In the evening the three men came and told me that the governor could not accept any further requests on this matter, for he had already shown us as much, yea even more, favour than was in his power. The governor also let me know that he was surprised that I claimed in my petition that my reasons were valid and fair, for His Honour considered them, however valid they might be in themselves, to be very unfair, because I will not let the Japanese have the same freedom which the Company claims for itself and I want to force commodities on the Japanese which are of no use here, as the Company has never been forced to accept commodities it does not want. It was true that the Company imported the commodities which the Japanese demanded and that it might make a loss on some of them. But this was also the case with the Japanese who lost on the copper and camphor, which are the only articles the Company is interested in and not in other articles, such as Japanese iron, which are offered now and again. Seeing that nothing could be done at present, I replied that I would send the aforementioned translation to my masters, but that I would not be held responsible if this arbitrary stipulation caused a breach in the trade. They promised to notify the governor of this, but said that it was not a whim, but necessity, adding that if Japan was not overstocked with a large remnant from the last years, I could easily surmise that the *Geldkamer* would rather have cloves which could render some profit when sold than lend its money interest free to the Company, for which it can get a 20% interest in the city.

51 8-11 Nothing happened. I could not speak to anyone because of a tightness in my chest.

12 Sakusaburō informed me that because of my ailment, the *Geldkamer* had started fixing the prices with the merchants of the Chinese goods and thus the fixing of the Company's prices has been postponed for a few days. He also said that last night the orangutan had died.* The Japanese carpenters gave me a quote for the renewal of the warehouses Doorn and Lelie, the quote for the Doorn being 820 taels and for the Lelie 1,164 taels. They declared that no further decrease could be given.

13 The orangutan has been brought onto the island, but it could no longer be stuffed, because it had already started to decompose. *Opperbongioisen* came and the warehouses were inspected to see if the rain has caused any leaks. The warehouses were in order, but Warehousemaster Ras reported that the sugar in bags had started to turn into syrup so bad-

* It was one of the gifts sent for the Shogun. For a drawing of this particular orangutan, see the collection mentioned in the note to the entry of 9 August 1770.

ly that there were crusts on the floor.

14 Senior Interpreter Takichirō visited me and told me among other things that the governor and the senior accountant, who had been ordered by the Court to stay and make the necessary arrangements if the Company sent another small ship like last year /this tallies with what Sukezaemon told me on 6 August/ were very much at odds with each other about the acceptance of the cloves. Many meetings had been held on the subject and he thought that this might result in much unpleasantness for me. I told him that I could not imagine what, for I had a written translation of an order from the governor. Then he told me that he had heard 'on the inside' that, if the matter could not be resolved soon between the governor and the senior accountant, I would be given another translated order. The governor would prepare it in a way in which he could not be held responsible. He requested me to keep this information to myself.

15 Geenemans handed me a note stating that he was unable to put the books in order, because he could not get any explanation or the necessary papers from Ras. I immediately handed this note to Ras and ordered him to give a written account within three days and to give the necessary papers and explanations to Geenemans. I also ordered Geenemans to put the arrears in order.

16 A meeting was held. We passed the report of the deputies on the unpacking of the piece-goods etc. According to the report some were found to be damaged and in a very bad state.

17 Ras handed me the account of his actions I had asked for. He confesses that the interpreters have to be asked for all elucidation. I asked the *Tolken College* to assist Ras and I ordered Geenemans to put the books of this trading season in order. I asked Doeff to put the arrears from 20 *Kugatsu* of last year to 15 July of this year in order.

18 Nothing happened.

19 *Opperrapporteur* Sakusaburō and *Dwarskijker* Gorōsuke came to inform me that the matter between the governor and the senior accountant about accepting the cloves had been settled and that the governor had pushed through that it remained as in his translated order. Now the prices will be fixed in three days. I asked them to make haste, because the time of departure is nearing.

20 Nothing happened.

21 The Chinese junks have been towed into mid-stream. They have been delivering goods.

22 Nothing happened.

23 The *onderrapporteur* informed me that the prices will be fixed tomorrow. The governor asked me for four batik handkerchiefs, and if I had any of the stone buttons, like the ones I have on my coat, to spare. I send them to oblige him.

