

Dagregister of Opperhoofd Maximiliaen Le Maire

9 June–31 October 1641

1641

June

1 9 On the advice of the regents,¹ we prepared ourselves, and Merchant Abraham Lucas – who had also gone to Edo – and I left for Nagasaki in the evening (Fig. 1).

In Nagasaki

10 We arrived shortly before noon. We had the landlord immediately inform the governor of our arrival and request an audience of him. This was granted and we informed him that we had come to report to him what had happened at Court. We informed him of His Majesty's order, the reply, and everything else that happened to us in Edo through the offices of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Saburōzaemon. Also, that the godowns and the houses to which the Shogun has ordered the Company's effects to be moved should be inspected without delay. Furthermore, because the expected ships, which have no knowledge of this move, will sail straight to Hirado – as they have always been wont to do, we should like to discuss with His Honour whether he thinks it wise to send two or three vessels with a letter from us or even to send a Dutchman on each to look out for them off the Gotō Isles or somewhere else and to inform them of His Majesty's order as soon as possible. Also, in case the letters are distrusted, because of the unfavourable news which had been sent last year with all the ships which departed from here, and because several matters need attending to in Hirado after our departure, would it not be advisable that two or three Dutchmen remained there till the last ship had arrived in Nagasaki to see that all

went well. His reply was: 'What you have told me about the events in Edo has also been written to me by the councillors. You can inspect the houses on the island in which the Dutch have been ordered to live and to trade. Take those which please you and have them altered to your liking. The *burgemeester* of the street, who has been summoned, will be given orders. What has been said about the patrol boats, which will inform the expected ships of His Majesty's order, and also about two or three Dutchmen to look after affairs after your departure from Hirado, is very important and should be done. I shall write to the regents of Hirado and send the letter with a *bongiois*. I think it a good idea if someone you trust, who can deputize in your absence, remains there in order that you can return here the sooner.' I promised to do this. The *burgemeester* appeared and we took our leave and went to the island together, which we inspected all over, especially the seafront, for the best accommodation for the loading and unloading. We found the warehouses very small on average, built amid the houses with a common roof and so ill-equipped against fire that we were distressed that the Company's rich capital should be at peril in them. We selected seven houses with eight godowns, which could be enclosed as a lodge. We ordered two to be altered somewhat to our fashion and the other five to be cleared and cleaned. On our return, which would be in ten or twelve days at the most, we would state our decisions on how everything should be refurbished. The *burgemeester* promised it would be done. From here we went straight to the residence of Regent Heizō, who was not in, but had left for a certain hot spring for reasons of health. Therefore we paid the customary compliments to his representative, who promised to pass them on to his master.

2 Some merchants told us how, after our departure up country, two Castilians, about 35 to 40 years old, had been brought here from Satsuma in a poor

1 The regents of Hirado: Daizen-no-suke (Kumazawa Masayuki), Kura-no-suke (Nagamura Sumimasa) and Takumi-no-suke (Matsura Shigetada).

condition. They had survived a shipwreck of sixty people off the Ryūkyū Islands, as can be read more fully in the entry of 1 October 1640. They will be burnt at the stake upon the arrival of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, having already been sentenced. In the evening, we departed to get everything ready.

In Hirado

11 Shortly after midday, we arrived in Hirado. We had one of the interpreters inform the regents of the events in Nagasaki. They had also been notified in a letter by the governor and they had ordered that two or three Dutchmen could stay in Hirado till the last ship had arrived to inform the ships which are expected this southern monsoon of the Shogun's order. Today, we also set ready the customary annual gifts for the Hirado nobles. We also had a large freight barge prepared to transport to Nagasaki 100 chests of silver of 1000 taels each, some mats, tables, benches, chairs, chests, and other goods under the supervision of Merchant Abraham Lucas and Assistant Jan Baert. We ordered Lucas to keep the money in the most secure warehouse on the island – which we have already selected – and to look after it closely till our arrival, which shows that we are willing to comply with the order of His Majesty and the councillors as speedily as possible.

12 The barge, having been loaded, sailed before the tide with a favourable northerly breeze to Nagasaki in the afternoon. May God grant her a safe passage. We presented the gifts we had set ready yesterday to the regents and the Hirado nobility, who all accepted them gracefully. We also took our leave of the ones who were at home – because time will not allow us to do this later.

13 In the afternoon, we sent another large freight barge to Nagasaki with 100 chests of *schuitgeld*, mats, chests, and other necessities under the supervision of Assistant Cornelis Bisschop and an old Japanese servant.

14 Fine weather, the wind northerly. Shortly after midday, the Company barge left for Nagasaki under the supervision of the barber, Jeuriaen Henselijn, and an old Japanese servant, carrying 60 chests of *schuitgeld* and other necessities. In the evening,

Regent Daizen-no-suke had us informed that when their patrol boats set off to look out for the ships, it might be wise if one of them would go on behalf of the Company to inform our people in Hirado in time. Also, that each boat should carry a letter to the captains to notify them of the changes and that they should set course for Nagasaki, or, in case of suspicion, that they should anchor or heave to until they received further elucidation from our people in Hirado, because his master would not like to see the Dutch ships anchoring off his coast. This we promised to do.

15 Fine weather, the wind northerly. In the afternoon, the freight barge which had left on the 12th – under the supervision of Merchant Lucas with 100 chests of silver – returned. From his letter and from the verbal report of Interpreter Hachizaemon, we learnt that they had arrived safely in Nagasaki at midnight. The governor had been well pleased about this early appearance and he had ordered Hachizaemon to let us know that we should take our time and not rush. Shortly after midday, the fourth freight barge left with Junior Merchant Jacob van Leeuwen and an assistant, carrying 65 chests of money, all the Company's principal papers, and so forth.

3 Late in the evening, we received another letter from Lucas by the barge which left with 100 chests of money for Nagasaki on the 13th. He had arrived quickly and had found everything in order. The landlords were busy carrying out the orders concerning their houses.

16 In the morning, we sent another barge to Nagasaki under the supervision of Vinck and a Japanese servant, loaded with all sorts of furniture, luggage, empty money chests, fire barrels and buckets, and other necessities. Nothing else happened.

17 Before dawn, the freight barge, which was dispatched on the 14th with 60 chests of money returned from Nagasaki, carrying a letter from Merchant Lucas, notifying us that the goods had arrived safely and everything there was in good order. We saw to it that the barge was again ready to be loaded tomorrow. Early in the afternoon, I went with Elseracq to Furutachi and later to Kawachi-ura

to inspect and discuss what timber needed to be sent to Nagasaki for the ships.

18 Early in the morning, the barge, which had been dispatched on the 15th with Junior Merchant Van Leeuwen, arrived from Nagasaki. We learnt that all the money and goods were in order and had arrived safely. The camphor merchant had appeared there with 125 piculs for the Company. The barge was partly loaded with the remainder of the commodities, some empty money chests, ironware, and other necessities and was sent to Kawachi-ura to fill it up with some supplies. In the evening, it left for Nagasaki with Assistant Isaac Gobijn. In the afternoon, representatives of the citizens of Hirado appeared in large numbers at the lodge and made profuse declarations about what great losses they were to suffer because of our move to Nagasaki. Finally, they requested that in future they keep the benefit of the 60 piculs of white raw silk enjoyed so far or a fair part of it. Furthermore, that we accommodate them annually with some commodities as before, without which, having been used to them for over thirty years and being estranged from other means, they did not know how to support wife and children. We replied that, in consideration of its lengthy residence and the fair treatment received here, the Company was inclined to continue all previous benefits, but because we had to move to another strange place and we did not know what restrictions would be placed upon us, we could not give the reply which accorded with our sympathies and which they would like to hear. They should rest assured that among the whole of the Indies the Company would remain exceptionally grateful for the benefaction received – to which I can testify – and would try to accommodate them as much as possible. They seemed satisfied with this and left. We were also busy collecting the debts owed by the nobility and settling the accounts; we were not very successful in this and a fair amount, which Elseracq will collect, remained unsettled.

19 We requested that the regents inform us how many boats will be sent to look out for the arrival of the ships and what orders they will be given, also to allow some pilots, who can pilot the ships into

port, to go on them, because we would like to write to the captains of the ships before our departure from here.

4 We received the reply that one of the lord's *hayafune*, well-manned, a *bongiois*, and three Japanese pilots, who are also allowed to go aboard the ships, together with a small dispatch boat would be sent around the time of the arrival of the ships to Kuroshima and the southern end of Hirado and that the *hayafune* would sail ahead of the ships to show them the course to Nagasaki.

20 In the evening, the freight barge which had gone to Nagasaki on the 16th arrived with a letter from Lucas, notifying us that everything had arrived safely and was in order.

21 In the evening, the Company's freight barge returned from Nagasaki and we learnt from letters from our friends that the remainder of the commodities and everything else had arrived safely. But we were not pleased to learn that it was maintained there that no Dutchman was allowed off the island before the arrival of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami – who is expected any day. I hope that this may not be so.

22 The barge has again loaded some necessities, the intention being to send all Dutchmen to Nagasaki early tomorrow morning and to follow personally in the Company's *kobaya* in the evening. Therefore, we prepared everything and put our affairs in order. I also wrote a letter to our men on the ships which are expected in Japan this southern monsoon. I informed the regents that the main effects of the Company had now been transported to Nagasaki and that I intended to depart thither tomorrow evening and that Senior Merchant Jan van Elseracq would take care of business here and look out for the ships. However, a great deal of timber and other effects, which would be transported little by little on the Company's freight barge, remained in Hirado, Kawachi-ura, and Furutachi. Therefore, we requested that, as long as the Company still had some property lying there, we would be allowed use of these places as before. Their Honours replied that we could use these places as long as we needed them and they were pleased that Elseracq would

stay behind to look after matters here. They were also pleased to learn that we had made so much progress that we could depart tomorrow, but they expected us at their residences to take our leave.

23 Northerly wind and rainy weather. Nonetheless, the Company's freight barge left for Nagasaki in the morning. In the afternoon, there was a stiff breeze and it started to rain, so that I could not depart in the evening as planned, but was forced to put it off.

24 Gave orders about everything that still needs to be done in Hirado for the Company and ordered Elseracq to supervise it well. At nine o'clock, I went to take leave of the regents, who were expecting me at the residence of the Lord of Hirado. Appearing before Their Honours, on behalf of my masters, I thanked them for all honours, favours, and good advice received from them during the Company's residence in Hirado and I trusted that we would remain friends. They accepted this gracefully, returning the compliments, and recommended us most strongly not to celebrate Sunday openly nor to do anything that bore some resemblance to Christianity or the customs of the Portuguese.

- 5 They stated that this order, and also the slaughter of the cows, had not been issued by the Shogun, but had been given for the benefit of the Dutch by their lord on the advice of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and we would be all right if we continued the way we had started. On arrival in Nagasaki, we should request the governor to allow all our Japanese servants, who had long been in the service of the Company and who were mainly people from Hirado, to move there and to keep them. Their Honours also spoke seriously on behalf of the citizens of Hirado, asking that they could enjoy, even if not for the whole at least for a fair part, the annual benefit of white raw silk. I replied politely giving the same reasons as I had given the citizens on the 18th. After some refreshments I departed, returned to the lodge, embarked, and was seen off by the people in several barges for about a mile. However, because of the calm and because the tide was going out while I was saying goodbye, I did not make much headway that day.

In Nagasaki

25 At sunrise, we arrived in Nagasaki. Found everything fairly satisfactory. Gave the necessary orders forthwith, appointed each Dutchman and Japanese his room with the recommendation to each landlord that repairs should be carried out for each person within reason. This was promised. In the meantime, we had the landlord inform the governor of our arrival. In the afternoon, I went to pay him my compliments with the most important Dutch friends, requesting him, following the advice of the Hirado Regents, to allow us to bring all the Japanese servants who had long served us and were familiar with Dutch manners and intercourse, and to keep them in our service. Also, that we be allowed a place to store the Company's ships' timber, boats, and other timber, and a meadow for the sheep and other cattle to graze on. His Honour kindly replied that we could employ the servants till the arrival of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, at which time further notice would be given to our request and all else pertaining to us. With regard to a place for storing timber and such, Heizō or his representative would assist us. We should go to him to speak about this, and also visit the principal *burgemeesters* of the town to make their acquaintance. We promised to do this and took our leave. Went from here to the houses of four of the principal *burgemeesters*, all of whom received us kindly and treated us in Japanese fashion. Finally, we went to the house of Regent Heizō, who was still out of town on account of his illness, thus we presented our case to his *otona*,² who gave us permission to select a place which we deemed best to serve the purpose of the Company; in the morning we could make an inspection and let him know which place pleased us; he would discuss it with his master Heizō and would assist us in this matter; then we returned home.

26 In the afternoon, I went with the Company's *kobaya* to inspect an island for the cattle to graze on and some places on the other side or the west side of the town to choose the one most suitable for the

² Actually his secretary (*karō* or *yōnin*).

Company's affairs. Furthermore, a Japanese pilot was assigned to us to take soundings of the passage, through which the carracks used to enter. This was noted down as well as possible and mapped by us and the pilot in a chart to aid the expected ships. In the evening, a fairly large Chinese junk arrived from Anhai, sailing on the account of Mandarin Iquan.³

6 According to the Chinese, it had first gone to Tayouan to sell its cargo; but the governor there had declared that there was no cash to pay for it, but as he was expecting a large amount with the ships which were expected any day from Batavia, had invited them to stay there; having advised his master of this, he finally received orders from him to sail straight to Japan and after having lain in Tayouan for twenty days, he had arrived here in twelve days; the cargo of the junk consists of the following commodities. [List.] The merchants who arrived here on the junk claim that, on their departure from Anhai, there were two others there with a cargo belonging to Iquan and they would follow as soon as possible. Two others, five junks in all, including some with a very rich cargo of different kinds of useful commodities, were to sail to Japan on his account. They also spread the rumour, that the thirteen *lascars* or blacks, who had arrived here last year on the Portuguese galliot and who had been spared the death penalty and had been sent away on a small junk by the authorities here – to report on their masters' experiences and decapitation, had arrived safely in Macao. That the people of that city were so saddened by these unexpected tidings, which robbed them of friends and the hope of being accepted forever in Japan, that they were grief-stricken for a considerable time. That, because they owed about 180,000 taels to several Chinese merchants, who wanted to be paid, they were being badgered daily by these merchants and they had fallen into dire straits, driven to hunger and poverty. That all craftsmen or weavers, who had been allowed to trade in Japan during the time of the Portuguese and had lived near Macao, now

3 Zheng Zhilong.

had gone north and had settled in the province of Zhangzhou and its surroundings.

27–28 Nothing remarkable happened, apart from us being busy every day erecting the warehouses and houses and plastering them, and setting everything in order so that nothing might be found wanting on the arrival of the ships.

29 Interpreter Hachizaemon had been summoned by Governor Heiemon. Shortly after, he showed us a Dutch double stiver, which the inspectors had found on the Chinese junk which arrived last, and he asked if it was Dutch or Portuguese money, what the stamp with the letters meant, also the value and how many make up a tael. I promptly had a Company's clerk write down in Japanese that the name of the province was Zeeland; also the meaning of the coat of arms of Their Worshipfuls; that about thirty of these *dubbeltjes* make up a Japanese tael; that it was a Dutch coin, and sent the interpreter with the paper and the *dubbeltje* to His Honour.

