

PRIVATE NOTES KEPT BY [DEPUTY JEAN BAPTIST RICARD]\*  
 DURING THE COURT JOURNEY OF  
 OPPERHOOFD HEMMIJ  
 14 April - 11 July 1794

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APRIL

1     **14** After the *opperhoofd* [Gijsbert Hemmij] had handed me the command of all Company's servants yesterday and had given me the keys of the warehouses and the Company's papers today, together with a memorandum on how to behave during his absence, he departed in the company of [Lodovicus Ambrosius Bernardus] Keller and [Leopold Willem] Ras. I saw him off at the *Mosseltrap*. An *opperbongiois* carried out the customary mustering. All the other servants then came to my house and congratulated me on having been given the command. I thanked them and urged them to behave themselves well and to take care of fire and light. They promised me to do so.

2     An hour after Hemmij's departure the *opperrapporteur* [Sukezaemon] came to tell me that Hemmij had proceeded on his way after the *Tolken College* had bid him farewell at Sakurababa. Shortly after, I received a flower\*\* according to custom. I urged him to deliver me the bills of lading of the junks which arrived recently. In the evening, after I had smoked a pipe with our friends and had had dinner, I went to bed, but suddenly I heard the sound of violins and drums and dancing, apparently coming from Hemmij's house. Because I was afraid of any accidents with fire and they were disturbing the sleep of the Japanese and the others, I got up and slid the windows open so I could hear more clearly. I intended to go there, but Assistant [Johannes Jacobus] Smits happened to be passing, so I ordered him to go upstairs and stop the boys from playing. He did so, but had to knock a long time before they heard him. Finally they did and he found all the boys in their full glory with a candle and an *andon*. He immediately ordered them to be quiet.

3     **15** The next day I summoned all the boys and sternly forbade them to play during the night. During the day they have ample opportunity. They replied that their master had told them to be merry all the time. But I forbade them yet again to make any noise or music during the night. They went to the *College* to get permission, saying that I had forbidden them completely to play. [Senior] Interpreter Takichirō then came to me and told me about it. I replied that I had only forbidden them to play dur-

ing the night. He agreed with me whole-heartedly. He also said that, if I wished to write to the *opperhoofd*, I could do so, for an extra mail was leaving this evening. I replied that I would immediately write a letter asking for the *opperhoofd's* orders in this matter. There is also another matter I want to consult him about. For when I went to his house this morning to fetch some papers which I needed from the secretary and to take the others to the fireproof warehouse as I had been ordered, his boys told me that they had been given orders by their master not to let anyone into the office. I did not pay any heed to them and demanded the keys of the secretary, which Hemmij had forgotten to give me on his departure. I had a great deal of trouble getting the keys from them. I took the necessary papers, but could not find last year's diary, which I badly need. Then I wanted to enter the other rooms of the house, but the boys gave me the same answer. I was greatly surprised, for Hemmij had handed me the full command on his departure and had ordered me to keep a watchful eye on everything. Therefore I deemed it best to write to Hemmij about this extensively and to await his orders. I made clear to him that if the boys were masters of the house and in particular the Company's papers, I could not be held responsible for any disorder or accidents and I would not be able to save the papers, if anything untoward occurred. So I have left the chest with papers until further orders, but I took the keys with me.

4     **16** This morning a start was made with the repairs for the *otonas*. I ordered them to have everything well made. The Chinese are busy loading their junks. Following Hemmij's orders, I decreased the daily rations. In the afternoon the Dutch carpenter came to complain that the *coggel* had told him that his girl had to return to the city. Because I had not given any orders for this, I summoned the interpreter on duty and the said *coggel*. I asked him who had given those orders. He replied that the customary permission by the *opperhoofd* had been given and therefore he had ordered it. I told the interpreter to tell the *coggel* not to give such orders in future without informing me of this first and also when a girl came on the island. That I knew of the fixed consumption of everyone and would manage matters according to this. That I did not await anyone's orders and would follow the *opperhoofd's* orders to the letter. That I was giving the carpenter per-

\* The name of the author is not mentioned, but can be inferred from the text.

\*\* The text says 'bloem,' i.e. flower.

mission to keep his girl for another three days. The interpreter replied that this was fair and that in future the *coggel* would first wait for my orders.

- 17 Early in the morning, Junior Interpreter Sashichirō came and asked me for the key of N<sup>o</sup> 17, pretending that the carpenters of the *otonas* needed to go in there for repairs. I immediately handed him the keys and he left. Shortly after, Assistant Smits appeared and speaking of the warehouses, he said that he thought that in this warehouse *presellings\**, ropes, derricks, scales, and other goods of the Company were kept, which I had forgotten. I immediately sent for the pressmaster, who confirmed this. I sent for Assistant [Johan Casparum] Laats to have all these goods stowed in another warehouse for the time being, for it was apparent to me that the key had only been asked for in order that the coolies could steal some things while the repairs were going on.
- 7 On his return, Laats reported that the *otonas* would not return the key, thus I ordered the *opperrapporteur*, who was present, to see to it that I was given the key immediately. I insisted on having it. He gave orders to have it returned. Then the *caseros* came and said that the Japanese carpenters had stored their tools there and they had already returned to the city and had put a Japanese lock on the door, thus the warehouse could not be opened for the day. I replied that I wanted to have the key, which was handed to me shortly after. The *opperrapporteur*, who was with me, asked me to show a stranger, who he pretended was a relative of his, around the *opperhoofd's* house, the garden, and the cowshed. I acceded to his request and went with them. I asked him to deliver me the bills of lading of the junks and to order Carpenter Kooskij to repair the wall behind the garden shortly.
- 8 He said that this would be carried out by his carpenter, Canpees, for then the work would be better. He promised me that it would be done as soon as possible. In the evening there was heavy rain with thunder and gales. Because I was afraid of fire, I went for a walk after dinner. When I had reached the cowshed, I heard a violin being played and I headed straight for the garden. I sent for the pressmaster, who was with the carpenter, and asked him if he could not hear the music. He said he could not. I ordered him to follow me. Coming to the billiard-room in the garden pavilion, I found a boy playing there, but without any fire or light. I was relieved, but I again forbade him to play during the night and I ordered the pressmaster to keep better watch.
- 18 The pressmaster told me that a goat had fallen ill and probably had to kid. I had some straw mats given to him to lay the goat on. The *onderrapporteur* came and I asked him if any mail had arrived.
- 9 He said no, but it might come this evening. I urged him to deliver me the bills of lading of the junks.
- 19 I received a letter from Hemmij, in which he writes that all his boys have to keep quiet during the night and can play in the vestibule during the