24 Both commissioners of the foreigners and *rapporteur burgemeesters* came with a gathering of officials of the *Geldkamer* to fix the prices. I immediately convened a meeting and the commodities for

56 which the usual prices were offered were sold. But I refused to sell the woollen piece-goods for which the usual prices were not even offered or the cloth rash and armozeens for which much less was offered. The commissioners of the foreigners told me that the price could not be increased, because the cloth were not of the same Dutch manufacture as before nor were they like the kind the Chinese import, but much shorter and narrower than the Dutch cloth. Moreover, they and the other piece-goods were of a much poorer quality. This is also shown in the fact that apart from the cloth none are used for the court gifts. Nonetheless, for most of the *ikje* piece-goods the old price was being offered /whenever possible/, although they were also somewhat narrower and of a poorer quality, which I should consider as an act of great leniency. Seeing that I could not get more for them, I sold them, as I did with the *Patna chintzes*, for which five *mas* less than the old price was offered because they were in such a bad state /as can be seen in the report of the deputies when they were unpacked/. But I refused to sell the cloth rash /which according to the same report are all bad/ and the armozeens and fine chintzes, of which some are damaged or soiled, and which, according to the Japanese *kennislieden*, are also much narrower and shorter. This greatly pleased the commissioners and *rapporteur burgemeesters*, saying that I was free to return them to Batavia, because Japan was not in need of such poor stuff. They also said that the glassware, the watches, gold and silver thread, trimmings, and so forth could not be accepted in the Company's sale, for these were not Company articles and have to be returned to Batavia. But at my request, referring to the precedent of mirrors in 1789, I was allowed to sell all the goods which are not acceptable in the Company's sale, in the *kambang* sale. After they had left, we decided, as soon as the warehouses were opened, to measure some cloth rash and armozeens to see if, apart from their poor quality, they really are much shorter and narrower than they should be.

25 I requested the governor for *opperbongioisen* to open the warehouses.

26 Copper has been delivered onto the island. Doeff handed me a copy of the bill of sale of Hemmij's goods. It appears that the balance is 4631:40 rixdollars, 5558:1:6 taels, and thus the Company is 5604:4:5:6 taels short on Hemmij's debts, which amount to 1.1162:6:1:6 taels.

27 Copper has been delivered. The *opperrapporteur* came to inform me that the governor will go on board the *Massachusetts* the day after tomorrow. I immediately informed the captain of this.

28 Copper has been delivered, weighed and shipped. As before, I had Ras and Letzke stand at the one scale and Doeff and Fischer at the other. On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō and Gorōsuke came to inform me that the 1784 contract on the prices had expired and that next year and the following years /by order of the Court/ the prices will

have to return to their old level, adding that I have to notify my masters in Batavia of this. I replied that although the 1784 contract had expired, it was grossly unfair to lower the prices instead of increasing them at a time like this, when the Company has been suffering from an arduous war and had nonetheless kept the trade with Japan going. I requested them to tell the governor of what I had said and that I would put my thoughts in writing. They asked me to excuse them from rendering any assistance, for this was beyond their capabilities and that of the governor. Any request I had to make on this matter would have to be directed at the Court.

29 Some cloth etc. was delivered to the *Geldkamer*. I commissioned Doeff and Letzke to measure some of the cloth rash and armozeens. Around one o'clock the governor went on board the *Massachusetts*. I had everything prepared to welcome him and I had sent five kinds of cakes, some confectionery, confitures, and liqueurs, with the required silver ware on board and I had one of the new flags hoisted on the island. Sukezaemon came to tell me that the first commissioner of the foreigners and one of the retainers of the Lord of Kurume will go on board tomorrow. I had Captain Hutchings informed of this and sent some liqueurs and confitures on board.