7 Then the apostate Chūan⁴ was also questioned about it. Finding him in agreement with us, the governor was satisfied and the Chinese, who had already been imprisoned on account of this matter, were set free again. If it had been found to have been Portuguese money, they would have been in great danger, so it is claimed here, of being burnt with the junk and the cargo, or at least the captain would have been decapitated and they would have been banned forever from Japan without being allowed to trade. Therefore, the interpreters and the oldest Japanese servants advised us urgently to warn the authorities of the expected ships, apart from what I had already written to them, to collect all Castilian and Portuguese coins, especially the ones with a cross on them, from the crew while still at sea and before inspection, and to throw them into the fire to escape this and other such difficulties. They also declared that no Japanese, they or

4 Sawano Chūan. Cristovão Ferreira came to Japan in 1609 as a Jesuit priest. He later became the Vice Provincial of the Jesuits in Japan. Captured in Nagasaki in 1633, he apostatized after being tortured and turned into an enemy of Roman Catholicism.

any of the Company's Japanese servants, on learning anything from the Dutch that resembled popery was allowed to keep this a secret, but was bound to inform the authorities of everything promptly and truthfully. From this one can conclude into what a tight corner we have been put. In the evening, the Company's freight barge brought us a letter from Elseracq, dated the 27th, in which he informs us that he is sending us with the same all the cases with glassware, rosin, the remainder of the empty money chests, and the ironware of the demolished warehouses and houses, &^a.

30 I had the barge unloaded and had all the effects which had already been brought over put in order by the rowers. The camphor, which had been delivered a few days ago, was stored in one of the warehouses, to be taken receipt of shortly according to the contract.

July

1 Early in the morning, I sent the barge back to Hirado and wrote to Elseracq about the events concerning the double stivers, mentioned above, and that the masters of the ships should be advised that all Castilian and Portuguese coins and those with a cross on them should be taken from the crew and thrown into the fire. Also, that it was the wish of the governor here and of the Hirado Regents that, for greater credibility, a Dutchman embark in the *hayafune* and not in the barge, which will sail out on behalf of the Company to meet the ships; for that purpose Assistant Paulus Cornelisz Veer, who is in Hirado, should be used, with the Japanese servant Riffij as interpreter. In the afternoon, Interpreter Hakuzaemon came from Osaka via Hirado. From his verbal report and a letter from Regent Kume-no-suke we understood that they had tried their best to secure the house of landlord Gorōbei⁵ for the debts owed to the Company, but they had not succeeded so far. But they had effected among the *burgemeesters* and the heads of the streets that deputies had gone from house to house to make known the amount for which the Company was a creditor

of Gorōbei and that on account of this, upon his taking flight, Gorōbei had appointed the house to the Company. Therefore, each resident of that street could testify in future that the Company had the strongest claim. When the other creditors learnt of the fact that we were not inclined to relinquish our claim so easily, they disavowed their acceptance of Gorōbei's merchandise on their debit, and threw a spanner in the works. The matter has come to a standstill until the creditors have consulted one another. It is to be hoped that the Company will recover part of the debts.

8 In the evening, a second junk belonging to the mandarin Iquan arrived from Anhai, being one of the four which are said to be coming; it is to be feared that the other three will also arrive in the future. The junk carried the following cargo. [List.] From the Chinese merchants who had sailed on this junk we learnt that this junk and three others which are to follow had all been destined to sell their commodities in Tayouan, but, because it was said that there was no cash there to pay for the goods, they had been forced to sail hither in the hope of larger profits. Also, that Mandarin Iquan was pleased that the Company had no cash in Tayouan and could not trade, which gave him cause to seek trade in Japan instead of Tayouan. Also, that Iquan had sent his people to Macao to buy merchandise from the Portuguese, but had not obtained any, because they had not been willing to sell because they had hopes – one does not know on what grounds – that they will be accepted in Japan, which, in everyone's opinion, is not ever likely to occur. They also said that the merchant Hambuangh and sixty or seventy other Chinese merchants had encountered such bad weather crossing from Tayouan to the Pescadores on a junk carrying 200 chests of money, that the junk had stranded off Wankan and Hambuangh and the other Chinese had perished. But that 120–130 chests of money had been salvaged with the help of the Company.

2 Rainy weather, the wind north-westerly. We learnt from letters sent from Osaka to the merchants here that the Shogun had again sent four commissioners to inspect all the Shogun's peripheral domains and

⁵ In Osaka.

they had already passed Miyako and were expected shortly here via Bungo. It was not yet certain that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Saburōzaemon, whose arrival is greatly looked forward to – especially by us – had departed from Edo. On his arrival – on which our affairs depend and until which everything is postponed by the present governor, Heiemon, who dares not disregard him – we shall be told how we should conform. To sit here like prisoners, without being allowed to set one foot off the island, would be a worse treatment than the Portuguese, who were free during their trading days here, have ever suffered. But it is true that the governor – who will not give any final orders, so it is claimed, in order not to commit an error – has not forbidden it nor has he refused our request. Yet the landlords of the island have taken up guard at the gates of the bridge by order of the governor. This order together with the stream of advice given – with very plausible suggestions – makes it clear that he does not want to be the villain nor is he willing to let us roam about freely, if we ask, but we shall have to be patient until the arrival of Chikugo-no-kami (Fig. 2).

9 Several stories are told about the reasons for their delay, but it is alleged that they are busy in Edo interrogating Commissioners Yagozaemon and Shinbei, who had been entrusted with guard duties at the entrance of the shogunal women's quarters. Having assumed that the Shogun would be staying there until after midnight, both men had left with twenty-eight others with the intention of returning in time so that it would not be noticed. In the meantime, the Shogun reappeared and not finding his guard complete, he dismissed the aforesaid commissioners from their rank and income, imprisoned them, and had some of the others slit their belly. What will become of the others, time will tell. It is also said that, in order to devise a fixed and general order with which all foreigners will have to comply in future, the heads of the five shogunal cities – perhaps having doubts about the whole, as happened last year – have requested half of the Company's raw silk for their *pancado* and that, because the

Company's effects are now settled here, Governor Saburōzaemon disagreed and seemed to be of the opinion that the Dutch and the Chinese should be allowed to sell it, as all other commodities, to whomsoever they liked, because other nations spoke slightly of the *pancado* to the discredit of the Shogun and the empire of Japan.

3 Fine weather, the wind southerly. Early in the morning, I sent Junior Merchant Isaac Gilsemans with the Japanese pilot in a small vessel to take a sounding of the bay and also to sound all points, shoals, and cliffs for the improvement of the existing charts. He returned in the evening and had done everything well, but he had found great differences between the Japanese chart and actual experience. A Chinese junk arrived from Cambodia with the following cargo. [List.] The governor sent mail to Edo to request instructions on what actions should be taken with regard to us when the ships arrive.

4 Fine weather, the wind southerly. Before dawn, the third junk of Iquan, which had sailed to the Pescadores with the one before – as the Chinese say – and had written to the governor in Tayouan about trade arrived from Anhai. But because both had been refused and would have to wait till the arrival of the ships from Batavia, they had sailed hither like the first to sell their commodities. The cargo consists of the following. [List.] In the afternoon, I again went to the other side of the town to inspect some favourably situated places to be used as a timber yard, storage for boats, *kobaya*, and other equipment.

10 We found none to be as suitable as the ones we had seen first. We spotted a certain small bay with a fairly level foreshore to be employed for a house and a wharf and to keep small vessels near and in sight of the island, which the Portuguese had also used as such and to careen their ships. Therefore, we resolved to request Regent Heizō for this.

5 Fine weather, the wind southerly. In the afternoon, the first of the twelve sugar-carrying junks, which the Chinese merchants say will come here on behalf of Mandarin Iquan, appeared carrying the following commodities. [List.]

6–9 Nothing noteworthy happened. Looking forward to the arrival of Commissioner Inoue Chikugonokami and Governor Baba Saburōzaemon.

10 Early in the morning, a small junk arrived from Fuzhou, carrying the following commodities. [List.] In the evening, the Company's freight barge arrived from Hirado, bringing stone slabs, rosin, glass, timber, and some bits and pieces, having taken five days to arrive because of the stiff southerly wind. From a letter from Elseracq, dated the 6th, I learnt that Interpreter Hakuzaemon had left there to come here of his own accord – without having said a proper farewell; that Interpreter Tōzaemon could not be sent because of his illness and because he was needed for the arrival of Commissioner Chikugonokami, who is said to be travelling via Hirado; that as soon as the latter had passed through, the interpreter would also be sent; that on the 5th, the Hirado Regents had sent two vessels with a *tentō*, on behalf of the Company, to look out for the ships, but no Dutchman had been asked to go as we had been told before; and, moreover, what orders had been given to the *bongiois* of the said vessels on approach of the ships. Furthermore, the nobles of Hirado could not agree on who should go to Edo to give account of the affairs of the deposed regent, Sanzaemon. Also, the Lord of Hirado was said to be in danger of being removed from his domain, in which case the Company would have great difficulties in securing its money. Therefore, every day Elseracq kept tackling his intendants for payment, but received nothing but words. He thought that it would have more effect if I wrote him a letter. Also, that in his opinion the ships were not in danger if they were found to have any Castilian or Portuguese coins or ones with a cross, because everyone knew that coins relate to trade and not to religion. If found, this would be sufficient to satisfy the governor. We could not agree with this nor could it comfort us. Late in the evening, a Chinese junk arrived from Canton, carrying the following commodities. [List.]

11 The barge having been unloaded was sent to Hirado with a letter to Elseracq containing several

matters, but mainly that he should spare no effort to recover the debt from the intendant of the Lord of Hirado by every means at his disposal. To which end I also wrote a letter at his request to Morigawa Yahyōe, in the hope that it would have some effect. He could have the large sampan repaired on the advice of the Company's carpenter, and send it with whatever was on hand, to be used for the unloading of the expected ships. If he agreed, the house of the cattle herders and the sheds on Yokoshima could be sold to a farmer, because the demolition and transport would be more than their worth.

12 In the afternoon, the second sugar junk of Mandarin Iquan arrived with 2700 piculs of white powdered sugar.

13 In the morning, a small junk arrived from Fuzhou with 700 piculs of white sugar.

14 Two junks from the same place belonging to Iquan arrived, carrying the following cargo. [List.]

15–16 Nothing noteworthy happened.

17 Fine weather with a southerly wind. In the afternoon, tidings came from Edo that Commissioner Chikugonokami and Governor Saburōzaemon had departed on the 29th of the Japanese month, being the 6th⁶ of this month, and are expected here on the last day of this month. In the evening, Regent Heizō returned from the hot spring. I sent the interpreter to welcome him and to request him to be allowed the spots that have already been chosen for a timber yard and a pasture. We shall receive his decision in two or three days.

18 Weather and wind as before. Sent two Company interpreters to the residence of Heizō to consult him on how to deal with the landlords on the matter of the rent for the seven houses, because they had deferred it till his arrival. On their return, they reported that, due to the illness of both His Honour and his deputy, they had not been able to speak to either and we shall have to wait for another opportunity.

19 The wind northerly, clear. Early in the morning, received news from the guards on the high

6 Sic. 7th of this month.

mountains that a Dutch ship had sailed past the bay late yesterday afternoon. In the evening, timber, stones, and other materials arrived on the Company's freight barge from Hirado. Interpreter Tōzaemon passed on the news that two Dutch ships – one of which had been flying the prince's flag from the large topmast – had been seen beating against the wind from Seto to Hirado. May God grant them a safe arrival.

- 12 Jan van Elseracq advised us in a letter, dated the 17th, that we could expect the Company's large sampan loaded with stone and timber with the first fair wind; also that, on behalf of the Lord of Hirado, Intendant Yahyōe had paid 3000 taels and he had given a firm promise to pay the debt of his lord ensuing from the goods bought this month. Also, that the regents Daizen-no-suke and Takumi-no-suke, together with some other nobles, had left for Edo to deal with the affairs of Sanzaemon, the old Regent of the Lords of Hirado there.

20 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. After the barge had been unloaded in the morning, it was dispatched back to Hirado in the afternoon. In the accompanying letter, we advised Elseracq of the necessities we expect back and of the news about the ships we received yesterday. In the afternoon, the Company's sampan arrived with ledges, planks, and stone slabs. Late in the afternoon, the three shogunal or town interpreters appeared in the lodge. They declared that they had been sent by the governor to make our acquaintance and to offer their services to the Company. During the time of the Portuguese, they had been employed to present their affairs to the governor, being fairly proficient in that language and they could be employed likewise on the arrival of the ships. They took their leave after having been given a noncommittal reply. The Japanese servants informed us that they present all affairs concerning foreigners at the Court, inspect the junks in the company of the *bongiois*, and are bound by an oath stamped with their blood to report any Christian ornaments found. Nothing could be hidden from them, because on the governor's orders, against which nothing can be done, they could find their way in here.

Arrival of the *Rog* and the *Oranjeboom*

21 Rainy weather, the wind south-westerly. In the afternoon, the flute the *Rog*, one of the aforesaid two ships, arrived, which at our request – as had been the custom in Hirado – was directly inspected in the company of the *bongiois*: the crew was mustered, and the letters of Their Honours were collected, great attention being paid to any Japanese letters, all the Dutch ones also being taken by them to the lodge, where they were opened in their presence, counted, the superscription read and noted down. Returning home from board, we learnt that the other ship, the flute the *Oranjeboom*, was around the bight. Shortly after, she arrived in the roadstead, but because of the rainy weather she could not be inspected today. The value of the cargo of the *Rog* amounts to 231,164 guilders and consists of the following. [List.]

22 Rainy weather and a fierce wind from the south-west, which forced the ships to strike the yards and the topmasts.

- 13 Therefore, we could not inspect the *Oranjeboom* as we had intended. Because Regent Heizō could not help us as he is incapacitated by his illness, before the cargoes were unloaded, we had the interpreters ask the landlords of the seven houses where the Company's effects were to be stored, how much they demanded for the rent of the houses either per month or per year. They replied that the Shogun had ordered that the Dutchmen be obliged to trade in this place from now on and that they did not know whether it was on loan or a gift; as with much else, they would have to wait until the arrival of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, whose departure from Edo has not yet been confirmed. In the evening, a Chinese junk arrived from Fuzhou with the following commodities. [List.]

23 In the afternoon, the weather settled and we went with the *bongiois* to inspect the *Oranjeboom*. The value of her cargo amounts to 208,409 guilders and consists of the following. [List.] When disembarking into the proa, the helpers of the *bongiois* searched me very vigorously and discourteously to see if I had hidden anything on my body. I complained strongly, which enabled the two junior

merchants who were with me to pass freely. The governor, having been told of this, gave orders that I should be excused in future, but my escort should be subjected to the search. In the afternoon, three junks arrived, one from Quinam, two from Fuzhou, with the following commodities. [Lists.]