day. He had last year's diary with him, and the boys have to hand me the keys when I need any papers. 20-21 Nothing happened.

- 22 Strong winds and rain. In the evening thunder. The fence surrounding the island has collapsed in a few places and part of the wall behind the small garden as well.
- 23-24 Nothing new happened. An apprentice-interpreter, Linguro, has been appointed.
- 25 A Korean vessel has arrived.
- 10 26 A start has been made with the repairs to the wall behind the garden. I stored all the papers of the secretary in the fireproof warehouse. On this occasion I boxed Lubijn's\*\* ears for being unwilling to come when I call him and then he is insolent to boot. In the afternoon I received a letter from Hemmij, from Kokura, in which he writes that he is well. I had a visit from the *dwariskijker*. Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*.
- 27 This morning I had the timber that was stored in the Roos transferred to warehouse N<sup>o</sup> 11. Two other junks have left for the *Papenberg*. The *onderrapporteur* paid me a visit. He brought me a letter from the surgeon and Ras. I ordered Carpenter Kooskij to repair the wall behind the garden properly. In the evening Sakusaburō visited me. Today was a fine day with variable winds.
- 11 28 This morning Senior and Junior Interpreters Sakusaburō and Sashichirō visited me. We discussed several unimportant matters. In the evening Sashichirō came again and he brought up some household matters, particularly the servants' consumption. I said that I would take care of it and that it would not exceed the fixed amount. I went with him for a walk in the garden and took him to the wall, which the Japanese carpenter had not repaired to my satisfaction. Sashichirō asked me some very sly questions, to which I replied with great caution. Today the fifth and last junk left for the *Papenberg*. In the evening Sapetoe and Lubijn started to quarrel on my porch. I separated them with a couple of boxes on their ears. Fine weather, the wind northerly.
- 29 This morning the *rapporteurs* visited me. They told me that the *opperhoofd* had embarked on 21 April. I asked them to request the governor for permission to visit the city the day after tomorrow. I also urged them for the bills of lading. I asked them when there would be an opportunity to send a letter to the *opperhoofd*. They said shortly and I should prepare a letter, which I did.
- 12 30 Rain the whole day with an easterly wind.

#### MAY

1 Today is my birthday and I celebrated it in the merriest possible fashion. I received the bills of lading of the three junks which arrived from Sapho. Two junks set sail. The wind north-westerly.

2 Today the other friends and I went to the city,

\* Perhaps *presenning* = tarpaulin?

\*\* Called Rubijn by Smits, Appendix 3.