30 Doeff and Letzke handed me their findings of the measurements of the cloth rash and armozeens, from which it appears that on average the pieces of cloth rash are 23-24 ells shorter than the ones sent in 1784 and according to the Japanese also $\frac{1}{2}$ ell narrower. The armozeens are on average 3 ells shorter, the *polemierten* / otherwise imported as *perpetuanas* / are, according to the Japanese, also shorter and narrower. The pieces of cloth are $\frac{1}{4}$ ell, sometimes even more, narrower than the usual Dutch cloth and the Patna chintzes are, according to the Japanese, roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ ell narrower than before. Copper has been weighed and shipped. *Opperburchmeester* Takashima Sakubei, who had already asked to visit me on 15 August, came. After the customary compliments, he said that he had received orders from the Shogun and the councillors to ask /or demand/ if there was a possibility that three or four experts could be sent to Japan to build a textile mill with all the necessary equipment and several sheep from whose wool cloth is made. Also one or two persons expert in the preparation of cochineal worms and the dying of scarlet and other cloth. The expenses of their transport and keep will be paid by the Shogun. He added that the Shogun wants me to propose this in Batavia and to be given an answer next year. Could I in the meantime write down my reply, which has to be sent to the Court. I replied that I thought this to be a difficult and almost impossible matter, because there is no such mill in the Indies and the workmen will have to come from Europe, where they are all free burghers and cannot be forced to leave their wives, children, and property behind. However, I would inform my masters

of the Shogun's wish, but at least three years would pass before they could have any information on this from Europe. I shall write down my reply. He also said that for some years now the Shogun had been asking for plants without getting them, and thus he had ordered him to ask me personally to present this in Batavia and to send some trees or plants of round pepper, long pepper, sappanwood, kapok, and rattan, next year. He also wants a written reply to this. I also promised to do this, assuring him that they will surely be sent next year if they can be obtained. However, I have grave doubts about the sappanwood and the rattan trees which should be got from the *overwal** to and from where trade has been cut off due to the war. Afterwards I sent for Sakusaburō, Sukezaemon, and the *dwaarskijker*. I gave them the following document.

64 [To Hida Bungo-no-kami. Wardenaar confirms that he has been told that the 1784 contract has expired. Wardenaar repeats his request for a price increase on the imported commodities, at least for the woollens, because these are only imported to oblige the Japanese and the Company always makes a loss on them, even when its own ships used to carry them from Europe. But now the trade with the Company's own ships has been curtailed because of the onerous war which has caused the destruction of all the mills in many countries, leading to a dearth in woollen cloth throughout the whole of Europe. Even if peace is concluded, it will take at least ten years for the situation to improve. Thus to oblige the Japanese the Company is forced to buy the woollen cloth at an extremely high price, apart from the heavy costs of transport with rented neutral ships. All the Company's own ships which are in the Indies are needed against the enemy. However, even if the Company could carry the woollens on its own ships, the losses would still be unbearable. Therefore Wardenaar requests a reasonable increase in the prices to make up for the losses suffered on other commodities.]

OCTOBER

1 Copper has been delivered. Held a meeting. We decided to sell the cloth rash and *polemierten* for the prices offered, but to keep the armozeens and to return the fine chintzes to Batavia. We shall also pay 5604:4:5:6 taels from the Company's account to cover Hemmij's private debts. I sent the two following documents to *Burchmeester* Takashima Sakubei in reply to his requests.

66 [The first: Wardenaar confirms the request for experts to build a cloth mill etc. described on f. 62. His reply is that he has understood the Shogun's request and will pass it on to his masters. However, he feels obliged to bring several problems to the *burchmeester's* attention, namely that there is no cloth mill in the Indies and therefore the experts will have to be sent for from Europe, where they are free burghers and cannot be forced to come here, and even if it is

* The outer islands or mainland South-east Asia as seen from Java.

possible to get some in the hope of a large reward, then it will still take at least three years before any news of this will arrive here, that is, if peace has come and the passage is open. To wit: this year the Shogun's wish will be made known to Batavia. Next year the letter will be sent to Europe and received there. In the second year the answer will be sent to Batavia and received there and in the third year the answer will be sent here. Wardenaar asks him to present this to the Shogun and he assures him that Batavia will do its utmost to fulfil the Shogun's wishes. The second: Wardenaar has been informed of the Shogun's desire for some trees or plants. He will propose this in Batavia. He does not doubt that next year several of those trees will be sent, except for sappanwood and rattan. See f. 63.]

