

# Dagregister of Opperhoofd Pieter Antonisz Overtwater

24 November 1644–29 November 1645

1644

## November

1 24 Early in the morning, with a fine north-north-easterly wind, Jan van Elseracq departed on the *Capelle*, but around the bend of the bay the wind veered north-westerly and the ship was forced to drop anchor.

25 We could still see the flute anchored. Around noon, I sent for the interpreters to ask the governor permission to send a vessel to the ship to ask if they needed anything, in particular boats to tow her out of the bay. However, the governor was out hunting and I could not obtain the required permission. The wind remained westerly during the evening. We have packed the major part of the gifts.

## Departure of the *Capelle*

26 In the morning the *Capelle* was still there. I sent for an interpreter to ask the governor's permission to send a vessel to the ship. Permission was given, but the vessel had to return, because the ship had set sail with a fine north-easterly wind. All the gifts have been packed.

27–29 In the afternoon, I went to Governor Saburōzaemon to take my leave and to request a favourable letter to the government in Edo so that our business there could be conducted speedily and successfully. He said that I should not worry. Next I went to Uma-no-jō, Chikugo-no-kami's major-domo, to take leave of him as well and to request the same. He gave me a polite response and I returned to the lodge.

30 All the gifts and necessities for the journey have been loaded onto the boat for our departure tomorrow.

## December

### Court journey

1 After having said goodbye to our friends, I embarked with all our personnel and we sculled out

of the bay. Because the wind stiffened, the interpreters and our other friends, who had come along to see us off, took their leave and we sailed on to Seto, where we anchored for the night. In the afternoon, the senior *bongiois*, the two junior *bongioisen*, and Interpreter Kichibyōe visited me. I was told that the governor had given orders that the *bongiois* should be informed of all my actions. I should not mind him, who was still young but had nevertheless been attached to us, but the person he was representing, namely the governor, who was also not his own person but represented the Shogun, just as he did not regard me as a person, but as the representative of the Governor-General, who in his turn represented the Dutch king.

2 He would like to travel with us in friendship, as brothers, yea, as man and wife in unity. We agreed with him and expressed our gratitude that we had met with such amiable men.

2 We sculled from Seto to about a mile from Kawachi-ura.

3 We sculled a mile further.

4 We reached our old lodge in Hirado.

5 We reached the bay of Tasuke, where we found the junk, on which, as I mentioned on 11 November, some Christians are said to be aboard. It was being guarded by two large *hayafune*. Shortly after our arrival, the Chinese on the three vessels left for Nagasaki to be interrogated by Governor Saburōzaemon and Chikugo-no-kami's secretary, who has come to investigate the affairs of the Christians.

6 We sailed to Yobuko, where we arrived around eleven o'clock. The rain forced us to use the sails as a covering for the goods, which might otherwise have got wet and soiled.

7–8 Adverse winds. We learnt that four Chinese junks had arrived in Nagasaki with large cargoes, said to be worth 200,000 taels.

9 About ten o'clock, the wind veered south-easterly and southerly, which the interpreters pointed out to

the master, but he preferred a steadier wind and we had to stay here with about a hundred other boats.

13 Contrary wind. In the evening, it veered favourably and we sailed away around eight o'clock. We passed Ainosima during the night.

14 In the morning, we reached Kajime-no-Ōshima and Shimonoseki in the afternoon. Because of the rain, we had to stay there till midnight.

15 About one o'clock in the afternoon, we passed Kaminoseki. Then the wind veered and we had to row to Tsuwa.

16 At dawn we sculled to Kamagari, where we anchored. When the wind started to blow, we set sail and sailed forth during the night.

17 We passed Ushimado and about three o'clock in the afternoon we reached Muro. We left there in the night.

18 We reached Hyōgo at seven in the morning. We remained there for several hours. At sunset we reached [1] and remained there till dawn of the next day.

3 19 We sculled to the river of Osaka. The water was not deep enough for the large barge and we had to transfer to smaller ones. We reached Osaka at noon and we went to our usual lodging place.

20 Our luggage arrived. We took out the gifts for the governors and prepared for our journey to Miyako. Our Miyako landlord came to welcome us.

21 Early in the morning, we went to Governor Tanba-no-kami and then to Inaba-no-kami. After a short wait, we were admitted and they gave us permission to leave, thanking us for our visit and wishing us a happy journey. [List of the gifts for the governors.]

22 We are ready to depart tomorrow. In the afternoon, our *bongiois* came with the interpreter to convey the governors' orders that we should not give anything to anyone on the way without the *bongiois'* knowledge, that we should keep away from women, and some other small matters.

23 We left. We reached Hirakata, had a quick meal and about half an hour before dusk we arrived at our lodgings in Miyako.

24 The interpreter announced our arrival and requested a pass for the rest of our journey. We left the city about ten o'clock and reached Kusatsu in the evening. We made such good progress, that notwithstanding having to spend a day in Akasaka because of the rain, we reached the shogunal city of Edo twelve days after our departure from Miyako.

## 1645

### January

#### Arrival in Edo

4 Kichibyōe went to announce our arrival to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Gonpachirō. They both sent one of their noblemen to welcome us. They said that our journey in the cold had been difficult and we should rest for two or three days.

5 Early in the morning, on behalf of the commissioner, a messenger came to inquire how large our party was. He wished to know our names. The rarities and medicines for the commissioner were delivered, together with some for the other nobles. We were given hope that we would be able to present the gifts on the 15th of the Japanese month, which is the 12th.

4 6 We have been busy inspecting the gifts to see if the heavy rains during the journey had damaged them. We sorted the gifts for the Shogun and the Prince, packed them in Company chests, and ordered the presentation trays to be ready at the appointed time.

7 We sorted the gifts for the councillors, their majordomos, and secretaries.

8 Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami sent for us, because he was free from other engagements. After a short wait, he came to the common hall and congratulated us on having arrived safely after such a hazardous journey in cold weather. We thanked him and said that we were fortunate to find him so well. He had always been helpful towards the Company and ourselves in the past and we trusted that he continue to do so. He asked us several questions, such as: 'Had the men who sailed to Nanbu arrived safely; how many ships would sail to Tayouan this

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year; were we still in possession of the town of Malacca after the war with the Portuguese; the number of Dutchmen in Batavia; the war between the Portuguese and the Spaniards; had another ship been sent to Tartary this year?' I replied to all these questions to the best of my knowledge. The commissioner asked, without seeming to be suspicious – which gave us food for thought, because last year we had denied that we had sent ships anywhere but to Tartary – if the Dutch had seen those rich gold islands, which are situated 200 or 300 miles to the east of Japan, last year. I pretended not to know anything about this and acted as if I had misunderstood him. 'What did His Excellency mean by islands lying so far off Japan which would be rich in gold?' We left it at that. He repeated his question if one or more ships would be sent to Tartary next year. I replied that it was a far voyage into the unknown, and therefore I doubted that very much. But if the Dutch had a captain in Nanbu or thereabouts like they did in Nagasaki and could trade there annually and the ships sailing to Tartary could go there and be supplied with rice, water, and other necessities, the voyage there might be resumed. At present this was too troublesome for our ships and for the Japanese as well. The commissioner seemed to agree with me. I told the interpreter to ask – in case the Governor-General requested this – if the Japanese government was likely to give permission to trade there like we did in Nagasaki. The interpreter tried to avoid the issue, stating that the occasion was not suitable. His Excellency noticed that something was amiss and asked the interpreter what was wrong. The latter told him of my question. The commissioner sat in silence and did not reply.

- 5 Then he changed the subject. I seized the opportunity to make certain proposals, for the officials in Batavia have been writing to the *opperhoofden* here to try to have the Chinese banned from Japan and that we gain the monopoly on the Japan trade. This might lead to a decrease in the costs of transport of between a third and a half. We would retain the opportunity that we now have in Nagasaki to take the wind out of the sails of the Chinese completely, of which there is little hope, or they might spoil

matters for themselves by importing papist books for Christians or the like, which would lead to their banishment from the country – as some people believe – or they would be put under such close surveillance that many or all would leave of their own accord. These considerations, in conjunction with those on the Tartary trade, led to our proposals. We talked some more with His Excellency and requested he grant us a speedy dispatch. He hoped that he could arrange for it to be on the 15th of their month, but if this was not possible, it would be on the 28th, which is the 25th of our month. We took our leave.

9–10 We have been waiting for news of the audience, but in vain. I proposed the interpreters go to Governor Gonpachirō to greet him, but they said that this was not proper before the audience.

11 We are still waiting. Before noon, Tōzaemon went to the commissioner's residence, but he was not in. In the afternoon, Kichibyōe and Tōzaemon returned to the commissioner. They brought the news that the commissioner was still in the palace, but he had sent a messenger to his major-domo that we would not be presenting our gifts tomorrow, but on the 28th. He would have liked it to be sooner, but our consolation was that we would probably appear before His Majesty in person. We accepted the news, but thought to ourselves that this was only said to make the long wait more acceptable.

12–14 We were told that Chikugo-no-kami's secretary, Uma-no-jō, who had been sent to Nagasaki to deal with the imprisoned Chinese Christians, had returned last night. Five of the Chinese Christians had been hanged in the manner related by me on 17 March 1643. Two others had been pardoned on condition that they remain in Japan. Five Christians had been on the junk that we met in Tasuke near Hirado on the 5th of last month. Ebiya Shirōemon, *burgemeester* of Tsukishima, has sold his house.

- 6 The governor has appointed someone else, but he would remain loyal to us and do his best to help us. I also heard that about three hundred renegade Christians are being kept in prison here and they have been joined by some more. The two Jesuits who are still alive of the four captured in July 1643

and mentioned in the *dagregister*, have concluded a Japanese marriage. The older one, by the name of Pedro Marques, a Portuguese at present 73 years old, has got his wife with child. The deceased are Alonzo de Arroyo, of Andalusia, and Francisco Cassola, an Italian.

21 Uma-no-jō visited me. He wished to see the beautiful timepiece again. We made some small talk. He reassured me that I would be given audience on the 28th. Today and the days before we have had many visitors. All have come to see the timepiece.

22–24 I was told that I would be received in audience tomorrow. Late in the evening, the interpreters told me that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami had given orders that we should be at the castle at nine.