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- where we much enjoyed ourselves. At half past seven in the evening we returned to the island. During the night strong winds blew, accompanied by thunder and rain.
- 3 The fence has collapsed in several places, as has the stone wall behind the garden. The three remaining junks have set sail and three Korean vessels as well.
- 13 4 Variable weather, wind accompanied by showers.
- 5 Today all the girls left for the city. In the morning I sent for the *compradoor* and confronted him with the books. I sternly ordered him not to deliver anything to anyone without informing me first. I also wrote to Hemmij. Both *rapporteurs* visited me, as did [Vice-Junior Interpreter] Katsunojō and two apprentice-interpreters. I requested *bongioisen* to come tomorrow.
- 6 *Bongioisen* came to inspect the warehouses. Sashichirō presented me with a fish. He came three times in the afternoon. I discussed the servants' consumptions with him and ordered the *compradoor* not to deliver anything to anybody without my orders. Today rather fine weather.
- 7 I ordered the Dutch carpenter to place a strut under the beam in the Lelie. I asked the *rappporteur* for a quote from the carpenter for the repairs of the leaks in the warehouses.
- 14 8 I had several visits from interpreters in the morning. The *rappporteur* informed me that the repairs for the *otona* were finished, but when I inspected them, I found several shortcomings. I ordered him to repair them soon. I also sent for the *compradoor* and ordered him to hand me all the books shortly and those of the Company as well.
- 9 I ordered the steward to order the *bokluiden* to shear the sheep. After the carpenter had repaired the fence, I ordered him to fix the lead in the windows of the main house and to fill some holes in the office. After that he has to start on the tables. But he replied that he could not make the tables, because he had no suitable tools. I had the office of the *opperhoofd* checked to see if there were any tools there. There was a box, but to my regret no keys, so I could not help him.
- 15 10 I ordered the pressmaster to have a *bokman* plaster the outside of the Lelie, in which there was a hole. He should also go upstairs of the Doorn to see about the leaks. He reported that about 12 tiles were broken and some plaster had fallen off. The *bokman* cannot repair this and it has to be done by a Japanese carpenter. Sakusaburō presented me with a small tree. The tube from the city has been lent to me to distill *anisette*.
- 11 This morning Sashichirō paid me a visit. He went on about the servants' consumptions and told me that Laats, Bouget\*, and the steward had each given their girls two to three days off. Was I aware of this? I told him that I was not and that I had strictly forbidden the *coggel* to do this. I asked him to do this as well.
- 16 He also told me that the *compradoor* had said that some servants had said that they were not obliged to show me their books. I asked him who they were, but he could not say. After his departure I sent for Laats and reprimanded him. He came up with some frivolous and crazy excuses, but I could ascertain from this that he was the spokesman. I told him that I wished to see the books and forbade him to give any orders to the *coggel* without my knowledge. I also told the steward this. In the afternoon Vice-Junior Interpreter Genkichi came with the carpenter's quote for the sum of 15:5 tael, just for repairing the leaks. I told him that I could not agree to this. I would see if the *bokluiden* could not do it and would write to the *opperhoofd* first. I ordered the pressmaster to pick an able *bokman* and to use proper plaster.
- 17 I also ordered him never to serve me any dead poultry again. I had discovered this by chance due to an argument between the carpenter and Banjer, who told me that one of Banjer's cocks, which had died yesterday, had been taken to the caboose by order of the steward. I forbade them to hatch any more schemes.
- 12 The *dwarsskijker* visited me with Vice-Junior Interpreter Katsunojō. I asked them if there was any news from the party on the court journey. They said no. The stone wall behind the garden will be entirely renewed.
- 13 Rain the whole day, thus the *bokluiden* could not plaster the warehouses. The *onderrappporteur* visited me and asked me if I could distill some *anisette* for him. I told him I was willing to do so, provided he deliver me the ingredients. I ordered a barrel of plaster for the warehouses from the *compradoor*.
- 18 14 In the morning the steward came to tell me that the *bokluiden* could not plaster the roof. I ordered him to hire two coolies who were able to do this tomorrow.
- 15 They came, but declared that they were not able to do it. This made clear to me that some scheming had taken place between the Japanese carpenter and the steward to the benefit of the carpenter, because formerly such small repairs had always been fixed by the *bokluiden*. The *opperrappporteur* happened to be present and I told him that I insisted that the coolies do it. The *compradoor* replied that they would do it tomorrow, if I paid them six *mas* each and then they would do it well. I acceded to this, for I could tell that in no other way would it be done. I had all the boys hack stones and take these to the back of the pigsty. I asked the *otona* to take the debris to the city. He promised to do this.
- 19 16 Today no coolies came to plaster the warehouse. I sent for the *compradoor*. He told me that no pass had yet been given for the plaster, but that it would come this afternoon, and the coolies would come tomorrow morning. I sent a *bokman* who was unwilling to do the plastering to the city, although I knew that he was very capable. While I was reading in the afternoon, Lubijn came running to me begging for forgiveness. I asked him for what. He said

\* Sic. Pogedt.