68 2 Copper has been delivered. The gifts have been inspected and set aside. Viewing day of the sugar for the merchants. Sakusaburō came to inform me that my petition for a price increase had been presented to the governor and that on accepting it he had said that the Dutch were never found wanting for arguments, but that the Yes! or the No! did not depend on him, but he would present it to the Court in a positive manner. I asked Sakusaburō to thank the governor. He also told me that on inspection of the sugar, the merchants had discovered that there were three or four different kinds, and that most of it was very bad, syrupy, and like clay. He added that this would lead to a lot of trouble on delivery. I asked him if he would assist me. After he had left, Captains Hutchings and Smith came, whom I could not help but inform that according to the Japanese the sugar was very bad. To my surprise they said that they had known of this and had been expecting trouble, because on shipping it in Batavia, it had already been syrupy, even to such an extent that the syrup was seeping through some of the canisters and some canisters had to be re-packed in bags. On that occasion they had seen that the sugar was very bad and like clay and they had told Administrator Van Naarsen. But he had told them that the orders were to ship the bad sugar to Japan and the captains were not responsible for less weight or quality. They thought they had done enough by mentioning it.

3 Copper has been delivered and shipped.

4-6 Because the tightness in my chest was bothering me again, nothing was done.

7 Goods have been delivered to the merchants. From the start trouble arose, for they refused to accept the damaged cloth etc., but through the intercession of the *rapporteur* and by ceding several inches, this was settled. In the evening *Dwarskijker* Gorōsuke, Senior Interpreters Yasujirō, Sakusaburō, and Takichirō, the Junior Interpreters Shōzaemon and Tamehachirō came. They told me that they had been ordered by the first secretary of the governor to inform me that he had been told that Assistant Geenemans had presented a secret document to one of the Japanese dignitaries, in which several in-

terpreters had been accused of smuggling with Captain [Michiel] Jurgens, now six years ago, and they had to ask me if this had happened with my foreknowledge. I said I knew absolutely nothing of it. Next they said that they also had orders to ask Captain Smith, Warehousemaster Ras, and Scribe Doeffer for evidence, because the Government had been told that they knew of it and also that Geenemans had told them that he would make life difficult for some of the interpreters. I immediately sent for the said gentlemen and apprised them of the aforementioned. They declared that they knew something of it and were willing to give a written declaration to the Government, which they promptly did, namely Smith and Doeffer declared that Geenemans had said on board that once in Japan he would trip up several of the interpreters etc. When the interpreters and the *dwarskijker* had read this, *Opperrapporteur* Sakusaburō said that he and Takichirō were alluded to, because their names /according to some information/ were noted in the secret document. With tears in their eyes they asked me for a full satisfaction if the accusation was proved false, because this is a matter that can cost them their heads if they are found guilty, apart from the disgrace, although even if they are found to be innocent, it will still stick to them. I promised them so, if they could prove that Geenemans had presented such a document, which I doubted, because I could not believe that any of the servants would correspond secretly with any Japanese dignitary without my knowledge. At this, *Onderrapporteur* Tamehachirō stood up and said that Assistant Pogedt, who shares a room with Geenemans, had told him that the names of Sakusaburō and Takichirō were mentioned in the secret document, and that he had been the one, who doing his duty, had given notice of this. He immediately gave me written proof of this. Moreover, Ras and the said Tamehachirō both declared that Pogedt had told them that Geenemans would send or had sent a secret document to the city. And Ras said that Pogedt had told him later that the secret document had already been collected and delivered. All written evidence, signed by me and copies having been made, was directly taken to the Government by the interpreters, even though it was already past eleven o'clock at night before they left me and it was too late to question Pogedt.

8 Sakusaburō and Takichirō came to inform me that no deliveries can be made today because the entire *Tolken College* had to be present in Government House for Geenemans' case. They also told me that now was the time to send a petition to the governor for permission to give a debenture for the money that the Company is short on the export. I immediately did so. I took this opportunity and told them that after much thought I had prepared a petition for the governor concerning the import of cloves and I not only requested them to present it, but I needed their assistance. They told me that

they would present it first /on the inside/ to the secretary and they would do all they could.