#### Audience

25 Around nine o'clock we went to the palace. We were promptly taken to the common hall. We had to sit there for three hours. A great many nobles came to see and speak to us, in particular Makino Sado-no-kami and Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami. A while later the commissioner came for a second time to present us to the King of Mito, His Majesty's youngest uncle, the King of Hakata, and two other governors. In the meantime, the interpreters told me that I would be received in audience by His Majesty in person. Sado-no-kami came to address me for the second time. He asked if the release of the ten Dutchmen from Nanbu was not highly regarded and if they had any friends in Holland who would rejoice in their release. I replied that we all were very much impressed by it and we would always be grateful. His Excellency asked if the Dutch and the Portuguese were still at war. I replied that the war was even more intense than before and I told him of the latest happenings in Ceylon and off Goa. The cause for this had been the Portuguese refusal to allow us the jurisdiction which belonged to our fortresses and the places in our possession. This had sparked off the war between us and it was still in progress. His Excellency replied that twenty ships and other troops had been sent to their aid in Europe. They had been treated badly, implying that this was the cause. I replied that it was true that

no help had been sent to them, but that the war in Europe was not as bitter as it was in the Indies. I said this so as not to give a reply that varied too much from the one given last year, in case people other than the *opperhoofden* were questioned about this through their *dwarskijzers*,

7 and it would strike the lords as strange because, on the basis of last year's reply, they believe that the Dutch are waging a war against the Portuguese in Europe as bitter as the one in the Indies, or they misunderstood it. His Excellency had to leave because the time had come. I and my party were taken to the hall where the councillors usually hold court. Chikugo-no-kami joined us. The hall was thronged with nobles. We had to kneel awhile. Chikugo-no-kami returned and pointed out that the captain had to proceed alone. I went along a lacquered wooden gallery also filled with nobles till I reached the hall with the throne. I was led to the plain wooden gallery situated a little lower and told to go a little further till I saw His Majesty and the throne, which seems like solid gold. While I was kneeling down silently, Councillor Matsudaira Izu-no-kami called out in a clear voice: 'Hollandse Capitan', meaning that the Dutch captain has come to pay reverence to His Majesty, which I have been told is their custom. Then I returned to the other Dutchmen and we returned to the first place at which we had waited. Several noblemen, our *bongiois*, and the interpreters congratulated me on this great honour bestowed on me. A while later, I alone was summoned by Councillor Makino Takumi-no-kami, the Prince's regent, and Matsudaira Izu-no-kami to the hall where one usually is received in audience by the councillors. They accepted the gifts on behalf of the young Prince. The commissioner again showed me what to do. He addressed me after he had spoken to the two gentlemen. He said that these gentlemen were sitting here to receive the gifts on the Prince's behalf. I paid them homage in the Japanese manner and returned to the previous hall to wait. Then I was summoned for the third time and I went alone to the room next to the throne hall which was closed off with screens. I appeared before Councillor Sanuki-no-kami, who was acting as president

representing the Shogun, and the three councillors Izu-no-kami, Bungo-no-kami, and Tsushima-no-kami. After he had been addressed by them, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami acted as spokesman for the councillors. 'The captain is aware of the release of the Dutchmen from Nanbu last year and this is a matter of the greatest importance.' I replied that this favour was highly esteemed by us. This had been written to the Governor-General, who would be highly delighted, and the Dutch would be eternally grateful. Their Excellencies also said that had they administered Japanese justice to these men, they would have been punished, but because they belonged to the Dutch nation, which is a friend of the Japanese, they have been spared and handed over to the Dutch captain. This year another Dutchman, who had been captured in Satsuma, had been released in Nagasaki for the same reason.

- 8 I thanked Their Excellencies with the greatest effusion, saying that every year ever more honours and friendship are being bestowed upon us. Finally they said that I was well aware how strictly the Christian cause, meaning the priests in Japan, was regarded. We should bear this in mind and when we learnt of any of them intending to enter Japan, we should report this. If we brought any to Japan, we would be punished. I replied that if we brought any priests to Japan, we should be punished justifiably. We had no objections to that, but if any misunderstandings occurred, as it did in Satsuma this year, we would request extenuation. Their Excellencies asked if a person capable of firing mortars and making grenades would be sent next year. I told them that Captain Elseracq had written about this and that I expected one to be sent. Then I was given leave to depart. While the commissioner was discussing the first point, the four gentlemen came to sit very close to me, hardly two mats away. Councillor Sanuki-no-kami seemed cheerful and friendly. He was grey-haired and serene, wearing a much more beautiful gown than the other three, who looked similar in appearance. I returned to the hall where I had waited before and rejoined the other Dutchmen. We returned to our lodgings. Everyone congratulated

us. In the evening, the interpreters went to the residence of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami to thank him for his assistance. I commended them to convey my thanks to him in the most appropriate manner. On their return they told me in the presence of all Dutchmen that all the nobles and gentlemen at the Court had said that an exceptional honour had been bestowed upon the captain this year in being permitted into the presence of the Shogun in person. It was true that the same had happened last year, but that was because of the release of the Dutchmen and other events which required special expressions of gratitude. But this year there were no such reasons, just to honour the captain or, in his person, the nation.

26 In the morning, I went to the residences of the principal councillors. Tōtōmi-no-kami, son of the deceased Councillor Ōi-no-kami, refused his gift, saying that while his father was alive he had accepted a small gift, but now he could not, especially a great one such as this. I had to take it back. All the other councillors were in the palace. Their major-domos promised to inform their masters of my visit and the reason thereof, but I noted that several of them would return the gifts. In the evening, Bungo-no-kami, Tsushima-no-kami, Sakai Kawachi-no-kami,

- 9 Andō Ukyō-no-suke, and Kutsuki Minbu-no-shō returned their gifts. I sent the interpreters to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Gonpachirō to inquire what would be the best course of action. Their reply was that we should not be worried. If the councillors wished to keep the gifts, that was all right, if not, there was no cause for worry. I observed that this might be something that would occur regularly in future, although Their Excellencies had to be presented with gifts every year.

27 I went to Governor Gonpachirō to thank him in the best manner possible for the assistance he had rendered in the great honour bestowed on us. I presented him with some almonds, which he accepted. He also informed me that we would receive permission to depart soon. Next I went to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, who congratulated me on having

seen His Majesty in person. I thanked him. He reiterated what the four councillors had told me two days ago about the import of Christians. I gave him the same reply. I asked him if anything could be done about the officials who had returned their gifts. He reassured me. He reminded me of the beautiful spyglasses for His Majesty, for he had lost his best ones. His Excellency was visiting his major-domo, Uma-no-jō, within the confines of his palace, which encloses many houses but set some distance away from his own residence. There he sent for me. Next I went to Governor Saburōzaemon, whose son was ill. He did not receive me, but sent his congratulations. Then I presented the gifts to the other gentlemen, most of whom were at the palace and the others apologized for being too busy to receive me. Governor Asakura Iwami-no-kami received me and treated me very affably. He expected to see me once more before my departure. In the afternoon, the chancellor of the Shogun, Itami Harima-no-kami, sent me some gowns, birds, and fish as presents and thanked me for the gifts. Then the interpreter was summoned to the palace to receive the gifts from the Shogun and the Prince, consisting of twenty gowns each. He received them in the presence of Councillors Bungo-no-kami, Ukyō-no-suke, and Izu-no-kami. Their Excellencies inquired if any of the gowns would be sent to Holland. The interpreter replied 'yes' and that the recipients in Holland were very delighted with them because they came from His Majesty. The councillors also gave us permission to leave at the first opportunity.

28 Today nothing could be done because it is Japanese New Year.

- 10 While the interpreters and our landlord were at Governor Gonpachirō's residence, they inquired if there was a possibility that the gentlemen who had returned their gifts would accept them. His Honour said that he had discussed this with these gentlemen and if they were pressed, they might accept them. On their return, they and our senior *bongiois* decided to find this out tomorrow. In the afternoon, the two pardoned Chinese Christians, who were mentioned on the 15th, arrived here in Edo with an interpreter to undergo further interrogation.

29 The commissioner sent for the interpreter to have a memorandum of the remainder. I sent it to him with some goods for the nobles. When the interpreter and the landlord arrived at the residences of the councillors, all were found to be at Court. Thus they had to return in the evening. Councillor Takumi-no-kami sent his major-domo to thank me for the gifts we had left at his residence. He presented me with some Japanese gowns and offered his assistance should the need arise. I gave his major-domo a hospitable welcome and mentioned the long-standing friendship between his master and our nation and the *opperhoofden*. I asked him to convey this message to his master. Governor Ōta Bitchū-no-kami sent his major-domo to thank me. I also treated him as hospitality demands. In the evening, the landlord went to Councillor Bungo-no-kami and the others to request them to accept the gifts. The reply was that if it mattered so much to the captain, the gifts could be presented again and they would be accepted.

30 Matsudaira Uemon-no-kami sent his major-domo with some silk gowns. He thanked me for the gifts. Councillors Sanuki-no-kami and Kaga-no-kami did likewise and presented me with 30 *schuitten* of silver. But Makino Sado-no-kami returned the gifts with his thanks, for at present he was not accepting any gifts.

31 Councillor Tsushima-no-kami sent his major-domo to thank me for the gifts, as did Councillor Sakai Kawachi-no-kami, who also presented me with 30 *schuitten* of silver. Afterwards the interpreters went to present gifts to the major-domos and secretaries of the councillors.

## February

1 On the orders of the government, my servant from Lamey, who died last night, has been buried far outside the city, somewhere in the wilderness in a very deep hole, because the shallowness of the sea around here, in which the people and His Majesty himself go fishing, does not permit the body to be thrown in it. Governor Ōta Bitchū-no-kami's major-domo came to thank me for the gifts. He presented me with a few Japanese gowns.

11 Late in the evening, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami sent to ask how fast one could sail from Batavia to Nagasaki and also from Goa to Macao and if there was another passage than through the Straits of Malacca. I gave him the answers and pointed out the Sunda Straits and the Bali Straits. The last of the gifts have been delivered. No one returned his, except for Kutsuki Minbu-no-shō.

2 Councillors Matsudaira Izu-no-kami, his son Matsudaira Kai-no-kami, Makino Sado-no-kami, Andō Ukyō-no-suke, and Matsudaira Izumo-no-kami sent their major-domos to thank me for the gifts and to present me with some Japanese silk gowns. The remainder of the gifts has been packed and we sold a few goods.

3 Early in the morning, the interpreter went to Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō to request permission for me to take leave of them. They did not think it necessary, the one was feeling poorly and the other had to be at Court. Nonetheless, I went to them about ten o'clock, first to Governor Gonpachirō, but His Honour had already left for the palace. I left a message with his first secretary, thanking him for all his assistance. Then I went to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, whom we did not get to meet because of his illness, but we spent some time with his first secretary, Uma-no-jō. We discussed several matters, including the release of the Dutch from Nanbu, which was a significant token of friendship the Shogun extended towards our nation. It was imperative that no priests were brought to Japan; the severe penalty for this and for those who brought them here; should the Portuguese have any intentions of doing this, it should be reported. There could be no greater service to the Shogun than to report this. I replied that we would certainly do so and always try to be of service to the Japanese. Then he broached the subject of a possible return of the English. He asked if I thought that the Portuguese would try to run their business in Japan through them. I replied that I did not know for certain, but I thought that – if the English did come – for the first two or three years they would not occupy themselves with any Portuguese business as it did not concern them, but

when they had regained the favours of the lords of this country, they might consider this and discuss all matters with the Portuguese and enter into a contract with them.

12 Without doubt the majority of the goods the English would import into Japan would not be their own but belong to the Portuguese and the two would be combined. I did not give these replies because they were what I really thought, but because this would be detrimental to them and advantageous for the Company and if this were brought up in any future matters, this could not be held against the Company as having been factual, but merely as having been my opinion. He asked if we would try to prevent this and would we indeed be able to do so. I replied that our government in Holland was not at liberty to do so. Before the interpreter translated this, he asked if it could be phrased differently. I said no. He translated it as I had said. It was not taken ill, but he would rather have heard otherwise, I suspect. Nevertheless, I refrained from doing so, because he would never find out the truth of my reply and I deemed it better to give this reply than that the favour would be superficial and inconstant. This achieves no good but only raises false hopes and I would prefer the favour to be less as long as we retain it and it endures. For, if the untruth of this were to be found out in the future, this would cause much greater harm and shame, which will outlast the favours of profit and honour bestowed before. He also asked if our Prince or King was related to the English king and since when: I gave him a truthful reply for the same reasons. He also asked if the Dutch and the English in Europe were friends or foes and what the relations had been before. I told him that they were friends and had never warred against each other in Europe, but some years ago they had fought several battles here in the Indies. During our discussion, he had two maps brought out, one of just the Indies, the other of the whole world on a Japanese screen. He asked about the distance of many countries. I gave the proper responses and we had several discussions. I took this opportunity to show him how convenient it would be for the trade to Tartary if there were a captain stationed

at Nanbu, where the ships could make port as in Nagasaki, as I mentioned on the 8th. From here I went to Governor Saburōzaemon to take leave of his son. However, he was still ill and we did not meet with him, but with his major-domo. Then we returned to our lodgings. Both Governors, Bizen-no-kami and Asakura Iwami-no-kami, sent their major-domos to thank me for the presents and they presented me with some gowns. Because the nobles are slowly paying for the goods they bought and we have also sold some *lakenen* and moreover the rent for the horses is high, which struck us as strange, we could not prepare to leave tomorrow.