- that the Dutch carpenter had beaten him and had chased him from the garden. I asked him what cause he had given him. He said none. I let him go and went to the carpenter to investigate the matter. He told me a different story altogether. He said that he could not walk the streets without the boys calling him names and Lubijn was one of the biggest rascals. This is because they are no longer allowed into the garden, for which I had given orders to the carpenter, because they do nothing but make mischief there, gesturing towards the people in the city, which may give rise to some unpleasantness. I let the matter rest for this once, but I gave sharp orders to the pressmaster to warn all the boys to leave the Dutch carpenter in peace and not to call him anymore names. The first to do so will be put in chains. I ordered the carpenter not to hit any boys again, but to complain to me and not to allow any others into the garden but Banjer, April, Slammat, the old washerman, and Big Kastor. The others have to ask my permission first. I sent two candles as a present to Sashichirō. The *opperrapporteur* visited me with Katsunojō. The former did not seem pleased that I wished to have coolies plaster the warehouses, but I replied that I was obliged to have it done. I had not expected Kampees' quote to be higher than six taels, for in that case I would have had him do it. But I could not account for 15:5 *mas* to the *opperhoofd*.
- 17 The roof of the Doorn has been plastered, but not that of the Lelie, because there was a shortage of plaster. I did not want to send for more, for a barrel costs 3:5 taels and the plastering of the Lelie is not urgent, as it will probably have to be reconstructed when Hemmij returns. Therefore I ordered the pressmaster to hire a coolie in the morning to cover it with clay. The *opperrapporteur* visited me with Vice-Junior Interpreter Saiemon. Very fine weather.
- 18 Early in the morning Sashichirō woke me. He warned me that there was a fire in the city, but far from the island. The pressmaster came to tell me that he could not make out the fire. Strong winds in the morning with rain, which continued the whole day. In the afternoon the *ondercompradoor* came to inform me that an *oppercompradoor* had died and had been buried.
- 19 It rained the whole day, which caused the fresh plaster of the Doorn to fall off in several places. I ordered the steward to have it replastered as soon as the weather improves.
- 20 Dark skies with rain. The *dwarstkijker* and Katsunojō visited me. The latter gave me a present of a lark and three small trees. Saiemon gave me an ironwood tree. I also received the bills of lading of the five junks which have departed.
- 21 The *opperrapporteur*, the *dwarstkijker*, and Saiemon visited me. I gave the first some pitch, because he said it was for the *opperburgemeester*. Strong northerly winds the entire day. I had the Dutch carpenter enlarge my window-ledge for flowers. I had the remainder of the pitch and tar checked. I was told that there are still two full barrels of pitch and about two barrels of tar.
- 22 The Dutch carpenter came to me in the afternoon and said that he had been summoned to the *College* three times, but he had not gone. Then they had sent for the pressmaster, who had gone. I sent for him and asked him what he had been doing there. He said that Sakusaburō had asked him why the gardener had not gone to the *College*. He had replied that this had been on my orders and that I had forbidden that any European go to the *College* without my knowledge. Whereupon Sakusaburō had asked him what reason I had to forbid this. The pressmaster had replied that he did not know, but if he wanted to know the reason he had best ask me. Sakusaburō had said that he intended to do so and would write to the *opperhoofd* at the first opportunity.
- 23 This morning I ordered the pressmaster to have the Lelie plastered properly. But the roof could not be fixed satisfactorily, for some tiles were broken and this has to wait till Hemmij's return. The pressmaster came to tell me that he had again been summoned to the *College*, but he did not want to go and therefore could not get any coolies. I immediately summoned the interpreter on duty. He took his time coming. It was Vice-Junior Interpreter Genkichi. I asked him why the pressmaster could not get any coolies. He replied that this was because he had not been to the *College* when he had been sent for. I said that this had been on my orders and that I did not permit any European or boy to go to the *College* without my knowledge. I could not understand why they kept summoning the one or the other at every moment. Moreover, no assistant or anyone else was obliged to wait on the orders of an interpreter. He replied that formerly it had always been the custom that when someone was called to the *College*, he complied. I told him that I was not aware of this and had never known about this, and even though I had been sailing to Japan for ten years, I had never been to the *College*. It was not customary at all. I did not understand what they had to say and furthermore, the *opperhoofd* did not in the least like it that someone went to the *College* for no reason. If they thought that I was wrong, they could wait for the *opperhoofd*'s return to complain to him about me or they could write to him. I would do so at the first opportunity. He said, how would they know if someone ordered something from the *compradoor*, for the *kambangheer* had to know of all the consumptions to keep his books in order. I replied that I could understand this, but no European need go to the *College*, for before the *compradoor* comes to me, he gives notice of everything that has been ordered and then he tells the *College*, as has always been the custom.
- 26 The *opperhoofd* fixed the consumptions of the servants before his departure, as *kambangheer* Sashichirō was well aware of, as I had discussed this extensively with him. He also asked me if I would

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give a note if anyone needed anything. I said that this could not be done for mere trifles, especially if there were girls on the island, for then I would have to be constantly with my pen at hand. However, if there were important matters, I was willing to do this, even though I was not obliged to do so and would inform the *opperhoofd* on his return. He said that would be all right. We argued about some things and could not agree at all. I asked him why Sashichirō himself did not come, was he too grand? He said that he was busy, but he would probably come. He left. Immediately after, *Opperrapporteur* Sukezaemon came and thanked me for the pitch for the *opperburgemeester*. I asked him if any news had come from Osaka. He said no, but that rumour had it that the *opperhoofd* had left Miyako on the 7th of this month. He asked me what reason I might have for forbidding the servants to go to the *College*. Such an order had never been given before. So far I had managed everything well. What reason had I to give such an order? The whole *College* was very displeased about this. I replied briefly and to the point that this was on the *opperhoofd's* orders and I would follow them to the letter. If they wished to complain about me, they could feel free to do so. He said that if the tailor, carpenter or other common persons needed anything, should the interpreter on duty come to his room, for this was forbidden. I asked him what he meant by common men and whom he had in mind. He should consider that any assistant could become *opperhoofd* and is not considered common by us, the more so as they all eat at the *opperhoofd's* table. They also go on the court journey. As to the pressmaster and the carpenter, they certainly are menial servants, but they are not obliged to go to the *College* when summoned. They are under my command and if the interpreters start issuing orders, things will become muddled. I do not understand what orders they have to give to any servant. I understood that they were interpreters and it was their duty to translate what a Dutchman needed and if any of them were summoned he was obliged to go. Therefore there were always two interpreters doing duty in the *College*. He replied that the interpreters were not obliged to go to a Dutchman's room, only to the *opperhoofd's* and the warehouse-master's. From the junior merchant down to the lowest servant they were obliged to go to the *College* when they needed anything. This was a shogunal order and some years ago a translation of this had been handed over. I told him that I had not heard of this and wished to see it. He said he would show it to me. I said that I would very much like that, as I was very curious to see such a statement. I also asked him why they had not mentioned it before the departure of the *opperhoofd*. I had given this order shortly after his departure. They were very late with their objections. He replied that he wished to settle everything amicably. I replied that I felt the same way, but that I had no intention of letting the interpreters deprive me of my command. If any of

the servants went to the *College* voluntarily, I had no objections, but I did not permit any to be summoned. We disputed the matter for some time. He left, saying that he would try to settle the matter amicably and would bring me the translation shortly.

24 The tailor and the gardener had a violent quarrel about the *bokluiden*. I ordered them to be quiet and peaceful. The *opperrapporteur* came and told me that news had arrived from Osaka that I would receive a letter this afternoon. I asked him for the translation, but he said that he had not yet copied it and would bring it in a few days time. He did not say anything else. In the afternoon I received Hemmij's letter. I sent for Sashichirō, but he did not say anything either and left very hurriedly. 25-27 Nothing happened. I badly suffered from podagra.