[To Hida Bungo-no-kami. Wardenaar takes the liberty to assure the governor that he has understood the order that no cloves may be imported for three years and that he will inform his masters of this. However, he fears that this will be an obstruction in the trade, for he does not know if the Company will be able to find enough commodities to send

76 here. Wardenaar has not found any commodity among the imports of the Company which takes up as little space in comparison to the costs as cloves. Furthermore, after he had calculated the results, it became clear that, apart from the import of cloves, the trade cannot be carried on with one ship. Therefore, if there is not enough cargo without cloves to make it worthwhile to send one ship, then it will even be less so to send two ships once peace has been restored, as the Japanese keep demanding, and for which he will do his utmost with his masters, if a
77 favourable settlement is reached. Wardenaar has felt obliged to bring this to the governor's attention, because without the governor's intervention, trade will be obstructed and it will be impossible to send two ships. He does not want to be held responsible by either his masters or the governor for having failed to express his concern if through this the trade will be obstructed. He trusts that the governor will take this petition into consideration and will not hold it against him.]

78 Then I sent for Pogedt and, when questioned, he said that Geenemans had indeed sent a document to the city which had been fetched by a junior interpreter one evening, but that he had no knowledge of the contents, nor could he remember if Tamahachirō had been mentioned. However, it could very well be true that he had said so, for he confirmed that he had often heard Geenemans say, uttering foul curses, that he would pay back the interpreters who had written to Batavia about him. I told him to put what he had told me in writing. Around five o'clock in the afternoon *Dwarskijker* Gorōsuke and Senior Interpreter Yasujirō came to me and said that they had been ordered by the Government to ask Pogedt for a statement. I immediately sent for him and he gave me a written statement. After I had signed it and a copy had been made, it was taken to the city by the *dwarskijker* and the interpreter.

79 9 The merchants met in the *Geldkamer* to fix the prices for the *kambang* goods and nothing has been done on the island. In the evening the *dwarskijker* and the interpreters came again and told me that the secretary let me know that the case of the smuggling would be investigated and decided by the government, but with regard to Geenemans, he being a Company servant, I had to decide. I should know if one of its servants was allowed to present papers /if this had really happened/ without my foreknowledge, but with regard to the insolent expression, never heard of before from the Dutch, of

'damned'* interpreters and threats to trip them up etc., which were mentioned in Captain Smith's written statement, the secretary requested to investigate this and to give satisfaction on my findings which I promised.

80 10 The prices for the *kambang* goods have been fixed in the *Geldkamer*. I commissioned Doeff and Letzke to attend. I sent for Geenemans and presented him with the complaints brought against him, but he denied having sent a secret document to the city, notwithstanding the fact that Pogedt stuck to his story in his presence, and of which he gave me a written declaration. However, on further questioning he admitted the following: that shortly after his arrival here, he had given the copy of the letter which some interpreters had written about him to the High Government to Senior Interpreter Sukezaemon, who had told him that the governor had asked for it. I showed him the questions and the answers he had given and signed, but he kept on denying having sent a secret document with Interpreter Dennoshin to the city. To my question as to how he had dared do this without my foreknowledge and after I had warned him not to get involved in any secret business with the Japanese, he replied that he had done this on the grounds that he had supposed that I knew of it and had condoned it. When I asked him how it was possible for him to think such a thing, for on board the ship he himself had told me that, if the governor were to find out that a letter had been sent to Batavia without his foreknowledge, then the authors would surely lose their posts, if not their heads, and be reduced to misery, and I, unaware that he was carrying a copy of the letter, had told him not to mention it and to be friendly towards the interpreters, he apologized crying, claiming that he had meant no harm. /Everything I know or have known about this case is mentioned in this diary on 23 July. / I let it rest for now, because the scribe had gone to the city and I could not convene a meeting.

81 11 The prices for the *kambang* goods are being fixed, for which I commissioned only Letzke. Sukezaemon, who has been mentioned in Pogedt's statement and in the replies to the interrogation, came to visit me and told me among other things that I must be very busy, because he had heard on the inside that the government is investigating the case of Captain Jurgens' smuggling, but he did not know who had informed about it. He also told me in secret that he had heard on the inside that before the departure of the ship I might get a written recommendation from the governor concerning Scribe Doeff and Assistant Geenemans, for this year, after they had both gone to Batavia, the trade was much larger than in the two previous years. I replied that about the smuggling during the time of Jurgens, I knew nothing and concerning the fact that the trade this year was larger than in the two previous years, this had not come about due to the efforts of Scribe Doeff and much less of those of Geenemans, but that

* 'Bliksemse.'