4 We hired the pack-horses and prepared for our departure tomorrow. I settled the account with our landlord and presented him with the usual gifts. We had nothing further to do. Commissioner Chikugono-kami sent for me in the evening and I went.

- 13 After a short wait, I was led to the customary hall where Secretary Uma-no-jō joined me and made some small talk. Shortly after, His Excellency came and after some courtesies he started a discussion about sea battles – many times several lords had addressed me about this, for we are their best source. He wished to know if small ships could seize large ones and how this was done; if the ships grappled alongside each other or if they wore each other out first by artillery fire; what was the best way to destroy each other; with what kind of ordnance were ships filled; did they try to set fire to each other's sails and many similar questions. I replied to the best of my ability. Then he asked some more questions, but, I thought, only as prefatory remarks to the real issue, which was the English who had gone to Macao and were expected in Japan next summer. I think that my confirmation of the question they put to me yesterday about the relationship between our Prince and the English king – for these people do not understand the boundaries of our Prince's power, which cannot be explained to them – is a source of concern. I had suspected this at the time, but I thought it better to confirm this as I have explained before, because they can find out the truth from people in Nagasaki through their *dwarskijkers* but also from the renegade Spanish priests,

who are still alive, and whom I suspect they have already questioned before they posed me the question. His Excellency had a long discussion with the interpreter about the English in Macao and how this news had become known in Nagasaki. As the interpreter had knowledge of the matter, he told him all. After an extensive discussion, His Excellency said that I should be told and asked for my opinion on the following matter: if the two English ships – of which the one that was as large or larger than our ship which arrived from Siam this year – meaning the *Zwaan* – was already in Macao on the departure of the Chinese ships from there and the other that was to follow this year were captured by the government here and the whole crew killed, would the English seek revenge on the Japanese when it became known to them and the Portuguese?

- 14 I replied that in that case the English would surely be inclined to seek revenge, but their power was so small and weak that the government here need have no fear that they would be able to inflict any damage on the Japanese empire, because there were no more than a hundred Englishmen in the whole of the Indies – apart from the seven to ten ships at the most with their crews, which are required to conduct the trade from one place to the other – who were divided over various places where they trade and could not be spared without suffering the loss of trade. His Excellency had a laugh but asked if the English and the Portuguese conspired, might this not damage this country? I replied that the Portuguese power was on the wane here in the northern regions, they were occupied by the war with us off Goa and Ceylon and no help could be expected from Europe because of their King's war. The power of the English was too small to wage war and therefore their union posed no threat. The commissioner went on to ask if the Governor-General learnt of their intention to do so, would he send some ships to seize any English ships trading to Japan? I said he would not. Nonetheless, it would be for a good cause, replied the commissioner, and the Shogun of Japan would be more than pleased. For all that, I adhered to my opinion that it would not happen. Then His Excellency said, if, at the



time of the departure of the ships, the Shogun of Japan wrote to the Governor of Nagasaki to inform the captain that he should write to the Governor-General that the Shogun would appreciate it and expressed the wish that the Governor-General send some ships to prevent the English in Macao from trading to Japan, would the Governor-General do so? I candidly said no. It was true that our Governor-General was a great man, but he was just a governor for our Prince and Government and, therefore, he could not go against their orders and start a war against such old friends and allies of the Dutch in Europe for no other reason but their sailing to Japan to trade. His Excellency knew that the governors of the Shogun could not commit the slightest action against the will of His Majesty, much less start such a violent war. It was the same with our Governor-General with regard to our government in Holland. The commissioner merely reiterated that it would please the Shogun, yea, anything the Dutch wished for would be granted. I let the matter rest and responded in the Japanese manner by bowing, indicating that the matter could not be altered. I requested His Excellency not to take this amiss, for I had told the truth.

15 It would not do me any good to tell Their Excellencies any falsehoods just to please them. The commissioner replied that the Shogun was a great friend of the Dutch. 'He has already proved this by releasing the Dutch from Nanbu. He had them taken care of, supplied with gowns and other necessities against the cold. The Shogun permitted you to appear before him. Comply with the Shogun's orders, do not bring any priests to Japan. You know what the government has promulgated on this matter and how badly any contraventions would be taken. If you comply with the Shogun's orders, you will never suffer any grief in this empire, having lived and traded here during the reigns of three Shoguns: those of His Majesty's grandfather, his father and now his own reign. I guarantee you this.' I thanked His Excellency and told him that we had been here for over forty years and had never trespassed against His Majesty's orders. Our Governor-General

and the captains in Japan were very much concerned that this would never happen and I trusted that it would never indeed happen. Then he asked for the number of ships the Portuguese had in Goa and off Ceylon. I replied that I did not rightly know. How strong a presence did we have in Ceylon in terms of soldiers and ships and divided over how many places? He asked the same questions about Malacca, Batavia, and Tayouan. I replied to the best of my knowledge and fairly truthfully. At the start His Excellency had treated me to biscuits baked in the Dutch way and now he invited me to partake of Japanese wine, other delicacies, and *sakana*. We made some light conversation while enjoying the treats. Because yesterday I had received permission to depart from Edo, I thanked His Excellency for all his assistance during our stay. I did not expect to have to remain here longer, but when we were outside the hall walking through the gallery, the interpreter told me that I would be summoned again by the commissioner in a day or two. At the door of the parlour I wished to take leave of Secretary Uma-no-jō. He told me that his master would like to discuss a few more matters with me and could I therefore stay for a couple more days.

16 I knew full well that such requests were really orders and, although this was not to my liking, I said that I would oblige his master. I spent three hours there and, apart from the short time at the beginning when I was alone with the secretary, I spent the entire time in discussion with the commissioner in the presence of the secretary, who had a paper near him from which he seemed to take the main points of discussion, and another person, who wrote down many things. Shortly before nine in the evening, I returned home with the disappointing news that we would not leave tomorrow.

5 In the morning, the commissioner sent one of his retainers with a map of the Indies to ask me some particulars of some places. He also asked if Batavia consisted of one place and how long we had been settled there, its urban territory, what people tilled the land, the population, the island of Java, who ruled there, who were our friends or enemies there,

the nature of the siege of Batavia by the Mataram, the number of times this had happened, in whose possession Batavia had been before. He asked the same kind of questions about Ceylon, Tayouan, Malacca, the Moluccas, our possessions and those of the Spaniards, about the island of Sumatra as he had done about Java, also about Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and where did we trade or did not do so. He wrote down everything. Today was an unpleasant and rainy day. In the evening, the commissioner sent notice that I should go to his residence early in the morning. He wished to speak with me before he went to the palace.

6 Before dawn I went to Commissioner Chikugonokami's residence. I had to wait a while before he appeared. He had sent for me this early because he had been invited by the Shogun to go hunting. He told me I could leave tomorrow. I thanked him. Then he asked me if there were any galleys in Holland or other small vessels, what they were called and what they looked like, how were they propelled, by sails or by oars, could they carry heavy pieces of ordnance, could they be used on the oceans, and other such questions. I replied to the best of my knowledge. He also asked if, on the arrival of our ships, our carpenters could build a model, seven or eight feet long and according to scale. He was curious to see a model. I replied that this would be possible. During a lull in the conversation, I told Kichibyōe, as I had done at home yesterday and which he had deemed appropriate to mention if an opportunity presented itself – for he was also of the opinion that the government here was greatly concerned about the relations between our Prince and the King of England through the marriage of his son with the Princess of England, and the present ties between the English and the Portuguese, which might easily lead to ties between our Prince and these two nations – that the matter concerning our Prince – of whom I had told Secretary Uma-no-jō recently that he was related to the English king,

- 17 which might arouse the councillors' suspicion with regard to the Dutch, because the English are intensifying their involvement with the Portuguese and

the Dutch might follow suit – was not similar to that of other kings because of the exceptional nature of our country, which is made up of seven provinces which can be likened to some of the kingdoms in Japan, each of which is ruled by the higher nobility – this I was forced to state to avoid him knowing the facts for the citizenry here is not respected and only the nobility is held in high esteem – who chooses a few of its members in each province, who, in general assembly constitute the highest authority in our country and among whom our Prince is the most powerful and prominent, chosen by them to be their leader and prince of the nation, but it is defined in such a way that he may not enter into any major enterprise such as starting a war or terminating old alliances with emperors, kings, or rulers of any country, nor conclude new treaties to the detriment of the nation, but all matters had to be dealt with by these chosen members of the nobility, so that His Majesty and the officials need harbour no suspicions about this new relationship or that the Dutch would harm the Japanese empire in any way. I added that the power of the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of England and Poland, the Dukes of Venice and some others was limited as much and legally defined as that of our Prince, in order to prove that there were other examples of our form of government. He listened attentively but did not react so as to prevent giving the impression of any fear. Then he said that he had heard that the Dutch had been searching for an island 300 miles east of Japan on which people lived who went about naked. Had we heard from the ships which had sailed for Tartary last year if they had found this island? I replied that I had spoken to the people on board the ships, but I had not heard that they had discovered any new island. Then he spoke of his affection for the Dutch, on whose behalf he would always intercede with the government. I thanked him. He said that he had nothing further to ask and we could leave the next morning. I took my leave. During my stay I have been making inquiries about the export of copper, but I could not achieve anything nor could the Japanese merchants.

### Departure from Edo

18 7 We departed from Edo.

14 We passed Akasaka. When we were passing, we saw two *norimono* or wooden cages with three or four bars on both sides made in a certain way to carry captive Christians. Each contained a captive Christian from the domain of Kinokuni who was being carried to Edo. A little further we saw a man who had been crucified some days ago because he had shot a goose and a heron.

16 We saw another captive Christian outside Minakuchi in a similar *norimono* with seven others, including a woman and a child, who were tied on horses to be taken to Edo.

17 We arrived in Miyako. We summoned the principal lacquerers, whom we urged to bring their wares when they were finished before the start of the trade.

18 We travelled via Fushimi to Osaka.

19 We arrived there an hour before daybreak. We prepared ourselves for our departure tomorrow, if possible.

22 We embarked. The shallow water had made it impossible to embark or load our goods before.

25 We left at high tide and made fairly good progress.

### March

#### Arrival in Nagasaki

9 We arrived safely in Nagasaki. We were welcomed by all the interpreters, the new *burgemeester*, and several landlords. I learnt that since our departure for the Court, twelve Chinese junks, including the ones which I mentioned last December, many large and some small ones, had arrived in Nagasaki. The value of their cargoes, calculated on the basis of the prices before the departure of the ships, was at least 600 chests, but according to the present Miyako prices they would not fetch more than five hundred. The principal junks belonged to Iquan and his mates. He had written to the governor to seek the latter's favour. Because he had promised to import many goods and continue to do so, much to the liking of the government, this had not been in vain. Proof that he is in favour with the government is

the fact that a while ago he requested permission to take with him away from Japan a certain Japanese woman whom he has kept here and by whom he begot a son, who is now with him in China, which request has now been granted him, as our interpreters assure me and she is about to leave with his junks.

19 The former *burgemeester* of the island, Shirōemon, who was still poorly, came, carried in his *norimono*, to welcome us. He said that, although he would like to serve the Company as well as he might, he had been forced to give up his post because of his poor health. However, he would like to retain the favour of the Dutch. He claimed that the order for camphor would be amply fulfilled and he would take care of the other goods ordered.