- 14 24 Southerly winds and rainy weather. The *Rog* could not be unloaded, for which we had already received permission. In the afternoon, we learnt that the Chinese – having found out that our ships do not carry any of the white [silk] – had sold a batch of 30,000 pieces of the best grade, such as was sold by the Company last year for 2.6.3 taels, for 2.9.5 taels. Also, that the merchants were counting on the Company not importing commodities from all quarters above the value of 600 chests of *schuit-geld* cost price this monsoon. We read the papers that came with the ships and we learnt from a letter from Regemortes⁷ how the Portuguese were trying to establish themselves in Cambodia and to trade by stealth with Japan through that nation and the Chinese. We gave the governor this news – without any assurances. He seemed very pleased and he had a full account written down and signed by the three sworn interpreters and the two Company ones, that they had learnt this news from us. This made us wonder whether they were trying to expose us and if it would not be better to keep silent about such news in future. They tried to divert us by saying: it is the Japanese way, but this could not reassure us. In the evening, we learnt from the guards on the mountains that a large Dutch ship had sailed past the bay today, which we assumed to be the *Koningin*. One of Iquan's junks arrived from Quanzhou with the following commodities. [List.]

25 Rainy weather and a southerly wind. In the morning, I sent a letter and some papers to Elseracq, in which we advised him of the arrival of the *Rog* and the *Oranjeboom* on the 21st and that we had not yet started to unload due to the wet weather; some Japanese letters under Dutch cover had come into the hands of the *bongiois* and some others were

still with the captains of the said flutes – in contravention of our order, which will only cause us grave trouble.

- 15 Therefore, the authorities of the ships which are to arrive should be instructed unequivocally that, regardless, they should burn them or cast them overboard with weights before their arrival here to prevent any trouble as much as possible. Also, that we had learnt from the guards up on the mountains that yesterday afternoon a Dutch ship had sailed past the bay, that the Chinese were beginning to trade, and that there is still no confirmation of the departure from Edo of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, to whom all affairs concerning the Dutch are referred. In the afternoon, we requested Regent Heizō to grant us the spot that we had chosen for a timber yard and to caulk the ships, because the ships are approaching. Excuses were made because of his illness, but in fact – as our interpreter was told – it has been postponed till the arrival of the commissioner. In the afternoon, four small junks arrived with the following cargo. [List.]
- 26 A fierce southerly wind and rainy weather. During the day five junks arrived, three from Canton with the following cargo. [List.] From the Chinese we learnt that Hartzinck⁸ had arrived safely and had already traded 50 chests of silver for silk and silk piece-goods and would return here shortly. The same Chinese said – which is not likely but which we hope is true – that, on reaching the Tonkin River, Hartzinck had attacked two galliots from Macao which had finished trading, had taken one and had sailed it with the Company's yacht to the town of Kecho, which these Chinese claim to have seen with their own eyes.
- 27 The wind southerly, rainy weather. We could not unload and were very worried that the goods in the ships would suffer from leaks or heat in the damp holds. In the afternoon, Heizō had us informed that the island which we had requested for the cattle to graze on has been granted us.
- 16 With regard to the place which we had requested for a timber yard, we had to wait till the arrival

7 Pieter van Regemortes, chief factor of the VOC factory in Cambodia.

8 Carel Hartzinck, chief factor of the VOC factory in Tonkin.

of the commissioner, who is expected in ten days at the outside, for confirmation had come that he had departed from Edo on the 29th of the 5th moon, being the 7th of this month. Today two junks arrived, one from Canton, with the following cargo. [List.] And one from Quanzhou with the following cargo. [List.]

28 Westerly wind and fine weather. Therefore, we requested the governor's permission to unload the ships. Permission was granted. Four *bongioisen* were sent to the lodge to oversee affairs, two of whom went on board the *Rog* and two remained on shore, keeping a close eye on everything, warning each other with notes sent on each boat about the cargo and body searching the people coming from board to see if they had anything hidden in their pockets or on their bodies, in order that nothing, however small, could escape – through their sharp and thorough supervision. We protested strongly against this – because this was new and had never happened in Hirado – and were enraged by their distrust. Their reply was that it was their duty and all foreigners were subject to it and had to accept it.

29 The wind easterly and very fine weather. We went on unloading the *Rog*, which was empty by the afternoon. The *bongioisen* went to inspect the ship, searched through all chests, nooks and crannies, and looked into almost all provision barrels. They sampled some to find out if they contained holy water. The Dutch and other coins, and the psalm-books which they found in the sailors' chests, were put separately in a sack, which they stamped and handed us, saying: 'For the foreign coins which can be sent with the first ships to Tayouan and which cannot be spent here, you can give the sailors Japanese money. While the ships are here, the people do not need the psalm-books. Keep them and when the ships leave, return them.' With regard to the Japanese letters, sent from Batavia and Tayouan, and the goods that came with them, which had been kept secretly by the master, we deemed it best to hand them over to the *bongiois*, who promised to return them with the goods after he had read them to see if there was anything in them concerning the Christian faith. They also noted down how many

pieces of ordnance and how much gunpowder and balls and such were on the ship. Which – as the *bongiois* said – would have to be brought on shore after the other ship had been unloaded. Everything was done peacefully, with friendliness, and in an orderly fashion.

17 We received a letter – dated the 28th – from Elseracq, stating that the ship which had passed some days ago was the *Koningin* from Siam, that she lay anchored in the Bay of Kawachi and that, following my orders, he had given her authorities proper instructions as to the Japanese letters and so forth. Also, that during the rough weather, there had been great danger of losing the ship and her cargo two miles to the south of Kawachi-ura, because the *bongiois* of the patrol boat had stopped her from sailing to a safer place. This had been circumvented by Elseracq, who quickly received permission to have the ship sail to Kawachi-ura. I had the governor informed of this at once and requested him that, in similar circumstances, the other ships be allowed to seek a safe harbour and to proceed hither when the weather improved. He gave his consent, saying that it was sufficient if he was given notice of the ships and from whence they came. They need not hurry and sail a dangerous course. They could await fine weather and favourable winds. He would advise the regents in Hirado of this. We also received a copy of a letter with the Company's freight barge, which left Hirado on the 24th. Regent Kura-no-suke informed us therein that he had received a letter from Edo that the Company's raw silk would be sold under the *pancado* – as during the time of the Portuguese – and only those of Hirado would keep a share. In the evening, the *tentō* returned to Hirado with a letter for Elseracq. A large junk arrived from Quanzhou with the following commodities. [List.]

30 The wind south-westerly, fine weather. We hope that the *Koningin* will be able to sail hither. Around nine o'clock in the morning, we started to unload the *Oranjeboom*, which by the evening had been unloaded of most of the piece-goods, so that only about forty sugar leaguers were left. After dinner, the governor had his three sworn interpreters inform us that it was a custom and a shogunal order

that all junks and other ships which arrive here in the roadstead have to store their rudders, ordnance, muskets, gunpowder, lead, and other arms on shore, until departure, which order we also have to obey – the ships having been unloaded. We did not give a firm reply, but after consultation with the council, will give one tomorrow. A junk arrived from Quanzhou with the following goods. [List.]

31 Fine weather, variable winds. In the morning, the governor sent his interpreters for our reply. They advised us to comply with the order.

- 18 Were we to refuse, we should remember that it would be carried out against our will. Council was convened and the governor's proposition was tabled for consideration. As can be seen in the resolution, compelling reasons forced us to comply willingly, the more so as we saw that no foreign ships were exempt. The interpreters were told to inform the governor of this, with a statement that we were unhappy because the Shogun had promised us that everything would be well, but that his words had been given a different meaning to our cost. The governor, having been informed of this – or of as much as they dared report, let us know that he was pleased with the council's reply, that this was sensible and it would be to the Company's benefit to comply fully with the Shogun's orders. In the evening, the ship was empty and the *bongioisen* went to inspect it in the same way, but because it was late, they did not finish and it was put off till tomorrow together with the unloading of the ordnance. We learnt that the commissioner had left Osaka on the 19th day of their 6th moon, being the 26th. In the evening, feeling sorry for us, the landlord told us secretly, that, through the agency of Governor Saburōzaemon, the Company's raw silk had been presented to the cities of Nagasaki and Hirado, the one receiving four parts and the other a fifth.

August

Arrival of the *Koningin*

1 Weather and wind as before. In the morning, the *bongioisen* went to inspect the *Oranjeboom* further. I had her ordnance and that of the *Rog* delivered to the square in front of the governor's residence

by the Company's sampan. The ships were also stripped of their gunpowder, muskets, pikes, picks, roasting spits, bandoliers, balls, and other such things, yea, even the officers' swords and poniards, and stored in one of the Shogun's godowns, in which all munitions belonging to the foreigners are kept. They required us to do the same with most of the provisions and to leave just enough provisions for the ships for a few days, which we put a stop to with the most decent of reasons, on condition that we signed a written ordinance and gave instructions that nothing would be sold, traded or presented to the Japanese, without the governor's express order. This we agreed to and it reads as follows:

Ordinance

No meat, bacon, arrack, Spanish and French wine, olive oil, and other foodstuffs – which the Christians are accustomed to eat – that have been brought here on the first and second Dutch ship this southern monsoon may be sold, presented, bartered or given by anyone of that nation to any Japanese, Chinese, or foreigner. Should this ordinance not be strictly obeyed, the captain, who has also signed this, will be arraigned about this breach and will be punished according to the laws of the land. Assaoka Schenosjo, Oeiamats Sasibe, Suzuki Jizaemon, and Nakasauwa Tarroseijmon. In the margin: 6th moon 25th day, signed: M. Le Maire. In the afternoon, we were informed that the *Koningin* was three Japanese miles away.

- 19 Would we like to send some boats to have her towed in today? Considering the variable winds, sometimes blowing from the east, we thought this best and thanked His Honour for his consideration. But a while later, the wind started to blow from the west and the ship sailed in and the thirty boats arrived late and had to return with the ship. She arrived in the roadstead around five o'clock with a cargo from Batavia and Siam to the value of 127,584 guilders. [List.] The Company's freight barge also arrived with timber and stones. In the evening, it was sent back to Hirado with a letter for Elseracq. With a *tentō* sent here by the regent in Hirado, we also received a letter from Elseracq, dated the last day of the past month. From it we learnt that the regent

had sent it expressly to ask the governor here how to act when the next Dutch ships arrive there in bad weather and in case they cannot weather the waves. The same order as was promised us on the 29th was given. The *bongiois* who had spent the entire day unloading the ordnance and such – which prevented the *Koningin* from being inspected – informed us in the evening that only a part of the crew could remain on board and the rest had to be housed on the island. Therefore, we had to consult with the masters about how many sailors were needed for work on board ship. We replied that the Company's ships usually arrived in any port badly damaged due to their long, arduous voyages, and apart from the daily chores, which we enumerated extensively, repairing, caulking, repairing the rigging, sails and such, there was so much to do to prepare for the return voyage, that the masters declared that the eighty-seven crewmen they had on board were not sufficient to ensure that the Company's cargo would remain dry, and they would need Japanese carpenters, and we shall request them as soon as possible from the governor. Therefore we requested this to be presented to the governor and that the crew be allowed to remain on the ships.

20 2 Variable winds and fine weather. In the morning, the *bongioisen* came to the lodge and did not mention a word about our proposal of yesterday regarding the crew. From this we concluded, as did the landlord and the interpreters, that this was left to us. We went with them and some Dutch friends to inspect the *Koningin* and to muster the crew. We learnt that the senior barber had died the night before, and we requested the *bongiois* that he be buried on the island, which Heizō had assigned to the Company to graze our cattle and which had been the custom in Hirado. They avoided this, saying it was not up to them, but up to the governor. Back on shore they had the sworn interpreters request this, who reported back that His Honour had ordered that, because we were Christians like the Portuguese, the same ruling applied and the dead had to be taken four or five miles out into the sea and thrown overboard with weights or we could have him salted down and kept until the arrival of

Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, because it was not within his authority to allow the dead man to be buried in the soil. If we could wait till the commissioner arrived, then everything would be settled. Who has ever heard of such barbarous cruelty or in what region of the world will one find such an example when the dead are refused the soil? This saddened us to the depths of our souls and distressed us to such an extent that we began to contemplate that we shall not be treated better than the Portuguese, for they are restricting us more and more, and that their excuses to wait for the commissioner are based on false grounds. It is to be feared that there will be no change before his arrival. In the meantime, the Portuguese customs are becoming the rule, which they will leave us burdened with under some pretext or in order not to make any changes, but we shall hope for the best. We tried to move the interpreters with all means in our power and with the soundest arguments to put the same request to the governor in the most affable manner and to help prevent – as much as was in their power – that the Dutch would suffer such humiliation before the eyes of the Chinese and other nations present here. Representing to them that we did confess to, and had never denied as we did not do now, being Christians, but not Roman Catholic or Portuguese ones, and that between us and those with whom we are compared, there is a difference as between night and day. That this was known to the apostates and thousands of people of their country. They could testify that we are a different people and do not proselytize, the fear of which is the reason that we are meted out these measures and for all vexations so far. The inhabitants of Hirado, where we had resided for thirty-four years, could testify to what kind of people the Dutch are. We do not doubt that this is sufficiently known there and throughout the whole of Japan, if one cared to discover. They should also consider that if such unheard-of insults became known to other kings and potentates, this would serve to demean the empire of Japan and it could be feared that, if they proceeded in this way, the Company could not be kept going here and it would grieve the Governor-General that his subjects

were maltreated so, under this pretext without any regard to the services rendered, with which, above all nations in the world, we aided the Shogun and the empire of Japan with body and soul and still gave satisfaction to the detriment of the Company.

21 To prevent all of this, they should induce Governor Heiemon to let custom prevail – as in Hirado. They agreed with us and the eldest of the three said: ‘It is an unfair matter, we believe the Turk, who, we are told, is a cruel person and also a great enemy of that nation, would not refuse a dead Christian.’ They conferred with the landlord and other good friends on how to present this to the governor. After an hour or more deliberation, they returned, shrugged their shoulders, and declared that the matter was such that they were afraid that if they proceeded with it, they and the Dutch would suffer, saying apologetically that they would be of service in any but this matter. But I persisted: the Company had no advocate who would argue and defend our case at Court. This forced us to bury the corpses out into the sea, because Master Jacob Jansz – who had been present during the whole argument – was at a loss about what to do, keeping the body salted down or otherwise without the danger of causing illness among the other crew. The governor promptly sent a *bongiois*, who comforted us with the commissioner’s arrival – which suits them wonderfully well, especially when they wish to refuse us something – and gave orders to have two or three large stones taken in a Japanese boat, to cover them with straw mats, to tie the corpse to them, and to have the Japanese take him away, as if he were to be buried on the island, and when out in the open sea, cast him overboard, so that the crew on the ships would not be alarmed. For this reason, I let this be done for this time.

3 Westerly wind and fine weather. In the morning, we started to unload the *Koningin*. We had an acrimonious argument with some of the landlords, who would like to have us dance to their tune and who found us in dispute with them about this. They tried to coerce us – having only an eye on their profits – to store the Company’s sappanwood in their small, inadequate godowns, which would require four

or five of them, and not have it, as usual, stored in their yards. To that end we requested the removal of a small, old, clay caboose so as to have the wood stacked more conveniently, but they refused and would not have it. Every day things are becoming more uncomfortable. What lies at the root of this, time will tell. In the afternoon, I had deputies proclaim and affix on both ships the ordinance regarding the ban on the sale, barter, or presentation of any food or strong liquor to any Japanese, Chinese or other foreign nation without our express order, so that the Company be preserved from any harm which might ensue from any misunderstanding. We also consulted with some friends of the Company about the Governor-General’s order on the early dispatch of two ships; would it be advisable to request this or to let it be, because the governor is already aware that the Dutch will start trading earlier than before so that their ships may depart in time; and also that they would have everything prepared for their departure.

