

Dagregister of Opperhoofd Wilhem Versteeghen

28 October 1646–10 October 1647

1646

October

1 28 In the morning, the weather was fine, the wind north-westerly. Around seven o'clock Reijnier van Tzum, Senior Merchant Brouckhorst, and some other friends went on board the flutes the *Hillegersberg*, *Zwarte Beer*, and *Gouden Gans*. The crews were mustered and the ships sailed out of the bay on their way to Tayouan with a cargo worth 598,917 guilders. When I returned to the lodge, I thanked the *bongioisen* for their troubles and treated them to wine and *sakana*. The interpreters were sent to the governors to thank them and to request Their Honours' favour in the coming year. With Van Tzum's consent I remain here – against my wishes – with ten others, namely four junior merchants, one assistant, one barber-surgeon, and four servants, including two blacks, not so much because the Company's affairs do not warrant this, but because these changes are being introduced during my administration.

2 I trust that the Company will be well served, because they are men of a gentle and good disposition, which is especially required in this country, the more so because by remaining here they will get to know the Japanese. It is very useful that they remain here for the trade, the supervision, and the inspection of the merchandise. The goods are put to view in more than thirty-five or thirty-six different warehouses, and sometimes, to save space, different assortments are put together as much as possible, so that when they are sold, the warehouses are being overrun by so many people, especially those who have the least liking for the price and the most liking for the goods, that one is constantly busy keeping an eye on them and distinguishing between that one and the other and treat them accordingly, delivering the goods fairly, either counting, measuring, or weighing them, for it seldom tallies, they being

on the look-out for any chance to benefit themselves. It is a great difference from previous times. There is enough to do and even if one is in the right, the matter has to be let go, otherwise the governors have to be bothered and they do not appreciate this in the least, not being merchants themselves. Then the matter is so drawn out that one accepts whatever decision is given, even if it is against us, as has been the case during Van Tzum's administration. The interpreters are even steering it in that direction, as the six of them have declared openly. This being stated black-and-white or white-and-black, one cannot argue against it and one needs to act here with circumspection and counsel.

3 29 Early in the morning, I had all the goods of the flute the *Overschie* unpacked and put on view. I asked the interpreters if notices could be hung up and the sale proceed. They refused, because they have been invited to dinner by Governor Gonpachirō. In the afternoon I had all the gifts inspected so that they can be shown to the governors shortly and I can ask their advice whether they should be increased, changed, or decreased. In the evening, on behalf of Regent Heizō, the *burgemeester* of the island, Taguchi Sōbei came to announce that His Honour had returned from Edo and he was pleased with my arrival. He was sorry that he had not been there when I went to visit him a few days ago.

30 Fine weather, the wind north-westerly. I had a list made of all the goods, notices affixed, and the goods put on view. Tomorrow we shall hold a sale. Nothing happened. A few merchants came to claim a discount because the *lakenen* had been measured too short.

31 Fine weather. Before the sale, several merchants came with their pieces of *laken*. I settled the matter with them and charged them less for the whole batch of *lakenen* and *stametten*. It would be advisable to follow this course of action in future. The *lakenen* which will be presented to the governors this year

have likewise been found to have been measured too short when compared to the memorandum.

- 4 It would have been better if we had found this out ourselves. It is of little import, but it strikes one as strange and it should be noted with regard to Their Honours, although they make it known through the merchants. The 130 piculs of camphor will have to be accepted from Saburōzaemon's brother, not for 6 taels – according to the memorandum Van Tzum left here – but for 7 taels. The interpreters were displeased that I asked them about it. [List of goods which were sold publicly and their prices.] Two junks arrived from Fuzhou.

November

- 5 1 Downpours and strong winds from the southwest. We have received the camphor from Governor Saburōzaemon's brother, 249 barrels, net 124 piculs and 59 catties. We have delivered some goods. The change of the pantry servants, which the *burgemeester* and the interpreters had introduced against Van Tzum's wishes, has been rescinded, so that we can again hire any cook or servants we wish.
- 2 Northerly wind and drizzle. Early in the morning the copper merchant came to deliver copper. Because there was a difference of 3 catties on the balances, we have left it for the moment, the more so because Van Tzum had been more or less forced to accept the copper. The merchant brought a piece of red *laken* on which he wanted a reduction. I would not agree to it, but we would get rid of it with bidding slips. He agreed to this. A start has been made with weighing the sugar. I sent Hachizaemon to the governors to ask that Master Muts and the carpenter be allowed to go into town to inspect some masts or timber for the *Overschie*. The governors asked how many persons would go. The reply was two or three. The governors gave permission that four or five could go without guards. The interpreters who would accompany them would be sufficient. This is an excellent start. The flute has taken on water and stones.
- 6 In the afternoon, on behalf of the men from Nanking, the merchant with whom I discussed them before came to request that, now that the people of

Nanking were Tartars and had been banished from here, we issue them with a pass and a flag so that they could sail to Tayouan and trade there. Without raising the interpreters' suspicions, I discussed the matter with them and agreed to request this from the governors and offer documents of guarantee and they will offer themselves and the interpreters as sureties. They are so scrupulous with regard to us because there are 130 chests of silver on board. They will sail to Nanking first, where they will unload the chests and will make known what has happened and then they will sail to Tayouan to make everything known there and enter into contracts and then return to Nanking in the company of our ships. The camphor having been weighed yesterday without any differences, we settled with the *compradoor*, Governor Saburōzaemon's brother, today and treated him in Japanese fashion to *sakana* and wine. I had him thank his master for the present of a *bonsai* from Kokura which he had sent for me.

3 Northerly wind. On behalf of the governors, or rather Saburōzaemon, the interpreters came to tell me that all the rarities have to be taken to his residence for inspection.

- 7 On their return they reported that he had been exceptionally pleased, especially about the perspective case. He had said that he would need several days to inspect everything. The camels, mirror, and turned ivory cups were especially to his liking. The gold *laken*, medicine chests, and *alcatieven* also pleased him, as did some other small rarities. In the afternoon, the merchant I had spoken to yesterday, came again to ask about the Nanking Chinese. Had the interpreters mentioned the matter to the governors? I told him they did not agree on the matter and therefore nothing had been done as yet, but we would discuss it in more detail. We have been busy delivering sugar, and sappanwood. There was some argument about the buffalo-horns. The buyer wished to have a discount, because there are so many small ones among them. So far I have not been willing to give it, because of the consequences.

4 Rainy weather with an overcast sky. The *burgemeester* came with two interpreters and the buyer of the buffalo-horns to request a discount as he had

done yesterday, because there are so many small ones among them. I objected, but to no avail and I had to give him a discount.

5 The interpreters announced that they had presented my request concerning the Nanking Chinese to the governors.

8 They had done so by claiming that when the Nanking Chinese left lately, they had encountered bad weather off the Gotō Isles and had lost their junk. They wished to undertake their journey home again but the wind and the weather proved a hazard off the entire coast of China and Formosa and the only safe harbour for them would be at Formosa with the Dutch, if only they could obtain a pass and a prince's flag. This was instantly grasped and the reaction was that now that they had been banned from Japan and they did not know what to do with their merchandise, they wanted to go to the Dutch in Formosa. They were right. The governors would discuss it and let them know their decision. Although the Tartars are now the rulers of Nanking Province and have cut it off from the rest of the Chinese empire, its inhabitants, who have been coming here every year with small and seaworthy vessels and have been glutting the Japanese market with their silk and silk piece-goods, derive such profits from their trade, that these profits keep luring them, even though they have become subjects of the Tartars and have to shave their heads like them. The Japanese, however, still remember that in 1281 the Tartar sent a force of 4000 vessels and 240,000 soldiers to the coast of Hakata behind Hirado.¹ Although no harm came to the Japanese – for storm winds destroyed the force – they still recall the event and have no wish for any intercourse with those people nor their subjects and they have banned them from entering the country. They have been allowed to sell their goods just for this once.

9 In the same vein strange tales are being told about the Europeans and especially the Dutch. They say that in previous centuries mighty ships appeared

off their coasts with what seemed to them heavenly portents of thunder and lightning in the sky. The people had been dressed like us, manly and impressive in their actions and appearance, with long noses, as their prints show. Present-day viewers take the thunder for the cannons, the flame of the powder for the lightning, and the smoke for the clouds. I mention this so anyone can think what he likes.

6 Fine weather, the wind northerly. The interpreters came to bring me the governors' decision on the Nanking Chinese. They do not wish to concern themselves with the matter. If we wished to issue a pass and a flag, that was our own affair. I sent the interpreters to the Chinese to inform them of this. They will bring me their reply tomorrow.

7 Northerly wind and rainy weather. Nothing happened. I was told that the Nanking Chinese were very happy with yesterday's news.

8 The interpreters and the Japanese merchants discussed which would be the best way of dealing with the matter. I wrote out a pass for them, which pleased them.

10 In return I wanted a pro forma document as guarantee that they would appear in Tayouan without fail either in the month of *Shōgatsu* or that following. The interpreters did not think it advisable to have the merchants stand surety for this, for they can do little or nothing about it. They wanted the exchange of letters and flag to be performed in the governors' presence, which they think will lend it enough authority for both sides. Nothing else happened.

9 Overcast. I have not received a reply from the Chinese, although the pass and the flag are ready. I sent the interpreter there. He told me that they were busy packing their money and it was not convenient for them today, but tomorrow the matter would be settled. Rumour has it that, as gifts are arriving on some junks, a few lords are expected from Edo to receive and send off Iquan's ambassador. Today three junks departed, two from Nanking and one from Fuzhou.

10 A junk arrived from Fuzhou, carrying black, half-spilt sugar. It brought the news that Iquan had sent three or four envoys from Fuzhou to the Tartars. They wanted to make a deal with them. They were

¹ Kublai Khan, first Mongol ruler of China, twice sent fleets to conquer Japan. The second expedition was in 1281. Both attempts failed.

- inclined to do so, if he subjected himself to the Tartar's rule and shaved himself in their fashion.
- 11 Then he would be created a great mandarin, ruling over three provinces, Canton, Fuzhou, and Quanzhou. They would not listen to this and without giving any forewarning, the Tartar marched straight for Fuzhou. When the king and Iquan learnt of this, they fled to Quanzhou. The Tartars burnt the city from the one side and Iquan burnt it from the other side. They did the same to Zhangzhou. This rumour has cast the town here in despondency, especially the Chinese, whose friends and relatives live in those areas. This casts doubt on the arrival of the ambassador. The governors sent a mail post-haste to Edo to broadcast this rumour. The *otona* came with the interpreters for the rent of the island, which is 5500 taels annually. I told them that because two warehouses had been badly damaged in a storm and had not been repaired properly so that we could not make full use of them, we could not agree to the full sum and demanded a reduction of 300 taels. They thought this strange and conferred. They asked to let it pass for this year and they would rebuild them next year. I told them that I would pay them the full sum without any argument when they did so, but if they failed to do so, I would deduct an amount pro rata from the rent. The governors had me informed that the ship would have to remain here till the 10th of their month.
- 12 She would not be allowed to leave before. I think this order has been induced by a Chinese request. I should also write for a gunner. One had been asked for before and he had not been sent. I think this should be diverted with a concocted excuse, as has been done now, by claiming that these people cannot be found in great numbers in the fatherland because of the continuation of the war. They want a lot of money and have wife and children there, and they find the voyage too long and hazardous. They could do as they pleased, because they were not servants of the Company. But I would write about it to oblige the governors. The interpreters asked if I would mention them to my superiors. In particular, would I ask if they could send 6000 taels on our ships to Tonkin every year for their own profit and risk. I warned them that this would raise some objections, but it was a small thing to mention on their behalf, for which they were grateful. It will be harmful to the Company and will yield no thanks or profit, but discontent and damage. To my surprise I have heard nothing from the Nanking Chinese, although I sent the interpreters there twice.
- 13 In the evening, I was told that Governor Gonpachirō will travel to Edo the day after tomorrow. He had the interpreters draw and describe all the flags of the European rulers, especially those who rule the seas.
- 11 Northerly wind. Two merchants, called Quiens and Quionseymon, came on behalf of the Nanking Chinese with two letters written in Chinese with the following contents: They gave their oath that in the month of *Shōgatsu* or in the two following months they would appear in Tayouan with their junks full of silk and silk goods and after they had finished trading, they would return together with our ships. Before contracting or in the event they did not appear, our ships would go there, namely to the coast of the island of Ningbo, which has a fine roadstead and a fine site at which to trade and they would be supplied with everything they needed, and if the Company so wished, they would help promote that the Company take possession of this place as they did in Tayouan. They also requested that when they came to Tayouan, they would be treated as friends, as would the junks which arrived to trade without pass or flag. I sent the interpreters to Governor Gonpachirō to thank him for all his efforts on behalf of the Company and to request his continued favour in Edo.
- 14 We have decided to provide Tayouan with all the provisions we can send, for it is being rumoured that the fleeing Chinese have their eyes set on our fortress and will pour into the island and because of the hordes of people we might not be able to occupy the farms as before. Furthermore, to send Junior Merchants Jan de Groot and Dirck Meulenaer there, because the Nanking junk insists on discussing with the others at sea if they will sail with them to Nanking, when they will grant us trade in the most suitable place in Ningbo, and disclose the state of affairs, to which end they want to take with them

some European and other goods suitable to open up trade. Everything pertaining to this matter can be read in the resolution. I sent the interpreters to the governors to request the export of rice and wheat, but they were not able to see them.

12 Fine weather, northerly wind. At daybreak Governor Gonpachirō set off for the Court. Governor Saburōzaemon had me informed that I could dispatch the ship whenever I liked. We were given permission to export 400 bales of rice and 400 bales of wheat.

15 Denbyō came with the Chinese documents to exchange them for the pass and the flag. I wished to have the pass shown to the governor first, which was done. The result was that, contrary to our expectation – although not a single word in it related to the Japanese – he would not permit the exchange, thwarting our resolution and everything else. He also ordered us to dispatch our ship on the 15th, for the Chinese will leave tomorrow or the day after. As far as I can make out, they may permit them trade again some day. The invasion of the Tartar has filled them with fear. In the evening, on behalf of the Chinese, a certain Japanese requested a secret exchange. I could not agree, because this would contravene the governor's orders. But if they waited outside the bay for our ship for a day or two, the captain would hand them the flag and the pass, and the exchange could be carried out at sea. I expected their answer tomorrow, because I refused to place the Company and us here in jeopardy.

13 Early in the morning, the Nanking Chinese sent me word that, after their departure, they would wait for our ship for two days off Meshima. Trade can easily be conducted from Tayouan if the Tartars continue victorious.