11 I went to Governor Saburōzaemon to thank him for our good fortune in Edo, which was mainly due to his advocacy. I also mentioned that if Captain Elseracq did not return, His Honour's favour would be indispensable. He gave a polite reply. He asked if Captain Elseracq would return. I replied that this was not certain, but I thought it likely. With my foreknowledge, the interpreter thanked him for the good company of the *bongiois* who had escorted us. Before I got up to leave, I asked if it would be possible to send a letter to Tayouan with one of the junks which was ready to sail for Quanzhou in order to inform the Governor of Tayouan of our journey to Court and what had happened there. The reply was that it was not an unreasonable request, but it had never been done before in Nagasaki and he needed to give it his full attention. I took my leave and returned to the island. The real reason for the letter to Tayouan was to inform them of the changes in the market prices of the commodities here, in order to prevent the Company suffering a loss by buying up too much because of ignorance.

12–13 A junk arrived from Fuzhou with some sap-panwood, piece-goods, and pepper. Kichibyōe went to the governor's residence to ask for his decision on my request to send a letter via China to Tayouan. No decision had yet been taken. The interpreter thought that the governor was thinking to himself: 'What can the captain be writing about apart from

his court journey? He has not written before about this. It has to be about something else, which can be nothing but the many junks which have arrived here with lots of goods which have caused a drop in the prices. This gives cause for concern.' These thoughts show how much the government values a large import of commodities. This reply is a polite Japanese refusal, because by saying on the 11th that he would let me know of his decision means as much that one should not ask and the decision would not be forthcoming.

20 19 A small Chinese junk arrived from Nanking, loaded with white raw silk, piece-goods, and other wares, worth about 80,000–90,000 taels. It brought the news that three or four other richly-laden junks would follow in one-and-a-half to two months, yea, according to some of the men on the junk, a large number of vessels were to follow and the trade between that place and Japan would be opened, if they paid the king or the mandarins there 100 to 600 taels for each vessel, according to the worth of its cargo.

26 A junk from Zhangzhou arrived with some hemp cloth, alum, and pots, worth about two chests.

29 Two of our interpreters brought a print of the Angel Gabriel's annunciation to the Holy Virgin Mary of her impregnation by the Holy Ghost. Underneath the print, the following Dutch text was printed in Italian script: 'Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with You, blessed are Thou among the women. Luke 1, verse 28.' They said that the governor had obtained this from an imprisoned Japanese *bōzu* or priest living near Shimonoseki. They had been sent to inquire what language it was, what the words meant, and if it pertained to Christianity. Chūan, the apostate priest, had said that he was familiar with the meaning of the print, but not with the language, this being neither Latin nor Portuguese nor Italian. I replied that the words meant the same in Dutch as in the priests' prayers which were better known to them than to me, '*Ave Maria, gratia plena*', and so forth. I added that these prints were not printed in Holland but by the Flemish and that the Flemish and the Dutch languages were similar. They were subject to the

Castilians and they were Roman Catholics and we were always at war with them on account of their religion. We were neighbouring countries and when it was said that we were at war with the Castilians, it also included these peoples who were dominated by the Spaniards. Their country was overrun by the Spaniards, but otherwise they were our neighbours and we shared the same language. As no other questions were raised, I did not elaborate. I did not doubt that our ships had brought these prints here before. They also asked about the number, pointing to the chapter and verse, which they well understood, having been told by the ex-Jesuit priest Chūan. I replied truthfully.

### April

21 2 Two interpreters, Hakuzaemon and Tōzaemon, brought me some silk gowns, which Councillors Bungo-no-kami and Tsushima-no-kami had sent to our landlords in Edo after our departure to be delivered to us, although they knew that we had already left. I also heard that the imprisoned *bōzu* who had been found with the print of Mary's Annunciation had lived in Hirado. He had taken this print from the house of another without thinking. There had been many prints pasted on the wall.

6 While I was having dinner, I heard that the interpreter Tōzaemon, who spoke Dutch fairly well and who was very helpful, had slit his belly. He had been buried the same day. I also heard that two of his brothers had taken their lives in the same way before and his mother and his sister had hanged themselves.

9 Two interpreters told me that news had come from Edo that on the 29th of the last Japanese month, which is 26 March, a third son had been born to the Shogun by a third mother.<sup>2</sup> Similarly his uncle, the King of Mito, has twenty-five sons by twenty-five different mothers, apart from his daughters. The whole empire and this town are rejoicing. The principal citizens went to the governor to convey their congratulations. This made me ponder

2 Kamematsu. His mother was Masa-no-tsubone.

whether I should also do so. Thus I ordered the interpreters to go to the governor's residence to tell him on my behalf that in Europe the birth of a son to kings, princes, and great lords was highly valued and was deemed to bring prosperity and blessings to a nation, for sons meant a secure inheritance. If nations were left to the kinsmen on either side, this often gave rise to wars. I believed that this was also the case in Japan. Therefore, attaching great importance to the prosperity and peace of this nation, I sent my congratulations on this joyous occasion with the express hope that this would be to the benefit of the country. They took my message to the governor, who expressed his great delight with my congratulations and good wishes.

12 A Chinese junk arrived and in the evening another one. Both came from Nanking, richly laden with all kinds of silk piece-goods and white raw silk, valued at about 120 chests of silver. A short while ago, another small junk arrived with some merchandise such as alum and sugar.

22 17 We received 97 piculs of Satsuma camphor.

20 A junk arrived from Nanking with white raw silk and silk piece-goods, valued at 60,000 taels.

27–29 Three small junks arrived with some sugar, alum and other stuff, valued at 4–5 chests altogether.

## May

2, 4, 7 Three small Chinese junks arrived with various kinds of goods of little import, worth altogether about 6–7 chests.

11 I sent someone to Hirado with a letter for the regents about the collection of the remaining debt. I had ordered our interpreter Tōzaemon to do so when we returned from Edo and again when he left here to bring his family from there. He had promised to do so, but did not. Thus the matter had not been attended to for this long, because Hirado had been in a state of confusion, looking for Christians because of the *bōzu* on whom the print of Mary's Annunciation had been found. Fourteen of them have already been traced and they have been taken to Nagasaki. The interpreters say that these Christians have been informed on by people of another domain, which is taken far more seriously

than when they are found by their own people, thus the lord is in a great deal of trouble.

Today Iquan's concubine,<sup>3</sup> whom we have mentioned before, has left Nagasaki for China without any other female accompanying them. This would nonetheless have been permitted, on the condition that she never return to Japan, thus no one was willing to leave.

19 Four Nanking junks left for China. Shortly after, Governor Saburōzaemon came with two of his horses, which he had his stable master ride as he has been doing every five or six days since our absence from Edo. When I reported to His Honour, I usually had long discussions with him. Today was the same. There were many questions which need not be repeated here, except that he asked about the English, where they traded and if they had any castles in the Indies. I replied that nowhere did they have fortresses, but that I had been told that they were building one at Coromandel, but I could not say for sure. He also asked if we traded there and if it was an important trading centre and if it was as good for the Dutch as Japan was. I replied that it was an excellent trading centre and that we had lots of trade there. Japan was a good place and Coromandel was the same. 'But,' His Honour said, 'the Dutch do not export as much cash from there as from Japan.' It was said very politely.

23 I replied that the nature of that country was completely different from that of Japan, for in Japan we did little else but sell our goods, but, although we did sell a fair amount of goods in that other country, our main trade consisted of the purchase of many kinds of commodities, which we traded partly here, partly in most other quarters of the Indies, but mainly in Holland. Thus we sent a great amount of cash there for the purchase of those commodities. The Company often derived more profits from transporting commodities than cash, as for example here in Japan where the preference was to export camphor, lacquerware, and other commodities instead

3 Iquan (Zheng Zhilong)'s Japanese concubine, of the Tagawa family, was the mother of Zheng Chenggong, known to the Dutch as Coxinga.

of money, for we could make a profit again on those commodities, which we would not make on the cash. This was also the reason that the Company was so desirous of exporting copper from Japan, for we could make a good profit on this commodity, which we now had to forego of necessity as long as the export of copper was forbidden to us. But when it was again permitted, it would be an important matter for the Company. Then he addressed the interpreters: 'Why did the lords not permit the Dutch the export of copper, for there was so much copper in Japan. It had been forbidden before in order to ensure an ample supply of cash coins in Japan, but now there was an abundance. When Gonpachirō arrives, we need to discuss it. I think it will be obtained.' We discussed some other matters and then he left the island. I went to my house with the interpreters. They thought it had been the best possible move to mention the export of copper on this occasion. It was ten times better than to present it in writing. We were far more likely to obtain our wish in this way than any other. They told me that at present there was much to do with the Christians who had been found in Nagasaki. There were thirty or forty of them, including two old women who had baptized several people or children. They were being tortured to find out about others.

24 The person I sent to Hirado returned with a letter full of polite excuses instead of money and with promises of the delivery of a good supply of rice before the departure of the ships in partial payment of the debt. I intended to repeat the request either by writing a letter or sending the same person again. Kichibyōe was present and he told me that yesterday the governor had received a letter written in Spanish.

- 24 He had been summoned to translate it. It had been written by one of the two Castilians who were imprisoned in Ōmura. He declared that he had now been incarcerated for so many years and he could not bear it any longer. He requested to be released. He would like to go to the pagodas with other Japanese. His Honour should consider that he was also of a good family, yea he was a nobleman named Don Michael de Sejar, his father's name was

Don Alonso de Sejar and his mother's Dona Anna de Ponte de Leon. But the governor did not pay any heed to the letter. I also learnt that the number of people who had been imprisoned on account of some Christian symbols or ceremonies exceeded a hundred and every day more are being added. The cause of this was [the discovery of] the print of the Annunciation of Mary found on the Japanese priest, which I mentioned on 29 March. Some Chinese junks have departed.

### June

8 In the morning, ten persons on horseback were led past the island to the usual place of execution outside the town to be hanged by their feet till they were dead. They were former Christians, mostly old women but also an old man who had given himself away under the influence of liquor by talking about matters relating to Christianity. They were strictly guarded. This manner of punishment is only used for Christians. Nowadays the whole town is in a state of turmoil. The citizens are not permitted to go outside the town's jurisdiction, which at some places is less than half a mile, without permission, nor are they permitted to stay at an inn or leave without authorization. Many people who have done a long time without a guarantee that they were not Christians and had been allowed to live in a house and had no trouble with this, now have to find a guarantee and they have difficulties finding one, for everyone is at present living in fear, now they have been chased from their houses and they are not allowed into others and they do not know where to turn to, going to and fro in desperation and at least eight or nine of them have slit their bellies or hanged themselves these last few days. There are over two hundred people in prison. It is said that in Miyako there is also some trouble with regard to this matter.

A junk has arrived from Nanking, richly laden with silk piece-goods, silk and other commodities, worth at least 60 chests of silver. It brought the news that three others are to follow soon.

9 Today four or five persons who were hanged yesterday have been removed from the gallows

and taken back to prison. It is said that they had informed on some others or they will do so. Indeed, yesterday and today some people were put in prison.

25 Over the past few days several Chinese junks have departed.

11 Two richly-laden junks arrived from Nanking with a cargo worth about 100 chests. Like the one before, they said that anyone who so wished was allowed free trade to Japan on the condition that he pay 100 to 200 taels to the mandarins, because there is no superior ruler in China on account of the war and the murder of the Emperor. Therefore, more junks are to sail hither.