22 After many debates, we were advised against presenting any request to the *bongioisen* about this, much less to the Court, because it might well happen that instead of the two ships requested, all ships would be ordered to leave at the same time. It would also place the Company in an awkward position. They did not doubt that when we were ready, the ships would be dispatched. This had never been refused to any ship in the roadstead of Nagasaki. That this had happened to us in Hirado had a different reason and it would not happen here, because the impediments had been removed. This reassured us and we decided to let matters take their course. We also communicated to the same friends His Honour’s inclination to export gold. Did they think that there would be an opportunity to export 100 chests? Their opinion was: no, the more so because the governor had already forbidden that any gold be wrought by any goldsmith for the Dutch or the Chinese and any decision on this was to be taken by the long-expected commissioner and the governors. They also told us in secret that the governor had received news from Edo that the Company’s silk had been put under the *pancado* – as during the

time of the Portuguese, but it was said that there was some change in the division. The governor was keeping it under wraps till the arrival of his successor, who is expected shortly.

4 Fine weather, south-westerly wind. In the morning, we started to unload the *Koningin*. This proceeded slowly, because the *bongioisen* arrived very late, after the Japanese meal – being around nine o'clock. It was ten o'clock before any work could be done on board, because first they had to unseal the water-gates from the outside and the landlord of our house or the *bongiois* of this place had to do so from the inside – they are closed and put under seal every evening by them – and then have the boats, which are brought ashore every evening and taken into custody, back at the job and give orders that some crewmen come ashore to work there, to which end a *bongiois* also went along. The *bongioisen* also usually stop very early and so the unloading did not make much progress and most of the time was spent in recounting the goods, which they inspected at their leisure on shore and we were not allowed to touch these before they were finished; or they were annoyed and sneered at us, saying: 'Do not think that you are in Hirado, where everyone bowed to you because of your gifts and obliged you in every way.' The recounting done, they wanted to have the goods removed forthwith without giving us the chance to sort them first, for which there was enough time before other work came. Therefore, several kinds of merchandise were stored in a jumble in the warehouses. Sometimes, when things did not go to their liking, they hit out at some sailors, drew their swords, and threatened to hack, which they excused beforehand to forestall any complaints, saying that our people had often misbehaved towards them. We tried to prevent this as much as possible. This news finally reached the ears of the governor, who punished a certain *bongiois*, who had formerly been commissioned to found the mortars in Shirahama and who behaved excessively this way, and had him exchanged for someone more suitable. Every day many junks are arriving from China and other quarters. Today seven arrived with much Chinese merchandise, mainly sugar. Thus it

is to be feared that this opulent import, which far exceeds the demand at a time when Japan is already overflowing with these commodities, will curb the rise in prices and no improvement is to be expected this year.

23 A rumour is also doing the rounds that the merchants who have bought the Company's *gielams* in Hirado, to be paid for in the eighth Japanese moon, will now refuse to accept them because of this. Therefore, and because I wish to have the money we are expecting ready on the departure of the first ships, I wrote to the buyers to pay the money on the 1st of the 8th month, for this suited us better than on the last, and also to let me know as soon as possible if they would accept the goods or not so we could take this into account.

5 In the morning, I sent a request to the governor here to allow us four Japanese carpenters to assist in the repairs of the *Rog*, to which he consented. But it took a lot of time before they could be found and had been investigated if they had been Christians and were found trustworthy enough to be let on board. This finally happened, and two *bongioisen* went along to keep an eye on the carpenters and us. We were distressed about this and about all other restrictions and strange concerns with which we are being treated every day to the extent that we doubt that the Portuguese ever suffered a more impertinent treatment than we are meted out. This does not portend any good, but it is to be feared that it will grow even worse, unless the arrival of the expected gentlemen brings us some solace. We asked some trusted friends what they thought of the Company's state here and if there was any hope of improvement. They said: 'Yes, but very little, because the governor makes decisions on any new cases concerning the Dutch as during the time of the Portuguese, and although he must have been given orders to this effect, this is kept quiet.' This gives little hope for improvement. In the afternoon, we received 400 stone slabs from Hirado by the Company's freight barge, which we dispatched back to Hirado in the evening with a note of receipt.

6 Southerly wind and fine weather. Two rented barges arrived from Hirado with a goodly load of

stone slabs and timber together with a letter from Elseracq, dated the 5th, from which we learnt of the delay in payment by the Lords of Hirado. In the afternoon, a *hayafune* brought the news that Governor Saburōzaemon would arrive this evening and Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami in two or three days. Thus preparations were made in the town and on board the *Koningin* to receive him. He arrived in the evening and on the Company's behalf he was welcomed by five shots and the sound of trumpets. We sent one of the two barges back to Hirado with a letter for Elseracq.

7 Variable winds, fine weather. In the morning, we learnt that the heads of the five shogunal cities had passed in the night and that a fair sum of money had arrived. Also, that about eighty interpreters, from a larger number and employed during the time of the Portuguese, had requested Governor Heiemon some days ago to serve the Dutch in the same way. We asked if we could welcome the governor. We were told that, if we so wished, we would be called.

8 In the morning, an express *tentō* brought us a letter from Elseracq, dated the 5th, from which we learnt that Governor Saburōzaemon had been in Hirado and had visited him. He had asked him which ships had arrived and how many were expected.

24 And what was he still doing in Hirado. He had replied that three ships had arrived in Nagasaki and four or five more were expected, and that he had remained thus far to advise the ships to set course to Nagasaki. His Honour told him that he should go to Nagasaki at the earliest date and another Dutchman should be sent to replace him, he wished to consult him and the captain. He addressed him in a very friendly manner: 'Elseracq, you have lived in Hirado for many years, I can imagine that it is difficult to move. But do not be disheartened. When you go to Nagasaki, you will have as much freedom as you had in Hirado. The Shogun means well towards the Dutch, rest assured of that.' He also said: 'Because you have been in Hirado for a long time, you have many friends here, whom you have obliged every year with a good lot of the best merchandise; this can no longer be the case, but they have to do their

best like other merchants when they buy something, without being given any preferential treatment.' He also asked where Captain Frans⁹ was and if he would return to Japan. He had replied that he was in Batavia and he trusted that he would leave for his country this year. I promptly sent a request to the governors that Merchant Lucas and two assistants be allowed to go to Hirado to replace Elseracq and to look after the Company's affairs there. No decision was given today, but they would confer tomorrow and let us know. In the afternoon, a few deputies came on behalf of the newly-arrived governor to inspect the warehouse in which the raw silk was stored to see if it was well protected against fire and theft. They said that it would be shared under the *pancado* among the five cities and Hirado would participate with a small share. We also learnt that the new governor was very displeased with the old governor because the ships had been unloaded and this had not been delayed till his arrival. Also, that apart from the governors' guards and the *bongiois* of the island, who had been appointed since the arrival of the ships, they had ordered that the heads of the five cities could also place their guards, who usually patrol the island in turns. One hour before evening fell, the four main *burgemeesters* appeared in the lodge, declaring that, on behalf of the governor, they had been sent to settle the rent between us and the landlords of the island in such a way that both sides – as they said – would be content. We replied that we had long been willing to settle this and we requested that the landlords state what annual or monthly rent they would like for their houses. On behalf of the Company, we would make an offer such that would find acceptance with them. They considered this to be reasonable and intended to ask the landlords this evening or tomorrow for their demand and to inform us of it. After a drink of wine they left.

9 In the morning, I sent the *tentō* with a letter to Elseracq. On behalf of both governors, *Burgemeester* Takagi Sakuemon came to read us the following

9 Francois Caron, Le Maire's predecessor as *opperhoofd* of the Hirado factory, 1639–1641.

order: 'We order the Dutch captain to give strict orders to his subordinates both on land and on the ships that they shall not sell, barter, nor present any Christian ornaments to the Japanese, Chinese or any other national who lives, sails, and trades here, nor in their presence engage in any practice with any such object or instigate anyone to do so.

25 Also, that you shall not observe Sunday or the rest day, nor the holy days which you are accustomed to celebrate, but as long as you are in this country you shall abstain from this – to prevent all disasters. All psalm-books, Testaments, or any other such books, which the Christians ordinarily read, shall be kept away from the Japanese. Anyone who violates these orders will suffer the same punishment as the Portuguese.

7th moon, 3rd day. On behalf of the two Governors of Nagasaki

We would appreciate the aforementioned orders being given by the Dutch captain to all Dutchmen who have arrived and who will arrive and that he confirms this with his signature. Signed Maximiliaen Le Maire.' We were also given the oral orders that we should wait and not sell any goods before the trade had been opened and the *pancado* of the raw silk had been settled. To this end the governors had ordered the godowns to be sealed by the *bongiois* and a *burgemeester* until the trade had been opened; if we needed anything from them, we could put in a request and they would be opened for our benefit. We could not argue with this and had to accept it. We had the *burgemeester* request the governors that the spot we had selected for a timber yard be permitted us, because we would like to careen the ships there with the coming tide. He promised to do this. Shortly after noon, the four *burgemeesters* of the town came to inform us on behalf of the governors that the Shogun had ordered that, as had been the custom with the Portuguese and it was now with the Chinese, the Dutch ships also depart on the 20th day of the 9th moon every year. If any ship arrived very late, it would be allowed fifty days to trade, like the Chinese. All merchandise that had not been sold within that time should be returned to the ships, because the Shogun had ordered that

no goods of the foreigners may remain in his country. However, we would be informed later if the Dutch had to depart with them or if some were allowed to remain in Japan to be presented to the Shogun. We responded that we would comply with the Shogun's order, but we feared that it would not be possible to sell the merchandise that had already been brought and that we were still expecting with three or four ships from different quarters, in such a short time, that is, within about seventy days from now, and that a large part will remain unsold after the allotted time. The more so because trade had not yet been allowed and the merchants were not yet present with their capital. Therefore, we requested trade be allowed. If time was short, we requested we be given more time to sell this year's cargoes, because this was the first time that we had to comply with these orders and had not been prepared. In future we would be ready to leave with the other nations on the fixed day. Also, that they should consider that the Chinese and other junks from nearby places usually arrive here before the Company's ships, which come from faraway countries, and that, on their arrival, those are immediately granted permission to trade.

26 Many factors come on the junks and they each own a share which they can easily sell before their departure, but the Company's trade is of a different kind and only one captain is responsible and he has few assistants. Therefore, we considered it impossible that such a copious commerce could be handled in such a short time. They promised to inform the governors of this and to bring their decision. They also conveyed the governors' warning that, as we had resided in Hirado for more than thirty years and had made many friends there, we should beware of too much familiarity with them if they should appear here, because it was assumed that the people of Hirado were privately inclined towards Christianity. We would do well to cut off relations with them, to prevent both them and the Company from getting into trouble. We thanked the governors in the Japanese manner for this warning. At dusk, the *burgemeesters* again appeared in the lodge; they told us that they had conveyed our

request to the governors and their response was that they allowed Elseracq to be replaced and that we could send as many people as we deemed necessary; that we could careen the ships on the western side of the town, they would send their *bongiois* to attend, but concerning the timber yard, they would consider this later. They had also spoken to the twenty-five landlords of the island and they had altogether demanded a rent of 8000 taels for all their houses on this island to be used only by the Company and no one but Dutchmen, and this sum would be divided among all the houses. We replied that the division was no concern of ours, but that we thought it unfair that we were being charged for twenty-five houses, while there were only eight. Furthermore, the demand was high and disproportionate and we could not accept this. We had to consult first with Elseracq and the other Dutchmen. We would let them know what we thought fair and were willing to pay. In the meantime, they should be patient and inform the landlords that we were not willing to accept their high demand. We also requested their mediation in making them see reason and ensuring that terms were acceptable to the Company and they would enjoy the profits from their houses many more times. They promised to do this.

10 Fine weather, the wind westerly. Early in the morning, the Company's freight barge, which had arrived last night with timber and stones, was unloaded. Around seven o'clock, the long-expected Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami arrived. He was welcomed on the Company's behalf by seven shots. May the Lord grant that his arrival will not burden us the way the arrival of Governor Saburōzaemon has. Around nine o'clock, I sent Merchant Lucas and two assistants with the Company's *kobaya* to Hirado to replace Elseracq and the others and to look after the Company's affairs there. Their luggage was searched first and the books and papers were removed, the names of the *bongioisen* written on them, stamped and given into the care of the landlord of our house. Shortly after, the *bongioisen* again inspected the *Rog* and the *Oranjeboom*, in spite of the fact that after they had been unloaded

this had already been done very closely on the order of Governor Heiemon and all books, whatever kind they were, yea, even the ships' logs, accounts, and other written papers were removed, packed in bags, stamped and taken ashore,

27 where they are to be kept in the custody of the *bongiois* of the island till the ships' departure. In the afternoon, a rented barge arrived from Hirado with timber and beams, which was unloaded instantly and returned in the late afternoon. In the afternoon, I had all the ships informed by a written ordinance of the orders given to us by the governors yesterday, with the recommendation that everyone had to obey them if he did not want to endanger the Company's state and everyone else. This was also impressed upon the crew by word of mouth and they promised for the short time that they would be here to obey them absolutely. We were sorry to learn from our friends and oldest servants how Governor Saburōzaemon and his creatures were stating that even if the Dutch were treated ten times worse than the Portuguese, they would not leave Japan but would keep coming here. This is a bad omen and makes us fear even worse treatment. Also, that the Shogun daily keeps issuing bans against ostentation. The market is flat and there was little demand for goods, almost all of the merchandise that had been sold here and in Hirado last year still lying unsold in Miyako. Therefore, they did not expect many merchants to come this year. It is to be feared that everything will be sold for a very low price like last year. The first signs are already apparent, some goods having been sold for a lower price than before, especially the *gielams*. The Company runs the risk that if the prices do not rise in the meantime, they will have to be returned.

11 Fine weather, south-westerly wind. In the morning, the *bongioisen* came to the lodge to unload the *Koningin*. They informed us that the cargo loaded in Siam for Tayouan had to be stored ashore in a godown so that the ship could be inspected more proficiently. Our protestation, that there was the risk of fire with regard to the oil jars and the expense, had no effect. It appears that they are trying to benefit their citizens and to make us

suffer all kinds of grief and to make life so difficult for us so that there would not be enough time for trade and we would be forced to return most of the goods unsold. The interpreters, having been sent to the governors to request a speedier dispatch of the Company's affairs, were summoned by Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami. They were told that the Shogun had granted that the Company's white raw silk be sold under the *pancado* and shared among the five shogunal cities, as during the time of the Portuguese; that the Dutch should employ their own servants and no Japanese ones, as had also been the custom with the Portuguese; that the export of gold or wrought gold, minted or unminted, and of ginseng was forbidden on severe penalty; that in all matters we would be treated like the Portuguese and we had to accept this, not complain or make any requests to the contrary, because this was the Shogun's will and had to be obeyed.