28 The *onderrapporteur* told me that mail is leaving tomorrow. I wrote a letter and gave it to him in the afternoon. I had the fence tarred.

\*29 Smit asked me if he could have a girl for eight days. I gave him permission. I sent for the interpreter on duty and ordered him to tell the *coggel* to supply Smit with a girl. He said he would do so. But no girl came. The next day Smit came to tell me that the *coggel* had told him that Sashichirō had forbidden this. I immediately sent for the interpreter on duty and asked him the reason for this. He said that if anyone wanted anything, he had to go to the *College* himself. This had been decided at their meeting. I replied that I could not agree to such strange decisions and that this had never happened before. Did he not believe me? I sent Assistant Smit to the *College*, where Sakusaburō was on duty, to investigate the matter himself. When he asked for the reason why yesterday and today no girl had come, he received no reply but was told that a girl would be sent shortly. She did come in the evening. I concluded that they would not deliver anything unless someone appeared personally in the *College* or they received a note from me.

## JUNE

Some days ago the pressmaster came in the evening to tell me that he had hit a *bokman* because he had come on the island late. He also told me that all the *boklieden* had gone to the *College* to complain about the carpenter that he kept beating them. I sent for the carpenter and asked him for the reason. He said that he had never beaten the *bokluiden*, but they were unwilling to saw the beam. I ordered them not to let this happen again. This night the tailor was stinking drunk. In the morning I gave the steward a thorough dressing-down and told him that he should not come to me again when drunk. The carpenter came to tell me that the boys were stealing the fruit from the garden. I told him that he should close the garden and not let any of the boys in. Assistant Smit came to tell me that he had been to the *College* for the coolies whom he had ordered more than three

\* Hereafter the dates have been omitted at the beginning of the day's entry till 21 June.

days ago. Sashichirō, who was on duty, told him that he could not get anything from the *compradoor* unless he came to the *College* himself. Smit asked him if he could send the *compradoor* with an interpreter to check the Company's book. Sashichirō had replied that this should be done in my room. Smit had replied that this had always been done in his quarters. Sashichirō replied that he did not wish to discuss this with him and would visit me today to discuss it. A few moments later the tailor came to tell me that no *bokluiden* had come. I told him that it was his fault and that of the carpenter. I asked him where I would get vegetables for the animals. He said that there were enough vegetables in the garden to last the cows 14 days. I sent for the interpreter on duty. It was Genkichi. I asked him why the *boklieden* had not come. He said that the *rappor-*  
 33 *teur* would come shortly to discuss it with me. He would come with the *compradoor* to settle the Company's accounts. I told him that this had always been done at Assistant Smit's. He said that it would have to be done in my room and the *compradoor* could not go to Smit's. I replied that in that case I could not settle the account. He left and shortly after the *opperrapporteur* came. I asked him why the Company's books could not be settled at Smit's. He replied that all the Company's affairs had to be settled in my room and therefore also the account. I replied that this had always been done at Smit's and why not this time. He replied that no *compradoor* or interpreter could go to an assistant and if I did not want it done in my room, then it would have to be done in the *otonas'* room. I replied that I would not have this. He said that in that case we could not obtain anything more on behalf of the Company. I replied that I would wait and see. Then he said that  
 34 last night all the *boklieden* had gone to the *College* to complain that the carpenter was always beating them and so was the pressmaster, but the carpenter was worse. They no longer wanted to come on the island. This would cause a great disturbance. The carpenter had been standing with a cane in his hand near the beam and when the *bokluiden* did not see the wood straight, he lashed out at them. The *bokluiden* were no carpenters and were not proficient in this line of work. Moreover, a Japanese should not be hit and other such reasons. I replied that it might very well be possible that the carpenter or pressmaster struck a *bokman* once in a while, but that they could not go complaining each and every time and the *boklieden* were obliged to do all the work here that needed doing, but they were all lazy men and came late in the morning and left early at night. Furthermore, they did not like sawing and this was the main reason for their complaints about the carpenter. I could not believe that the carpenter was beating the *bokluiden* all the time, but if this had happened, I would see to it that it would not happen again. I would investigate the matter and there-  
 35 fore the *bokluiden* should return. They need not fear that they would be beaten again, but they should

take care to come on time. He said that the *bokluiden* would not be coming for the time being, but he would try to settle the matter. I replied that I did not care whether they came or not, but the main thing was to feed the cows. I would not like to see them go hungry. I also asked him why one needed to go to the *College* for every trifle. This was a bother for both the interpreters and the Dutchmen and it had not been done before. He said that 15 or 20 years ago this had also been done, but afterwards the interpreters and Dutchmen had settled the matter differently. If we were good friends, this could be done again. But now they were upholding the shogunal orders. This was not his business, but that of *Kambangcommissioner* Sashichirō, who happened to be on duty today. I told him to ask Sashichirō to come to me. He left, seemingly very displeased. I had some grass cut in the garden to feed the cows with. The tailor also told me that there were enough vegetables left to feed the animals for 14 days.  
 36 After I had sent for Junior Interpreter Sashichirō several times, he finally came in the afternoon. I asked him what new stipulation this was to have to appear in the *College* for every bagatelle. Even if I wanted something, a boy was obliged to go to the *College* to report this. This stipulation seemed very strange to me. Why could not everything be kept on the old footing? Before everything had proceeded peacefully and quietly, but now all kinds of strange things were happening. He replied that this was not his fault and he was only following my orders. I am supposed to have said that, as *kambang-*  
*commissioner*, he should keep note of what came onto the island. He could not do this if the *College* did not inform him. I replied that this had always been done by the *compradoor*. He always came to tell me what had been ordered and then he went to the *College* to inform them. The same happened concerning the *coggel*. He knew very well that this was the way it had always been done. However, if he wished to turn the *College* into a house for *compradoors* or *coggels*, it would make no difference to the Dutchmen whether they had to go to the gate to the *compradoor* or to the *College* to order each trifle. I would think that this would be a lot of trouble for  
 37 the interpreters. He replied that this was true, but all the private goods had to be ordered in the *College* and the Shogun had given this order several years ago. If the Dutch and the Japanese were good friends, this could be settled in the most amicable way, but now they had decided that no Japanese could go to a Dutchman's room except on Company business. If a private individual needed anything, he had to go to the *College*. I told him that I was not aware of this order and why had he not told me before or straight after the *opperhoofd's* departure? Why did he come so late with this stipulation? This had never been done while the *opperhoofd* was here and even after he had left, things had run smoothly for a while. I was not aware that any Dutchman had given the interpreters any cause for