the High Government, in its desire to maintain friendship with the Japanese empire, had chosen to fulfil the request of the Japanese to send either two ships or one large one, without paying heed to the heavy freightage. This conversation brought to mind a rumour that I had heard about two months ago and which I had been told by both European and Japanese sources, that Sukezaemon had received a bill of lading from Geenemans on the first day of my arrival here and that he had given it to the commissioner of the foreigners to read, and had also spread the rumour that he, Geenemans, was the reason that this year such a large ship had arrived, but I had not wished to investigate it then, considering it to be just idle talk, hoping that everyone performed his duty by adopting a lenient approach. After he had left, I immediately convened a meeting in which we decided to send Geenemans back to Batavia with the papers pertaining to his case to prevent any further unpleasantness and to send him on board today to stay there, in the hope that the matter would bleed to death and would be finished.

12 A start has been made with the delivery. The joint Tolken College came with the *dwaarskijker* and the *caseros*, apart from Sukezaemon and Denno-shin. They wanted to express their gratitude for having giving them satisfaction by sending Geenemans, who had tried to make life miserable for them or at least had threatened to do so in an insolent way, on board. The *opperrapporteur* also told me that yesterday he had gone to inform the Government, as is his duty, of the happenings and the governor had been very pleased with my actions. I was given a written order in which it is stipulated that the privately imported *caret* and *neusjes* will have to be sold to the *Geldkamer* in future.

13 We have been delivering goods.

14 Delivery of goods. Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*.

15 Delivery of goods. Two other junks have left for the *Papenberg*.

16 Delivery of goods. Three Chinese have been taken off the junks below the *Papenberg* in shackles and sent to the city prison. It is said that they had been smuggling and when the *opperbongioisen* came on board to investigate, they had put up resistance. Finally I was given the pleasant news that at my requests / which I had made 'on the inside' / the governor has granted an extra *agio* on the trade of 10,000 taels. I had the governor thanked most affably for this exceptional favour and asked when it would please him to receive me in person to express my gratitude.

17 Delivery of goods. The last Chinese junk has left for the *Papenberg*. Four *opper* and thirty *onderbongioisen* went to investigate the smuggling affair. I was told that the merchants were refusing to accept most of the bag sugar without a considerable bonus, because it was very syrupy — most bags are completely wet and the sugar resembles clay — and they have also rejected 90 canasters, which they will on-

ly accept with a large bonus. I sent for the *opperrapporteur* and asked him for the best possible settlement. He promised to do so, with the result that today about 700 bags have been selected by the merchants and delivered with a larger bonus. On behalf of the governor, the *opperrapporteur* told me that he excused me from saying thanks in person because of the large amount of work on the island, but he would accept them when I presented the *hassaku*.

18 Rainy weather and no sugar could be delivered. A whole committee of *opper* and *onderbongioisen* went to the Chinese junks below the *Papenberg* and also to the Chinese island.

19 Copper and camphor samples have been delivered onto the island. Due to the heavy rain we could not deliver. The governor asked me for an arm-chair. I gave him the best I had.

20 Sugar has been delivered. The *opperrapporteur* informed me that the senior accountant who had taken charge here after the death of Governor Matsudaira and who, by order of the Court, had stayed on to make the necessary arrangements in case another small ship arrived, but who was leaving for Edo in three days, wanted to visit me. He came in the afternoon and I welcomed him at the garden gate. Inside, after having exchanged more compliments, he apologized very politely for visiting me at a time that I was surely very busy, but as he was leaving for Edo in three days, he wanted to visit me because the Court would surely ask after my person. I thanked him, and after some small talk, I was told that he wanted to leave. I wished him a safe journey and he hoped that I would find my stay in Japan pleasurable.

21 Copper has been weighed and shipped.

22 The last of the copper has been weighed and shipped. The ship has loaded 7,000 piculs of copper. The junks below the *Papenberg* put to sea and I was told that the Chinese who had been in prison had been sent aboard, but they had been given a flogging in prison first.

23 Heavy rain and nothing has been done.

24 Sugar has been delivered. The merchants raised many difficulties and refused the sugar in bags. I was forced to cut them open and to deliver the sugar clean. Only 15 to 20 catties were accepted from some bags, the rest, being damp, was put in chests. This is a great waste, apart from the opportunity for the coolies to steal.