13 Today the last of the persons who were hanged five days ago has died. It has to be remarked that these people who have been tried and the other prisoners as well have landed into this misery because they were Christians fifteen years ago, not because they are supposed to be Christians at present. This period has been set for their renunciation. Others who had apostatized before that time have been left in peace, otherwise this would have concerned the major part of this town and a host of people in other parts of this empire. Furthermore, the two renegade Chinese Christians of whom mention was made on 28 January have returned from Edo. They will be kept here for no other reason than to inspect all Chinese who arrive here to see if they recognize any of them to be Christians.

20 Governor Gonpachirō arrived from Edo with four *hayafune*. A crowd of citizens and two *burgemeesters* went to meet him outside the bay.

22 Thirty Chinese of the junk which I mentioned on 5 December have been taken to the prison in Ōmura, because seven Roman Catholic Chinese were found on their vessel. The five of whom it was claimed on 14 January that they had been hanged have lost so much of their strength in prison that only two of them could ride horse and the others had to be carried in bare *norimono*.

24 I went to Governor Gonpachirō to welcome him. He was happy to see me, also because I had had a personal audience with His Imperial Majesty in Edo. I said that I had to thank him and Governor Saburōzaemon for this great fortune.

26 A junk arrived from Fuzhou with some sugar, hemp cloth, and alum, worth about three chests of money.

30 Two junks arrived, one from Zhangzhou with sugar and hemp cloth, the other from Patani with pepper, calambac, eagle-wood, rayskins, and the like. Both are worth about 15 chests of money. The past few days eight people from Hirado and about the same number from this town have been put in prison after searches for Christians.

### July

2 A small junk arrived from Zhangzhou with sugar and hemp cloth, worth about seven chests.

3 Another arrived from Quanzhou mainly with sugar and little cloth, worth about 5 chests of money. We have received 297 piculs of camphor.

7 A Chinese junk arrived from Quanzhou with black sugar and some cloth and medicines, worth about seven chests of money. It claims to have been in Tayouan in May with two other smaller ones and it brought the news that two of our ships had captured three fairly large junks off the coast of Manila. They had been loaded with hemp cloth and some silk, but one is said to have escaped. Furthermore, they claimed that Iquan sent two junks to Tonkin and the Dutch likewise sent two ships from Tayouan.

13 Three junks arrived from Quanzhou with black sugar, worth about eleven chests of money.

14 Another small junk arrived of little import.

15 Seven renegade Christians, men and women, have been carried to the place of execution to be hanged like the ones before.

16 A large junk arrived from Cambodia, loaded with deerskins, sappanwood, black lacquer, and other goods, worth about twelve chests of money. It brought tidings that a Dutch ship had been sighted off the coast of Champa and two or three Dutch merchants had been set free by the King and given leave to sail to Batavia with some Japanese from that place.

23 Two junks arrived, the one from Quanzhou with white sugar worth about seven chests and the other from Nanking with silk and silk piece-goods, worth about eighteen chests of money.

27 24–25 Today we learnt that the Tartar was conquering large parts of China by the day and that the Mandarin of Peking had subjected himself to him on condition that he could retain his post, but all soldiers were surrendered to him. On 23 June, the city of Nanking with its surroundings had been taken with a force of at least eight hundred thousand strong and he had marched southwards for six days and had passed the country's largest river, so that the whole of China would be overrun and a large part would be destroyed. The Chinese have told this to the governor of this town and it is taken as the truth. The news from Quanzhou is that this year much silk, silk piece-goods, and sugar have been imported into Tayouan.

28 We have received and inspected the goods which had been ordered by Ebiya Shirōemon.

### August

6 The interpreters announced that the governors had ordered them to remind us of last year's orders concerning the ships, in particular that we should take care that on Sundays or other feast days our people did not fly any flags or display any signs of celebrating our religion in order to prevent the Japanese from renewing their memories of Christianity. This would serve to benefit the Dutch and we promised to do so.

10 I received a letter from Hirado in reply to the one I sent three months ago informing me that there was no money and they were unable to pay their debt.

11 A Chinese junk arrived from Fuzhou with about 6000 taels' worth of goods.

12 A fresh northerly wind.

13 Late in the evening a small junk arrived from Fuzhou with some alum. The junk which arrived two days ago confirmed the aforementioned tidings of the Tartars' progress in China and everyone in Fuzhou and its surroundings was preparing for war and resistance against the Tartars.

28 15 Fine weather with a southerly wind. A junk arrived from Fuzhou with sugar.

16 A whole fleet of junks, consisting of ten from Fuzhou, Zhangzhou, Anhai, and elsewhere arrived,

all loaded with sugar and some other goods. They had intended to sail to Nanking, which was clear from the sugar packs and some oral statements, but because of the war there they had set sail hither. Their cargo was worth about 50,000 taels. It seems that much sugar has been sent to Tayouan.

17 Wind and weather as before.

18 Rumour has it that two ships have been spotted not far from the shore by a barge coming from Higo. Because of the northerly wind, which blew the whole day, they could not reach here.

19 North-easterly wind.

20 Easterly winds. The Lord of Hakata and his company visited us and our lodgings. He sent for all Dutchmen and looked at them one by one. He sat quietly for a long while and asked some questions. I showed His Highness some of our rarities, including the metal rock, but he did not show any pleasure in them and hardly turned to look at them. Then he departed from the island and shortly after he left Nagasaki. Two junks arrived, one from Fuzhou and the other from Zhangzhou.

21 Two more junks arrived, one from Quinam and the other from Fuzhou.

### Arrival of the *Meerman*

22 From the lodge I could see a Dutch ship at sea. I sent for the interpreters and they informed the governor. He had not yet been notified of this by the guards and did not wish to believe it. Thus I could not send any Dutchmen there. An hour later it was confirmed and I sent two Dutchmen with a letter of warning on how to behave. I learnt that it was the flute the *Meerman* with a cargo from Batavia and Tayouan worth 265,129 guilders.

29 I went on board. The *bongiois* warned me to ask whether there were any Catholics among the crew. There were none. The crew was mustered and were ordered to follow the Japanese orders and whatever else was necessary. I returned to the lodge with the friends and the papers. I learnt of the demise of Governor-General Antonio van Diemen and the administration of the Council of the Indies. Two Chinese junks arrived, one from Canton with sugar and *radix China* and the other from Quinam.



### Arrival of the *Beer*

23 In the morning, I was given news of a second ship. I sent two Dutchmen with the *bongiois* and the interpreters. On their return I learnt that it was the *Beer*, hailing from Tonkin. I was told about the state of the country and that the trade was thriving. The cargo is worth 261,115 guilders. Today I mustered the crew of the *Meerman* and we started to unload the goods. I have also told the interpreters most of the news I read in the letters and in particular of the ambassador who has been sent from Portugal to the Shogun of Japan. He had been at Bantam, a town not far from Batavia. The interpreters did not deem it opportune to inform the governors, but they wished to wait till the arrival of the next ships. I also told them about the progress of the truce, but on the condition that they were not allowed to trade in our harbours, but in case of emergency, if they needed water or provisions and reached our harbours, they should not be maltreated. Furthermore, how our Prince had taken Sas van Gent and the French the town of Grevelingen in Flanders from the Spaniards by force. The interpreters wrote this down and handed this to the governors. It will be sent to Edo this same day or the next. A junk has arrived from Zhangzhou.

30 24 Early in the morning, I went on board the *Beer* to muster the crew and issue the necessary orders. We have started to unload the ship. The *Meerman* has been unloaded. The gunpowder and ammunition has been brought ashore. In the afternoon, the three secretaries of the governors came and oversaw the proceedings. They sent for me and asked if everything was going according to my wishes. If I was not pleased, I should inform them. I replied that everything was running satisfactorily, but if they had any criticisms or thought anything amiss that we were not aware of, they should let me know and we would settle it. They were pleased with this and also with our crew. Then they visited me in my house.

25 I went on board the *Meerman*. After the *bongiois* had inspected the ship – without any grievances arising on either side – and the rudder had been brought ashore, the placard with the rules

everyone has to follow was read out and afterwards I myself impressed upon them the principal articles and urged them to adhere to them. The *Beer* has been unloaded. In the evening, a richly-laden Chinese junk arrived from Quanzhou, worth about 160,000 taels, with the news that two others were to follow.

26 The *Beer* has been inspected. The unloading of both ships has proceeded more peacefully and friendly than ever before.

27–28 Nothing happened.

29 Rain in the afternoon and hard winds during the night.

30 Nothing happened.

### Arrival of the *Lillo*

31 Two Chinese junks arrived, one from Nanking, richly laden with a cargo estimated at 90 chests of money and another with sugar from Zhangzhou, worth 14 chests.

31 About eight o'clock in the morning I was given the news that a ship had been spotted by the guards. I sent a barge with Dutchmen, who returned in the evening. It was the yacht the *Lillo*, which had run into a heavy storm two days ago in sight of Meshima. She had been in the company of the flute the *Hillegersberg*, for whose safety they feared.

### September

1 The yacht entered the bay but contrary winds forced her to drop anchor. I sent twenty towing boats to tow her inside. The friends came ashore and told me of the capture of the junks and a Spanish vessel off Manila. The cargo of the yacht is worth 143,075 guilders. In the evening, a small junk arrived from Fuzhou with a cargo worth about six chests of money.

### Arrival of the *Hillegersberg*

2 The interpreters told me that the governors had received the news that a ship had arrived in Hirado. She was being towed here by some barges. In the evening, the said ship arrived in the roadstead. No one could go on board to find out which ship she was. I was also told that the governors had heard

that another Dutch ship had been spotted off the Gotō Islands.

3 Early in the morning, the interpreters told me that it was the flute the *Hillegersberg*. A while later, the master and the merchant came ashore with the papers. The cargo is worth 361,012 guilders. I went to muster the crew and to warn them of their behaviour towards the *bongiois* and the other Japanese. In the evening, a Chinese junk arrived in the roadstead. Today little could be done because of the rain.

#### Arrival of the *Gouden Gans*

4 We have started to unload the *Hillegersberg*. I heard that another ship was approaching. Because of the adverse wind, I sent two Dutchmen and twenty towing boats.

32 On their return they told me it was the flute the *Gouden Gans*. The cargo from Tayouan and Tonkin is worth 116,977 guilders.

5 A Japanese feast day and we only unloaded the *Hillegersberg*. We shall start unloading the *Gouden Gans* tomorrow.

6 We started to unload the *Gans* after she had been mustered by the *bongiois* and by the evening everything was on shore. I conferred with the interpreters and they agreed to request the governor to order the heads of the cities to settle the *pancado*, so that we could start trading. The interpreters specifically asked me if I expected as much as another thread of Chinese white raw silk, for in that case the *pancado* could not be settled. As long as they do not know how much silk will be imported this year, they pretend that the correct price cannot be fixed. I argued against this that, although I had written such to Tayouan, I had not been given any information on this.

7 The *bongiois* brought the gunpowder and lead from the *Gouden Gans* ashore. The crew brought their chests ashore. The whole ship was inspected. When he inspected the books, he sent for me. The books did not concern religion and were returned to the owners. He expressed his satisfaction that the master had done everything in so orderly a manner. Next the placard with the rules were read out.

33 I issued orders, as I had done on the other ships, that no one was allowed on shore without permission. In this way these five ships have been unloaded and inspected without any trouble to the satisfaction of the Japanese and courteously treated. I sent the interpreters to thank the governors and to request them, seeing that the time had come for trading and not many days were left before we had to depart, the heads of the cities be ordered to settle the *pancado*. The interpreters said that they had informed the governors about what we had told them on the 23rd of last month with regard to the Portuguese ambassador who had been sent from Portugal to Japan via Macao. They had told the governors all particulars. The governors had been very pleased that this had been disclosed to them with all considerations on the matter.