28 If we could not accept this, we had to return whence we had come. Japan would not be short of anything, but could be supplied with the necessary commodities. But because the Shogun had been given the assurance that the Dutch were Christians but did not proselytize and that the Portuguese were their enemies as well, he granted them permission to come to Japan to trade. He also said that when the Portuguese had first been given this order, they had thought it strange, but that thereafter they had complied and had even praised it, because they had left without any debts, and he trusted that the same would happen with the Dutch. Half an hour later, on behalf of the said gentlemen, the *bongiois* of the island informed us that from now on no sounding of the trumpets was allowed on board or ashore as long as we were in Japan. The force of these orders is such that all our requests have come to nought and none of the interpreters dare propose anything, however small, to the said gentlemen on behalf of the Dutch. We are in dread of more. Shortly after noon, a rented barge brought stones and timber and a letter, dated the 10th, from Elseracq, from which we learnt that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami had passed through Hirado some days before and that when Elseracq had gone to welcome him, he had

told him: 'Have faith, do not be concerned about the change of location; the Dutch will do as well in Nagasaki as they had in Hirado, rest assured.' His Excellency had instructed Regent Kura-no-suke to issue orders that no one from Hirado was allowed to be friends with the Dutch, converse with them or keep their company and, if they wished to buy anything from the Company, someone else had to do this. The *machibugyō* had instructed the citizens of Hirado that, if they disobeyed the order, this would spell their ruination. This caused such distress among the citizens, that the Company's best friends were reluctant to come to the lodge and converse with the Dutch.

12 Fine weather. In the morning, on behalf of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and the governors, four *bongioisen* came to the lodge to inform us that before the trade could be allowed, our houses had first to be cleared of all Christian books and papers, which have to be kept out of sight of the merchants who come to trade. We should show them all the gold, minted and unminted, which we had with us. They wanted to issue an order that it had to be exchanged for silver, reminding us earnestly of the Shogun's order. Also, all the guns should be handed over and they would be stored in the shogunal armoury until departure. Only the captain and the factor, meaning myself and Elseracq, were allowed to carry a sword and a backsword. They impressed upon us the shogunal ban on the export of Japanese guns under penalty of death. After their pronouncement, they apologized and asked us not to hold it against them. It was done for the good of the Dutch, who thought the shogunal orders strange and harsh because this was the first time, but they would become easier to bear over the years.

29 They assured us that nothing harmful was intended, but, like a father taking care of his children, the said gentlemen wanted the Dutch to accustom themselves so much to Japanese customs that they would observe them properly and come to trade with Japan for many more years without running into trouble. We should comply willingly and summon all the Company's servants and show them how to behave, so that their orders would take

effect as soon as possible. Notwithstanding that this seemed a severe matter, we resolved to trust that it would be for the best and, because they were completely within their power, to comply with a friendly countenance without any argument. Thus, all the Company's servants were summoned to the hall and to bring everything. The books that we did not need were put in a canaster without inspection, stamped by the *bongioisen*, and given into the custody of our landlord. They also wished to do this with the Company's trade accounts, but we declared that we could not conduct trade without, nor could we give a proper account to the Governor-General without them. Two of the *bongioisen* went to inform their masters of this, who thought that this was reasonable, but we had to draw up an act that these accounts did not contain any Christian matters. This we promised and we could keep the books. After this was finished, we came to the matter of the gold. We brought forward the Company's gold *koban* and some *ichibu* – which we had received in Edo for some merchandise we sold. Also, private gold headbands, buttons, rings, and other stuff. This was all noted down by the *bongiois* and our landlord and returned to us. They said: 'If it is possible, spend the gold instead of the silver, if not, have the landlord change it for silver before you leave, because you may not export it and you must give an account of where it went. The gold and the goldwares that you have imported into Japan you may export again or sell it here if you like, or you may have whatever you like made of the gold you have brought yourselves.' They did the same with the arms, which were packed in cases and mats, noted down, stamped, and taken to the shogunal armoury. Thus, they went from house to house and spent the day in these activities. In the evening, they gave me the following deed in Dutch and Japanese to be signed by me: 'I, Maximiliaen Le Maire, *Opperhoofd* of the Dutch in Nagasaki, declare that all the books and papers demanded by the governors here have been handed over to the designated *bongiois* and that we keep only the trade accounts and papers, and that these do not contain any Christian matters. Should this be found to be contrary to the truth, I offer my person

as surety to be punished accordingly. As confirmation that this is the truth, I have signed this with my signature. In Nagasaki, the 7th moon, the 6th day. Signed Maximiliaen Le Maire.'

13 Heavy rains with thunder and lightning, variable winds, which meant that the *Koningin* could not be inspected. In the afternoon, the governors had us informed that, following the order given, all the Japanese servants whom we could spare would be given permission to leave and we could keep the ones whom we needed for a while for three or four days.

30 Thus of the twenty-one who were in Nagasaki, thirteen have been dismissed, and just two interpreters, one clerk, two cooks, and two valets are kept. I also wrote to these in Hirado that, as long as Merchant Lucas was there, they should assist him when the need arose. Later in the afternoon, all the Japanese servants who were dismissed by the Company were summoned to the residence of *Burgemeester* Takagi Sakuemon to find out if they had been prejudiced towards the Christian faith by the Dutch. At dusk Senior Merchant Jan van Elseracq arrived. This was directly conveyed to the *bongiois* of the island and I requested that one of the water-gates be unsealed and opened so that he could come ashore. About an hour later, the *bongiois* came to inform us that the governors did not wish to have a gate opened this evening, that a patrol boat had been assigned to the *kobaya*, and Elseracq would have to remain on the boat. A sad case, to show such little respect to the Dutch. I wanted to have this shouted out to Elseracq, but I was warned that this would be taken very much amiss and it would be forbidden – as was indeed the case – to shout out to the *kobaya* or the ships, because the governors did not wish the people on board to know what was happening on shore, nor the people on shore what was happening on board. Therefore, they have forbidden the sounding of trumpets on shore and on the *Koningin*, because they thought that the one could warn the other.

14 Fine weather, the wind easterly. About nine in the morning, the *bongiois* came to the lodge and opened the water-gate and allowed Elseracq to come ashore. His belongings were searched

meticulously, the goldwares noted, the books which could be spared packed in a chest, sealed, and given into the custody of the landlord. In the afternoon, the governors had us informed that, on the order of the Shogun, the houses in Hirado and Kawachi-ura would be demolished, leaving only the buildings that were needed to lodge the Dutchmen there and to store the commodities. The *kobaya* and other vessels which were not needed for the loading and unloading were to be sold. Till noon today, the Japanese servants have been examined and after everything had been noted down, they stamped it and it was given to the commissioner and the governors. What will happen, time will tell. The governors had the *bongiois* inform us what goods the foreigners may not export: Gold nor wrought gold, copper nor any wrought copper or cash, Japanese arms of whatever kind, sulphur nor gunpowder, of each just a little, rice, beans, wheat flour nor any suchlike food, just what was needed on board for the journey. Of ginseng only 50 catties a year, lacquerware, screens and so forth, on which cities, castles, persons, especially those carrying arms, are painted, everything under penalty of death.

15 Southerly wind, fine weather. We have been busy unloading the munitions from the *Koningin*. We were excused from having to unload the two large pieces of ordnance which were in the master gunner's quarters, the ammunition, and the rudder to prevent the counter timber from getting damaged.

31 We also unloaded the cargo that had been loaded in Siam for Tayouan, which has been stored in a separate godown. After we had already several times been refused permission to trade, we decided that now Elseracq has come and time is winging by, to press for this more strongly. We sent for the sworn interpreters and explained to them what has to be done in the Company's interest and trade; they should inform the governors of this in a mannerly fashion and seek to achieve that we be given permission to trade. Because if we have to wait till the arrival of the last ship, the *pancado* of the white raw silk would be closed as was usual in the time of the Portuguese and as the heads of the five cities usually claim, it is to be feared that if the ship arrives late,

the time will have passed and we shall not be able to trade, but will spend our time loading the unsold goods. They considered this to be a fair request and said that they would inform the four *burgemeesters* first and then the governors.

16 South-easterly winds, fine weather. In the afternoon, the sworn interpreters gave us the governors' response that our request was fair, but because the Shogun's order stated that all ships which are expected have to arrive first and then the *pancado* of the raw silk will be settled as during the time of the Portuguese, this could not be done, but we should confer how we wished to sell the commodities and inform them. We replied that we intended selling the Company's commodities with bidding slips as we had done before, because this was least controversial. They agreed and thought it would also please the governors. Today the *Koningin* has been inspected meticulously from top to bottom, to the *bongiois*'s satisfaction.

17 Fine weather, southerly wind. In the forenoon, we were busy opening the sealed chests and sacks with the ship's logs and, at our request, returning the logs, the accounts and other papers to the merchants and the bookkeepers. In the afternoon, the commissioner and the two governors went to inspect the *Koningin* on the outside, had a few sailors jump from the sprit top into the water and other such exercises, which they enjoyed.

18 Fine weather. Because the crew has to remain on board, we sent a request to the governors, that every other day some vegetables, poultry, eggs, fish, and other provisions be permitted to be delivered onto the island and a party of sailors be allowed on shore to buy them. Also, that the masters of the ships be allowed to look for a suitable place to beach and careen their ships; both requests were granted. We had also requested to be allowed to retain the services of the interpreter Tōzaemon, who is proficient in the Portuguese language and fairly competent in Dutch, and of the clerk Isemon, who can assist us in speaking and accounting, if not forever, then at least for the coming trade season; this was refused and we were granted the services of the interpreters Hakuzaemon and Sacquemon, whom we liked the

least to serve us as interpreters, but they would be paid by the Shogun and would not be on the payroll of the Company any longer. The governors had been informed of the manner in which we intend to conduct trade, and they praised this.

19 Variable winds and fine weather. In the evening, the four *burgemeesters* came to settle the rent but we could not agree.

32 This was because the *caseros* insisted on eight chests of silver and we would not rise above three chests. The matter was postponed for further consultation on both sides. We fear that it will not be settled for less than five chests, which we shall always have to give in future. The *burgemeesters* told us that the governors had conferred about the affairs of the Dutch and they had said that the person who would be appointed captain for the next year, or someone else, could remain here on the island with as many Dutchmen as he liked and travel to Edo before the *Shōgatsu* to pay homage to the Shogun, but they were not allowed to leave the island. The present captain – referring to my person – did not have to leave on the 20th day of the 9th moon, but he had permission to sell the cargoes which came late first and to leave with the same ships after the fifty days' period. Today the masters went to look for a suitable place to beach their ships to start careening them tomorrow; a party of sailors came ashore to buy fresh food, as had been decided yesterday. We also learnt that placards had been affixed that no Japanese should plot with the Dutch to export banned goods, whether of gold, arms, or the like, and those that reported this would be presented with a fair sum of silver and be exempt from punishment – which usually is death. That no Dutchman was allowed to leave the island without permission, that whores were allowed to come onto the island, but no other women, nor Japanese priests nor beggars. That no vessels were allowed to sail within the signposts and the island, but they had to go beyond, all on certain penalties.

20 In the morning, the three ships were beached on the other side of the town and the crews started to careen them. In the evening, I received an express letter from Lucas that Regent Kura-no-suke

had given orders to demolish the house of the president in the Company's interest. The three loaded barges had been waiting for a favourable wind at Kawachi-ura, but because of the *Bon* Festival had returned to Hirado, but we could expect them very soon.

21 Fine weather, southerly winds. In the morning, we dispatched the *tentō* and sent orders to Lucas to have the residence demolished without delay, following the order of Kura-no-suke, and how he had to act in all other matters concerning the Company. Every day we are looking forward to the ships which we still expect from Tayouan, Tonkin, and Batavia, especially because it appears that no trade will be allowed before their arrival. We are also looking forward to the arrival of the merchants from up country, who are slowly appearing and none of importance, the rumour being that the most important ones would not come because the goods which they had bought last year were still mostly unsold. Also, that they had little cash and credit and that it appears that a good part of the commodities, both of the Company and the Chinese, will have to be returned unsold. In the evening, the *Koningin* returned in the roadstead, having been careened on the west side of the town. Today all the interpreters, landlords of the island, the four main *burgemeesters* of the town, yea even Heizō, were summoned by Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and the governors and they were given these written instructions:

33 they are not allowed to accept any gifts from the Dutch – however small, they have to keep an eye out for any Christian acts committed by us and to report anything said or done by us truthfully. They should instruct us that the trade should be conducted honestly without any aberrations by us or the merchants. They promised to follow these instructions and each stamped it with his blood. The Company's two former interpreters, Hakuzaemon and Hachizaemon, were among them, so that we have to be careful about what we say and do.

22–24 Fine weather, southerly winds. Nothing noteworthy happened. We keep looking forward to the ships, the money, and the merchants to trade with.

25 Fine weather, northerly wind. In the morning, three freight barges arrived from Hirado, bringing stone slabs, ledges, empty silk cases, and all the livestock: sheep, goats, geese, and ducks. We learnt from Lucas's letter that a start had been made with the demolition of the house and that he was doing his best to collect the debts, but up to now he had received fair words but no money.

26 In the morning, I dispatched the three barges back to Hirado and all the Company's former Japanese servants went on them. They have stayed with us for such a long time after it had been confirmed that they were not Christians, that it will be difficult to make do with the few Dutch boys and the strange interpreters, who come and go as they please, sometimes but once or twice a day; the former interpreters of the Company also joined them. In the afternoon, the governors had us informed that a Dutch ship had sailed past the bay last night.

27 The merchants are gradually dribbling in and we hope that our trade will open on the 27th day of the 7th Japanese moon, which is 1 September,¹⁰ which was the day on which the Portuguese used to start trading. The merchants who arrived today told us that they had seen the ship that passed yesterday off the bight called Ossenhal, three or four miles off Hirado. She will probably arrive tomorrow.

Arrival of the *Gulden Buis*

28 Shortly after noon, the ship sailed into the bay. Because of the adverse wind, the governors sent twenty barges to tow her in, but this was not possible and had to be postponed till tomorrow.

29 Around seven o'clock in the morning, the ship was towed into the roadstead. She was the flute the *Buis*, sailing from Batavia via Tayouan. Without speaking to us first or taking us with them, the *bongioisen* went to inspect her straightaway and to muster the crew. After this had been done, they came ashore with Merchant Augustijn Muller and summoned us to the guardhouse at the water-gate. They handed us the letters from the Governor-General and the Governor of Tayouan, which we had to

open in their presence. The Japanese letters from His Honour and Caron to the Lord of Hirado and other nobles were removed and taken with them to be handed to the governors.

34 The value of the cargo, from Batavia and Tayouan, amounts to 259,775 guilders and consists of the following. [List.]

35 We learnt from our friends and from the letters that the flute the *Oostkapelle* had sailed on the 2nd, seven days before their departure from Tayouan to come here. On their departure from Batavia, a large fleet under the command of Commander Quast lay ready to sail to Goa to attack the enemy.¹¹ Shortly after midday, we started to unload the cargoes. We thought we could store each kind of commodity in the warehouses where we had started to put them. But the *bongiois* told us that the cargo of this ship and those of the next ships should be stored separately in one, two or three godowns. This means that the goods are scattered and this will inconvenience us greatly during the sale – when we have to collect each kind of commodity. I think that this is mainly done, because if many buildings are taken, we have less reason to refuse their unreasonable demand of 8000 taels and this will benefit the landlords of the island.