25 Sugar has been delivered in the same way as yesterday.

26-29 Nothing happened. *Matsuri* or fair.

30 Camphor has been delivered. The tare of the barrels has been assessed at roughly 41 1/2 pounds. Sakusaburō handed me a translated document that, at my request, the price for camphor had been reduced to one *mas* and eight *candareen* and four *vosjes* per catty, which is 18:4 taels per Japanese picul.

31 Camphor has been weighed and shipped. But Captain Hutchings came to tell me that he would not take on 120,000 pounds in the usual double bar-

rels, claiming that according to his charter-party he was not obliged to do so, and he expected the camphor to be loaded in single barrels. After many arguments I told him that according to the charter-party the *Massachusetts* would transport 120,000 pounds of camphor and it seemed perfectly self-evident to me that they would be shipped in the usual packing. But he stubbornly refused to accept them in double barrels. I told him that the camphor had to be shipped in the usual packing and it was up to him to refuse them on his own accountability and to return them. I gave orders for the shipping to proceed.

NOVEMBER

1 Camphor has been shipped and accepted. The last 50 canisters and 450 bags of sugar have been delivered, but I was forced to give an extra bonus of 1,020 cattles over and above the usual one percent. I presented the *hassaku* to the governor. I thanked him for the extra agio of 10,000 taels and the lowering of the price for the camphor. I also presented the *hassaku* to the other Nagasaki officials.

2 *Kambang* goods have been delivered.

3 More deliveries.

4 Audience of leave. Warehousemaster Ras and I went to Government House and the usual orders of not entering any Spanish harbours or to associate with Spaniards or Portuguese were read to us.

5 The brig *The Emperor of Japan* has been mustered and she left for the *Papenberg*.

6 The *Massachusetts* has been mustered and she left for the *Papenberg*. Afterwards I received a visit from the governor's first secretary.

7-8 Nothing happened.

9 Sakusaburō handed me a translated document, in which the 1784 contract has been extended for 10 years, out of special consideration. I had to be content with this and expressed my gratitude. 10-11 The tightness in my chest afflicted me again and I could not speak to anyone.

12 A *burgemeester* and two retainers visited me and I entertained them as usual.

13 The last 219 barrels were delivered onto the island. Most of the *burgemeesters*, shogunal guards and a host of other officials visited me.

14 The camphor was being weighed, but I found it to be too fresh and refused to accept it. After much

argument a bonus of two cattles per barrel was given.

15 The camphor has been shipped and accepted.

16 Nothing happened.

17 The new senior accountant, who arrived from Edo some days ago, visited me.

18 Nothing happened.

19 On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō informed me that Warehousemaster Ras has to pay all his debts before his departure or he may not leave, for rumour has it that he is not about to return.

20-22 Accounts are being settled.

23 On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō informed me that it was impossible to grant my request to import cloves, because the merchants had only bought the cloves from the *Geldkamer* on the condition that no more would be imported for the next three years. However, the request I had made 'on the inside' for a sufficient export of copper if two ships come to trade, would be presented at Court if I put it in writing, which I did.

[To Hida Bungo-no-kami. Wardenaar informs the governor that when he left Batavia, there had been well-founded hopes for peace. If peace has really been restored, then it is very well possible that the High Government will send two ships next year, if Wardenaar can assure them that from the copper that has not been exported for some years because of the war, a sufficient cargo for two ships will be granted. Therefore Wardenaar requests the assurance that, if two ships come to Japan, at least 13,000 chests will be supplied.]

24 The *kambang* commissioners gave me a bond issued by Ras to the Japanese for the sum of 1468:8 *kambang* taels, which is 1,780 Company taels, which he declared he could not honour. I discussed this in a meeting and we decided to pay this out of the Company's account, and to inform the High Government.

25 Sakusaburō informed me that my request concerning the 13,000 chests of copper had been presented to the governor and he promised to present it favourably at Court.

26-27 Private goods have been shipped.

28 Held a meeting and the outgoing letters and enclosures have been read, signed, and sent on board to enable the *Massachusetts* to set sail at the first fair wind. Herewith I close this diary and wish the ship a speedy and safe journey.*

* The diary ends with lists of the imports and exports of the Chinese junks, 15 October 1799 - 6 November 1800. The folios are not numbered.