8 Two interpreters came, the one to inquire after the amount of silk the Company had imported on these ships, what kinds of silk there were, and whence they originated. I gave him the particulars. He specifically asked if more white raw Chinese silk was expected. I replied as before. The other interpreter notified me that the governors had ordered the heads of the cities to settle the *pancado*. Later the governors also asked for the written details of the matter concerning the Portuguese ambassador.

#### Arrival of the *Leeuwerik*

9 Early in the morning, I heard the cannon being fired. Shortly after, the governor sent notice that the guards on the mountains had spotted a ship. I heard the cannon being fired again. I sent two Dutchmen with the usual orders. Shortly after I was notified that the ship had struck the rocks.

34 I sent the Company's two large sampans to help. They went straightaway. Two Japanese barges with two masters, which I also sent, took a long time obtaining permission to go, so that by the time they were halfway through the bay, the ship appeared around the bend. Shortly before, the governors had let me know that the ship was out of danger. They had sent a secretary there to find out. I again sent the interpreters to thank the governors for their concern and help. The ship arrived in the roadstead.

She turned out to be the *Leeuwerik* with a cargo worth 105,273 guilders. The goods were wet because of bad weather on the journey. The ship's authorities had been uninformed. They sailed into a wrong entrance which could not be cleared at low tide and sailing too close to the shore they hit the cliffs, which during low tide project from the water but are now under water. Because the water was rising, they had been able to refloat her with the help of about twelve to fifteen Japanese vessels. They have suffered hardly any damage. This is a great good fortune, for if the wind had been blowing hard, the ship would have been smashed to pieces on the rocks. This has put off the settlement of the *pancado*. In the dark of the night a junk arrived from Fuzhou with a cargo worth about 2000 taels.

35 10 Before we started to unload the yacht, I spoke to the supervisor of our island. I asked him when the *pancado* would be settled. He thought it might be in four or five days. I sent for the interpreters and told them that it was very late in the year and we had twenty days less to trade than last year. They went straight to *Burgemeester* Sakuemon. He promised to do his best. We have been busy unloading the *Leeuwerik*. We found that many of the piece-goods were damaged and wet. We aired the damaged goods and put them to dry in the sun and we had the Japanese launder some. In the evening, an interpreter announced that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon hoped that the *pancado* could be settled tomorrow. A shogunal commissioner, who had arrived from Edo, might come to the lodge tomorrow and go to the ships, we should be prepared.

11 We have been busy airing the damaged goods. Commissioner Shinmi Shichiuemon, who arrived from Edo nine days ago, came with Governor Saburōzaemon. He looked around and tasted some of the banquet we had prepared for him, he and the governor drinking some of our drinks. He seemed like a jolly fellow. We had some small talk which need not be repeated here. Next they went to the ships. We took Brouckhorst along and sailed to the *Lillo*. They viewed the cabin and below the orlop deck. Some sailors climbed the mast and jumped into the water. Their Excellencies enjoyed themselves.

36 12 I sent for the interpreters and asked them about the *pancado*. They told me that the commissioner was conferring with the governors about the seventy imprisoned Chinese in Ōmura, which we mentioned on 22 June and again last year. They have to decide on a verdict according to the orders of the Shogun. Therefore they could not be addressed and I should exercise patience. In the meantime, Sakuemon had raised my hopes, but they were not fulfilled. This worried me because time is passing and I know of no means to settle this. In the afternoon, I learnt that the Chinese have all been released from prison and set free. They were told that, even though they deserved to be killed or burnt with their vessels because they had brought Christians and Christian ornaments to Japan, their release had been granted because great joy had befallen the Shogun. In future they would not escape such punishment.

13 Nothing much happened. The commissioner left for Shimabara from where he will travel on to Edo.

14 The interpreters went to Sakuemon about the *pancado*. On their return they spoke of his earnest attempts to achieve this, which gave me much hope. A Chinese junk arrived from Quinam with a cargo worth about nine chests of money.

15 Nothing happened.

16 I have been pressing again for the settlement of the *pancado*. The interpreters again went to Sakuemon and the governors. They summoned the heads of the cities and ordered them to settle it. The heads said that they were conferring daily.

17 Nothing happened. In the evening, it started to blow from the south-east and around midnight a heavy storm blew up, which lasted till the following day.

37 18 At around seven or eight o'clock it gathered such force that most of the fence surrounding the island was blown down. On the island a house was blown down and so was the back gallery of another house, of which only the warehouse was left standing. Two other houses lost some of their buildings, including the warehouse in which over 500 piculs of camphor had been stored. Our own junior merchants, assistants, and boys had to carry all away, because no workmen could be found. The interpreters and some others sent their servants to help us. Other

warehouses were also in danger. At the back of my house the storehouse was blown down – but little had been stored there because of the tardiness of the Siam ship – and so were the pantry, the house of the supervisor of the island, that of the interpreters, and near the gate that of the *bongioisen*. The guard-house of the landlords was blown from the one side of the street to the other side, the stone quay of the island was washed away as if it had never been there. All the houses on the island were damaged, roof tiles were blown away. During the storm, Sakuemon, the first *burgemeester*, came with a few interpreters to take guard near the gate. The governors ordered all landlords to supervise everything. During the day, they sent their secretaries with many others. They opened the sealed warehouses and offered all the help they could. The goods suffered little or no damage. When it was broad daylight, we saw three ships lying in the roadstead, the fourth had been beached to be careened. We found that the *Leeuwerik*, which had also been brought close to the shore to be careened, had been blown onto one side and the crew could barely hang on. One man had drowned. While we were busy carrying the munitions inside the gates, I was told that the yacht had snapped four anchors and because she had been relieved of most of her ballast in order to be careened,

38 she had struck the ground and the hard wind had blown her over. But we had good hopes of being able to set the yacht right again. *Hillegersberg* had snapped three anchors and had drifted to the end of the bay, but she was undamaged. If she is allowed to unload her munitions tomorrow, she can be towed back in again. Thus I sent the Company's two large sampans there. The town has also suffered grave damage, most of the houses have been damaged. The small houses along the water on both sides opposite the island and also more into the town have been blown down or have collapsed. Over twenty people have been killed. Five or six junks have been shattered to pieces, many others are damaged, many barges have been grounded. Six Japanese sailors of the patrol barges behind our ships have drowned. Many trees have been uprooted and others snapped in two through the

force of the wind. According to the Japanese, such a violent storm has not been witnessed in forty or fifty years. Prompt orders were given to have a light bamboo fence erected around our island this same day. It was finished in the evening. To this end, the two senior *burgemeesters* spent the entire day on the island, mainly in my house. I entertained them as best as I could. I mentioned the settlement of the *pancado* to them. Both governors also came to inspect the island. They offered me all possible help. The ships' longboats that had been on shore had all drifted away and had been damaged. Master Michiel Engelke, who had been on shore during the storm, went looking for them. Michiel was also sent to all the ships to ask what they needed. The governors issued orders throughout the town that whoever found anything, however small, ashore or in the water, should hand it in,

39 so that the foreigners, Dutch or Chinese, would not be deprived of anything. They also sent some vessels with their soldiers and one or two interpreters to search on the beach for anything that belonged to the Dutch or any other goods. They found four or five chests, which they delivered to the lodge in the evening. No one was allowed to leave the town and go inland before this had been done.

19 The interpreters were sent on board to inquire how matters stood. They returned with three masters who confirmed most of what I have related above. They asked for more freedom to come and go without wasting time asking for permission on every occasion. I sent the interpreters to the governors to tell them that it was necessary to send the crew from the one ship to the other and we needed leave to go freely from the one ship to the other. The tide was turning and one could not think of everything one needed on the spur of the moment. Once one had set to work things were different from what the masters had expected. It would not be possible to make any progress if we were not given leave. They returned with the requested permission. The masters went straight to the *Leeuwerik* to try and save her, but because some essential tools were lacking, they had some doubts they would be able to do so. The sampans had returned with the munitions from the *Hillegersberg* and I sent an

interpreter to the ship to find out what was needed there. He returned in the evening and told me that they needed the sampans the next morning, but it would be better to send them straightaway, which I did. The *Gans* and the *Lillo* were towed close to the *Leeuwerik* to aid her if need be. The governors let me know that because the ships were in such a bad shape, they thought that we would need a large number of men. They were willing to assist us with some of their own men and some of those of the Lord of Hakata, who was in charge of the guards. He had let the governors know through Regent Heizō that he would like to send his men, as many as a few hundred, to assist the Dutch. I expressed my gratitude to them.

40 I said that I hoped that our own men would be sufficient. We were more in need of good equipment and tools. In the afternoon, Kichibyōe came to notify me that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon had sent him to inform me that the heads of the cities would come in the evening to try to settle the *pancado* today. He let me know that the heads had first fixed the price at 70 taels per picul less than last year, but he had heard from us – which he had told the heads – that we had paid about 40 taels per picul more in Tayouan this year. This had made them decide to lower the price by just 40 picul. This struck me as strange, as it is too much of a difference. Sakuemon advised me to play ignorant this evening and to settle the matter tomorrow. Shortly after, the same interpreter came to tell me that after the storm, five square chests, like the ones in which the Dutch *lakenen* are packed, had been found on a beach in the domain of Ōmura. They were half the size and lined with lead and contained the corpses of Roman Catholic priests. On top of the chests their names had been inscribed on copper [plates]. He had not been able to remember all, but on one of the chests had been written in Spanish ‘*Pedro ... ord. dom. regno d’Ombra IX July 1621*’. It is not possible to investigate this fully here. The five chests were marked N<sup>os</sup> 1, 3, 7, 9, 11, which leads one to assume that there were at least eleven of them. A bell or clock had also been found. On the order of the governors, the chests with the bodies were burnt at the place of execution, but the

copper plates with the inscriptions were retained. When it was getting dark, two of the Nagasaki *burgemeesters* came with the heads of the cities and some merchants to fix the price for the white raw Chinese silk. After they had spent an hour discussing among themselves and enjoying the pastries provided, they finally turned to the real matter, claiming that they wished to settle the *pancado* this evening.

41 [Description of the negotiations with prices for two qualities of silk. Asking prices: 425 and 390 taels, bids 270 and 230; asking prices 400 and 365, bids 290 and 250; asking prices 385 and 350.] It was not possible to reach an agreement this evening and we parted company. We would try again tomorrow.

42 20 The interpreters went on board the *Hillegersberg* and *Leeuwerik* to see what was needed. *Hillegersberg* had unloaded her ballast onto the sampans during the night and had reappeared around the bend, but when the tide ebbed, she had become stuck again and had taken her ballast back on in order not to be too light if a hard wind rose. She hoped to be able to enter the roadstead on the next high tide. The *Leeuwerik* had unloaded some ammunition and some other goods. As Master Jonathan de Necker declared later, the two ships had attached their tackle to the *Leeuwerik* in such a way during low tide they hoped to be able to lift the *Leeuwerik* during high tide. In the afternoon, Kichibyōe came to inform me that the heads of the cities would come earlier than yesterday. I still had to wait a long while before the two senior *burgemeesters* appeared alone with the interpreters. They told me that they had worked long and hard to settle the *pancado*, but the other cities could not be persuaded, because the captain had asked such a high price and would not budge. They had finally been persuaded to wait at the gate of the island to see if the *burgemeesters* would be able to persuade the captain to accept a decrease of 40 taels per picul on last year’s price. If not, they would give us more time to consult. We are losing time and after consultation with the senior merchants present, I told them that the little that was left forced us to reach a decision and they were well aware of this. They should consider that they might not be able to keep us on such a tight

reign another year, for with such small or no profits we could not survive, considering the high prices for silk nowadays. Without doubt our superiors in Batavia would rather send this silk to Holland if it were to be sold so cheaply here. The same silk could be sold for 200 taels per picul more there. For the benefit of the Japanese all the silk from Tayouan had been shipped hither and none to Holland, even though 600 or 700 piculs had been demanded.