16 Nonetheless, Nanking Province would be the best choice, because not only are a great many goods being exported from there to all regions, but foremost because, when our people have settled there with the authorities' permission, we could sail to and from Japan year in and year out without having to wait for the monsoon. During my last posting in Nagasaki, I noticed that the Chinese sail to and fro within a month and carry on a profitable trade,

which is also the reason that they did their best in the aforesaid matter, in order that the Company also taste the fruits of Nanking for once, which I hope will soon happen with God's help. Today I wanted to unload some sampans full of stones – although these are very useful in Tayouan – because of the wheat and rice which has to be loaded, to prevent the ship from running into danger. Because the Chinese are departing, the *bongiois* refused to do so and it has been put off till tomorrow.

14 The *Overschie* unloaded her stones and was taking on her cargo when the rain put a stop to it. On behalf of the landlords, the interpreters came.

17 They said that the landlords had prepared a request, which they would present to the governors and they did not doubt that they would be awarded the full sum. Because they did not want to bother the officials unnecessarily, they told me so beforehand and promised to rebuild the houses in the spring if given the full sum. I could rely on that. I shall have to give in to prevent further annoyance. Governor Saburōzaemon asked me to write to Batavia on his behalf for some balm and oil. If I had some here, could I oblige him. I did so and he was grateful.

15 Northerly wind with rain. This prevented us from loading the ship. Nothing happened. The interpreters came for a second time to press me about the landlords' request. I have been delaying them on purpose.

16 Fine weather, northerly wind. Early in the morning, the rudder of the ship and the powder were taken on board. The remaining goods were loaded and she was prepared for departure. I went on board to muster the crew, handed over the papers and returned to the lodge. I treated the *bongiois* to some wine and *sakana*.

18 One of Governor Saburōzaemon's noblemen asked if I had written to Batavia about the gunner. I told him I had done so. I sent the interpreters to thank the governor for the favours he had shown us with regard to the ship's cargo and her dispatch. He was pleased and assured me of his assistance. A Chinese was taken to the court house. He had kicked a fellow so hard in his manhood that the latter had died. He was decapitated together with a Japanese

purse-maker. The *Overschie* could not sail because the wind was westerly.

Departure of the *Overschie*

- 17 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. I was told that the ship had sailed out of the bay, but the patrol boat had not yet returned. The houses on the island have been inspected. In the afternoon, on behalf of the governor, the interpreters came to take note of all the goods we import and the places where they are purchased. They want to consider whether the Chinese can be missed in Japan. Thus I told them that all goods can be obtained abundantly in Batavia and the Netherlands, but I did not exaggerate. They said that China and Holland produced most goods.
- 19 Since my arrival in Japan, I have been trying to find out about the apostate priests. One of them is a Japanese called Thoma, who lived in Rome, Italy, with the Pope for a while and had been his chamberlain.² He was said to be held in detention, because he had confessed to being a Christian several times. The governors, taking his age into account, took it more as a case of wandering wits than of the truth. They let him sit there without harbouring any further suspicions, but he became ill and gave up the ghost. Previously, he had been hanged from his legs for more than a day but death would not have him and he fell off, but it seems he remained steadfast. Two others remain in Nagasaki. The one is a Portuguese born and bred, whose name is Chūan. He was the head of the Jesuits in these parts, whose outside and inside are as black as any raven can be. The other one³ is the brother of the late *burgemeester*, Gotto Siosabro, who is just a simple person, who does not speak out to the prejudice of the Dutch.

² Araki Thomas or Ryōhaku. *Diaries kept by the Heads of the Dutch Factory in Japan*, Vol. x, 1646–1647 (Tokyo: Shiryō Hensanjo, The University of Tokyo, 2003), p. 24, n. 64.

³ Gotō Ryōjun (Miquel). He was a younger brother of Gotō Shōzaemon Sada'asa and an older brother of Gotō Sōan. Their father was Gotō Sōin. We could not identify Goto Siosabro.

18 Fine weather, southerly wind. One of the Nanking junks which left four or five days ago returned. Contrary wind had caused it some damage and it was given some timber. It had to leave again.

19 Northerly wind and fine weather. I inspected the island with the *burgemeester* and some of the landlords.

- 20 We agreed that the dilapidated houses would be rebuilt for the Company and the others repaired. They would oblige us as much as possible. The full sum will have to be paid this year. Heizō had ordered them to keep this matter from Governor Saburōzaemon and to settle it themselves. I decided it would be best to accept it. In the evening, most of the landlords came with the *burgemeester* to thank me that the matter had been settled. They gave their word that they would do as stated. We parted as friends with both sides satisfied.

20 Unpleasant weather, the wind easterly. I sent the interpreters to the governor to ask when we would be given permission to travel to Edo. The reply was that we should prepare ourselves around the 26th of the Japanese month.⁴ In the meantime, he would appoint a *bonjouis* to escort us.

21–22 Fine weather.

- 21 We have been packing the gifts and lining the medicine chests.

23 I sent a box with various essential oils and medicines to Governor Saburōzaemon, similar to the one I had prepared for the Shogun or Chikugo-no-kami. He was very grateful. He returned the notes with the names. I had the potency and efficacy of each written in Japanese and sent them back to him. He sent the interpreters to thank me. He let me know that he did not accept any gifts, but he could accept medicines. According to the interpreters, he was more pleased with this than if he had been given a grand gift. A junk left for Fuzhou.

24 Unpleasant weather, the wind easterly. A Nanking junk arrived. In the evening, the wind veered south-westerly.

⁴ 3 December 1646.

- 25 Unpleasant weather as before, the wind northerly.
- 26 The interpreters came to tell me which *bongiois* had been appointed by Governor Saburōzaemon to accompany us. They made a lot of small talk. I heard that Denbyōe wanted to take his son along to Edo, but I would not agree to this, because that will add to the expenses and trouble. He claimed that it was on the governors' orders.
- 22 I doubt this very much, but can do nothing about it. Fine weather, the wind northerly.
- 27 Fair weather. Nothing happened. A junk left for Fuzhou. I invited the *burgemeester* and the interpreters for dinner.
- 28 Fine weather, in the morning the wind was southerly, veering northerly in the afternoon. Five Chinese junks departed.
- 29 Wind and weather as before. Four Chinese junks departed. The interpreters told me that the Nanking junk had requested that four or five of their men be allowed to sail on some of the Chinese junks to Tonkin or Cochin China. This was refused. One of the landlords told me that the apostate Chūan was putting lots of things concerning the Dutch and the Portuguese on paper. It will be sent to Edo shortly. I wish that this godforsaken troublemaker would be killed so that the Company be free from his meddling.
- 23 A Japanese was decapitated today because he had sold some knives as swords to the Chinese. In the afternoon the barges moored in front of the lodge. We shall travel on one and the camels will travel on the other. In the evening the interpreters came with the servants who will travel with us. I asked that a washerman, who could speak some Dutch and who is serving in the pantry at the moment, be included to assist the Dutch who will accompany me. Denbyōe and Kichibyōe were much against this, saying that it was the governors' orders that no one who could speak Dutch should go along. This struck me as strange and I told them that they should not use the governors' words to bully us or I would complain, for I was sure that sometimes they only made up their own stories and tried to get their own way.

This was about the Portuguese: the Portuguese language was suspect, not the Dutch. We did not need Portuguese interpreters, we could make do with Dutch and Japanese. Have them point out to me a single Dutch Christian who had been executed by the Japanese, and they would not be able to do so, but, conversely, a multitude of those disposed towards the Portuguese. Thus the Portuguese language was suspect, not Dutch. They left without giving in.

- 24 30 I was talking with the *burgemeester* of the island about the Dutch who would stay behind and asking him to treat them well, when Denbyōe came with the servant who speaks Dutch and whom I had proposed taking along. He told me I could do as I pleased. I told him that the one servant was as good as the other, but by presenting the case wrongly, they had given me cause to be disagreeable. He asked me to let the matter drop. The guards on the gate came with a small present to wish me a happy journey. I thanked them for their kindness towards the Dutch and asked them should one of our people come to the gate and show himself unfamiliar with the Japanese customs, not to treat him unkindly and send him back with some strokes with a stick, for no one would like to be treated like that. They promised they would not and said they were sorry if they had caused any unpleasantness. Three Chinese junks departed.

December

- 1 A Nanking junk arrived. I wanted to say farewell to the governor, but he was occupied with the Chinese and I have to wait till tomorrow.
- 25 2 Junior Merchant Johan de Groot and I went to the governor. Senior *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came with a case filled with plain and figured satin. He asked me to take it to Edo. I was summoned inside. The governor asked if I was ready for the journey. On our behalf, he had written a letter to Chikugonokami and Gonpachirō in which he requested them to assist me when needed and to obtain a speedy dispatch from His Majesty after the audience. He wished me a happy journey. I thanked

him. I requested he extend to De Groot and the other Company servants who were staying behind his favour. He promised to do so. Most of the gifts have been loaded on the barge and we prepared for the journey. I read out the instructions which they have to follow during my absence to the junior merchants. Several merchants came with fruit to wish us luck, also the fourteen Company money weighers, clerk, and others.

- 26 Today the request of the Nanking Chinese that several of their men be transferred to another junk was granted. Several of them left on a junk destined for Fuzhou, via the Pescadores, where they will first inquire after the state of affairs in their country. If affairs are not as hoped for, they will sail to Tonkin.

Dagregister Kept During the Absence of Versteeghen

3 Northerly wind, sky overcast. Wilhem Versteeghen, *opperhoofd* of the factory, left with his company for Osaka, from where he will travel to Edo. There he will make his reverences to His Imperial Majesty and the government on behalf of the Company. May God grant him a safe journey.

4–5 A junk departed for Fuzhou. It is carrying several Nanking Chinese. They will make port first in the Pescadores to find out what is happening in their region. From there they will sail to Tonkin. Kichibyōe told me that one Geki-dono, an engineer of the Shogun, had an altercation about arms with a captain and four other persons and he had died in a fight in Edo.

- 27 6 Easterly wind and overcast sky.
7 Northerly wind with rain.
8 Wind as before and unsettled weather.
9 Easterly wind with overcast sky. Magobei told me that yesterday the governor had returned the goods to the masters of two junks – they had arrived here recently with gifts for the Shogun and had claimed that an ambassador would follow shortly to present them – and had told them that their ambassador could stay away. They had to leave within two days. Because of the shortness of time they have to sell the silk piece-goods much below their value.

10 North-westerly wind with a stiff breeze. A Nanking junk arrived and two Fuzhou junks departed. Their destination is unknown.

11 Fine weather. I was told that the Nanking junk which arrived yesterday is that of Pasmin Iquan, which left recently and for fear of the war dared not sail to its home port and has returned here to send some of its people to Tonkin, Cochin China, or Cambodia on other junks. He himself will sail with a few of his crew to Tayouan.

12 North-north-westerly wind. Four junks departed for Fuzhou.

13 Fine weather with a veering wind. The interpreters told me that a commissioner had been dispatched to all coastal towns to double the guard and keep a sharp look out for strange vessels on the Shogun's orders. It seems they fear the Tartars.

- 28 14 Northerly wind with fair weather.

15 On the order of the governor, the interpreters came to note the place of origin of the goods, which are imported into Japan. I told them.

16–18 Wind and weather as before. A junk departed.

19 Wind north-westerly with an overcast sky.

20 Wind as before with rain.

21 Wind as before, fine weather.

22 Northerly wind, showers.

23 Wind as before with fine weather.

24 Wind southerly. Two Fuzhou junks departed.

25 Westerly wind with a stiff breeze and a clear sky.

26 Northerly wind, fine weather.

27 A junk departed. I could not find out where to, but it is thought to be sailing to Tonkin, where many Chinese are settled.

28 North-westerly wind with a stiff breeze. Magobei told me that news had come from Edo that His Majesty was allowing both shaven and unshaven Chinese into his country to trade freely. The reason that those from Nanking had been refused was because they had come as subjects of the Tartars, whose precise religion was not known to him. But as he had learnt that the Tartars were not Christians, they are now allowed trade. This has caused a drop in the prices for many commodities.

- 29 29–30 Northerly wind and fine weather.

31 Easterly wind, fine weather. Kichibyōe told me that Wilhem Versteeghen and his company had reached Osaka safely on the 13th. They covered the distance in eleven days.

1647

January

- 1 Changeable weather. A Fuzhou junk departed. In the evening, a strong southerly wind forced the junk to return to the bay with another one which had been anchored off Iōshima.
- 2 Westerly wind with rain.
- 3 Northerly wind. Two Fuzhou junks departed. One arrived with the news that the Tartars had not yet taken Fuzhou, but everyone had shaved himself in their fashion, with the intention of subjecting himself to him and welcoming him as his ruler. An army captain who had fled from Peking had advised them against this and had infused the faint hearts with such hope and courage against their enemy that they had built some strongholds against the enemy attack, from where they had made a sortie and had killed several thousands of Tartars or their subjects. This had at least delayed the siege till their departure. The cargo consists of the following. [List.]
- 30 4 The wind northerly, fine weather, but cold.
- 5 Westerly wind.
- 6–7 Northerly wind, overcast, cold.
- 8 Veering wind, hail.
- 9 Westerly wind and rainy weather.
- 10 Easterly wind, fair.
- 11 Rainy. On behalf of the governor, Kichibyōe came to ask if there was any orange water. I told him that Versteeghen had taken all of this to Edo for the Shogun.
- 12 Storm from the west with hail and rain.
- 13–14 Northerly wind. In the evening we felt a severe earthquake, which shook the houses three times.
- 15 Fine weather, westerly wind. Four women have been hanged by their feet because they are Christians.
- 16 Northerly wind, fair. A Fuzhou junk returned and dropped anchor in the bay. Kichibyōe told me that the commissioner of the peripheral domains, Hineno Oribe-dono, who arrived two or three days ago, had summoned him in the evening and had questioned him about many things. The main questions and his answers were the following.
- 31 Question: ‘How long did it take the Dutch to sail from their country to Jacatra, from there to Tayouan, and from Tayouan to Japan?’
Answer: ‘It took them six to eight months to sail from the Netherlands to Jacatra, from there thirty to forty days to Tayouan, and twelve to fifteen days to Japan, if wind and weather were favourable.’
Question: ‘Did the Dutch use rosaries?’
Answer: ‘They did not have rosaries or priests, but clergymen whom they called ‘dominee’, who had a wife like everyone else, and who taught them.’
Question: ‘In Hirado the Dutch used to pray and sing. Why do not they do so now?’
Answer: ‘They used to sing psalms, which they refrain from doing now on the orders of the Shogun, who has forbidden it in Nagasaki.’
Question: ‘What kind of people are the Dutch?’
Answer: ‘I have served them as an interpreter now for five years and as far as I can tell they are men of good character, keeping to the truth and not to lies, fair in their dealings, humble and not proud or arrogant like the Castilians and the Portuguese.’
- 17 Wind as before, cold with snow.
- 18 Westerly wind, fair weather.
- 19 Northerly wind. The junk which returned on the 16th left again.
- 32 20 Westerly wind, weather as before.
- 21 Northerly wind, fine weather.
- 22 Easterly wind.
- 23 Easterly wind veering southerly with rain. A junk which had departed recently, returned.
- 24 Westerly wind, fair.
- 25 Veering wind, rainy weather.
- 26 Northerly wind with rain.
- 27 South-westerly wind, fine weather. The junk which returned a few days ago, departed.
- 28–29 Unpleasant weather, northerly wind.