30 Fine weather. We were busy unloading the *Gulden Buis*, but the *bongioisen* were very uncooperative – which, we were secretly told, was on the orders of the governors to vex us – and everything proceeded slowly. When on board for the unloading, they were also very rude to the sailors, hitting them, because sometimes they brushed against their gowns with their sweaty bodies and they did not jump to their shouting and yelling – which our people do not understand. Neither the merchant nor the master was allowed to give any orders during the unloading, but they wanted to do everything themselves. They cut open everything which came before them with axes without any regard for the goods. Any objections from us did more harm than

¹⁰ Sic. 2 September.

¹¹ Matthijs Quast was commander of the Dutch fleet sent to blockade Goa.

good and only elicited counter arguments, thus we had to accept this with patience.

31 Fine weather, variable winds. In the morning, we learnt that a certain able seaman, by the name of [12], sailing on the *Gulden Buis*, had dared to contravene the order and had swum across to the *Koningin*, spent the night there and in the morning swam back to his ship in full sight of all the patrol boats. The *bongioisen*, who were supervising the unloading, were very annoyed. They had the master clap him in irons to have the governors summon him later to demand an explanation for his crime. It is to be feared that this person will be severely punished. In the afternoon, two barges arrived from Hirado with stone slabs, empty chests, glass windows of the demolished houses, and other stuff; they could not be unloaded today.

September

1 The wind south-westerly, rainy weather. In the afternoon, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami sent for the things which had come from Batavia on his account. Because the gifts had not yet been unloaded, Augustijn Muller went on board with *bongioisen*, who handed the things to him. When they opened the chest, in which these were kept with other things, in the cabin and saw the gifts from His Honour and President Caron to the Lord of Hirado and his regents, they were greatly annoyed, using many foul and scornful words to show their contempt of the lord and his nobles.

2 South-westerly wind and fine weather. In the afternoon, the Company's freight barge arrived with stone slab, empty chests, and old timber.

36 We learnt from a letter from Lucas, dated the 30th of last month, that the lodge of President Couckebacker, the caboose, and the pantry had been pulled down and were protected by straw roofs against rain. The panes were being removed from Caron's house. So far he had not received any payments from the nobles, notwithstanding the fact that he was trying his utmost every day to obtain them.

3 The wind south-westerly. We still have not seen the *Oostkapelle*, which makes us fear that she has run into trouble. In the afternoon, all the Company's commodities had been completely unloaded from the *Buis*. Later, the munitions sent as gifts were unloaded. We sent for the *bongioisen* and they opened chest N° E, in which were the gifts for the Lord of Hirado and other nobles. They were checked and returned to us with the words: 'Keep them until the governors – who have written to Edo about them – order you what to do with them.' They made various contemptuous remarks about the sending of these gifts and also said that they would harm the Company more than that they would help, because the servants of the Shogun, such as the Lord of Hirado, his regents and other nobles, were presented with better gifts than were given to the Shogun. They concluded: 'What likeness does a slave have to his master or how can one assure oneself who is the more highly regarded, for the greatest is compared with one of his underlings.' We were distressed to hear that these expensive and generous gifts would bring about results counter to what His Honour's intentions had been.

4 In the morning, the ordnance, powder, guns, and the rudder of the *Gulden Buis* were brought ashore. At our request, the governors granted permission for the supply boats to lie alongside the ships during the day and during the night behind the patrol boats. Also that the people, man, woman or child, whoever felt like it, could freely go on board the ships. We also learnt that gradually more and more merchants are arriving with a lot of cash and that apparently the *pancado* of the Company's raw silk would be settled on the first.

5 Variable wind and fine weather. Japanese feast. Nothing happened.

6 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. The *Buis* has been unloaded and because no more raw silk from Tayouan is to be expected and time is running out, I had the interpreters request the governors earnestly that the *pancado* of the silk be made and we be allowed to open the trade. No reply was forthcoming. In the evening, we heard the rumour that a ship had been spotted off the north of Hirado.

12 The name has not been entered.

- 7 Before noon, the governor had us informed that he had received our request and had deemed it fair. Therefore, he had ordered the *burgemeesters* of the town and the heads of the five shogunal cities to confer about the *pancado* and to see to it that it was settled quicker than it had been during the time of the Portuguese. We had His Honour thanked.
- 37 In the afternoon, the Japanese letters from the Governor-General and President Caron to the Lord of Hirado, his regents, Takumi-no-suke, and other private persons were returned with the order to deliver them with the gifts. With express mail a letter was sent to Lucas in Hirado to hand them over to be sent to Edo. In the evening, the *burgemeesters*, and the aforesaid heads came to the lodge to settle the *pancado*. We would have liked to have sorted the raw silk first – as was the custom in Hirado – and then settle the price. This was not possible, whatever the arguments we put forward, but we had to follow the Shogun's order and deal after the manner of the Portuguese. That meant that first the price of each quality had to be settled and then sort them when the canasters were opened. We thought that this would be like buying a pig in a poke and would cause a lot of quarrels and trouble, but it was not to be helped. We have to be patient and it is to be feared that the merchants will not treat us any better in the trade than the governors in their government. Finally, we put forward our demands for which they offered the following prices. [Prices.] They differed markedly and we could not reach an agreement. Thus the *burgemeesters* – who had been appointed mediators – proposed, it being already late, to put it off till tomorrow. In the meantime, both sides could confer.
- 8 Fine weather, the wind south-easterly. Because the Japanese considered this an unlucky day, the heads of the five cities did not come but sent their representatives. They had raised yesterday's bid by 20 taels per picul. [Prices.] They asked us to lower our demand and we should consider that the prices for all goods – yea even the silk – had dropped. We lowered our demand. [Prices.] We told the representatives that they should tell their masters that what they had offered did not cover the cost price and the expenses, and they would have to raise their bid if they wished the Company to keep importing silk.
- 9 We had no news about the ships. Today the bid for the silk was raised by 10 taels per picul. We also dropped our demand. [List.] We declared that we would not go any lower.
- 38 10 South-westerly wind, fine weather. In the evening, the heads came to the lodge complaining that the market for all commodities, even for raw silk, had slumped, thus we should not expect last year's prices and we should take this into account if we wished to make a deal. We considered this and stated our prices. [Prices.] On average, this was about last year's price, on which we were immovable. They bid again. [Prices.] They declared that they could not go any higher and the matter was left to the four *otona* or *burgemeesters* of Nagasaki to settle. After the merchants had left, they argued that the difference of 65 taels per picul was a great one and they would have liked to have seen that we had acquiesced in each other's prices more, which would have made it easier to settle. The demand for raw silk is certainly low and we should take that into account. We replied that we had to accept whatever was decided and that we could only commend our affairs to them. We shall learn of their decision tomorrow, but we fear the worst.
- 11 South-easterly wind, fine weather. In the morning, we received an express mail from Lucas, bringing letters dated the 6th and the 9th, in which he advises us that he had spoken to Senior Merchant Carel Hartzinck on the flute the *Meerman* off the coast of Hirado, and he had told him to sail hither. Also, that he had received the gifts and my letter which had been sent to him with the *tentō* on the 6th and he had delivered them as ordered, but that two rose trees – which had withered on the way – for the lord, and four strings of large red coral beads – of 25 pieces each, sealed at the ends – which, according to the Japanese letters, were for the four regents, but were not mentioned in the Dutch copies, were missing. The outstanding debts in Hirado had not yet been settled, but they kept giving assurances that they will pay them before the departure of the first

ships. 250 taels were being offered for the houses in which Caron had lived, which are being pulled down. He asked what to do about it. Furthermore, a letter had arrived from Osaka from the former interpreter called Riemon – which he dared not send on – in which he advised us to let the buyers of the *gielams*, who were refusing to buy them all, get away with the 5 piculs paid in advance. At the request of his creditors, the house of Machiya Gorōbei, the landlord there, and all his other effects had been sold with permission from the judge of that place, and they had been compensated as much as possible without any consideration of the Company, which can expect no payment. It is regrettable that there is no justice for the foreigner in this barbaric, heathen nation.

39 In the afternoon, the governors sent us the letters from the Governor-General and President Caron to *Burgemeester* Heizō – which they had read and had sealed again with the order to hand it to him with the gifts. The *bongiois* of the island promptly took care of it. He came in the evening to thank us with profuse Japanese compliments on Heizō's behalf. The heads and the *burgemeesters* came to settle the *pancado* of the raw silk and it was settled by the *burgemeesters*. [Prices.] This is a low price, but we can say nothing but have to be patient and have to thank the mediators for their trouble. If it is the same story with all commodities, it is to be feared that the Company will not make any profit this year, but a loss instead.

12 Fine weather, variable wind. The *Meerman*, which is anchored off Seto, cannot sail in. In the afternoon, the *bongioisen*, who had sealed the warehouses, came to unseal them and, on behalf of the governors, informed us that even though the weighing of the silk had not begun, we could start the trade. They also inspected the rayskins and selected some for His Majesty.

13 Variable winds, rainy weather. We offered the sappanwood, buffalo-horns, black and white sugar for sale. Many viewers came, but no buyers. We also learnt that the merchants had managed to exact permission from the governor – who had the interpreters inform us of this – that the goods will not

be sold by bidding slips, but each could buy small lots according to his fancy, which is a long road and will prove difficult in practice, but one has to try his course before one can request another way.

Arrival of the *Meerman*

14 Quiet and overcast. In the afternoon, the *Meerman* arrived from Tonkin with the following commodities. [List.] We learnt from the papers and from the oral reports of Senior Merchant Carel Hartzinck that trade had been conducted satisfactorily in Tonkin and the King had been satisfied with 20 chests of silver; also, that in spite of the fact that they had tried to strike a fair deal with him, the Prince had kept 1000 taels of the commodities in settlement; moreover, the King was still inclined to go to war against Quinam with the help of the Company. If a ship sailed via Tonkin to Batavia like last year, he intended to send an ambassador on it to make a contract to this end with the Governor-General. I also received a letter from the King and the Prince.

40 Anam daijgonsij tonghkocksingh Souphosi Bouingh¹³ [The King sends his regards to Maximiliaen Le Maire. He acknowledges the letters and the presents sent to him every year. Last year he also received some presents and he is sending 5000 taels of white silk and 50 *konings hockins* as a return gift. The gifts are paltry but they are given as a token of friendship. Le Maire can come and trade as he likes because the King is joined in friendship with the Governor-General. The latter has also promised his assistance and has written he will be ready to assist the King in his martial enterprises. If the Governor-General is in earnest, the King would be pleased. His presents for the Governor-General are ready, but he is waiting for a ship with which they will be sent with an ambassador to Batavia. He also

13 'Annam Dai nguyen soai thong quoc chinh Thanh Do vuong': Annam, Supreme Commander, Just Ruler of the Country. The ruler [referred to as 'king' in the Dutch records] was Trinh Trang (r. 1623–1657). His son was Trinh Tac (r. 1657–1682). (Our thanks to Dr Hoang Anh Tuan for providing the correct reading.)

requests that Captain Hentongoo¹⁴ be sent back. The King regards him as his right hand. He hopes his request is granted and he expects him back in five months. Please send the ship shortly, because he wishes to send Captain Hentongoo with his presents and ambassadors to Batavia to renew their friendship, which shall endure for thousands of years. If the Governor-General sends his ships, he will be shown great gratitude, and he will be remunerated for the expenses and the trouble. The King will not forget any service, even as small as a pin, and the friendship between them is like a big sea and cannot dry up, and will continue like a great island that does not move. In the year Tongtee, the sixth moon, the seventh day.] There was a similar letter from the Prince of Tonkin. To test what we could sell out of hand, we offered some goods for sale. [List.] There were viewers only, and we only sold the catechu and the nutmeg.

15 Quiet weather. We started to unload the *Meerman* and we were allowed to sell the Tonkinese goods without delay to see what the trade would be like. We offered some goods for sale. [List.] Some viewers came, but not a single buyer. Therefore it was clear to the four *burgemeesters* – who had come to the lodge to take a look at the proceedings – that on the fourth day after trading had been open and we had been offering our goods for sale, having done our best to accommodate the merchants,

41 that so far it was to no avail. We asked them to make this known to the governors and to try and accomplish that we could sell the Company's cargoes in small lots by bidding slips, because we would enjoy no success this way in the few days still remaining. They promised to do their best.

16 South-westerly wind, fine weather. In the afternoon, the governor had Sakuemon-dono inform us that he thought our request fair. Therefore he allowed us to sell all commodities by bidding slips, as we used to, in fair lots, and we should let Sakuemon-dono know which commodities we wished to sell first, so as to inform the merchants. This we did, and this evening it was announced

through the *machi*. The ill treatment of the people who were loading and unloading has continued, yea, they did not even shirk from beating Assistant Isack Davitsz – who by accident was not on time to return with the sampan with which he had come – and pursuing him to the steps in the water. It is getting worse by the day. We are often at our wits' end and have no way of knowing how they will supervise.

17 Northerly wind, fine weather. In the morning, we had a notice in Japanese affixed to the door of our house with the commodities we were offering for sale and our conditions: Every buyer was enjoined to take prompt delivery of his purchase and not reject anything; no one would be handed any goods before and until he had paid for them in cash; he would be obliged to pay 50 taels of Gotō¹⁵ weight for each paper parcel¹⁶ of silver and 5 taels per 1000 taels for the interpreters, as usual; all buyers would have to accept the goods as they were and as they had viewed them, because no rebates would be given; we would pay 16 taels per catty for all commodities; fair warning was given that from now on all goods would be sold under these conditions and no one could claim ignorance thereof. Then we put the goods on view and the merchants inspected them well into the afternoon. We told them we expected their bids today. In the evening, we had about a hundred bids and, with the consent of the *bon-giois* and our Dutch friends, we let the merchants examine the conditions and had it impressed upon them that they had to abide by them. They objected, because they did not want to pay 50 taels for a paper parcel [of silver], but they wanted to pay with ordinary stamped silver, because, apart from the false ones which are among them, there would be 1 mas 8 candareens short on each paper parcel. We could not agree and the merchants withdrew their bidding slips and returned without doing business.

15 Members of the Gotō family were the supervisors of the gold and silver mints under the Shogunate.

16 Pieces of silver were wrapped in a paper parcel (*tsu-tsumigin*) up to a certain weight and stamped with the seal of the issuer.

14 Carel Hartzinck.

We complained to the *bongioisen* who supervised the unloading of the *Meerman* about this unreasonableness. They promised to convey this to the governors.

42 They consented to have the merchants warned that those who were willing to buy under these conditions were welcome in the morning, but otherwise we were not willing to sell. In the evening, the *Meerman* was empty.

18 Variable winds, overcast and rainy weather. The ordnance of the *Meerman* has been taken ashore and inspected by the *bongioisen*. The whole day there was no trade, because the merchants were insisting on paying only 49.9 taels for 50 taels in each paper parcel. They could not be dissuaded, no matter what fair reasons we gave them, yea, the governors themselves were against them and the interpreters and the *bongiois* advised us not to give in because it would be too much of an infringement, but because the governors did not throw their full weight behind it, we were suspicious and regarded it as a way of trying to waste time, but we have to wait till tomorrow. Late in the evening, we received the news that a baby son has been born to the Shogun in Edo.¹⁷ The whole Japanese empire is rejoicing.