43 I gave them some other reasons to consider. They replied that my reasons were valid, but that because of last year's high price – which they had had to pay for all the silk imported thereafter until the beginning of the fourth month of the next year – the Chinese had imported so much silk in the winter – for which they had had to pay the same high price – and they had suffered huge losses. They had not made the profits they usually made on average imports. I knew this to be the truth. Therefore, considering that their offer was fair, I accepted the *burgemeesters'* proposition and the heads were sent for. We immediately sat down to business. With a bow to custom, I stated the asking price not much lower than the last one yesterday, to which they had not yet made a counter offer, being the same as last year's price. [Negotiations.] Their final offer was the price we had already acceded to in our discussion with the two Nagasaki *burgemeesters*: 320 taels for the first grade and 280 for the second.

44 There was a difference of 40 taels between the first and the second grade, but I raised objections to these prices, for although the superior grade was just 35 taels less than last year, the inferior grade was 45 taels less, which was to our disadvantage, because usually the inferior grade makes up two-thirds of the lot and the superior grade not more than a third. But my objections fell on deaf ears and I had to accept the prices. I received a contract signed by them. Then I treated them to pastries and our best liquor, which they consumed in large quantities. I thanked the *burgemeesters* for their trouble.

21 The interpreters went to the governors to inform them that the *pancado* had been settled. They also thanked the governors for their assistance with regard to the ships. According to custom, after

the settlement of the *pancado*, we also requested permission to have the warehouses opened. This was granted. The *bongioisen* came to unseal the warehouses. The goods which were to be sold first were taken out. In the evening, the news came that three Chinese junks had foundered off the Gotō Isles. One had been loaded with silk and silk piece-goods, the other two with sugar. Nothing had been salvaged.

22 We have been busy taking out the goods out of the warehouses to be ready to show them tomorrow to the merchants, who seem fairly eager. A few deputies have inspected some goods for the Shogun.

45 In the evening, the interpreters told me that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon is supposed to have said to the governors that he had often heard the interpreters accuse the merchants of being inconsiderate when viewing the goods, tearing them up and unrolling them, stepping on them and suchlike. The governors were annoyed and intended to issue orders against this. In the evening, we were ready to show a fair number of goods tomorrow.

23 In the afternoon, the *Leeuwerik* was righted again. The master came ashore to collect some goods which had been fished up by the Japanese and taken to the lodge. The warehouses have been opened and the Japanese viewed the goods we had taken out. The *bongioisen* went to every warehouse to issue warnings that the merchants should handle the goods with more care and should not step on them. These warnings did help a little. When some merchants did transgress the warnings, two of them were taken into custody as an example to the others. After consultation with the interpreters, we requested the governors to release them because this was their first transgression. They granted this as a gesture of courtesy towards us. I had ordered the interpreters to go to the governors first to thank them for issuing such excellent orders.

24 We have sold a large number of goods for very good prices. We have delivered most of the goods sold.

25 We have delivered the rest of the goods.

26 We have been busy putting out more goods for inspection by the merchants.

27 The goods for the second sale have been viewed.  
 28 We have sold a good number of commodities.

Arrival of the *Aagtekerke* and the *Henriette Louise*

29 We have been delivering the goods sold and making more room for the ones that were not sold. Interpreter Hakuzaemon announced that the governors had ordered him to inform us that they had received a message from  
 46 the Lord of Hakata that a Dutch ship had entered one of his harbours, about twelve Dutch miles north of Hirado. His barges would tow her here. I sent to thank Their Honours for this message. In the afternoon, I learnt that another ship was outside the bay. At dusk the first ship appeared around the bend, towed by the barges of Hakata, and shortly after the second, larger ship also appeared. Only one interpreter and no Dutchmen went to the first ship with our letter, because she had not yet been handed over to the Nagasaki Governors. I sent an interpreter and two Dutchmen to the second ship to inform the people on board of the state of affairs. On their return they told me that the first ship hailed from Tayouan with Senior Merchant Cornelis Cæsar on board to replace me should Van Tzum have to stay in Siam, the second ship, out of Siam, carried my replacement Reijnier van Tzum. He reported that everything had returned to its rightful state in that kingdom and the Company was faring well. In the evening, the yacht the *Aagtekerke* arrived in the roadstead.  
 30 I sent thirty barges to tow the *Henriette Louise*, outward bound from Siam, into the roadstead. Later I went on board the yacht to escort Senior Merchant Cæsar and the papers ashore. I found the *bongiois* of the Lord of Hakata and the *bongiois* of Saburōzaemon together, well pleased. I treated them to pastries and liquor. Then we went on shore. In the afternoon, the Siam ship arrived in the roadstead. I went on board with Cæsar and Brouckhorst to welcome Van Tzum. In the evening, the two senior *burgemeesters* came to my house to inform the new captain of the rules which have to be adhered to in Japan. These are:

Firstly, if any Japanese asks us anything out of order, the governors should be informed. Secondly, the Dutchmen should beware of showing any signs of celebrating any Christian ceremonies, such as Sundays and prayers.

47 Thirdly, it was not sufficient that the masters were aware of this, their servants should also be instructed. The fourth article was an admonition to uphold the three other articles, so that our trade would not suffer by transgressing the Shogun's orders.

October

1 I went on board the *Aagtekerke* to muster the crew and to issue orders concerning the unloading. The silk experts and the heads of the cities examined the white silk and accepted so little of the superior grade that I had to complain in real earnest. I voiced my complaints to them, but they merely countered me with words. They blamed it on the poor quality of the silk: the sorters must have been ordered to put some of the inferior grade with the superior grade. We thought that what was lost on the price would be fixed by the unequal sorting. Nonetheless, it is still a larger amount of superior grade than last year.

2 The merchants have been sorting the silk. We have started to weigh it. The yacht the *Aagtekerke* has been unloaded.

3 We have started to unload the *Henriette Louise*. We have weighed the white raw silk. At the end of the weighing, we found that, in contrast to all previous years, there was an underweight instead of an overweight. We do not know the cause.

4 We have been unloading the *Henriette Louise*.

5 We have put out some commodities for the first sale. I sent someone with a letter to Hirado to collect the debt, either in cash or in rice. We have not been able to get the *bongiois* to authorize the unloading of the ship.

48 6 We have been busy all day unloading the ship and we had no opportunity to sell any goods.

7 We have been busy unloading the ship. We have also put out some commodities for inspection tomorrow. I have also reached an agreement with a

few Japanese divers to raise the pieces of ordnance of the *Leeuwerik*, which had fallen overboard, to the surface, because the Dutchmen had not been able to find them in spite of all efforts they had undertaken. I have told the interpreters that I intended to dispatch two flutes to Tayouan in seven or eight days. Would it not be advisable to inform the governors of this and ask their permission to do so? But because it had never before been the custom for us to seek permission to dispatch any ship before we had presented the governors with gifts – which so far had not been done, because this was not possible without the European goods, which have not yet been unloaded – the interpreters advised me to ask the governors when it would be convenient for them to receive our gifts. The governors' reply was that it would be convenient for them any time it suited the captain. With regard to the dispatch of the ships, they would take this into consideration. The second reply gave me food for thought, because we have never before received such a reply to this request. It had always been that when the captain was ready, he could dispatch the ships, except for last year's last two ships, which had to wait out the full fifty days. This will also come to pass this year with regard to the return ship, which will be a nuisance.

8 Kichibyōe told me that last night Governor Saburōzaemon had summoned him and after he had read and translated some letters from the imprisoned Castilians in Ōmura,

49 the governor had said to him: 'Kichibyōe, the captain has requested the dispatch of two ships. You must tell him that no Chinese sailing from here must be attacked by his ships, but you should not tell him that this is my order, but convey it diplomatically. You should also know that the Portuguese used to have orders to leave on the 20th of the 9th month and the Dutch who used to trade in Hirado had to sail about fifteen days later. But they put in a request to be allowed to sail at the same time, which request had been refused at first, but later we put forward this request to the government in Edo which had not given a decision on this. Afterwards

the Dutch moved here and we, as Governors of Nagasaki, have let the ships depart even earlier than the 20th of the 9th month without the government's knowledge, although the order states that the departure from Nagasaki has to be on the 20th.' This is what Saburōzaemon told the interpreter, neither ordering him to tell me nor forbidding him to do so. Thus it seems that the governors will use this as a cloak for their decisions. Whether it be true or not, it will be a hindrance to the sailing of the Company ships. The large ship has been unloaded and we took the opportunity to have the merchants inspect the commodities that will be sold tomorrow by bidding slips. At dusk I was told that the guards up on the mountains had spotted a ship about 1½ miles out into the sea. We could not send any of our men because the *bongioisen* would not go out because of nightfall.

9 I sent two Dutchmen with a letter to the ship. The sale of the goods has been postponed because the news of the ship might cause a change in prices.

50 In the evening, the Dutchmen returned. They had seen the ship about two miles off the coast, but the *bongioisen* had not been willing to put to sea because of the wind and they had to return. The *Henriette Louise* has been unloaded and inspected. We have prepared our gifts for the governors and the *burgemeesters*, which we shall present tomorrow. The divers whom we had engaged to locate the pieces have given up and we shall have to find other means.

10 Reijnier van Tzum, Cornelis Cæsar, Anthonio van Brouckhorst, and I went to present the gifts to the governors and other officials. We thanked them for their assistance, particularly with the yacht which had keeled over. They treated us affably. Next we went to Regent Heizō and the other four *burgemeesters*, who all, one excepted, treated us to pastries and Japanese wine. The meeting went merrily and better than in the three previous years that I was here. We considered this not only a personal honour, but especially as one conferred on the nation. The ship could not enter the bay because of adverse winds.



### Arrival of the *Zalm*

- 11 I would have liked to send someone to the ship in the morning, but as the *bongioisen* would not go out because of the weather, I had to wait till later in the day. I commissioned two masters to go, but before the barge and the *bongioisen* were ready, the ship had already entered the bay. The masters went on board to inform the authorities of the contents of my letter with the rules of behaviour. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came to inspect some Guinea-cloth for His Majesty. I entertained him as best as I could. I had to send twenty towing boats to tow in the ship. I learnt that it was the flute the *Zalm*. She brought me the latest news from Batavia and Tayouan.
- 51 The voyage from Tayouan had taken her twenty-seven days via the Pescadores. The flute the *Uitgeest* had arrived there safely. The person I had sent to Hirado returned with the news that the last storm had destroyed most of the rice crop and thus they could not deliver any rice in payment this year. A Chinese junk arrived from Fuzhou. Its cargo is estimated at twelve chests of money. I received permission to dispatch two flutes and also to extend the steps in front of the gate of the island on the Company's account, which will be convenient for unloading the sampans at low tide. They cannot come close to the steps to unload or load the ships. We were grateful for both.
- 12 Early in the morning, I went on board the *Zalm* and welcomed our friends, mustered the crew, and we started to unload the ship. This was finished in the evening. One of the interpreters came to me and, on behalf of the governors, asked me on which day I intended to dispatch the ships. They would write to Satsuma, Arima, Hizen, Ōmura, Gotō, and other places to notify them that, if our ships should go there driven by a storm or bad weather, they should be treated well and a message should be sent to Nagasaki. I decided on the 16th.
- 13 Rainy weather and nothing could be done. I sent Kichibyōe to the governors to ask that I be allowed to dispatch the *Henriette Louise*, *Lillo*, and *Leeuwerik* ten days after the departure of the first ships. I would write to Batavia with the first ships. The interpreter returned with the reply that I could send any ship I wanted on the day that was most convenient. I decided to dispatch the three ships on the 26th.
- 14 Rainy weather, but we did as much as we could and we held the third sale, but could deliver little.
- 52 15 We have been busy loading the two flutes. The *Meerman* still does not have her rudder or gunpowder or ammunition. Two Chinese junks departed in the afternoon.
- 16 According to custom, the money was taken aboard with some necessities belonging to our friends. We expected them to go on board as well and take their leave, but the *bongioisen* were in no hurry to take the rudder and the ammunition on board, seemingly with the foreknowledge of the governors. What should have been accomplished before noon, was not done till evening, thus the day was lost. From the interpreters we gathered that this was because of the junks which departed the day before.
- 17 We expected to be given permission for the ships to depart, but it was not to be. I conferred with the others and we decided to send the interpreters to the governors to ask if our ships could leave, because yesterday, which had been their appointed day of departure, had passed and the weather was now fine. If the governors refused, the interpreters should say – but not that we had ordered them to do so – that they had heard us mumble that the Chinese had presented a request to the governors for our ships to be held back – which the interpreters had told us that they had done. That we were used to this, we had heard of this before here in Japan and also in Tonkin and in other places, that we thought that if and when this reached the ears of our authorities, they would seek revenge and might even declare war on them and would do everything in their power to cause them damage. Their Honours should consider that if this did indeed happen, not we, who had never done them any harm in this trade and who were being hindered in our freedom, would be the ones charged with being the cause of such wars and disasters, but they, who were treating us as enemies and giving us a bad reputation.
- 53 The interpreters went to the governors but found them to be busy and they could only speak to the