- 30 Northerly wind, changeable weather.
 31 North-westerly wind, rough weather with hail.

February

- 1–2 Wind and weather as before.
 3 I was told that a new *otona* or supervisor of the island had been appointed. I hope he will keep the landlords better in check than the previous *otona* did, when they supply us with necessities at unfair prices. They take fifteen or sixteen bundles of wood from thirty-five bundles and they charge 8 candareens for a bale of coal, which they buy in town for 2 or 3 candareens at the most. They overcharge us for everything else we need.
 4 Easterly wind, fine weather. In the evening the governor sent Kichibyōe to ask if we could oblige him with 5 catties each of butter and cheese. We could, and he went straight back to the governor. He returned with a jar, in which we put 4 catties of butter and we gave him half a cheese. I could not find out which lord had asked for it, but it is certain that it was sent to Edo.
 33 5 The newly-appointed *burgemeester*, called Minoya Hachirōemon, and Kichibyōe came to visit me. They had been to congratulate the governor on the Japanese New Year. He had told them to go to the island to tell the Dutchmen that their captain had been received in audience on the first day of last month, which was 6 January, and had presented the gifts. Easterly wind and rain.
 6 North-westerly wind and unsettled weather.
 7 Northerly wind and cold.
 8 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly.
 9 Easterly wind, fine weather.
 10 Northerly wind, stiff breezes and overcast.
 11 Wind as before, fine weather.
 12 Wind as before, cold weather with showers of hail.
 13 Kichibyōe came to ask me for 10 catties of butter for Councillor Hotta Kaga-no-kami. I gave him the butter. He told me that Wilhem Versteeghen and his party had left Edo last month, on 23 January. Fine weather, southerly wind.
 14 Wind as before, storm and rain.
 15 Fine weather, northerly wind.

- 16 Fine weather.
 17 Southerly wind, overcast.
 18 North-westerly wind, fine weather.
 19 Southerly wind, overcast.
 20 Veering wind with some rain.
 21 Southerly wind, fine weather.
 22 Wind as before, fair weather.
 34 23–24 Northerly wind and rainy weather.
 25 Fine but cold weather.
 26–27 Stiff northerly wind with snow.
 28 Wind as before, fine weather.

March

- 1–2 Wind and weather as before.
 3–4 Veering wind.
 5 Wind as before, fine weather.
 6 Stiff southerly wind, rainy, unpleasant weather.
 7 North-westerly wind with an overcast sky. The *burgemeester* came to visit us. He said that if we wished to change the *compradoor*, cook, or other servants, he would put others in their places. I thanked him for his offer.
 8–9 Stiff northerly wind, very cold, snow.
 10 Fair weather, veering wind, mainly southerly.
 11 Westerly wind, rainy weather.
 12 Northerly wind, fine weather.
 13 North-westerly wind, fine weather. A Fuzhou junk departed. I told the *otona*, who came to visit us, that during the administration of the previous *otona*, the landlords had overcharged us for all necessities, such as timber and coal. I recommended he put an end to this practice. He replied that the captain was expected soon and then he would see to it that the prices were lowered.
 14 Westerly wind, weather as yesterday.
 15 Veering wind, mainly south-westerly. Fine weather.
 35 16 Around nine o'clock in the evening, Kichibyōe and Hachizaemon came with a note from Wilhem Versteeghen. It had been written on the barge two days ago. They were off Shikanoshima at Hakata. He wrote that he had been received in audience by the Shogun and his son. He had left Edo on 23 January and the river of Osaka on 14 February. On the 22nd he had reached Shimonoseki and Hakata on the 7th

of this month. Adverse winds had kept him there till two days ago. If the wind did not veer, it might well be that he would travel by land. I told the interpreters of this. They took the note and my reply to the governor. Shortly after, they returned with the note and told me that the governor had written to the *bongiois* who escorted them that, if they could not proceed by water, they could travel by land. He could hire horses. The wind south-westerly, fine weather.

17 Southerly wind veering northerly, with rain.

18 Northerly wind, fine weather.

19 Westerly wind, fine weather.

20 Veering wind, rain.

21 Northerly wind, fair weather. In the afternoon, Versteeghen and his party returned safe and sound in the lodge.

36 *Dagregister* Kept by Versteeghen on the Court Journey

December

3 Monday. I gave the junior merchants written instructions on how to comport themselves. In the afternoon the noblemen who have been appointed by Governor Saburōzaemon to escort us came. They are: Senior *Bongiois* Minono Stibeoije, Junior *Bongioisen* Jussida Neijmon and Nuro Cambioije. We said goodbye to the remaining junior merchants and a few Japanese landlords. We embarked and we sailed out of the bay with a favourable northerly wind. Our party consists of four Dutchmen and a black servant, namely, apart from myself, Assistant Jacob le Seuter, Senior Surgeon Mathijs Crousen, and Pieter Paulo van Griesper. The island *burgemeester*, the interpreters and a few of their relatives and other friends accompanied us on several barges. They gave us some presentation trays with fruit and Japanese *jūbako* and wished us a happy journey.

37 They returned after I had treated them according to the country's custom to some wine and a proper present. We sailed past islands and after we had waited in the bay of Fukuda because of the calm, we sailed again. We rowed and sailed along and passed Seto at midnight.

4 We had to remain off the southern corner of the Ninety-nine Islands because of the current. Around noon we weighed anchor and we sailed between these islands. The wind was blowing from the north and fairly stiffly. In the evening we reached the bay of Hirado, where we anchored. Not knowing how long we would have to stay here, I sent Denbyōe at once to the Lord of Hirado's regent to greet him and to request payment of his debt, so that we would have some cash to pay for our expenses on the way, for I depended on it. When he returned he told me that he had spoken to the regent, who told him that he wished us well on our journey to the Court and that we return speedily and in good health. However, just a few days ago the Lord of Hirado had received the happy tidings from Edo that his princess had given birth to a son.

38 He had gone hunting with all his noblemen and a large suite. They had killed many deer and some had also been sent to him to congratulate him. Thus it would not be possible today to see the lord and tomorrow was the 28th and a day for holding audiences. Furthermore, because of the good rice crop and the low price for it, the Lord had no funds at all and he would not be able to help. He would inform his master of our request at a more suitable opportunity.

5 Northerly wind and rain. I sent the interpreter back to the Lord with the friendly request to help us with some money, if possible. If not, would he do so in future, or he could supply us with some rice, which we would otherwise have to buy from others. As he did yesterday, the regent promised to tell his lord.

6 At nine o'clock we weighed anchor and left Hirado. We reached Tasuke, a mile further, where we had to spend the whole day in drizzly weather. The wind veered southerly in the afternoon.

7 Wind and weather as yesterday.

39 We set sail with the rain beating down on us. We reached Yobuko, thirteen miles from Hirado, before nightfall. This is a fairly built-up place. The whole area is ruled by the Lord of Karatsu, which is also the name of the domain. The bay is beautiful and excellent and provides a safe harbour.

8 Saturday. Drizzly weather, southerly wind. We rowed away to the northern point of Kabeshima, but in the evening we had to row back. Later we set sail again.

9 At dawn we sailed past the domain of Hakata and Ainoshima and many other islands, 22 miles from Yobuko, around noon we passed the domain of Kokura, the capital, and the castle, which has a beautiful, large tower, according to their manner of building. In the afternoon, we reached Shimonoseki, which is the passage which divides the Nine Provinces, or Kyūshū, the land on which Nagasaki is situated, from Chūgoku or the centre part of Japan, and which provides the entrance to the southern sea. We had proceeded for a further seven miles, when the wind started to blow very strongly and we had to return to safety. We had to stay in Shimonoseki till the next day.

40 10 Before dawn we set sail with a westerly wind. Half an hour before sunset we passed Kaminoseki, which is 35 miles from Shimonoseki, which is an inland sea. Around midnight we dropped anchor off Tsuwa which is ten miles from Kaminoseki.

11 Before dawn we weighed anchor, the wind north-westerly. Around noon we passed Kamagari, which is a narrow and fairly well inhabited. The wind veered southerly and we sailed between mountains on both sides as if through a lane and sometimes we passed through other narrows. In the afternoon we passed Tadanoumi which is well inhabited but very sandy. We sailed till the evening to reach Iwaki, which is a well-occupied place with a castle. Around midnight we passed Bingo-no-Tomo. It is remarkable that we can pass through such a passage, which is so winding and narrow with thousands of islands and cliffs and many strong currents in the dark night, although not without danger.

12 We sailed along as yesterday past many islands. We passed Ushimado, a fairly large village and a canal along which were some fine buildings. Towards the evening we arrived in Muro, which is ten miles from Ushimado. We anchored and spent the night there. It is a small but well-situated bay with houses built around it. Today we passed many more villages and towns than I have noted down.

The pleasure gardens with bushes and lovely verandas are owned mainly by the clergy.

41 13 We weighed anchor about three hours before sunrise and with a crowd of other barges we set sail. Around ten o'clock we passed Akashi and its castle, which is very spacious and beautiful and has several towers, built magnificently, about thirteen miles from Muro. We passed charming sand beaches and reached Hyōgo, five miles from Akashi, where we dropped anchor. I sent a messenger to Osaka to announce our arrival to the landlord. We waited a while for the barge with the camels and we set sail together. We dropped anchor at Nishinomiya, five miles from Hyōgo. All along the way we saw beautiful sandy beaches, sloping down from the mountains into a wide valley, densely built-over with villages close to each other.

14 Friday. We had intended to go inland before dawn at full tide, but the sea was so rough that we had to return to the bight of Hyōgo. We had to rent a flat-bottomed barge on which we would travel with our personal belongings and the most fragile gifts to Osaka. When we crossed over, we saw Limbo Castle three miles away on the one side of Osaka and Sakai on the other side. The river is rather hazardous. Two very beautiful flat-bottomed vessels with houses and galleries on top and some people on it came to welcome us.

42 They had been sent by our landlord, Jebia Tarroijemon. We boarded them and shortly after noon we arrived at our lodgings. It took us eleven days to get to here from Nagasaki. I asked permission to visit the governors. The gifts were unpacked and I had presentation trays made. Nothing else happened today. I learnt that the Tonkinese silk has dropped in price and that one governor had left for the Court.

15 Fine weather. I sent another messenger to greet the governors. He told me that I was expected. First I went to the governor of the castle, Kugai Inabano-kami. His reception hall was filled with young noblemen, beautifully dressed, sitting in rows. I was taken to a large hall and the gifts, consisting of *gielams*, Tonkinese velvet, and *pansies*, were displayed. Shortly after, the governor, an old, stout person,

- came in. He accepted the gifts affably. He told me that the Governor of Miyako had travelled to Court.
- 43 He thought it advisable to send a messenger ahead to announce our arrival and, if necessary, he would provide me with a pass here so that I would not be impeded on my journey. I thanked him and took my leave. I had the interpreter present the secretary, Simbe, with two white *gielams* for his efforts on our behalf. Then I went to Governor Soga Tanba-no-kami, previously called Matazaemon, who had been Governor of Nagasaki in 1633. As said before, he was not at home, but had left for Court. His secretary, Genozio, accepted the gifts on his behalf. He would inform his master of this at the earliest opportunity. The secretary was also given two *gielams*. As soon as I returned, I sent an express mail to Miyako. The barges have arrived and they have been unloaded.
- 16 Rain and wind during the day.
- 17 Fine weather. The messenger returned from Miyako. Our landlord also arrived to welcome us. The message was that the senior secretary had left for Edo with his master, Suō-no-kami, *Grootrechter* of Miyako.
- 44 It has been decided that the Governor of Osaka Castle's offer of a pass should be accepted. I sent Denbyōe to Governor Inaba-no-kami and requested the pass. It was given to him. In the afternoon, Genozio, the secretary of Governor Tanba-no-kami, came to visit us in the lodge. He thanked us for the presents given to him and his master. I treated him to wine and *sakana* and showed him some of the rarities we have brought along. Shortly after, Fozea Simbeoije, the secretary of Governor Inaba-no-kami, came with his young son and quite a few servants to thank me for the gifts. I thanked him for the favour his master has shown us in issuing us the pass. After having spent more than two hours, he left satisfied.
- 18 Tuesday. Before dawn we left Osaka in the following order: first the two camels led by two men, a cassowary in a wooden cage, two cockatoos, a civet cat, a large perspective case, and many more, such as medicine cases, cases with liquor, several suits of armour of Governor Saburōzaemon, all being carried, then a train of thirty-four pack-horses and hacks.
- 45 Then we followed, one after the other, in a palanquin carried by eight men. When we were out of the city, we had to tarry a while to see off our friends, who had come to say goodbye to us with their *jūbako*. It is a clear but cold day. The mountains were covered with snow. Around ten o'clock we arrived in a large village called Hirakata, which is five miles from Osaka. We spent the afternoon here and then we travelled on past Yodo, a nice place with a fine castle, then through Fushimi, where we saw some crucified people, and we arrived in Miyako before the evening. This is 13–14 miles from Osaka. All the way we travelled along the river and a high bank with trees on both sides, and many rice fields and houses.
- 19 Fine but cold weather. In the morning, I sent Denbyōe and the landlord to the secretaries or, in the absence of Suō-no-kami, the supreme commanders to thank them for their courtesy by helping us with the pass. It was already afternoon when the interpreter returned. He had only been able to see one of the officials, the other one was elsewhere, and two were out. Suō-no-kami's secretary was willing to give us a letter concerning ourselves for his master, which also had to be signed by the other two officials. He asked us to wait till the evening, when he would send a messenger with the letter. We can but comply.
- 46 In the afternoon, a messenger came from Heiemon, previously called Heizō, former regent of Nagasaki, whose son now occupies that office with the same name. Because he was feeling poorly, he asked for some almonds to have some medicine prepared. Without my knowledge this had been refused, but he sent the messenger again and I obliged him. Although he had been aware of my arrival, he sent another messenger to thank me and to apologize that, because he had not known of it, he had not sent a messenger before to welcome me. In the evening, several servants of the merchants who had bought the *lakenen* came to claim a reduction because of the short pieces. I gave them some satisfaction. There were some more they would show me when

I returned. Today the civet cat died, but because it has to be carried to Edo, it has been salted.