19 North-easterly winds, fine weather. Because of yesterday's happy news, nothing has been done in the trade, but the whole day was spent on celebrating the birth of the new Shogun and, on behalf of the Company, our pleasure was displayed by the waving of flags and firing some shots with the two pieces which were still on the *Koningin*. We went to congratulate Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and the governors, and the four *burgemeesters* and to present them the gifts – which have to be presented once a year – which they accepted. In the evening, five barges arrived from Hirado, three loaded with Cambodian lacquer, one with the *gjelams*, and one with stone and timber. Lucas advised us in a letter, dated the 17th, that the nobles were taking better notice since our last letter and were starting to pay up. A rumour was going round in Hirado that a ship,

which had been driven to the south by the northerly wind, had been spotted at sea. May God grant that it is the *Oostkapelle*.

20 Rainy weather, south-westerly wind. In the morning, we explained to the governors why the merchants were not coming to trade and, because time was speeding by, we requested them to give orders to come to an agreement and start trading. They let us know that they were well aware that the merchants were being unreasonable, but they did not have the authority to force them to trade, because it was up to anyone to pay either less or exactly 50 taels for a paper parcel. We were greatly disheartened about the actions on both sides. It is to be feared that we shall have to give in if we wish to trade. For this reason, the weighing of the raw silk was also postponed, but we were advised to wait and see until tomorrow. We unloaded the five barges which arrived last night. We have also delivered a lot of the best damask and satins for the Shogun.

21 North-north-easterly winds, clear weather.

43 After the merchants had been conferring for over five days about the difference of 1 mas less on the 50 taels, and we had been putting forward our arguments, four *burgemeesters* came and they finally declared that the merchants were obdurate and if we wished to trade we would have to accept 1 mas less on the 50 taels. We finally yielded, stating that we did not think this unjust condition was defensible and we regarded it as lawlessness and we would forever complain about this impertinence and foul play of the Japanese merchants all over the world. The *burgemeesters* left to inform the merchants that they should appear after the Japanese meal with their bids.

22 Overcast. Around noon we sold all the Tayouanese deerskins, Cambodian nuts, *gummi gutae*, *radix China*, *galiga*, part of the sappanwood, sugar, cloves, and pepper by bidding slips. They all raised a very low and disgraceful price. In the afternoon, we opened a batch of Tonkinese silk and silk piece-goods, which were all inspected by the merchants. With regret we learnt from the *bongiois* of the island that the heads of the five shogunal cities had

17 Takechiyo, the future Shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna, was born on 7 September 1641.

complained to the governors about the Company's trade in Hirado last year. They had claimed that last year, contrary to custom and fairness, the Dutch had refused to deliver any goods sold before they had received payment for them, simply out of distrust and to the disparagement of all Japanese merchants. Therefore they had requested that the governors ensure this new practice of the foreigners would be rescinded and that there would be a reversion to the old custom. The governors had agreed with them and had granted them this request, while the conditions under which the goods had already been sold necessitate different [actions]. The others objected, fearing deception. But because the merchants were so insistent and little time is left, and so as not to annoy the governors, we accepted this under duress and against the direct orders of His Honour. But the *bongiois* saw no difficulties and assured us that – for fear of the governors – no merchant would dare take possession of any goods or he would know how to obtain payment for it.

23 Fine weather, the wind northerly. We sold by bidding slips a fair lot of Tonkinese goods, which fetched little more than cost price. We were surprised to learn about the depressed market for all commodities and that the Chinese and other nations still had not sold most of their goods. They had requested the governors to sell them by bidding slips – like the Company, but this had been refused.

44 We also heard that the Shogun was continuing the proclamation of sumptuary laws and that this was the only reason for the depressed market. It is to be feared that, as the start of this trade shows, the few profits which are made on a couple of goods, will be wiped out by the losses to be expected on other goods and will even turn into a greater loss. We requested the governors' permission to dispatch the *Koningin* and another flute two or three days after the approaching new moon. This was granted. Thus, we made preparations to dispatch her with the demand in cash for Coromandel and Surat around 8 or 10 October at the latest.

24 We have been busy delivering the goods sold. We sold the lacquer at a great loss, also all the sugar, spices, and half of the Siamese deerskins. We also

put on view a lot of the Tonkinese goods, which we shall offer for sale tomorrow. The governors informed us that they will visit the *Koningin* tomorrow or the day after.

25 We sold the Tonkinese and the Tayouanese goods at a grievous loss. We have also been busy delivering the goods sold. We found the merchants to be very rancorous and more unreasonable than last year. In everything they were ill-disposed and demanded more weight than they were due, yea sometimes their demands became unbearable and, if sound arguments were presented against them, they started to revile us and rub our noses in the fact that we were not in Hirado, as if we had abused everyone there. We had preparations made on board the *Koningin* to entertain the commissioner and the governors there tomorrow.

26 Southerly wind, fine weather. We have been busy delivering the goods which we have sold in the last few days. Everything on board the *Koningin* was ready to entertain the commissioner and the governors, but in the afternoon only the commissioner appeared with a fair entourage, because the governors were occupied. He viewed the ship and spent two hours on board. In the evening, five barges arrived from Hirado with stone slabs, doors, windows, empty cases, and some cash. From a letter from Lucas, dated the 25th, we learnt that the nobles were starting to pay their debts and he had hopes that shortly almost all would have paid up. The house of Caron had been pulled down. They had started to demolish the houses along the water side.

27 North-westerly wind, fine weather. We sold the rest of the Siamese sapanwood, deerskins, some Tonkinese piece-goods, the quicksilver, rhinoceros horns.

45 The five barges which arrived yesterday have been unloaded. We sent them back to Hirado with a letter for Lucas. The council of this factory held a meeting and we decided to ship back all the goods which do not make the cost price here and can be sold at a fair profit in the fatherland or in other regions, because of the present depressed market. Also, to dispatch the *Koningin* and the *Oranjeboom* to Tayouan, with

400,000 taels for the relief of Coromandel and Surat, on 8 or 10 October at the latest. At his request, we also agreed to let Augustijn Muller return to Batavia on the ship on which he had come. Likewise, to present the former Japanese servants with some shoddy houses – belonging to the Company, where the guards of Kawachi-ura, Furutachi, and Yokoshima lodged, which are hardly worth demolishing, and some other small stuff of the old lodge, lying in the yard. The warehouse in Kawachi-ura, which the intendant of the Lord of Hirado is trying to purchase for the storage of rice, may be used till further notice and what is to be paid for it in future will be left to His Honour. The rubble of the buildings in Hirado will be sold at leisure and not before the departure of the ships, as if there is too much of a hurry. Some persons were promoted on merit in view of the expiration of their contract – awaiting the approval of the Governor-General.

28 Last night another sailor died on the *Koningin* and we requested the governors' permission to have him buried and to be excused from having to throw the dead into the sea now and in future. This was refused: all Christian ceremonies had been forbidden by the Shogun under penalty of death and we had to deal with this corpse and all the others that follow in the manner ordered by Governor Heiemon. We could not accept this and tried to persuade the interpreters to request this of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, but they apologized that they dared not out of fear for the governors; also, because the commissioner could not give orders counter to the governors' rulings and would take this request amiss and we would incur the anger of the governors, whom we needed every day for all matters. Therefore, we did not pursue our request and buried the corpse at sea, to our great regret.

29 Variable winds, fine weather. We sold some goods, some of which at a very low price, and the others at a fair price. Today someone died on the *Meerman*. He was buried in the aforesaid manner.

46 Master Jacob Jansz told us that, when the *bongiois* and the interpreter came on board yesterday to take the corpse out to sea and he had asked the

interpreter if the dead man would be buried as before or on shore, he had replied: 'No, the governors say that he must be thrown into the sea with a stone around his neck, because a Christian's dead body is not worthy of being buried in the earth.'

30 Northerly wind, fine weather. We have been busy sorting the rayskins to sell them tomorrow and delivering goods.

October

1 Variable winds, overcast. Around an hour into the day, we learnt that last night a burglary had been committed in the Company's storeroom through a small window of bamboo strips and the following silverware has been stolen. [List.] Because the steward's mate carelessly spread the news about to the Japanese and others, it reached the *bongiois* of the island, who forbade anyone to leave without first discussing the consequences with the interpreters, and the governors were informed without our foreknowledge. In the meantime, a Dutchman found a hole which had been dug under the wooden fence surrounding the island, through which the thief had let himself down with a rope, which was still tied to one of the crossbars. This was also reported to the governors before we were told. I went to inspect it and arrived at the same time as the *bongiois*. Six or seven *bongioisen* appeared in a hurry with twenty to twenty-five soldiers. They searched the island all over and in all nooks and crannies of the houses, yea, even all the rooms of the Dutch – except for three or four of the higher-ranking ones who were excused. They found the lower parts of three candlesticks, the upper parts having been broken off, each in a locked house, as if they had been thrown through the windows, and nothing else. This having been done, they searched all the Japanese who had been on the island keeping guard during the night, also the steward's mate and a certain black man named Pieter Norijn, who seemed suspicious to them, in front of the caboose. They sharply questioned them five or six times and made notes, and ordered us to question all Dutchmen and to hand them a report in Japanese for the governors. Promptly, we and the interpreters made a start with this, but we could not

do much, because evening was setting in, and had to leave it till the morrow. It is clear that this matter will not end lightly.

47 They are already threatening torture to obtain the truth. This matter was the reason that there was no trade today and the merchants who had come to view the rayskins had to be kept on the island the whole day.

2 Variable winds, fine weather. In the morning, we started to question our people, but the *bongiois* interrupted us. He again questioned the servants of the five adjoining houses and had them put in custody under guard in one of the rear houses. He recommended we question all Dutchmen and black men to see if anyone was guilty or suspect. We did this, but could not find anything. Seeing that this held up the trade and the preparations for the departure of the ships and that the investigation might well bring to light the culprit who would lose his life, which would bring more harm than good to the Company, we presented a request to the governors, dressed up in Japanese fashion with elaborate reasons, that we were fully satisfied with what had been done and that we requested any further investigations be cancelled, the prisoners be released, and to grant us permission for trade to be continued. We received the reply that the Japanese laws did not permit this. But it must have pleased them, because they granted our request to continue trade. Towards evening, after due warning, the Lord of Hakata came onto the island, accompanied by Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Heiemon, to view my house and those of Elseracq and Hartzinck, but mainly to see Madame Hartzinck¹⁸ (Fig. 3), we assume. They were

18 Carel Hartzinck was married to Sara de Solemne (born in Arnhem, the Netherlands). She was the widow of Senior Merchant Pieter Smidt, who served the VOC in Formosa. Their son was born there. Smidt died in Tayouan on 12 April 1638. The date of the marriage of Carel Hartzinck and Sara de Solemne is not mentioned in the literature. Although her stay in Nagasaki was short – a little less than two months – Sara de Solemne may lay claim to the fact that she was the first Dutch woman to visit Deshima. The first Dutch woman to visit Japan was the wife of Reverend

very curious about the Dutch furnishings, touching everything while emitting strange loud groans. From here they went on a *hayafune* to the *Koningin*, which they also inspected with great wonder. They spent about an hour on her and then they left. In the evening, because the governors thought that selling all the rayskins in one batch was too much, only the rayskins from San Thome were offered for sale and also several kinds of piece-goods.

3 In the morning, six barges arrived from Hirado with stones, empty cases, and such, which have been promptly unloaded. From a letter from Lucas, dated 30 September, we learnt that two or three more barges are to be expected and that the rest would remain there, being too heavy, with the rubble of Japanese houses; also, that he hoped that the debts would be paid before the departure of the last ship; that the houses along the waterside, except for the *furo*, had been pulled down and the materials were being kept under straw roofs, so there was little left to be done; that the four citizens, whose godowns the Company had used last year for about three months to store the *gielams* when the warehouses had been pulled down, were demanding rent for them, notwithstanding the benefits they had enjoyed before;

48 that express mail had arrived from Edo that another sixty streets had burnt down, including the courtyard of the Lord of Hirado. If this is the case, it is unlikely that the Company will collect its money. Before noon, the heads of the five cities came to sort the white silk, as it used to be done in Hirado, to be weighed later on. In the afternoon, we sold some rayskins, piece-goods and we also offered some more for sale. In the evening, we decided that it would be a good idea to have the heads of the five cities request the governors that the prisoners be released and that the investigation of the theft of the silverware be discontinued.

Joannes Lindenborn. On their way from Batavia to his post on Formosa, winds drove their ship off course and the couple had to stop at Hirado in the summer of 1636.

4 Unpleasant, rainy weather, southerly winds, and therefore the sale could not be held. We started to load the pieces in the *Koningin* and the *Oranjeboom*. We also learnt that the news about the fire in Edo is true and that, apart from this disaster, the Lord of Hirado has run up against difficulties with his nobles at the Court about casting off Regent Sanzaemon. Also, that the Chinese had requested the governors, out of fear for the Dutch ships, to be allowed to leave ten days after us. This has been granted. Some junks are leaving every day.

5 South-easterly wind, fine weather. In the afternoon, the thirteen prisoners were to be summoned by the governors for interrogation. We asked the governors to cancel this. But this was not granted, and they were taken there by a *bongiois* and Vinck, the steward's mate, and Pieter,¹⁹ the black man, were also summoned. Both returned after a short interrogation. The *bongiois* who brought them back asked to have Pieter, whom they suspected, and the three Japanese, who were also brought back, to be put in shackles. He would be summoned when necessary. We sold a batch of silk, rayskins, white linen, and all the buffalo-horns.

6 Northerly wind, dark skies. Early in the morning, we started to weigh the white raw silk and were finished by the evening. We have also been busy delivering the goods sold to the buyers and preparing others for sale.

7 Rainy weather, hard northerly winds, so we could not deliver any goods. In the evening, we sold a batch of Tonkinese silk and all the fine rayskins, both of which made a substantial loss. In the afternoon, the three prisoners were provisionally released by the governors because of the impending large feast and the departure of the ships.

8 A raging storm with rain from the north-north-west, so that the ships drifted – although they had lowered the topmast and the yards and had dropped the anchors. Because of the bad weather, nothing has been done in the way of trade today.

49 9 The weather calmed somewhat. As a trial we sold some of the European woollen goods, which

fetched a low price. We have been busy delivering goods and preparing others for sale the next day. We had intended to dispatch the *Koningin* and the *Oranjeboom* tomorrow, but because of yesterday's storm, we were one day behind with shipping provisions and tomorrow the *bongioisen* will be busy attending the unsealing of the raw silk of the Chinese – because their *pancado* has been settled – and therefore this cannot be done tomorrow or the day after because of a certain great feast, which is held every year on the 7th day of their 9th moon and this is the day after tomorrow.²⁰ We shall have to wait till the 8th of their moon, which is the 12th. In the meantime, we should send everything on board tomorrow when the *bongiois* comes to open the water-gate.

10 Northerly wind, fine weather. In the morning, we sent all provisions on board. In the afternoon, we sold a fair batch of silk, linen, and all the white *cangans*, Guinea-cloth, and goose-eye, all for a low price.

11 Variable winds, fine weather. A Japanese feast, therefore nothing has been done, except for writing letters to the Governor-General and the Governor of Tayouan. Memorandum of the cargoes of ninety-seven Chinese junks in 1641 [List; eighty-nine junks from China, two from Cambodia, three from Quinam, three from Tonkin, on fos. 49–51.] Memorandum of the goods from the aforesaid list on the account of Mandarin Iquan carried on six large junks.