secretary. They presented our request and told him that they had heard us mumble about the Chinese request to hold back our ships. The secretary just laughed. The governors were presented with our request. They replied that they had heard the captain's request. We delivered some goods and took out some to put on view. I also gave orders to tell the lacquerers to bring their goods onto the island. We had hardly any warehouses to spare, for the costliest goods had been sold, but the bulkiest ones not yet.

#### Departure of the *Meerman* and the *Hillegersberg*

18 I went on board the two flutes the *Meerman* and the *Hillegersberg* after having received the governors' permission to muster the crew and to dispatch them. But the *Hillegersberg* was not able to weigh anchor and left in the evening. The cargo of both ships is worth 599,754 guilders. We have taken out a lot of goods to be viewed tomorrow.

19 We have put the goods on view and many merchants came to inspect them. We have also delivered some goods of the last sale. The ships have sailed so far out to sea that they are out of sight of the patrol boats which had accompanied them.

20 We had another sale, mainly of Dutch, Coromandel, and Siamese goods. We have delivered most.

21 We have been busy inspecting the lacquerware which will be sent to Holland with the return ship. We have delivered some more goods.

22 We held another viewing day of the remaining Dutch goods, which will be sold tomorrow before the departure of the ships. We have inspected a batch of lacquerware, which will be loaded onto the ships departing for Holland.

54 We have been negotiating with the lacquerers about the price till late in the evening. After much argument it boiled down to the fact that we did not wish to accept the pieces that we had rejected for last year's prices, which we had already agreed, and they kept insisting on this. Thus we did not reach an agreement.

23 The council convened a meeting to discuss some dubious and outstanding matters. Then we held a sale of different kinds of European commodities,

which had been left unsold. In the evening, we reached an agreement with the lacquerers, but the rejected pieces would be accepted at their value.

24 The two ships have taken on their cargo, consisting of some lacquerware and about 100 bales of rice. The value of both cargoes is 352,755 guilders.

#### Departure of the *Henriette Louise* and the *Leeuwerik*

25 I went on board both ships. After the inspection by the *bongiois*, I mustered the crew and took leave of our friends. They departed with a fine wind. A Chinese junk arrived.

26 A Japanese feast day and nothing has been done, only some goods have been taken out for viewing tomorrow.<sup>4</sup> A Chinese junk arrived.

27 The goods which were taken out yesterday have been inspected. We inspected some lacquerware and packed the pieces. A Chinese junk arrived with a cargo of white *pancado* silk and other goods, worth about 21 chests of money.

28 Another Japanese feast day and nothing has been done.

29 We have inspected some more lacquerware. We sold the goods put on view two days ago by bidding slips. We had the interpreters ask permission to have some lacquerware taken on board tomorrow.

30 A batch of lacquerware has been taken on board. We have been delivering the goods sold. We have also settled the price of the rejected lacquerware and packed the pieces.

31 A Japanese feast day. We have taken out some goods to be put on view as soon as possible. Today we learnt that, as happens all over the world, Governor Saburōzaemon has been the victim of slander.

55 Some days ago 'The Dutch cloth is good, Baba Saburōzaemon' had been written on his gate.

#### November

##### Departure of the *Lillo*

1 The remainder of the lacquerware for Holland has been sent on board. In the afternoon, the

4 The *Kunchi* Festival.

gunpowder and ammunition was taken on board. Then I went to the yacht the *Lillo* to dispatch her to Tayouan with a cargo worth 313,942 guilders. She sailed out of the bay. We have put out some goods and delivered some others.

2 We have put some goods on view. We have delivered some goods.

3 We have sold the goods we put on view yesterday. We have inspected some lacquerware that had been ordered for Coromandel.

4 Five Chinese junks have departed. We have inspected some more lacquerware. The masters have found two pieces of ordnance.

5 Six Chinese junks have departed. We tried to settle the price with the lacquer workers, but we could not agree. The masters went to the pieces of ordnance to fix them, but the divers would only fix the equipment to the pieces for an exorbitant price. Thus it was not done.

6 We started to load the flutes the *Beer* and the *Gans*. The Japanese have taken the gunpowder and the ammunition on board of one of the ships.

7 The remaining goods and the crews' belongings together with the money have been taken on board both ships so that they will be ready tomorrow, because the Lord of Hakata had informed the governors that he wished to see the Dutch ships sailing. For this purpose he had arrived around the 20th of the 9th month<sup>5</sup> and after he had seen this, he would depart. This request had been passed on to us and we promised to be ready.

#### Departure of the *Beer* and the *Gouden Gans*

8 First the *bongioisen* came to accompany the others on board. The two aforesaid flutes departed with Senior Merchant Anthonio van Brouckhorst and his company, loaded with currency and merchandise for the sum of 516,175 guilders. But the wind forced them to drop anchor halfway through the bay, after they had tacked against the wind in view of the lord who hosted the two governors.

9 Before dawn the ships sailed and they were out of view when day broke. In the afternoon, we put out some goods on view.

56 10 The goods have been inspected and sold. Today, indeed for the last seven or eight days, the winds have been southerly, westerly, and south-westerly.

11 The goods have been delivered. We have also taken out some goods.

12 We have taken out some more goods to be put on view in the afternoon. The merchants came to inspect the merchandise. South-westerly winds.

13 The goods have been sold. Northerly and north-easterly winds.

14 We have been busy delivering goods and inspecting the lacquerware for Coromandel. Some Chinese junks departed.

15 Nothing noteworthy happened. We have been negotiating with the lacquerers on the price for the wares for Coromandel.

16 We have come to an agreement with the lacquerers. We think it is rather high, but there is little we can do if we do not want to bother the governors with these matters, which has not been the custom. We have packed the lacquerware. A few Chinese junks departed and another arrived from Fuzhou with about two chests of money's worth of commodities and one from Quanzhou, both loaded with alum.

17 We have loaded the goods on the yacht the *Aagtekerke*.

18 We have taken the currency on board and also the gunpowder and lead. We have taken out the last of the goods.

#### Departure of the *Aagtekerke*

19 The *Aagtekerke* sailed early in the morning with a fair wind. The cargo of currency and commodities together is worth 318,786 guilders. Nothing else happened.

20 The last of the goods has been inspected and will be sold tomorrow. I have sent an express mail to Hirado for money or a reply before my departure.

21 I have settled the account with the lacquerers. The goods have been sold and partly delivered. Five apostate Christians, three men and two women,

<sup>5</sup> 8 November 1645.

have been executed. Two or three Chinese junks departed.

22 We have received some of the camphor we ordered and we have delivered some goods.

23–25 We have received some of the camphor we ordered. It has been transferred to other barrels for shipment. I received the following list of all the goods the Chinese have imported in Nagasaki on seventy-six junks since the *Shōgatsu*, Japanese New Year or 28 January, and the prices for which they were sold. [List on fos. 56–57; total 1,482,029 taels.]

57 Also included should be the goods the Chinese imported on six junks since the departure of the last ships and the *Shōgatsu*, worth about 250,000 taels, which added to the sum makes a total of 1,732,029 taels.

58 26 Nothing happened. The interpreters told me that certain goods have dropped in price, in particular the Bengal silk, because it had been found to be inferior to the Tonkinese silk and it was knotted in many places and the threads were not even. Even the European goods have dropped in price. However, I suspect that the rich Miyako merchants have a hand in this. They know the Nagasaki market and they are seeking to eliminate the Nagasaki citizens, who have bought a great deal in the hope of making a profit and who are finding it hard to pay now that the Chinese are leaving.

27 I have settled the account with the assayers and the collectors. After I had consulted with each interpreter first and later with all together and also with the supervisor of the island, I proposed that they should present the following to the governors. I was about to leave for Batavia and if the authorities there asked me about the export of copper, what should I tell them. Could Their Honours give me any decision on it? Secondly, could we be given permission to trade when the first of our ships arrived as the Chinese do for several reasons? Finally, could it be granted us that in another year that, while the captain was travelling to Edo, some Dutchmen remained in the lodge so that we did not have to make do with inexperienced men, which would also be to the advantage of the Japanese? They all agreed that these were judicious requests

and they would present them to the governors and inform me of the response.

28 We have been busy loading the ship. The interpreters went to the governors and, after the accounts had been settled with the assayers, they showed them how much the Dutch had imported and sold this year. Then they presented the three points we discussed yesterday. Their Honours replied that concerning the first two points, namely the export of copper and the start of trade after the arrival of the first ships, these had been ordered by the government in Edo and they could not alter them without the government's knowledge and consent. Concerning the copper, the Japanese merchants were also requesting this. Saburōzaemon said that when the Dutch captain was in Edo, he could request this himself, for these were matters which did not harm anyone. But while he was not in Edo, the captain could not do much about it. 'Concerning the remaining of some Dutchmen in the lodge,' Gonpachirō said, 'Saburōzaemon and I can discuss this.' Saburōzaemon said that when the interpreters were with him, he and Gonpachirō could settle matters. 'If the captain wishes to leave men here on Tsukishima, he can do so, we do not stipulate the number of men with whom the captain has to travel to Edo.

59 The captain can do so this year if he so wishes.' The interpreters told him that we did not request it for this year but for the years following. They brought me the good news. I firmly believe that this is to the advantage of the Company. When the factory is manned with capable persons to its full complement, the Company will be served well. The interpreters also said that they had understood that the governor would like the captain to postpone his journey to Edo till His Honour had travelled there. It seems that he would like to receive the credit if anything good is achieved in the interest of the Company.

29 I went to both governors to thank them for their assistance during my presence in Japan, and that the trade had been conducted so peacefully and everything had been done in the best manner. We had enjoyed much good fortune in Edo

through Their Honours' efforts. I trusted that my successor would enjoy the same. I thanked them for yesterday's decision. They replied that they would extend the same favours to the new captain as long as he took care that the Shogun's orders were not

transgressed. We should bear in mind that we did not trade in Japan for one year but for eternity. Next I went to Regent Heizō and the *burgemeesters*, but they were absent, and I returned to the lodge.