20 We left Miyako in the morning. When we were half a mile further, we had to dally to send off our friends, who had come along with their *jūbako* to see us off. In the afternoon, we arrived in Ōtsu, three miles from Miyako, where we dined. The whole day we travelled over and through mountains.

47 There were houses on both sides. Two persons were still hanging, freshly crucified because of some dispute, one a nobleman and the other a *norimono* bearer from the Emperor's court. We travelled from Ōtsu, which is a fairly large and well-kept place according to the country's custom, with a beautiful castle projecting onto a large inner lake. We passed some very beautiful newly-made fortifications and some which are still in the process of construction. We travelled along a lovely road with trees on both sides up to a narrow of a lake where there was a village with two stately wooden bridges. We passed over the one, which has seventy-five steps, and the other of 230 steps. Then we passed through the low mountains along a road, planted with trees as before, till we reached Kusatsu in the evening. We spent the night there.

21 Around three hours before dawn we left Kusatsu. Rattan can be had here. We passed Ishibe, which is three miles from Kusatsu. Then we crossed the Yokota-gawa and around ten o'clock we arrived in Minakuchi, which boasts a fine castle. We had dinner here. Then we travelled through rice fields along a smooth road with trees growing on both sides. We passed through the mountains where many rivers rise and headed for the most difficult, steep road of the Suzuka-yama. We passed Sakashita at the foot of the mountains and then climbed down a mountain from which a river runs to Seki, where we had to start climbing again. We spent the night there. We passed through many small villages along the way.

48 22 About three hours before daybreak we set off again in a beautiful moonlight. About 1½ miles further, we passed Kameyama, a beautiful place with a fine castle. We had dinner in Ishiyakushi. We sent for a horse surgeon to attend to our camels, which were a bit off colour. At noon we passed Yokkaichi

and at three o'clock we arrived in Kuwana. We also passed through some lovely valleys and streams. We saw many storks with black beaks and red legs, and cranes, wild duck, and geese. Along the road were many hamlets and villages. As soon as we arrived here, we chartered vessels and while we had dinner, all the luggage, the horses, and the camels were embarked. We crossed over an inlet of the southern sea which was seven miles wide, and arrived in Miya, where we spent the night.

23 Fine, clear, but very cold weather. All the rice fields are frozen over. Three hours before dawn we set off again. The moon shone. We passed a large village called Narumi, an hour after sunset Chiryū, at eleven o'clock Okazaki, a beautiful town with a graceful castle. We crossed over a well-made wooden bridge, 275 *ikjes* long – each *ikje* is $6^3/_{20}$ feet. At one o'clock we set off again and rode through Fujikawa and around half past four we arrived in Akasaka, which is 3½ miles from Okazaki, thus we are making good progress, a mile taking an hour. Today we travelled over a very pleasant and even road with trees growing on both sides.

49 We have also crossed some small rivers in between the mountains. We covered 10½ miles. In the evening we decided that, because the camels are not accustomed to this kind of travelling and are rather tired and sickly, they should stay here for a day with two servants and a groom and they can follow at their ease as soon as possible.

24 Monday. Weather as before. At five o'clock we left Akasaka. An hour later we passed Goyu, a large village, at eight the town of Yoshida, and a large, long, wooden bridge. The roads through the mountains are well-trodden, with trees on both sides, whose crowns meet overhead. At ten we passed Futagawa and we saw a high mountain rising before us. We travelled on to Shirasuka, where we descended and passed the shore of the southern sea and we went along the foot of the wooded mountain, which we left behind us after half an hour's ride. At eleven we reached Shirasuka, at about twelve Arai, where we had dinner. We had our horses and luggage put on barges to cross over an inlet of the southern sea, which was very shallow, to Maisaka, a mile further.

When we reached the other side, the guard wanted to open the large perspective case to inspect it for hidden arms, but the *bongiois* and the pass issued in Osaka and another one given to us in Miyako prevented this. We passed Maisaka.

50 We travelled along a road with high trees as before and passed small villages and farmhouses in a wooded area and farmland, which makes for enjoyable travelling. At four o'clock we reached Hamamatsu, a fairly large town, where we spent the night.

25 Today is Christmas. At six o'clock, before the first rays of light, we left Hamamatsu. At seven we passed the Tenryū River on barges, without any peril, because it had been dry weather for a long while. At nine we passed the town of Mitsuke, which has a fine castle, at eleven we arrived in Fukuroi, where we dined. At one we left and passed Kakegawa, which is a very large town, at four o'clock Nissaka. Today we passed through rice fields and flat country, a beautiful and delightful road, small woods and mountains. From Nissaka to Kanaya, our lodgings for the night, we had to cross two high mountains, with a valley with a fair village and some rice fields in between.

26 Wednesday. At seven in the morning, we left Kanaya, crossed the Ōi-gawa. We have hired ninety-two people to assist us, for there are no barges to take us across or any bridges. Because it has not rained for a long time, it was easy to cross. For a mile to Shimada the river is covered with cobble-stones and branches off into tributaries.

51 We passed Shimada via Fujieda to Okabe, where we had dinner. The road was all cobbles. We passed in between one or two mountains. We had to climb a steep road and then through passes to Mariko, then it was all farmland. Along the road we saw many farmhouses, we crossed five or six streams, and without having to have the luggage removed, the horses crossed the Abe-kawa in the province of Suruga. We passed through Suruga, a large town, where the brother⁵ of the present Shogun had resided, but because he caused him some displeasure a few

years ago, he had to slit his belly. In the evening, we arrived in Ejiri, where we spent the night. The road was mostly smooth and farmland, densely built over with stately farmhouses. A messenger came with the news that the camels were fresh again and on the road, they would stay in Arai this evening and follow at their ease.

27 Thursday. At half past four we set off again. We passed Okitsu and some rivers, at dawn a small wood, and just outside that a few more rivers and then we reached the shore of the southern sea. We passed along the foot of the mountain, which is a hazardous road, with many salt sheds, at nine the town of Kanbara, then to the swiftly running Fuji-gawa at the foot of the high mountain, where all the horses had to be unpacked. We crossed over on vessels and at half past ten we continued on our journey.

52 We passed the Fuji-no-yama, which is a sloping mountain in the shape of a sugar cone but somewhat wider and covered with snow for most of the year, and then Yoshiwara, where we had dinner. According to the landlord it is fifteen miles high and separated from other mountains. In the sixth month it is visited by many mountain priests or *yamabushi* as a deed of merit. It is venerated by many and three days are spent there, two days going up and one day coming down. This time it was clearly visible with white clouds surrounding it. After dinner, we left, passed Hara and some sand dunes, which offered a very pleasant view, to the aforesaid high mountain, past hamlets, farmhouses, and much farmland and in between a freshwater lake, thronged with various water fowl, storks, and herons. A little beyond Hara we left the road, with houses on both sides and many trees, over flat grassy country, easily traversable, to Numazu, which is also a large, beautiful village, and after we had travelled along a pleasant road and had crossed a large river, we reached Mishima at the foot of the Hakone Mountains. We spent the night there.

28 At six o'clock we set off. At ten o'clock we arrived in Hakone, four miles up the mountains.

53 The evening before, we hired ten horses to relieve the pack-horses and the hacks of the Dutch and the principal Japanese and also sixteen men to carry the

5 Tokugawa Tadanaga; Suruga Dainagon.

luggage and the *norimono*. It was very cold and the road was covered in ice. Sometimes it was misty and the top of the mountains ahead of us were covered with clouds, which were floating by. It even seemed as if we were travelling through the clouds ourselves, although it was just a cold mist. We arrived in Hakone, a lovely, large village, situated at the lake, which is thought to be half a mile wide and 1½ miles long. Boats sail on it and there is hardly any fish, but many wigeon and their chicks. The landlord told me that it is between 70–100 fathom deep. It was so cold in the house that, when we had warmed our fronts, our backs were freezing again. After we had dined well and had enjoyed our drinks – for the entertainment here was excellent – we left. At the edge of the village we passed a gate flanked on both sides by shogunal guards – for this pass is one of the key entrances of the realm – and then along the shore of the lake, past several hamlets and two or three temples, where many travellers buy a note for a pittance, which they hide between some projecting stones on the shore, with which they purchase for their deceased friends, or rather their souls, free admission to drink from this water.

54 The wind blowed strongly from the north-west and it caused the water to foam. We left in a bitter cold and passed the highest pass of this passage, a very steep, stony, difficult, and hazardous way. We passed some hamlets and also some dangerous fissures, which were the source of streams, and the steepness of which causes the river to seethe. At three o'clock we reached Odawara, a beautiful city with a sizable castle and tower, where we rested. About eight in the night we felt two earthquakes.

29 Saturday. We left Odawara at daybreak. We passed several streams and hamlets. At ten we arrived in Ōiso, where we dined. In the afternoon we resumed our journey and, without unloading, crossed the Banyū-gawa on barges, then across a wooden bridge over the Hanamizu-gawa, past a village called Hiratsuka. The road here is sandy and along the shore of the southern sea there are also wooded roads with high trees. Past the mountains and the village called Fujisawa. At four we reached

Totsuka. This road is a beautiful lane with trees, some houses, leading away from the mountains.

55 Today we came across more falcons than before, which were out hunting, each being carried without a blindfold on someone's hand. They have no equal in size and beauty. In the evening I sent a messenger to Edo to announce our arrival.

Arrival in Edo

30 Sunday. Around four in the morning, in the clear moonlight, but the weather icy cold, we set off. We passed Hodogaya and journeyed along the shore. We saw a host of barges and the shore covered with wild duck and geese. Around seven we reached Kanagawa. We passed abundant farmland and a beautiful wooden bridge, a hundred *ikjes* long. At ten o'clock we arrived in Kawasaki, where we dined. We travelled along a flat road across farmland and along the shore. At noon we passed Shinagawa and at two o'clock, Thank the Lord, we arrived in Edo. We passed through at least fifty streets, each street is sixty *ikjes* and an *ikje* is $6\frac{3}{20}$ [feet] and 36 streets are one land mile. Thus we had to ride through the city for more than an hour before we reached our inn. The entire road was as crowded as if it was a market. As soon as we arrived at the inn, I sent Denbyōe to the residences of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, Governors Gonpachirō and Saburōzaemon, whose eldest son was at Court, to announce our arrival.

56 They all welcomed us. Because we were tired, we should rest. After that we could let them know what they could do for us. Saburōzaemon's son offered to come to our inn to speak to us. I had the gifts unpacked to be ready in case the audience be held on the 28th of this month or the 1st of their 12th month,⁶ which seems a real possibility.

31 Monday. The Shogun has gone hawking with many of the nobles, including Chikugo-no-kami, and nothing could be done. We have ordered the presentation trays. When the Shogun returned, all the gates were closed so that the streets were safe. Several of Governor Gonpachirō's noblemen, who

6 i.e. 3 and 6 Jan. 1647.

are known to us, came to visit. I entertained them as best as I could. Nothing else happened.

1647

January

1 Fine weather. When we had gone to bed last night, one of Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami's noblemen came to inform me that his master would like to see the rarities tomorrow.

57 I should send them to his home with the interpreter. The interpreter returned with some of them and took some others with him. In the afternoon, Governor Gonpachirō's secretary came with a few noblemen to visit us. He told us that it might well be that we would be given audience on the 28th or the 1st of their 12th month, and we should prepare ourselves. I thanked him and asked him to promote this with his master. He casually asked what objects Chikugo-no-kami had sent for last night, what had been returned, and what had been kept. There seems to be a lot of envy among these officials. Today I had all the presentation trays made and nothing else happened. I sent the interpreter to Governor Gonpachirō to ask if we could oblige him with anything. Did he know when the audience would take place? The interpreter brought the reply that the governor was pleased that we were well and he did not doubt that we would be given audience on the 28th, as the secretary had told us.

58 He thanked me for my offer and said that if Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami wished to have anything, I should oblige him.

2 One of Chikugo-no-kami's noblemen told me that we should be ready tomorrow morning, which is the 28th of the 11th month, to pay homage to His Majesty. We were very happy with this news and prepared everything, although the camels have not arrived yet. They will be presented in a memorandum accompanying the gifts and delivered later to the Shogun. In the afternoon Governor Gonpachirō also sent a nobleman to inform me of this news and to congratulate me. I had him thanked for

his mediation in achieving this so soon. In the evening, Gonrokurō, the second son of Governor Saburōzaemon, came with a large suite to visit us. He congratulated me on this speedy audience. He told me that they consider it a great privilege to see His Majesty. He had barely sat down when one of Chikugo-no-kami's noblemen came to inform me that the audience had been postponed, because some matter had arisen. However, we should be prepared on the 1st day of their 12th month, which is in four days. I thanked him, anxious that something might have happened to the disadvantage of the Dutch.

59 I ordered the interpreter, who had been sent for, to find out and also if the rarities, which we had brought, would be presented to the Shogun and the Prince. I was told that the rarities were highly satisfactory. He said that he had been in Nagasaki before my departure and he knew me. He also told a certain nobleman that I had been in Japan before and knew the manners and customs of the country and thus I had brought more rarities than usual. He spent more than two hours and was treated to wine and *sakana*. He said that when the camels – whose arrival is expected tomorrow – were here, he would visit us again. The interpreter returned and told me that Chikugo-no-kami had ordered him to take some telescopes and other small trifles to his residence tomorrow. Some other trinkets should also be sent to certain noblemen. There was no other reason for the postponement but that the Shogun went out hawking every day. It seems that although Chikugo-no-kami is an old man, he is greatly involved in these small matters, for being powerful and respected, the other nobles defer to him. He is not allowed to accept any presents, for which the Shogun remunerates him with a large sum of money every year.

60 Nonetheless, all that we bring him he accepts, against payment, but not for the full value. Thus other nobles, not wishing to be found wanting, also accept things at a price, even if this is a mere trifle, not worth considering, and thereby relieve their consciences that they have paid for it like he has.

One should therefore not heed the fact that he does not accept gifts, which seems very absurd, but try to oblige him as much as possible. This will be more to the advantage of the Company than to its disadvantage, for he is the main advocate of the Dutch at the Court. One should bear this in mind.

3 Nothing happened. The rest of the gifts has been unpacked and the presentation trays have been ordered. The interpreter went to Chikugo-no-kami, but he could not speak to him, because today is the 28th and he was very occupied. In the afternoon, the camels arrived, fresh and healthy. I had the interpreter announce their arrival to Governor Gonpachirō. He was very pleased. He let me know that I should be ready by the 1st. Around eight o'clock in the evening it seemed as if there was a fire somewhere, the whole place was restless.

61 The splendid premises of this city are densely built of wooden constructions. Then we were told that the Shogun had gone out of the castle to enjoy himself and the torches and flares were lighting up the sky.