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- such displeasure leading to this unpalatable stipulation. But I understood that this had been caused because I had forbidden that any Dutchman be summoned to the *College*. He replied that this was the real reason and they were incensed about it. I said that if they were incensed, this was not my fault. I had only done my duty. The *opperhoofd* was absolutely displeased if anyone was summoned to the *College* without any pressing reason or knowledge.
- 38 I had only followed his order to the letter. I had not forbidden any Dutchman to go to the *College*, anyone could go there when he liked, but I did not approve of the summons at each and every moment. The Dutchmen were under my orders and not under those of the interpreters. He knew of the consumptions of each of them and if any exceeded his tax, he could inform me, as I had agreed with him. Therefore I could not understand what they had to discuss with the Dutchmen and especially the tailor or the carpenter. They were being summoned all the time and this was done to get things from them, especially from the garden. I had given the carpenter strict orders not to give anything away without my permission and not to let any Japanese into the garden. I had to give an account of everything and thus had to know of all doings here. He could only make some frivolous and ridiculous comments, in which most interpreters are very proficient. After much bickering about this subject, he finally said that he would settle the matter and would discuss it with his mates.
- 39 From now on all trifles could be obtained from the *compradoor* without informing the *College* first. This was also a lot of bother to them. I replied that I would be very pleased and I would like to have everything returned to the old friendly footing. I would not like to have to complain to the *opperhoofd* when he returned. This was such an unimportant matter and I could not understand why they were making such a fuss about it. He promised to do his best to see that everything returned to the old way. I also told him that some time ago there had been a fire in the city and that the governor had been on an outing a few days ago, but I had not been told of this. I had not been able to inform the *opperhoofd* of this. He said that this was the *rapporteur's* responsibility. I also asked him about the trouble with the *boklieden*. What was behind it all? He said that the *opperrapporteur* would discuss the matter of the *boklieden* with me tomorrow, this was not his business. Concerning the other matter he would do his best to settle it and he would give me the results shortly. He made a great pretence of being friendly and made me all kinds of offers to help relieve my illness. I should feel free to tell him. I thanked him and he left. This morning I sent for the Dutch carpenter and severely reprimanded him about beating the *boklieden*. I told him this could have dangerous consequences. He should deal with them in a friendly manner and if they were unwilling, he should complain to me but he should not beat them. I even
- threatened to give him a beating, but he said that he had not beaten any *boklieden* at all. These were only insinuations of the interpreters. He knew that he should not hit any Japanese, but the *boklieden* were always very unwilling to do any work, especially
- 41 when they had to saw the beam. I told him to be very careful in future not to knock about or hit the Japanese. This would only get me into great difficulties. He should treat the *boklieden* kindly and if they did not want to work, he should complain to me. He promised to do so. I also ordered him to treat the boys in a friendly way and to have a couple of the old ones help him in the garden. He could let the boys into the garden from now on, but not the Japanese, unless I had been told. He should be very careful with the grass for the cows, because the *boklieden* might not come for a while. He might saw the beam through with the help of one of the boys. Then I sent him away. I also ordered the steward to be very careful with the Japanese to prevent any unpleasantness. As an old Japan-hand, he knew this
- 42 very well. He should also be very careful not to get drunk again. This only led to all kinds of trouble. I also told him to have the boys thresh the rice and do all the work that needs doing. They should not refuse the work, if only they were treated kindly. Around ten o'clock the *opperrapporteur* came. I asked him if he had settled the matter of the *boklieden*. He said that all of them had complained bitterly about the carpenter, that he had beaten them every day and they refused to come on the island. That they wanted him to tell the governor about it. I told him that I could not understand that they were making such a fuss about such a trifling matter. That it was a matter among the lower orders and it might have happened that on occasion a *bokman* was given a slap, but no complaint had ever been vented before. It certainly should not happen, but order could not
- 43 be kept in another way nor the work be finished. I had questioned the carpenter several times, even this morning in the presence of witnesses, asking if he had beaten the *boklieden* and why he would do such a thing. I had even threatened him. He had replied that he had never beaten the *boklieden* and that he knew that he should not do so. Thereupon the *rapporteur* asked if I did not believe him. Three *boklieden* had given evidence and they would not lie. This matter could have grave consequences, if I did not put it in order. He would like an amicable settlement. I asked him what I should do about the carpenter, for he insisted that he had not beaten any *bokman*. I sent for the carpenter, who reiterated the same statement. However, this did not matter, for he must definitely have beaten the *boklieden*. This was the truth, because the *boklieden* would not lie about it. I told him that this might very well be true, but why had the *boklieden* not complained about it from the start? Then I could have settled the matter, but I could not have a European punished after some simple complaints without any witnesses. He asked me if I did not believe them and told me that