Departure of the *Koningin* and the *Oranjeboom*

52 12 About nine in the morning, I went on board, mustered the crew and dispatched the *Koningin* and the *Oranjeboom*, which went satisfactorily. The only thing we did not like was that the *bongioisen* who inspected the *Oranjeboom* opened and inspected the letters to the Governor-General – which had been sealed with the governors' permission. We had to accept this. Because of adverse winds, the ships could not leave the bay. The value of the cargoes of both ships amounts to 1,218,077 guilders. In

19 Pieter Norijn.

20 The *Kunchi* Festival.

the afternoon, we sold all the *gjelams*, and the fine rayskins, all for an appalling price.

13 Fine weather, the wind north-westerly. Thus, the ships could not put to sea. To assist them, with the governors' permission, we sent thirty well-manned boats with two interpreters to tow them out of the bay in the evening.

14 Fine weather, easterly winds. As the patrol boats reported, the ships set off on their journey this morning. Lucas arrived with the Company's *kobaya* and two freight barges – bringing the remainder of the things required from Hirado. He confirmed that the ships were out at sea. In the afternoon, hoping that they would raise the same price as before, we again sold a fair batch of European goods, but apart from the *lakenen* they fetched a low price and made less than the cost price, thus we decided to take back the remainder on the ships. The pieces of cannon of the *Gulden Buis* were taken on board and we prepared to dispatch her to Tayouan on the 18th or the 19th. The rumour is doing the rounds that all commodities are slowly being sold in Miyako and the prices are dropping.

15 Northerly winds, fine weather. In the morning, the *Gulden Buis* took in her cargo of cash, wheat, the old ironware of the demolished warehouses, empty sugar leaguers and other things. In the afternoon, we sold a batch of linen and the remainder of the silk, which fetched less than the cost price – except for the white linen. But because it is Japanese assortment and the Company cannot sell it elsewhere, we have to be patient and sell the remainder for the price we can get. As we have been doing every day – late in the evening, we put out goods for sale the next day. But this may not happen, because there is another Japanese feast, which will hold us up for a few days. Every day we are hearing that the rice crops have failed due to the late rains, and now it is being harvested, most has been spoiled by worms and destroyed by the sun's heat.

53 This has raised the price 3 and 4 mas per bale and this has placed the nobles in an uncomfortable position, especially the Lord of Hirado and others who derive their principal income from this source. Therefore he apologized for being unable to pay the Company at this time – because of this and the fire

in Edo – and asked us to be patient with him for two or three years. When he had recouped somewhat, he would start paying and it would be settled within that time. I could not accept this and wrote to his regent, Kura-no-suke, that the Company could not wait any longer but had to be paid and that all means should be employed to accomplish this, so that I would not get into difficulties on arriving in Batavia for accommodating him – without my masters' orders. It is one of the Company's general rules that whoever incurred a debt is accountable for it until it is paid. This would be too unkind a fate and a poor recompense for the courtesy and assistance shown. I am looking forward to the results of this letter, but I fear that it will not be much.

16 In the afternoon, the goods were sold by bidding slips, all for a low price. Another batch of linen was brought out to be sold the next day. By order of the governors all the birds – in new cages, expressly made at the expense of the Company – have been taken from the lodge to be carried to Edo. All this time they had been under the care of the *bongiois* of the island and he had discharged his duty in such a way that of the eleven Persian partridges seven had died and only four remained alive.

17 In the afternoon, the linen was sold to the highest bidder. On average, it has all been sold below cost price. We brought out some Cantonese cloth to try it out tomorrow. We also made a deal with the buyer of the Siamese and the Cambodian lacquer, who had been refusing to accept it since the 24th of last month on invalid arguments.

18 We shipped the last goods to the *Gulden Buis*. We sold some more Cantonese fabrics, the remainder of the *lakenen* and the perpetuanas, and delivered most of them to the buyers.

Departure of the *Gulden Buis*

19 Fine weather. Around ten in the morning, the *Gulden Buis* departed for Tayouan with a cargo and cash to the amount of 351,088 guilders. The piece of ordnance and the rudder were loaded on board the *Rog* and we did not trade today.

20 In the afternoon, we sold the remaining linen and some Cantonese fabrics, which, considering the previous sale, fetched a fair price and was sold

at a slight profit. Therefore, we brought out all for sale tomorrow. So far the patrol boats, which as a rule accompany the ships out to sea and which had sailed with the *Buis*, have not returned. We assume that they must be waiting for a fair wind somewhere off the islands.

54 21 Fine weather, southerly winds. The *Rog* has started to load her cargo of cash, timber, sulphur, and the demand for Siam. In the afternoon, we sold the Cantonese cloth, which fetched about yesterday's price and we brought out the remainder of the lacquer for sale. We heard that the patrol boats had returned last night and that the *Buis* had put to sea. After it had been rumoured for a long time, it has been confirmed that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami will depart for Edo on the 25th day of the 9th Japanese month, which is the 29th, and Governor Heiemon will follow shortly after. We could not omit extending him the Japanese courtesies and wished him a good journey, commending the Company's affairs to him. We ordered the interpreters, if circumstances allowed, to ask His Excellency for the true reason why the Company has suffered so many difficulties and restrictions in such a short time. Also, how the annual replacement of the *opperhoofden* should be executed. Could the one who left now return in the next year or should he be absent for a whole monsoon before he was allowed to return? They promised to do this and considered this to be the appropriate time. I also learnt from the *bongiois* of the island that the *pancado* of the raw silk of the Chinese had been settled as follows. [List.] This is higher than the Company's, arising from the fact, as they say, that the Chinese usually offer better silk for sale than we do.

22 North-easterly winds, fine weather. In the morning, we shipped some timber, blue stone, empty cases, and other things to the *Rog* and in the evening she had her full load. We sold the remaining goods and the two senior interpreters, accompanied by the four others, came on behalf of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami to report that they had presented our request and that they had discussed the Company's affairs for two full hours and finally he let us know that, on arrival in Batavia, the Governor-General should be notified

of the following: during the time of Couckebacker and Caron certain brick warehouses and beautiful houses had been built in a manner unknown to Japanese customs, and everyone throughout the empire had had something to say about this and it had reached the Shogun's ears.

55 To obtain a true report he had sent Commissioners Kagatsume Minbu-no-shō and Nonoyama Shinbei last year – who had also been sent to punish the sixty-one Portuguese who had returned to Japan against the Shogun's orders – to inspect the Company's buildings and conduct at Hirado, as has been done. Apart from this, it had been clear that the Dutch openly celebrate the seventh day like the Portuguese do, hold a ceremony of preaching, praying, singing, and do no work, and through this had converted some people. All this accorded with the rumours and had been analysed at the Court by the commissioner. The Shogun had considered this matter to be of great importance and had decided to destroy the sources of this situation so perilous to the peace of the Japanese empire and, to prevent the grave consequences this might have, to commission him to carry this out and order Captain Caron to demolish the Company's buildings and inform him of the Shogun's further orders. Caron had complied obediently in the Japanese manner, had submitted to the Shogun's orders, and had humbled himself. This was in his favour, because otherwise he would have suffered for it. As a consequence, when the Dutch were last in Edo to pay homage to the Shogun, His Majesty ordered through the councillors that the Company's effects be transported from Hirado to Nagasaki. The commissioner and the governors here were fully satisfied with the Dutch conduct. They have complied with all of the Shogun's orders and he would report this at the Court. He also told us that we should continue in this vein and comply fully with the Shogun's orders. Then it is likely that we can continue coming to Japan for many years. We should notify the Governor-General that he can keep sending richly-laden ships as he has done in the past. He also informed us that, with regard to the replacement of the *opperhoofden*, we should follow the Shogun's order and that at the most five or six Dutchmen, agreeable and steady

men, who know how to live according to Japanese customs, are allowed as companions on the court journey and as assistants to Jan van Elseracq. The persons who have been chosen to remain here are the following: Paulus Cornelisz Veer, junior merchant, for his character, his penmanship, bookkeeping, and other virtues and abilities; Lourens van Swaenswijck, assistant, for his proficiency in the Portuguese language and to make up for Elseracq's deficiencies in this respect; Jeuriaen Henselijn, barber, at the request of the commissioner and the governors here, to teach them something about medical matters, to which they have been applying themselves this year;

56 Govert Lambersz, corporal, at the special order of the commissioner, to be used for the firing of the mortars and the piece of ordnance; Hicke Essert, steward's mate, fairly proficient in the Japanese language, to serve as cook and servant of Elseracq. Elseracq hopes that they will suffice till the arrival of the ships.

23 In the afternoon, *Burgemeester* Heizō had his messenger deliver the following message to us for the Governor-General: For some years he had corresponded with the Governor-General out of affection for the Company and the Dutch nation through letters and gifts and he would have liked to continue in this vein, but for some reasons this had to cease on both sides. Therefore, he recommended the Governor-General be notified of this on arrival in Batavia. In the meantime, he would remain as he had always been. We listened to this with surprise and promised to do it.

Departure of the *Rog*

24 Variable winds, fine weather. Around nine in the morning, the *Rog* departed for Tayouan with a cargo to the value of 349,294 guilders. In the afternoon, the Lord of Arima came, accompanied by Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, the two governors, and many other nobles to visit the island and to have a look at my room and that of Elseracq. We treated them to wine and pastries. They had many questions and remarks about the wine, arrack, butter, cheese, and other things set before them. Finally,

they began to speak about the island of Formosa, Tayouan, and some of the Company's exploits at Chilung. They demanded a map of the same and we produced one. They questioned us attentively about different matters, sometimes beyond our capacity to answer, especially on our opinion about these exploits. What were the fortifications of the Castilians like and should they be attacked. In conclusion, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami said that if our attack on Chilung failed this year, we should try again another year and continue until we succeeded. Because they would rather have the Dutch than the Castilians as their close neighbours. We replied as we should, but briefly and as we deemed fit. After spending three hours with us, they returned in the evening.

25 South-easterly winds and rainy weather. We put all the remaining commodities on view, offering them at almost cost price, but little could be done. We decided to try and do better the next day. We have also been busy collecting debts and settling accounts with the merchants.

57 After much delay and many meetings, and the mediation of the four senior *burgemeesters*, the rent for the whole island, although we use hardly half of it, has been settled with all the landlords for 5500 taels for this season till the arrival of the ships next year, which we considered too much and they too little, the amount being on average what the Portuguese used to pay annually (Fig. 4).

26 Southerly winds, unpleasant, rainy weather. Nevertheless, we started to load the *Meerman* with stone and timber. We have also been busy trying to sell the remaining piece-goods at cost price, but we were unable to do so, no matter what we tried, and thus we are forced to take them back with us. We packed them this same evening to ship them tomorrow. Because we had some doubts about the commissioner's reply concerning the annual replacement of the *opperhoofden*, which had been phrased in general terms and which was too unclear to us to satisfy the Governor-General, we had *Burgemeester* Sakuemon request more specific information. Also, because the time to settle the accounts, close the books, and settle all necessary

matters appropriately is too short, we requested an extension of ten days or as many as we needed after the fifty days had passed.

27 Northerly winds, fine weather. We continued loading the *Meerman*. We were sold a batch of about 50 piculs of Satsuma camphor for 12 taels per picul. We received a reply from the regent, Kura-no-suke of Hirado, to our express mail of the 24th, that because of some unfortunate events which had befallen his lord, it was impossible to pay before the departure of the ship, but he would see to it that eventually the debt would be settled. On behalf of the commissioner and the governors, the interpreters also told us that the Shogun's order could not be countermanded and we should leave exactly on the fiftieth day after the arrival of the ship, even if it rained stones or fire. Because no reply was given about the replacement of the *opperhoofden*, the interpreters assumed that no further explanation would be given and from this I could infer that I should not return for some time. But I told them to broach this point again before the departure of the commissioner if possible, which, after they had conferred with *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, they promised to do.

28 South-easterly winds, misty weather. We have been loading the *Meerman*.

58 In the morning, I learnt that the interpreters had discussed yesterday's request to be allowed to remain for a few days longer with the *burgemeester*, but because it had already been refused, they dared not request it again. We regretted that there was such little accommodation for the Company, for the Chinese had been allowed to stay with their junks for ten days after the departure of the last ship. But to confirm the other point and to be able to give the correct information to the Governor-General, we requested permission to bid farewell to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, who is leaving with Governor Heiemon tomorrow. This was granted. When we appeared before His Excellency and had presented the matter to him, we obtained the following response:

It was the Shogun's intention that no captain remain in Japan for several years consecutively as

during the time of Couckebacker and Caron, but he should leave every year, and if the Governor-General approved, he could return the following year. We should bear in mind that we or the ones who come in future, as we have already been doing, should comply fully with the Shogun's orders and not bring any Christian ornaments or suchlike objects to Japan. Furthermore, he repeated the same reasons which he had the interpreters inform us of on the 22nd. Also, that we could serve His Majesty in no better way than to inform him of what the Portuguese and the Castilians were attempting quietly and by stealth in Japan through their clergy and otherwise. What we had told them concerning Cambodia pleased him and he would inform the Shogun and the councillors at the Court of this truthfully. Furthermore, that we need not bring any mortars or pieces of ordnance in future for the Shogun, Japan was not short of them. Rarities and novelties were welcome, as long as we did not make them common by also presenting them to others – as had been done this year. We were recommended to order a beautiful telescope for the Shogun, not of gold or silver, but with a clear lens offering a perfect view, from Batavia or Holland. With this we took our leave. From here I went to the governor, to whom I commended the Company's affairs and Elseracq, as we had done to the commissioner. He promised to act in our favour in Edo, for which we thanked him.

29 Variable winds, fair weather. In the afternoon, the commissioner and the governor left for Edo. This caused so much activity in the town that no *bongiois* or interpreter was available to attend the loading of the *Meerman* and the Company's other business.

59 30 Fine weather, variable winds. The *Meerman* has been fully loaded. The last payments for the commodities sold have been received and we settled the accounts with the landlord of our house or the *bongiois* of the island. Thank the Lord that, apart from the extreme losses which we have suffered, we have not incurred any debts. Some Chinese junks are leaving every day.

31 Southerly winds, fine weather. We have been busy loading the rudder, the piece of ordnance, and the

ordnance. I also received the remaining cash from the *bongiois* and paid the Company's debts. There was much unfairness involved, but I could not avoid this. I also dismissed the six interpreters, whom I presented with a fine gift according to the old custom, commending them to serve the Company and Jan van Elseracq to the best of their abilities. After they had thanked me, they burst out and gave me as a last warning that it was true that when I was there last Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami had said that I could return to Japan the following year, but it is a Japanese custom that persons of rank always speak pleasantly and courtesy demanded this on this occasion, but it would be best for me and for the Company if I stayed away for a whole year and returned after two years, as I had been told before

on occasion and you will apparently learn on your departure. Also that no printed books, other than ones dealing with medicine, surgery, and navigation, are allowed to be brought to Japan and this should be brought to the attention of the Governor-General on arrival in Batavia. They earnestly requested that we would not hold this and what they would have to say further against them. It was all done for the best of the Company and the Dutch. Because everything had been settled now and nothing else was left to be done, I prepared for my departure, which will be on the 3rd. Tomorrow I shall quit my charge and hand over the Company's effects to Elseracq and authorize him as *opperhoofd* of this factory, in compliance with the Governor-General's orders. I trust that God will grant his blessing. Amen.