4 The whole day we had visitors. In the afternoon, Governor Saburōzaemon's elder son came and one-and-a-half hour later the younger one. They stayed till evening and looked at everything. I treated them to wine and *sakana*. In the meantime, the interpreter was summoned to Chikugo-no-kami's residence. He was asked many questions, including whether the Dutchmen were also pirates. He denied this. It was forbidden unless we were given cause to seek revenge.

'Where was Jacatra situated?'

Answer: 'In Java.'

Question: 'What kind of nation was it? White or black?'

Answer: 'A black nation.'

Question: 'How had the Dutch arrived and settled there?'

Answer: 'First they had come to trade and they had been shown friendship, but under this cover they had attempted to murder all the Dutchmen and steal their goods. This had been prevented and revenge had been exacted by driving them away.'

5 Before noon I sent the interpreter to Chikugo-no-kami to promote the audience.

62 We were told to be ready tomorrow morning at eight. Shortly after, Saburōzaemon's elder son came with a large entourage of noblemen, who wished to see the Dutchmen and their rarities. They enjoyed the perspective box the most. They call it *gokura-kubako*. They also liked the timepieces, cups, mirrors, etc. I treated them to wine and *sakana*. They left with many expressions of gratitude. Seven sons and two grandsons of Governor Gonpachirō, who has eight children, including one daughter, from only one mother, visited me with their father's secretary and many other nobles. I let them have a look at everything and treated them to wine and *sakana*. Thus the whole day I have not had a moment's rest with visitors all day. Chikugo-no-kami kept sending messengers, one after the other, for trifles for some lords, councillors, and the highest nobles of imperial blood. Everything is ready for tomorrow's audience.

Audience

6 Sunday. At eight o'clock we set off for the castle in this order: at the head the two camels covered with black velvet, muzzles, and straps, led by two men, then a cassowary sitting in a wooden cage, carried by six men, two beautiful, white cockatoos in a large birdcage with copper wire netting on top and at the sides, carried by two men.

63 Then, following behind, fourteen cases with gifts, one after the other and, depending on the weight, carried by a number of men, and the presentation trays, then I followed in a palanquin, four Dutchmen on horseback and a black, who walked beside the palanquin with several servants. We were accompanied by two noblemen, the interpreter and his son, three sons of the landlord and other retinue. We attracted a great deal of attention. When we arrived at the castle, we crossed a wooden bridge with copper finials, the heads decorated. In front and at the end of the bridge were two guards, at the sides a larger guard with ten pikes and inside with guns, bows and arrows. Likewise at every gate

- up to four double guards and a single one after. We passed many beautiful houses. Then we had to dismount. The width of the moats is of an ordinary measure, the walls are surmounted by watch towers about fifty *ikjes* apart, except for the corners which are hewn out of stone and set upon it without any masonry except for some bricklaying using clay or lime for large stones at the corners of some gates. Before one enters the enceinte, one has to go quite a way to the front hall of the shogunal palace on the right of which, as in many other places of the outer castle where the palanquins are kept, there is a gallery as a protection against sun and rain.
- 64 Entering the hall, one has to go up seven or eight steps, which are neither lacquered nor varnished but very smooth from all the treading on them, as are the galleries. Then one enters a gallery, two or two and a half *ikjes* wide, leading to a long hall, four and a half *ikjes* wide and thirteen *ikjes* long, where some of the Shogun's noblemen keep guard, sitting in order. We passed them and were led to the next hall, which is separated from the one before by sliding doors. It measures thirty-six *ikjes* and is enclosed by gilt sliding doors, painted with figures such as lions, trees, and mountainous landscapes, and above this, one *ikje* high with ornamental foliage against the inner halls with birds such as peacocks, geese, and flowers painted from life in their fashion, through the upper part of which the ceiling of the next halls could be seen. As the hall in which we were, there were square panels on the cross beams, the mounts were gilt, and each was painted exquisitely with green scrollwork and such. We spent more than two hours there and a host of people at the Court came to look at us, most of the nobles and lords and councillors, including Mito Chūnagon, the Shogun's youngest uncle, Sanuki-no-kami and others, and also their children and many shaven men. They often addressed me by name and we had quite a few conversations – the interpreter going from the one to the other – but not of any importance. Then Kuze Yamato-no-kami, Yamamoto Heikurō, and Commissioner Chikugono-kami joined us and the interpreter was called. In the presence of all of them, they remaining seated, I was asked the following questions.
- 65 Question: 'Were we at peace or at war with the Portuguese?'
 Answer: 'We were still at peace, but it had been violated and then settled again abroad. However, in Brazil we had again fallen out with them, but how this had been taken in the fatherland I did not know.'
 Question: 'Could the Portuguese enter Holland freely and we Portugal?'
 Answer: 'Yes.'
 Question: 'Was any other nation than ours and Portugal at war with the King of Spain?'
 Answer: 'Yes, the King of France, a powerful ruler, and the King of Sweden against the Emperor of Germany, who was an ally of Spain.' I did not mention the Turk so as not to arouse any suspicions.
 Question: 'What was the rank of our leader?'
 Answer: 'He carried the title of prince.'
 Question: 'What was his level of esteem?'
 Answer: 'Next to a king.'
 Question: 'What was his name?'
 Answer: 'Frederik Hendrik.'
 Question: 'Which number?'
 Answer: 'He was the third in line.'
 Question: 'How long had our war with Spain lasted?'
 Answer: 'Well over seventy years.'
 Question: 'What kind of food did our Prince mostly eat and did he eat rice or bread?'
 66 Answer: 'All delicacies as here in Japan, small game, wild and tame birds, which were caught with hawks, by shooting, nets, and otherwise, also the best river and sea fish, and he ate bread.'
 Question: 'Was there no rice in our country?'
 Answer: 'It did not grow there, but it was imported in abundance.'
 Question: 'Why then did he not eat rice, or was bread better than rice? Did I also eat bread or rice?'
 Answer: 'It was an old custom, and I could not say which was better. I myself ate both bread and rice.'
 Question: 'What kind of medicines did our Prince use?'

Answer: 'He was healthy and did not use any medicines but a few stimulants; but when he was ill, he would use them as required.'

Question: 'What kind of medicine were stimulants and how were they used?'

Answer: 'Such as saffron, which is tied into a cloth and cooked in the sauce of a young chicken or lamb to extract its potency.'

Question: 'Was this saffron similar to theirs?'

Answer: 'No, but some had been included in the medicines that I had brought with me.'

Question: 'What age did our population reach?'

Answer: 'Sixty, seventy, eighty, a hundred and older.'

Question: 'Did we have chickenpox?'

Answer: 'Yes.'

Question: 'What were bezoar stones and *pedra de porco* used for and what was their potency?'

Answer: 'According to the physicians, they were used to strengthen the heart and mixed with many other medicines they were an exceptional remedy against poison.'

67 Both bezoar and *pedra de porco* are similar in potency. *Pedra de porco* is steeped in water, which turns bitter and is drunk. Bezoar is scraped or pulverized and it is consumed mixed with something.'

Question: 'Which medicines did we hold in high esteem?'

Answer: 'I was not a doctor and could not say, but bezoar, *pedra de porco*, pearls, coral, saffron, and some medicines which I had brought with me, some mixed with gold, *confectio alkarmes hiacint*, etcetera, and some oils such as *besar*, lavender, rosemary, aniseed, mace.'

When they rose, they asked me again for the name of our Prince.

Answer: 'Frederik Hendrik.'

In the meantime, there was a lot of noise as if there was a disturbance. I was told that His Majesty had passed. While we were sitting there, the whole castle seemed to be running wild. Even though it was the 1st of their month, every nobleman had come to the castle, and all had gathered to view the rarities we had brought, there was not a single open space, they were crowding all around, it was a sight to behold how they were getting into each other's way

and totally out of proportion. The perspective case drew the most spectators and the most admiration.

68 Then came the timepieces, cups, mirrors, camels, cockatoos, and the rest, as we were told. All the nobles were ordered to take their places. I was also called by Chikugo-no-kami and Yamamoto. Chikugo-no-kami and Yamamoto Heikurō led me out of the hall through the previous gallery, around the right-hand corner for about two *ikjes* and then past a similar gallery. On our right was a long hall with few nobles and on the left the outer part of the house, the floor of which was covered with small blue cobbles up to a crossroad, where the building projected at a right angle and the gallery against this hall, but the other sliding doors were closed. Finally we passed this projecting building, around which was a passage one and a half *ikjes* or one and a half ell wide. After we had waited a while, while Yamamoto Heikurō attended to some matters inside, I was led past this and was taken with the interpreter to the second corner, where we had to wait again, for everything was not yet in order. Then he said: 'Come, it is time.' We turned round the corner and went along the other side.

69 Chikugo-no-kami first went inside and when he returned he told me that I should walk straight in and not greet any of the gentlemen, nor should I make a reverence until I was called and went before the Shogun. When I passed the right angle, the other Dutchmen, who had stayed behind at the first right angle, could see me again. The hall which I passed on the outside, was filled with the highest nobles of the realm, sitting in a row side by side in double lines facing each other. At the end of the gallery below me on the blue stones within view of the Shogun were both camels covered in black velvet, their heads pulled down. I was ordered to make a reverence there. It was one step too far and His Majesty bent forward, but a thin baluster of the hall against which he was sitting stood in the way. Before I could sit down again, I was pulled back and had to make a reverence to His Majesty right in front of him. Andō Ukyō-no-suke, whose function this is, kneeled down with his face on the mat and called out in a loud voice from the

hall – 4½ *ikjes* wide – where the other gifts were displayed:

70 ‘The Dutch captain Willem pays homage to Your Majesty and presents you these gifts.’ I stood up and returned the same way. His Majesty was seated in the inner hall against the outer hall, bareheaded, sitting on his feet his legs folded under him on the mat without a throne or any other platform, dressed in black covered with a blue device, no more exceptional than the others, fair of complexion and handsome, not very fat but well-built, rather tall, his face long rather than round, looking more like forty than older, although he is past forty-three. No one was sitting near him, but about an *ikje* behind him many great nobles were seated like they did in the front hall. The gifts were all displayed on small wooden tables. The space between His Majesty and the spot where reverence was paid to him was about five *ikjes*. All sliding doors around His Majesty had simply been removed on all sides and the space was wide open.

71 It was also open behind me, where the camels had been placed for the enjoyment of His Majesty. This was considered a very great honour. As I wrote before, I was led back to the hall where I had been first. There I was congratulated. After a while I was called again to pay homage to the Prince or young Shogun. I was led to the end of the gallery to the right angle where Chikugo-no-kami ordered me and the others to wait. Right in front of us in the audience hall people were swarming about so much that it was difficult to restore order. Chikugo-no-kami and some other officials were annoyed and tried to quiet them by hissing ‘tst, tst’ and calling out ‘sit, sit, there will be an audience’ till finally the people listened to them and sat down. Andō Ukyō-no-suke led me into the hall. I had to sit almost across the corner from the previous hall where the nobles had been seated during the audience. Straight opposite me were two of the young Shogun’s regents, called Matsudaira Izumo-no-kami and Makino Takumi-no-kami. A little further away were three elders.

72 They were Matsudaira Izu-no-kami, Abe Bungo-no-kami, and Abe Tsushima-no-kami, who represent His Majesty during his absence. On the other side

many great nobles were seated. Near to the three officials, the cockatoos were placed, in a corner of the hall. I think I saw the young Prince there, showing just his head and part of his body around the corner of the cage, but I am not sure it was he, nor could I describe him. The rest of the gifts were inside. Again Andō Ukyō-no-suke bowed his head to the floor, called out loudly as before, and I was summoned to the front. When I returned, everyone started to stand up. Chikugo-no-kami, who was very active, came, accompanied by many other gentlemen, to congratulate me on the great honour which had been bestowed upon me today. I was accompanied by a crowd of courtiers to the exit of the hall. All of them kept congratulating me on the exceptional privilege of having beheld His Majesty. On both sides of the front of the hall were rows of guards carrying swords and long sticks.

73 As soon as I passed a guard, they would stand to attention. When I reached the large square, there were almost a hundred palanquins lined up and on the other side many riding horses of the great lords. When I entered, there was a great number of noblemen and *norimono* bearers who all rose to look at us. They had a better view of me on horseback than in the *norimono*. I was led to the residence of Matsudaira Uemon-no-kami and past one of the gates, beautifully worked with gilt and raised foliage and figures, which His Majesty often passes through when he is a guest and which is only opened on such occasions. This is done with blood relations and senior councillors, but the most fuss is made by the greatest lords, whom he visits but once in their lifetime, if they are no blood relation, and who prepare a lavish entertainment and build such a gate, through which His Majesty goes only once and back and thereafter it remains closed till it decays and is never opened again, for I have been told that he visits some lords but once. After I had viewed it, riding out of the castle grounds, in front of us I saw many great lords who were returning and the grounds outside, which we passed on our way to the lodge, were filled with riding horses.

74 We drew a great deal of attention. Back home, Chikugo-no-kami sent me a note to ask if a new

Governor-General had been elected or who governed in his absence. I told him that no Governor-General had yet been elected and the first councillor, called Cornelis van der Lijn, presided over the government and he governed with the other councillors.⁷

7 I went to the castle to pay my respects to the councillors. First I went to Matsudaira Izu-no-kami, who was not at home but at the castle, as was the next one. Their secretaries accepted the gifts. Kutsuki Minbu-no-shō returned his in the afternoon with the apology that like last year he did not accept gifts this year. The reason seems to be that he does not hold an official function. Furthermore, the recipients of all gifts, even the Shogun, are made known in the castle, as are those who refuse them. In the meantime, Chikugo-no-kami wished to know how our ships are navigated. Because no masters, mates, nor sailors are here, I excused myself.

8 I sent Denbyōe to Kinokuni's residence with a copper hand grenade I had brought for him.

75 In the afternoon, I went back to the castle to present gifts to other officials. Only Takumi-no-kami was at home because he was feeling poorly. He had me thanked for the gifts, apologizing that he was ill in bed and could not see me. Shortly after, his son, Makino Sado-no-kami, who had come to visit his father, called me to an inner hall. He asked me the following questions.

Question: 'There were some murmurs that we had sent a force against Manila this year. What were the results?'

Answer: 'Yes, we had sent a force and we had lost some and won some.'

Question: 'Why had we lost some?'

Answer: 'Because our ships had been divided into squadrons and had not remained together.'

Question: 'What force had we sent?'

⁷ After Antonio van Diemen's death on 19 April 1645, Cornelis van der Lijn acted as Governor-General of the East Indies. The *Heren Zeventien* formally appointed him Governor-General on 10 October 1646. Van der Lijn remained in office until 7 October 1650. He was succeeded by Carel Reniersz.

Answer: 'Twelve or thirteen ships and more were to follow.'