- I should force the truth out of the carpenter. I told him that I would not consider this without any pressing reason. He told me that the matter would become graver and he would be forced to inform the governor. I replied that he could do so, if he did not want to settle the matter amicably. I would do without the services of the *boklieden*, if he could manage to arrange that some vegetables were delivered for the cows. This whole business was only contrived to make life unpleasant for me. Before all of this the pressmaster had often beaten the coolies or *boklieden* and no one had ever complained about it. This was just a plot and he could surely remember the business he and I had had concerning the Doorn.
- 45 This matter did not merit the trouble it was causing. Both the *boklieden* and the carpenter could be in the wrong. He replied that he would try to get the *boklieden* to come tomorrow. If the *boklieden* agreed to come, then the carpenter should come to the *College* to offer his apologies and to promise not to hit any *bokman* in future, and the pressmaster should also appear. I told him that this was unnecessary. He could send the *boklieden* to my room and I would send for the carpenter and the pressmaster and would impress upon them not to touch any Japanese. I would think that this was the best course of action, for then I could also hear what charges they were making. But he did not find this acceptable. He said that this could best be done at the *College*.
- 46 I said that my room was the best place, for there was no need for any European to receive a dressing-down at the *College*. He seemed not at all pleased, but said that he would come in the morning to discuss it with me and to settle the matter. I told him that I would like that, for this whole business was beginning to bore me and did not contribute to my recovery. He left very displeased and refused to accept any refreshment.
- Around two days ago the *dwariskijker* came with a new *otona* to announce the latter's appointment. Yesterday evening the interpreter on duty, Saku-saburō, visited me. I asked him about the *boklieden*. He said that the *opperrapporteur* will visit me tomorrow with the *boklieden*. The carpenter and the steward would have to promise not to hit any *boklieden* in future and the matter would come to an end. I said that this would please me a lot, for the cows were not getting enough vegetables at the moment.
- 47 We talked about some other matters and he left. April came to warn me that the vegetables in the garden were almost finished and the cows were getting very lean.
- This morning Sashichirō came and said that he had decided that the servants no longer had to appear in the *College* for small things, but could order from the *compradoor* as before. But the Company's book had to be settled in my room, as was done this morning, for I could see that it would otherwise not be done and I wanted to settle everything amicably. He also told me that the *rapporteur* would come shortly with the *boklieden* to settle the matter.
- Around 11 o'clock both *rapporteurs* came and told me that the matter had been settled and that I should send for the pressmaster and the carpenter to instruct them that things like this should not happen again. I did so and ordered them that, if they had any complaints about the *boklieden*, they should come to me, but they should not hit them. This finally put an end to the matter.
- 48 The same afternoon the *boklieden* came again. I ordered the carpenter to have the beam sawn through, but he said that the *boklieden* were willing to do so, but needed permission first. He could not do it by himself. I spoke to the *onderrapporteur* about this. He said that if the *boklieden* could do it, they should do it, but the *opperrapporteur* would speak to me about it. In the meantime I should be patient. The master of repairs came with an *opperbongiois* for an inspection.
- 12 This morning I went for a walk around the island and saw that the garden looked very dirty. The fence of the vegetable garden had been tarred, but it needed another coating. The cowshed hardly looked as if it had been tarred. I also saw that the carpenter and the steward had made their houses very beautiful. I spoke to them about this and told them that the other jobs needed to be finished before Hemmij's return, especially the garden. If the *boklieden* did not want to do any sawing, they could be put to work elsewhere.
- 49 This morning the *opperrapporteur* came and said that he had ordered the *boklieden* to saw the beam, but they had said that they could not do it. He would see if he could send a sawyer from the city, who would try to do it with the help of the *boklieden*. This led me to the conclusion that the *boklieden* were refusing to take orders from the carpenter, because he is too rude to them. I told the *rapporteur* that this was all right, as long as the costs did not run high. I sent for the carpenter and asked him how many days it would take to saw the beam and the plank to make the tables. He replied seven days. The *rapporteur* came several times and he kept telling me that when the weather turned fine, he would have the *boklieden* saw the beam or otherwise he would send two coolies who would do it for four *mas* per day.
- Today is Hemmij's birthday and we celebrated it as well as possible, but due to my indisposition the merriment was somewhat subdued. I also received news from Edo that Hemmij had arrived there safely.
- 50 Today I ordered the steward to pickle some French beans. I also ordered the carpenter to repair the gate of the small vegetable garden. Two goats have kid, the one two kids and the other three. I also received a visit from Sashichirō and we checked the consumptions of the servants. This morning Smits came to warn me that the door of the warehouse beneath the main house was open all the time. It would be easy to make a hole in the warehouse for drinks, as has happened before. I immediately had

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a lock taken from N° 6 and had the carpenter fasten it. The continuous rainy and windy weather has caused several tiles and some plaster to drop off the Lelie and caused considerable damage.