Question: 'Was the release of [the men from] Nanbu highly appreciated and would an ambassador come as Elseracq had stated and would he be the ambassador?'

Answer: 'The release of [the men from] Nanbu was highly appreciated, but I did not know if Elseracq would come as an ambassador.'

76 I had already left the fatherland before he arrived there.' I did not elaborate on it, although Van Tzum, who arrived here for this purpose last year, had presented himself as such, which they merely accepted as flippant and were very annoyed about, for they have spies everywhere and they know how to find out the slightest detail. One should be aware of this in this country, and this is the reason that I have not uttered a word about it either way.

Question: 'Was Caron still the Governor of Tayouan and had a new Governor-General been elected?'

Answer: 'Caron had left Tayouan for Batavia and no new Governor-General had been elected.'

Question: 'Who governed in the absence of the Governor-General and what was his name?'

Answer: 'The president or senior councillor, by the name of Cornelis van der Lijn, whose second-in-command was now Caron.'

Meanwhile, I was treated to some fruits. No further questions were asked. I commended the Company's affairs to them, for when I was in Edo with Caron fifteen or sixteen years ago, I had observed their favours towards us and I had been told that this had continued. Then I was dismissed.

77 The father lived next to the gate of the second castle near the tower. This was situated in the inner castle near the moat, which is an ordinary one, from which a wall rises up, composed of roughly hewn blue stones, stacked on each other without any mortar or lime. The entire wall of the castle is built like this, except for the corners and some parts which have been built solidly with well-hewn stones and chalk or mortar. There are five storeys on top of the wall, more rectangular than square, and each one decreases proportionally. The projecting roofs are covered with round copper tiles, very curious and

beautiful to behold. On top of the corners of the tower are two large ornamental fish, one on each end, with wide tails and projecting fins like dolphins, their backs upwards and tails bent inwards towards each other; their heads and half of their bodies are cleft so that they can be shown in full. They are fashioned of wood and covered with gold *ōban* and *koban*, coins which are currency here, for the greater glory of the ruler, raised more than a foot high, and in between the fish, the breadth or length of the tower is covered with round plates of gold, which stand out in the bright sunshine. Even greater displays of wealth can be observed on the residences of some great lords in the second and third enceinte, for some of them have gates and gables decorated with gilt and raised scenes, peacocks, tigers, dragons, and foliage.

78 It is very beautiful to behold, but they are few and far between. Dams keep the water in some parts of the castle moats higher than in other parts. Although some sailing takes place in the outer moats and people are carried or ride past, the moats are crowded with wild duck and wigeon. In the outer moats of the city in the middle court of Mito-dono, I also saw swans close-up, but it is remarkable that in some parts the banks look so white because they are so much covered with birds and excrement that I took it for snow. This shows how tame the birds are and the great number there are of them. It really is a sight.

9 Wednesday. Fine weather but it is freezing hard. I had an early breakfast and then went to the residence of Doi Tōtōmi-no-kami, the son of Ōi-no-kami, who died some time ago and who was the Company's toughest opponent during the five-year arrest.⁸ We did not find him at home, because the period of mourning for his father was now over and he had gone hunting for a few days to enjoy himself. His secretary would inform him of my visit. Next I was carried to Chikugo-no-kami's residence.

8 The embargo on Dutch trade (1628–1632) imposed by the Japanese authorities. At the basis of the controversy lay the actions of Pieter Nuijts, at the time Governor of Formosa.

79 He was at home and, after a short wait, I was led to the inner hall where he joined me. He congratulated me on the great honour which had been bestowed upon me and he added these formal words: '*Capitajjn woiensamma fumbleets sinday mimaista*,'⁹ which means: 'The captain has seen the Shogun at his pleasure, I was happy.' Then he said: 'Your gifts with the inclusion of many rarities have pleased His Majesty, which is good for the Dutch and a great honour for you.' He added that the late Shogun was once given a telescope by the Dutch, and its likeness had never been seen again and it had been lost in the fire. He asked if I had brought any good telescopes. I told him that I had not, although I have given Saburōzaemon, the Governor of Nagasaki, an excellent one. However, this has to be kept quiet to avoid envy. He asked me to obtain the best possible one from Holland for His Majesty. He said that His Majesty had received some costly telescopes recently, but their focusing was not good. This is His Majesty's prime requirement. We should not bother much about the costliness of the tubes, but the more with the excellence of the lenses. It did not matter if the tubes were of indifferent quality. I should do my very best to obtain them. It is in the Company's interest to oblige him.

80 This is what the Shogun himself wishes and Chikugo-no-kami has ordered.

He asked me if we were friends or foes of the Portuguese.

Answer: 'As far as peace was concerned, we were friends.'

He said that Elseracq had said that we were enemies.

Answer: 'It was true that the peace treaty had been violated by some subjects, but the governments had ordered them to uphold it. Five years had passed, but we were fighting again in Brazil.'

Question: 'Why had the peace treaty been concluded?'

9 This may be *Uesama funbetsu shidai mimaishita*. See *Diaries kept by the heads of the Dutch factory in Japan*, Vol. x (Tokyo: Shiryō Hensanjo, The University of Tokyo, 2003), p. 92.

Answer: 'Portugal had too little power to fight both us and the Spaniards and we took advantage of this and we had conquered many strongholds in the meantime. We had not done this out of love for them.'

Question: 'Were we friends or foes of France?'

Answer: 'Friends.'

Question: 'Had we already greeted the old one, meaning the supreme one?' I said yes.

He also said that we could make preparations for our departure. I thanked him and also for his efforts on our behalf. It was time for him to go to the castle and I took my leave. I went to Governor Gonpachirō's residence.

81 His secretary took me to him. Like Chikugo-no-kami, he congratulated me. He said that His Majesty had been pleased with the gifts. This was gratifying to hear. He asked how we got on with Chikugo-no-kami. I told him everything. He was pleased, saying that we should be departing soon. I took my leave. Next I went to the residence of Governor Saburōzaemon. Both his sons were at home. I thanked them for their father's favourable letters which had contributed to my success. They congratulated me and wished me luck and thanked me for the hospitality I had shown them. They would like to reciprocate. I declined politely. We engaged in some small talk and then I left. They escorted me to the door, saying that they would write to their father in Nagasaki. When I had returned home, Itami Harima-no-kami sent a nobleman with a present of gowns and birds, for we were almost ready to leave and it was cold and he wished to help me. He was sorry that he had not been able to meet me in person.

82 About ten o'clock in the evening, we felt another earthquake.

10 I sent the interpreter to Chikugo-no-kami with a full medicine chest and a Makassar cloth, the sheets of parchment, tortoiseshell, and some other curios. He was very pleased, but he sent the cloth back because it was old and unsuitable. He asked for the price of the full chest. The interpreter told him 3 taels, as I had ordered. His Excellency laughed and said that he knew it was not worth 3 taels. The

interpreter told him that this was just to show him that we valued his favour and that we knew that he did not accept any gifts, and therefore we asked this price. His Excellency was pleased and said that he wished to give more. He would like to talk to the captain in person. In the afternoon we felt another earthquake. The interpreter was summoned to the residence of Kinokuni, the Shogun's middle uncle. He was asked for the muskets – which have not yet arrived – and three more were ordered. He also asked for another male buffalo, for his male buffalo had died, and just the female was left.

83 11 I had quite a few visitors. I entertained them all to the best of my ability and gave them what they asked for as much as I could. Chikugo-no-kami's secretary came with a doctor to ask for further information about the list with medicines or essential oils that had been given to His Excellency. This was not possible because the interpreter had been summoned by Mito-dono, the Shogun's youngest uncle. Mito-dono was very eager to have a certain large steel quadrant, but Chikugo-no-kami, who had sung its praises, had to give permission first to hand it over. Thus the interpreter and the landlord went there first and then handed it to His Excellency, who was delighted with it. He sent his regards to me and would send his secretary tomorrow to be instructed on how to handle it. Some more gifts were handed to the secretaries, for which they were very grateful. Aoyama Shuzen returned his, saying that he wanted to ask the permission of Sanuki-no-kami, his master, first before accepting it. Thanks to the intercession of Chikugo-no-kami, Kutsuki Minbu-no-shō accepted the gifts, which he had returned on the 8th, after all and which were the same quantity as those for Izu-no-kami.

84 This is a great honour for the Company and comparable to a pile driven into the ground to secure its foundation. He will do likewise when Doi Tōtōmi-no-kami returns and has ordered the gifts be left with the landlord. It seems that Chikugo-no-kami is well disposed towards the Dutch. He sees to it that every person gets the small things he requests, and by doing so we shall also win their affection. I think that this stratagem should be pursued in future,

for it only costs the Company a handful of spectacles, some telescopes, butter, tent wine, almonds, cheese, and other such trifles. Nor need we fear any unpleasantness from the Court, for both the senior and junior officials treat us with such a display of affability that they seem to be bursting over with it. Their only fear and suspicion seems to be that, as the Portuguese are allowed free entry into our country, they will grab the opportunity to come here on our ships whether or not with our knowledge. This will induce them to a close inspection of everything, especially when the ships are unloaded.

85 They are protecting themselves from this danger to the extent that there is almost no hill or mountain in the entire country without a look-out post. Nothing is being said to the detriment of the Dutch, but on the contrary, we are being profusely congratulated on the great honour which has been bestowed upon us this year.

12 During the night there was abundant snowfall and it rained the entire day. A few more secretaries were given presents. They all accepted them gratefully. In the afternoon, the interpreter returned and the senior secretary of the Shogun's youngest uncle, Mito Chūnagon. He greeted me very courteously and told me that he had come on behalf of his lord for instructions on how to handle the quadrant. I gave him the instructions and entertained him. We made a lot of small talk. After about an hour and a half he left. In the morning we felt a slight earthquake.

13 During the night a severe earthquake woke me. The whole house was shaking and creaking. In the morning, I sent the interpreter and the landlord to Governor Gonpachirō and Chikugo-no-kami to present the following requests:

86 that the trade be allowed to start before the settlement of the *pancado* so that everything will proceed more smoothly;

secondly, that the captains be allowed to stay for two or three years so that the Shogun and the councillors be better served;

thirdly, some more freedom for the captain.

Gonpachirō replied that the captain could leave the matter with him if he so wished. The reason for this

is that he has to discuss it with Saburōzaemon, who is in Nagasaki. Neither will decide on any matter without consulting the other first. The interpreter said that he would present it to Chikugo-no-kami. The reply was that this would be fine. As soon as Chikugo-no-kami learnt that the interpreter was there, he ordered him to go to the castle, where he would receive the Shogun's reciprocal present. He first returned home and then went to Chikugo-no-kami to present the request. Chikugo-no-kami told him that his reply would be forthcoming. When the interpreter and the landlord arrived at the castle, Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō, who had also gone there, asked them if it was the custom that the captain receive the gift in person or did they always accept it on his behalf. They replied that they always did and therefore they had come after the order had been given to present themselves there. But Chikugo-no-kami said that this time, on the Shogun's orders, the captain would have to appear in person to receive the gift.

87 I should appear in the castle tomorrow morning. On their return they reported this to me. Today two presents were returned: one by Matsudaira Kai-no-kami, Izu-no-kami's son, with the apology that he had been living with his father before, but now he had his own residence and did not have an official function in which he could be of any assistance to us and therefore he returned the gift. The other was by Doi Tōtōmi-no-kami, son of the late former Senior Councillor Ōi-no-kami, who had been out hunting when the gift was presented and he had not yet returned, thus his secretary felt he could not hold on to it. Shortly after, another secretary of Mito-dono, the Shogun's youngest uncle, came with many compliments and a gift of two wild geese, which his hawks had just caught. He said that the game he had was already old and therefore he had sent his people out hunting. If they caught anything else, he would send it to me. We were alone here and should enjoy ourselves. I conveyed my thanks to his lord. I entertained him to the best of my ability according to the custom of the country.

88 14 Chikugo-no-kami sent a messenger and at ten o'clock I went to the castle. As before, I first

passed the front moat over a wooden bridge with some round copper finials and a double gate. Past the guards one has to pass a long road, with a few bends in it to reach the second castle across a large square, bridge, moat, double gate, and guard, along this bank are two-tiered guard towers, then a much smaller square than the first, and another bridge, moat, double gates, guards as before. One should know that the front gate of the third moat is covered with iron bars set very close to each other that they make the wood of the doors and posts seem like stones and the other inner gates are similarly covered with copper. When one passes the fourth gate, which is a single one, with a guard, one almost meets up with the double inner gate, which is set widely apart and which is guarded on the inside by a large and a small guard. I crossed the square and climbed seven simple steps to enter the hall, which was not varnished or lacquered, but very smooth due to the many covered and uncovered feet – no shoes are worn here – treading upon them, passed through the ante-room, which is thirteen *ikjes* long, to the hall where I had waited before. After a while, during which many people came to see me but not as many as before, I was led to the next hall.

89 I could see the ceiling through the open foliage on top. This hall is enclosed by gilt, painted sliding doors, and is seven and a half *ikjes* long. Meanwhile, Chikugo-no-kami sent a messenger to say that I would be summoned shortly. I was taken outside to the gallery past the inner hall where some gentlemen sat in a row to proceed to the large hall where I had made my reverence before to the regents of the young Shogun. I had to wait there a while. The gifts were set out. Then Chikugo-no-kami and the interpreter led me inside before the three regents of the old Shogun, namely Matsudaira Izu-no-kami, Abe Bungo-no-kami, and Abe Tsushima-no-kami. Near them Makino Takumi-no-kami, one of the regents of the young Shogun, was seated with many nobles in order of precedence in the same hall and the next. President Izu-no-kami spoke. He said that this year your gifts included many rarities, which pleased the Shogun. This is His Majesty's reciprocal present, larger than ordinary – for instead

of two trays, there were three trays, each bearing ten gowns. The captain should accept them as a token of great honour, which has never before been bestowed upon anyone. The road is far and cold at present. These gowns can serve him. I conveyed my deepest gratitude and stepped out into the hall.

90 Chikugo-no-kami led me back in and I was presented with a further two trays with ten gowns each from the young Shogun. Makino Takumi-no-kami addressed me in the same way: 'This year your gifts have included many curiosities and rarities, which have pleased the young Shogun. He presents you with these gowns to comfort you on the road, for your journey is far and cold. I thanked him with all due deference. I returned to the previous hall where I had to wait a while till Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō returned with some nobles. Chikugo-no-kami spoke and congratulated me on the great honour bestowed upon me. I thanked him respectfully. He said that the Shogun had ordered that we should take the greatest care that no Roman Catholics or priests were brought here by us if we wished to continue coming here. He further said that the Shogun was aware that we were Christians but our kind of Christianity was tolerated. I started to say that we would obey, but Chikugo-no-kami said that it would be enough if we complied. He would speak to me later and I was dismissed.

91 I returned home with many congratulations on the great honour bestowed upon me. He had also ordered me to be ready, for he might summon me to his house. This did not happen.

15 In the morning I sent the interpreter to the residence of the Shogun's second uncle, the King of Kinokuni, to thank him for the gift of two silk gowns. He also went to Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō to thank them for their efforts on our behalf, which had contributed to the great honour which had been bestowed upon us, which will never be forgotten. Chikugo-no-kami's response was that no previous captain had received more than twenty gowns from either of the Shoguns before. I should regard this as a token of their great favour. He would like to speak to me in person and expected me in the afternoon. Gonpachirō's response was that the captain

should rejoice in the exceptional honour he had received. In the meantime, several councillors sent their secretaries with gowns and silver, according to this country's custom, namely: 30 *schuiten* from Councillor Sanuki-no-kami, 30 from Councillor Kaga-no-kami.

92 Thirty from Councillor Kawachi-no-kami, son¹⁰ of the late Councillor Uta-no-kami. Around three o'clock I went to Chikugo-no-kami, where I was promptly taken to the inner hall. His Excellency soon joined me. He asked me how I was and told me that the captain had enjoyed a great honour this year and had obliged the Shogun. Never before had such honours been bestowed on a captain. I should always remember this. I told him that he was as a father for the Dutchmen, and took great pains on their behalf. Through his diligence I had enjoyed this honour of having beheld His Majesty's countenance, which I did not deserve, and I had been presented with more gowns than any other captain before me. I would always remember this with gratitude. I would write to my government in Batavia. He looked pleased. He asked me the same questions about the Portuguese as in the Shogun's hall. Furthermore, if it were likely that the Spaniards would soon defeat the Dutch. I said no, but the Spaniards would sooner succumb to and be defeated than that the Dutch would be subjected. His Excellency burst out laughing with all others who were present.

93 This was more for our aggrandizement and because of the spirit of the moment and the good feelings towards us. His Excellency also elaborated on the Spanish efforts, which were continuing to this day, to convert the Japanese to Christendom. Almost a quarter of the Japanese had been Christians, and in order to prevent further harm, the Shogun had ordered a great number of people to be executed. These executions were being carried out daily and many were still in prison. Saying this would oblige the Shogun greatly – he recommended I disclose any attempts by the Spaniards, the Portuguese, or the English to harm the country. I promised to

do so. I said we had already given proof of this. He impressed upon me to take good care that no priests or Roman Catholics be carried here on our ships and this should be made clear to Batavia. We were Christians and our brand of Christianity was tolerated by the Shogun and it was known that the Hollanders – as the Netherlanders are now generally called here – were sincere folk. He further asked me about all the virtues, potency, and effects of the medicines I had brought with me. The senior surgeon explained them to His Excellency's satisfaction.

94 Everything was noted down. He ordered that we should see to it that Japan be provided with medicines every year. He also reminded me of the telescopes for the Shogun, even if the tubes were inferior. He also asked for some spectacles with excellent large glasses for people of different ages, but they have to be stored separately in single cases. He treated us to an array of dishes and when it was dark we left gratefully. He said he would like to speak to us another time.

16 Nothing happened. Some nobles sent their secretaries to wish me a happy journey.

17 I sent the interpreter to Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō to ask for permission to leave. They let me know that I should send them a memorandum of the remaining goods and we should stay for another three or four days. In the evening they sent for some more goods.

18–19 Nothing happened.

20 Yesterday I expected to go to Chikugo-no-kami to say farewell, but he was out and it was postponed till today. Gonpachirō, however, let me know that we should be ready to depart.

95 In the afternoon we were sent for by Chikugo-no-kami. He told me that it was now the third generation that the Dutch were coming to Japan and we had always been found to be sincere men. He warned me, as he had previously done the other captains, not to bring anyone to Japan who obeyed the Pope and if we learnt of any attempts to harm Japan, we should disclose it as soon as we heard of it. This would put us in their debt. If, however, we were to put ourselves under the Pope's authority,

10 Sic. Grandson.

we would be denied trade here like the Castilians and the Portuguese. I had been in Japan before and knew the country's customs better than most and the kind of honour the Dutch enjoyed, for no Chinese or any other foreigners but only the Dutch were permitted to travel to the Court and pay homage to the Shogun and behold his countenance. This was a matter of the greatest import and we should well bear this in mind.

96 I told His Excellency that we were well aware of this and we would do our utmost to keep away any adherents of the Pope and the last thing we would do would be to subject ourselves to him. We acknowledged and esteemed the favour His Majesty extended towards us and we would always do our best to be deserving of this and comply with his orders as we had always done and of which we had recently given proof.

Question: 'Is your Prince related to England and in which manner?'

Answer: 'The eldest son of our Prince had married the eldest daughter of the King of England.'

Question: 'Where did this daughter live, in Holland or in England?'

Answer: 'In Holland.'

Question: 'Was the Prince related to France?'

Answer: 'On his mother's side he was of French descent.' The interpreter did not consider it necessary to answer this, for it concerned a woman, who is not regarded highly in Japan.

Question: 'When would we leave?'

Answer: 'When His Excellency gave permission.'

Question: 'What were my plans?'

Answer: 'If I received permission, I could leave tomorrow morning.'

He replied that we could not leave tomorrow, but had to remain for a day or two longer.

97 He had some more questions he would like to ask. I should give truthful answers, for there were some apostate priests living here and sometimes Chinese, who had some knowledge of these matters, came but the priests were not lent any credence in matters regarding us, for they were our enemies. He gave orders to provide us with some food and to question the surgeon on some matters concerning

surgery and put this in writing. In the meantime, he sent me a wild goose and a duck, and asked if the same kind lived in our country and if they did, was that both in winter and summer?

Answer: 'Yes, but more abundantly in winter than in summer.'

Question: 'Where did they keep, on land or on water, what did they eat and what did they do?'

Answer: 'Sometimes on land and sometimes on water, mainly in swamps, and on the shores of the seas, but they were taken for water birds and they ate whatever they found on land or in the water.'

Question: 'Did they grow from eggs like other birds and where?'

Answer: 'Yes, they grew from eggs like other birds and they lived near water on land, but I had no precise knowledge of this.'

He produced a falcon and asked if we had them in Holland. I have already answered this question repeatedly.

Question: 'Did they also catch duck and geese?'

I said yes.

He asked my servant, a black man from Bengal, who had also been sent for, if there were also falcons in his country.

98 He said yes. His Excellency thought this impossible and started to grin. He asked us more of such silly questions. He ordered me to write down the different relations by marriage of our countries.

21 Nothing happened. In the afternoon the senior surgeon was summoned to the residence of Chikugo-no-kami with the interpreter. He asked some more questions about surgery. We received permission to leave the day after tomorrow. During the night we experienced a very severe earthquake.

22 We prepared ourselves for the journey. I sent the interpreter to Chikugo-no-kami with the requested Japanese note. He should request both Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō permission for leave-taking, for we shall set off on our journey home tomorrow. He was told that this would inconvenience us and we could leave as early as we liked. They wished us a happy journey and they were pleased that everything had gone so well. Short discourse on the relations by marriage of some European rulers.

The King of England's eldest daughter is married to the eldest son of our Prince in Holland. The King of England is married to the sister of the King of France. The King of France is married to the King of Spain's sister.

99 The King of Spain is married to the King of France's sister. Nonetheless, Spain is at war with France as it is with us and the marriages did not matter. Without further explanation this note was handed to Chikugo-no-kami in Japanese with a sketch of the lay of these countries, which he had asked for. He also expressed his surprise to the interpreter about the delay in the appearance of an envoy to express our gratitude for the release of the Dutch from Nanbu, which Elseracq had promised. He knew the esteem in which the Dutch were held and no other foreigners were accorded the same. The Koreans were the Shogun's vassals and did not receive the same favours as the Dutch, who enjoyed the prerogative of paying reverence to His Majesty in person, outwardly yes, for outside the Court the reception was all pomp and ceremony and a great fuss was made, but no such favour was granted within the Court nor were they allowed to see His Majesty. With regard to our request, no reply was forthcoming, but it appears that this year something might be done about it. We should be aware, according to the interpreter, that they do not wish to order us so, but are giving strong indications

100 that we should send someone to make good our promise about the expression of gratitude for the release of Nanbu with special gifts, which will be split in two and be presented separately, namely the one part as the ordinary gifts and the other part for Nanbu. This is the only matter in which we have been found wanting and which has made the Shogun and the councillors wonder if our actions are as true as our words. Close attention should be paid to this matter. No one had arrived this year to this end and I should do my best to see to it that someone be sent in future. I replied that last year Van Tzum had done this. He laughed and said that we knew better. During my presence in Edo, I have put out feelers to find out what kind of gifts would be the best for the Company to present annually to

the Shogun. Would they be more pleased with the rarities and curiosities, which have to be acquired with a great deal of effort, or with the quantity of European or other merchandise? Although the Japanese are very curious, they are tired of large animals in particular.

101 It would be useless to bring them here unless they demand them themselves, although the young Shogun was very pleased with these camels in particular. The same goes for all curiosities if they rise [in price], unless one wishes to bring them as extras alongside the ordinary gifts, for anything of that kind is valued here, but they still wish to have the full amount of ordinary gifts. All birds are useless too and none should be brought here by the Company or privately unless ordered or it being strange, for apart from the many problems of transporting them, they are subject to a sudden death here and the Company is forced to keep them till the journey to the Court in the middle of the winter, when it is very cold and hazardous, unless one wishes to go to the trouble. In that case parrots are desirable. Scarlet cloth is liked, as are crimson and black. Yellow, green, blue, purple are also suitable, but sometimes they prefer liver colour or muskrat and other such grey colours veering towards the darker shades. Yellow is the least popular colour. Of our native cloth, the *laken* is too expensive and both the merchants and the nobility cannot appreciate its quality.

102 They are very fond of curiosities, which they have received this time, but here too they are not really knowledgeable. They desire anything new without really knowing much about it, and they are especially interested in any new invention that has to do with warfare, the more so because the rumours about the Tartars are rousing them. They are a people who will always ally themselves with the strongest. If in future the gifts are added to by more European or other goods, I trust that they will be pleased and the Company will profit. It is well that the Company is now in favour with the Court. Everyone is saying that it has been given a new foundation, which is clear from the satisfaction shown by the Shogun and the councillors. But it has to be

looked at in their terms: just as at the time of the release of Nuijts,¹¹ they want a private expression of gratitude for the release of the men from Nanbu – whom they had taken prisoners unlawfully. They do not care so much for the gifts as much as for the fulfilment of the promise made to them. Our claim that Reijnier van Tzum had come here to that end is unacceptable to them.

Departure from Edo

- 23 Early in the morning we set off on our journey, with one palanquin and twenty-two horses. In the afternoon we arrived in Kawasaki.
- 103 The landlord's son and some others accompanied us as far as here. They were sent off with a small gift for their efforts and we continued on our journey. In the evening we arrived in Totsuka, where we spent the night.
- 24 At daybreak we left Totsuka, we dined in Ōiso and in the evening we arrived in Odawara, where we spent the night. We hired horses and bearers to carry us across the mountains.
- 25 We left Odawara, in the afternoon we arrived in Hakone, where we dined. We spent the night in Mishima.
- 26 Overcast. It was drizzling when we left. In the afternoon we crossed the Fuji-gawa at the Fuji-no-yama, and we dined in Kanbara. In the afternoon we passed Yui, where we dismounted and viewed the temple, very elegantly set in a beautiful garden. We spent the night in Ejiri.
- 27 We continued on our journey. We rested at Okabe. In the evening we crossed the Ōi-gawa and we spent the night in Kanaya.
- 28 We left Kanaya at daybreak. In the afternoon we dined in Fukuroi, in the evening we crossed the Tenryū River and we spent the night in Hamamatsu.
- 29 We left in the morning in a drizzle. We crossed over from Maisaka to Arai.
- 104 We travelled through inclement weather to Futagawa, where we were forced to stay.

30 The weather turned fine and we set off again. We dined in Akasaka and we spent the night in Chiryū.

31 At sunrise we left Chiryū and reached Miya before noon. We dined there and loaded the luggage onto the barges, but the adverse wind forced us to wait. We arrived in Kuwana after dark.

February

1 At sunrise we left. We rested a while in Ishiyakushi and in the evening with a strong wind we arrived in Seki where we spent the night.

2 We left in the morning, dined in Minakuchi and went on our way. The landlord from Kusatsu came more than four miles to meet us. This happened all along the way, although I have not mentioned it. It is one of their customs. We spent the night there. Another noteworthy fact is that along the entire route from Miyako to Edo in every place one passes, the most important houses are full of whores.

105 They make themselves up in the most beautiful ways, by whitening their skin, doing up their hair, and dress, to lure the travellers and thereby procure profits for their masters. They are very insolent and shameless and are the complete opposite of the female nature here.

3 We left Kusatsu, passed Ōtsu and reached Miyako in the afternoon. I had Chikugo-no-kami's letters delivered to some officials at the Emperor's residence. In the evening Heizaemon, alias Heizō, former regent of Nagasaki, sent a messenger to welcome me and to congratulate me on my success in Edo. He would have liked to visit me and discuss some matters, but Japanese custom prohibited this. Nonetheless, for old times' sake he was still favourably inclined towards us. He would write to his son Heizō in Nagasaki to help us as much as he could. I was sorry to hear that a certain merchant from Nagasaki, who had arrived some days ago, has said that the Nanking Chinese have been permitted to trade again. But I was happy to hear that in the past two months just one small Fuzhou junk had arrived.

106 4 We left Miyako. In the afternoon we spent some time to view the *Daibutsu*. The square is surrounded by a wooden gallery covered with earthenware tiles.

11 See 18 January 1642, note.

It spans a large area. In the centre is a high church with a double tile roof, made of wood, 112 large steps long and 70 steps wide. Inside are 96 large wooden pillars like masts, with square holes at the bottom through which a boy can creep to cool them down to prevent them catching fire because of the weight they have to carry. The *Daiibutsu* is seated in the centre like a tailor, with his legs crossed under him. It is said that he is thirty times the size of a man. The core was made of wood, which was covered with clay or cement, and then with copper and then it was gilt. The palm of one hand is upturned on his knee and the other projects from his sleeve. His hair is black and curled like that of a black man. Behind him is a gilt canopy decorated with many gilt statues projecting from the wall. Then we went to the bell tower which houses a large bell the size of which none of us had ever seen. It is at least one and a half *ikje* high and very thick. Because of its size, it is not being used.