21 The *opperrapporteur* came and told me that he had to inform me 'on the inside' that some boys were walking around with new clogs, which have probably been smuggled in. He was well aware of this and I should check it. I told him I would do this straightaway. The ones I saw with new clogs told me that they had been given them by April, who confirmed this. Smits came to warn me that he had noticed that about 50 to 60 cattles of sugar had been stolen from the dispensary. This must have been done with a bamboo through the grating. I told him to keep quiet about it and to remove the other sugar with a couple of *boklieden* and the carpenter. He should make a thorough inspection, and also check the drinks warehouse of the *opperhoofd*, but do it very quietly and unobtrusively. He should patrol in the evening to see if he could catch the culprit redhanded. There are certainly thieves around, for I have to put everything under lock and key, after candles, tobacco, and sugar had gone missing.

22 The next day the *rapporteur* came and asked me if I had found out which boys it were. I said that I did not and that he might be wrong. But he told me that it was a fact and the *otonas* had also seen the clogs arrive without a pass. They had been stored in the main house. He had spoken to the coolie who had made the delivery. I asked him if he knew the boys who had taken delivery of them and what the coolie had received. He said that he did not yet know which boys they were, but sugar had been exchanged. I told him that I suspected some boys, but as long as I could not prove it, I could not punish them. But I would investigate the matter further. He should also make inquiries about which boys had connived with the coolie. After he had left, I sent for April and reprimanded him. However, he said that he did not know anything of it, but he would investigate it. I also gave the steward a scolding for his carelessness and laziness. He does not do a thing and I threatened to take his rations away.

24 The *onderrapporteur* brought me a letter from Hemmij. I asked him when I could send a reply. He said in six or seven days. He also asked me if I had already investigated which boys had been smuggling. I said that I had, but that I still did not know which ones. If he could not point out the coolie who had been in league with them, it was impossible for me to find out which boys had done it. Without proof they would not confess. He said he would come tomorrow to discuss it.

These people keep coming every day and confer in the *College*. I think that they are trying to think up all kinds of mischief. They come to me for the most trifling things and inform me first 'on the inside', as they call it, of matters of no importance whatsoever, which they are trying to blow up as much as possible. They pretend that they will settle every-

thing in the best way, but I have to be careful with these rascals.

25 The *onderrapporteur* came again and informed me that he had asked the governor for *bongioisen* to come tomorrow to inspect the warehouses. He did not mention the smuggling affair at all and I also kept quiet. Nevertheless, I had another investigation carried out to find the culprits, but to no avail. He also informed me that mail will leave on the second of the Japanese month. The steward came to warn me that a goat had died. I sent him to check it. He told me that it was fit for consumption, it was carrying a young. I had it prepared for dinner.

26 *Opper* and *onderbongioisen* came to visit the Doorn and the Lelie. I also received a letter from the surgeon and Ras. Genkichi told me that people had tried to break into the *Geldkamer*.

27 I sent a letter to Hemmij and to Ras and Keller as well. Some iron-wire and some tarred rope has been taken from the warehouses to fix the flagpole, of which the main rope had cut. The steward told me that 20,000 French beans had been pickled. I told him that was enough. I ordered him to check the ham and to keep smoking it.

28 The *opperrapporteur* came to me in the morning and informed me of the death of the Shogun's youngest son. He also warned me that the boys went to the landgate and beyond every day and this would cause trouble. I ordered the boys not to go there again. In the afternoon the steward informed me that a beam supporting the office of the *opperhoofd*, where the boys are staying, was rotten and had subsided. It might very well collapse. I had it supported.

29 The steward informed me that half a catty of wood was not enough for the caboose, there was no wood to boil the rice. I had a few old beams removed from under the copper warehouse to use them to boil rice. I ordered the carpenter to make a lid for the pot with beans and to repair the gate in the garden. I made my rounds and found the boys busy cleaning the house. Not everything in the garden was to my liking. The carpenter is a lazy-bones and does not do anything but lounge about. The steward is much the same. This morning the *onderrapporteur* came and told me that he would order the *boklieden* to saw the beam through.

30-

## JULY

-3 Neither of the *rapporteurs* came. I settled the monthly account of the *compradoor*. I had all the boys busy cleaning the main house and the garden pavilion. I removed the papers from the fireproof warehouse to the *opperhoofd's* office. Sashichirō visited me and told me that Hemmij is expected in a fortnight. I had the surgeon's house cleaned. At my persistent request, the *otona* started to clean the island. Another goat has kid. Fine weather every day.

4 I had Ras' house cleaned. Saiemon told me

that the *rapporteur* had ordered the *boklieden* to saw the beam and they will start tomorrow.

5 At last the *boklieden* have started to saw the beam. During the night we had a terrible thunderstorm. In the morning the carpenter came to ask me for a jackscrew, because he had broken the other one. We could not find one in N<sup>o</sup> 6, although, according to the inventory, there should be two. As far as I can remember, I have not given orders to give one away, except the one the carpenter had. I asked the assistants if they had taken one, but they denied this. I had the whole place searched, but we could not find it. I must presume that Hemmij has taken it with him.

58      7 This morning I received a letter from Hem-

mij, who informs me that he will return on the 11<sup>th</sup>. I ordered the boys, the steward, and the carpenter to see to it that everything is in order.

8-11 The *bokluiden* have been busy sawing the beam, but when I saw that they were sawing askew and were spoiling it, I ordered them to stop. They are also very busy cleaning the island. This morning I went with some servants to meet Hemmij at the Tenjin Shrine. Then I returned to the island, where they arrived shortly after. I returned the papers and the keys in the main house. I noticed that Hemmij had already been informed of all the bagatelles, probably by the interpreters. But as nothing had happened that Hemmij should not be told of, I was at ease.