107 Then we went to the church nearby, which is 66 *ikjes* long.¹² It is filled with three thousand three hundred and thirty-three gilt gods, most of whom have forty-two arms and hands each and several heads projecting from its head. There is also a Wind God and a Thunder God depicted in such unsightly and frightful images that it sends the chill down one's spine looking at them. Both churches were closed, but by offering some money they were opened for us. We were told that after his death, the brain of a certain scholar, who had been renowned in his time and was considered to be one of the greatest of the nation, was found attached to one of the hands of the largest statue without the intervention of any man. This is truly a great miracle if it really happened. In the evening we arrived in Fushimi, where we dined and then we embarked on three barges. At midnight we arrived in Osaka.

5 Today is the Japanese *Shōgatsu*. Today and the next it rained hard and incessantly.

7 Overcast. Nothing happened. We prepared for our journey, although we shall not be able to sail

before the 12th or the 13th due to the shallowness of the river. The King of Kinokuni sent me three samples of [gun] barrels which have to be made in the fatherland. I promised to have this done.

108 8 Fair weather. Nothing happened. A certain man came to demand a refund for some *lakenen* which were too short. I was forced to give in. I asked about the affairs of the Company's debtors. They are still in such poor circumstances that it is unlikely that the Company will be paid. I let it rest for now.

9 We prepared for our departure tomorrow.

10 It rained the whole day and we were forced to remain here.

11 We were ready to embark when we were told that today is the 7th day of the Japanese month and an unlucky day. It is not a Japanese custom to depart on this day, not even the Shogun will do so. Thus whether we like it or not, we shall have to wait till tomorrow. The same applies to the ninth and the fifteenth, according to Japanese custom, by which we are forced to abide. When one has already embarked on one's journey, one can travel on, but one should not start a journey on these days, for they believe that one will then encounter only adversity and danger.

12 We embarked, but owing to the strong adverse wind we had to remain in the mouth of the river.

13 We had to stay here because of the contrary wind.

In the barge

14 Fine weather and a northerly wind.

109 At eleven o'clock we set sail. Then it grew calm but later on the wind rose again. We were forced to spend the night close to an island with little shelter, sixteen miles from Osaka.

15 The whole night there were strong winds with showers. In the morning we weighed anchor, the wind south-westerly. We had passed Akashi when contrary winds forced us to return. The weather calmed and we dropped anchor.

16 We set sail again, but contrary wind forced us back.

17 We weighed anchor and in the afternoon we passed Muro and in the evening Ushimado. We

12 Sanjūsangendō.

waited off Hibi because of the calm. Today we sailed 33 miles.

18 Early in the morning we weighed anchor, but because of the calm and a contrary wind we had to row. By rowing and sailing we reached Bingo-no-Tomo. We travelled thirteen miles today.

19 We weighed anchor and with high tide we passed Fourissiro where we stayed a while because of the calm.

110 In the afternoon we went ashore for some diversion. We left and passed Tadanoumi. We dropped anchor at Kamagari, which is twenty miles from Bingo-no-Tomo.

20 Rain during the night. In the morning the sky was overcast, but we sailed from Kamagari. Because of the rain we had to row and in the afternoon we passed Karōdo and reached Tsuwa, a small island with a hamlet and a fine sandy beach, where we stayed till the evening, waiting for the rain to abate and then the wind veered northerly. We set sail again.

21 We arrived in Kaminoseki. After a short stay we rowed further to the entrance of the bay, where we stayed till the tide came in. We weighed anchor and about ten or eleven o'clock, a south-westerly breeze rose veering north-easterly and we could sail further during the night.

22 We arrived in Shimonoseki. We had barely dropped anchor when the wind veered contrary thus we stayed there and went ashore to enjoy ourselves. Since yesterday we have travelled 35 miles. We were taken to a temple where we were shown many old curiosities such as certain Japanese songs and texts written by Taikō-sama¹³ himself before his death.

111 Also some of his clothing and we were told about the Japanese war waged around Shimonoseki, in which a certain Emperor drowned and some of the highest nobles voluntarily threw themselves into the sea and died.¹⁴ One of the landlords of the island, some of whom were on a pilgrimage to the god Tenshō Daijin in the domain of Ise near

Kuwana, told me that our friends were well, that the governor had replaced *Otona Sōbei* with another more suitable person by the name of *Minoya Hachirōemon*. He had just bought the houses where the newly-appointed Dutch captains reside. I was very pleased to hear this, because the former *otona* or *burgemeester* was a weak man and not up to the interpreters, who place their cronies where they like to the disadvantage of the Company. To my great regret, I learnt, as we had already been told in *Miyako*, that the Chinese in general, those of *Iquan Lauw*¹⁵ and the *Nanking Chinese* who are subject to the Tartars, have been given permission for free trade. This accords with my thoughts which I wrote down in the *dagregister* before the departure of the flute the *Overschie* on 12 November.

112 But no junks have arrived so far, except for the aforesaid junk from *Fuzhou* we were told of in *Miyako*, which is very good. It would be desirable if our ships were in the *Nanking* region in time, before they obtain free trade here again. It seems that the Japanese are sitting on the fence and keeping themselves neutral, now that they see that *Iquan* is on the losing side. If they will be able to do so with regard to the Koreans when they are under threat from the Tartars and will look to the Japanese, whose vassals they consider themselves to be, for assistance – in my opinion to no avail – time will tell. Thus the Tartars have already taken an aversion to the Japanese, which suits us very well and will work out to our advantage.

23 We could do little but row a short distance away from *Isaki* and wait for a fair wind. In the evening, on behalf of Governor *Saburōzaemon's* brother, a nobleman came from *Kokura* to bring us a Japanese gown, some wine, and *sakana*. He congratulated us on our success in *Edo*.

24 The wind was westerly and we could not sail.

113 25 It was very cold in the morning and snow was in the air. The wind was northerly and we weighed anchor, but the wind veered westerly and we were forced to drop anchor again below *Mutsurejima*,

13 Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

14 Antoku Tennō in the battle of Dan-no-ura in 1185.

15 The old *Iquan*, *Zheng Zhilong*, father of *Coxinga*.

which is 1½ miles from where we had been. We shall have to wait for better weather.

26–27 Very bad weather, a howling storm from the west. We had to ride at anchor in the bay. Rain and driving snow. It seemed as if we were in the fatherland in mid-winter.

28 The weather cleared somewhat and we were able to send our boat to Shimonoseki, 1½–2 miles away, for some provisions, as we are almost out of food.

March

1–2 Westerly wind and we could not do anything.

3 South-easterly wind and fine weather. We weighed anchor and set sail. In the afternoon we reached Jinoshima. We have travelled fourteen miles.

114 4 Last night we had very bad weather. There was nothing we could do.

5 Calm and fine weather. We rowed along and in the evening we reached Ainoshima and sailed further.

6 After midnight we had almost reached Himeshima, which is fourteen miles from Ainoshima, when the wind veered southerly and we were forced to return and stay in an open bay off Genkai. In the afternoon, because the wind was veering westerly and we dared not remain there because of the rushing sea, we weighed anchor. We rowed around the bight where we discovered a lovely bay and a fine village called Cattatamij. We spent the night here.

7 The wind veered northerly and we rowed away in the evening and then hoisted sail. We headed for Shikanoshima, where we spent the night.

8–9 Bad weather with storm winds, hail, and snow.

115 At the request of the *bongiois*, we went on shore, because it was becoming unbearable on the barge. We spent two days here and the barge kept riding at six anchors.

10 Sunday. The weather has calmed somewhat. On behalf of the regents of the domain of Hakata, to which this island belongs, a nobleman came to ask if we needed anything and we would be provided for. We thanked him and returned on board, but he

remained with us on his *kobaya* to tow us further with a number of fishermen in case of a calm.

11 Unsettled weather, southerly and westerly winds, and we could not do anything.

12 The wind northerly, but still unsuitable for us to leave. Today we have been on the barge for a month.

13 The wind still westerly. In the evening a nobleman from Hakata came with some *hayafune*, *kobaya*, and other small vessels to offer his services on behalf of the regents, because his lord was at the Court. He could tow us to Yobuko, fourteen miles away, in the domain of Karatsu. From there we might easily sail to Nagasaki. He also offered us provisions if we needed any.

116 He brought us some wine. The senior *bongiois* thanked him but declined the offer. We shall wait a while longer for a fair wind. He returned with the orders that we should be accommodated with everything and if there was something we wished for from the country, we should have it. This is a sign that they are well inclined towards us.

14 One day after another passes and contrary winds keep on blowing and the weather remains foul. Today it is twenty days ago that we arrived in Shimonoseki and since then we have progressed just 28 Japanese miles. The senior *bongiois* decided today to write to Governor Saburōzaemon by surface mail to advise him of our situation. I also wrote a letter to the junior merchants at the factory in Nagasaki.

'Friends, Our journey to Edo went smoothly to Osaka in eleven days and then as usual via the land route to Edo, where we arrived on 30 December. On 6 January, which was the 1st day of their 12th month, we were received in audience by the old and the young Shogun. To keep it short, seventeen days after we departed.

117 On 14 February we sailed from the Osaka River, on the 22nd we reached Shimonoseki and on the 7th of this month we got as far as Hakata. The wind is not in our favour and I am sending you this letter to inform you of this. I hope you are in good health as are we. If the wind remains like this, we might travel by land. Keep a watchful eye on everything. In the barge at Shikanoshima off Hakata, 14 March 1647.'

I sent the preparer of *sakana* to Hakata to purchase some provisions, for we are almost out of supplies. The wind keeps blowing from the south-west, which is remarkable and it feels like we are in the middle of the southern monsoon.

15 Early in the morning there was a southerly breeze and we weighed anchor and set sail. When we reached the island of Genkai, the wind veered contrary and, although we declined their offer politely, on the orders of the regents of Hakata, we were towed along by their vessels, which had followed us, first ten or twelve of them and finally twenty-seven, in all at least 120–130 men strong, supervised by a nobleman on a small *hayafune*.

118 There was a strong counter-current and the sea was raging. We reached a large, fine bay behind Himeshima called Kishi where we dropped anchor, safe from all winds and the rushing sea. We are still eight or nine miles from Yobuko. The nobleman remained with us to tow us to Yobuko, if need be. This is a sign of great respect from these people towards us Dutchmen. We offered the rowers of the Lord of Hakata, Chikuzen-no-kami, rice and some wine, which they gratefully accepted. The nobleman was not allowed to accept anything, but we entertained him as best as we could.

16–17 The wind is westerly and we could not do anything.

18 Tuesday. Before daybreak we weighed anchor. The wind is northerly. We said farewell to the nobleman and thanked him, but he had seven or eight vessels accompany us for a further three or four miles. Then, to our regret, the wind veered westerly again and we had to drop anchor behind Cawassima, which belongs to the Lord of Karatsu. We had barely been there, when a nobleman arrived with some vessels. He had orders from his lord to direct us to the proper bay and to provide us with anything we needed. We thanked him. In the afternoon, in a very rough sea, they towed us from here, which is three or four miles from Yobuko.

119 When we were anchored there, on behalf of the Lord of Karatsu, a nobleman came to offer us anything we needed. He announced that ten vessels were ready to assist us if the wind remained

unfavourable. He hoped that it would not be necessary and wished us luck. We were very grateful for this unwarranted courtesy but declined his offer.

19 The wind veered south-easterly and we weighed anchor and left Yobuko. When we reached the entrance of the bay or the bight of Kabeshima, we met a contrary wind. During the day the wind veered northerly and we set sail. Before evening fell we reached Micourasa, three miles from Hirado, where we had to drop anchor because of the contrary wind and counter-current.

20 Two hours before daybreak the wind blew northerly and we set sail. About seven o'clock we had to drop anchor at Tasuke because of the counter-current. A nobleman came on board and offered us assistance. I sent Denbyōe to Hirado to remind the lord to settle his debt. He had not paid us any of it on the journey up country and we were in need of the money. If he could not settle it in full, we would appreciate 3000 or 4000 taels and if he did not have any cash, we would accept rice.

120 The weather turned in our favour and we weighed anchor, sailed past Hirado, where we waited for the interpreter. On his return he tried to fool me that he had spoken to the senior *otona* and some others, but none of them would dare open his mouth. We left. I intend to send someone there with a letter expressly to keep reminding them of the debt. In the afternoon the wind veered contrary and we had to stop behind the Ossenhal.

Arrival in Nagasaki

21 Strong winds from the north and an overcast sky. We weighed anchor and continued our journey. When we were two miles away from the bay of Ōmura, a *hayafune* and another well-manned vessel came to meet us. They told us that the Lord of Hirado had sent a messenger to their lord with the request that, should the Dutch captain appear off their coast with a contrary wind, he would assist him to Nagasaki with tow-boats. They had been waiting for us to find out if we needed any boats. We conveyed our gratitude for their offer, but the wind was favourable and we could sail on. He accompanied us to Seto, which was three miles further. Shortly

- after noon, Thank God!, we arrived in Nagasaki, where we found all the friends safe and sound.
- 121 List of the names of all the towns, villages, harbours, bays, on land and on sea and the distance between them, which we passed on our journey from Nagasaki to Edo and back. [On fos. 121–124.]
- 124 No junks have yet arrived, apart from the one from Fuzhou, of which we were told in Miyako. It had left recently but had foundered off the Gotō Isles. Today some of the survivors returned here. Two of the governors' secretaries congratulated me on my safe return and introduced the newly-appointed *burgemeester*.
- 125 All the interpreters and many landlords came to welcome me back. I sent Denbyōe to Governor Saburōzaemon to announce my return and to thank him for his favourable letters to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Gonpachirō. Not only had this resulted in the exceptional honours bestowed upon me at Court, but also in the excellent treatment on our way back. He was pleased to hear this and said that I was tired and should take a rest. Then he would see me. He congratulated me on the honours I received at Court. This was a sign of a renewed fondness for us and the Company's affairs looked better than ever before. The number of gowns was larger than ever. Heizō also sent me his congratulations. I was told that Governor Saburōzaemon had written a reply to the letter which the senior *bongiois*, Stibe, had sent him from Shikanoshima off Hakata.
- 126 The governor had written that if the wind remained contrary and we wished to travel by land, we could do so. He had asked the Lord of Hakata to assist us and provide us with horses for the journey or otherwise lend us barges to tow us so that we could complete our journey as speedily as possible. We had already left before his letter arrived, but it is to be regarded as a great honour and expression of affection.
- 22 Nothing noteworthy happened. The new *otona* told me that five Chinese junks had left for Tonkin with a capital of 15–20 chests. This might cause the Company's trade some disadvantage. As they promised, they have started to rebuild the houses about
- which we had some arguments in the past. But I had to press them that all the houses be built with a plaster wall at the back to prevent burglaries and the ensuing trouble as much as possible.
- 23 Northerly wind. I had wanted to pay my respects to Governor Saburōzaemon, but the bad weather prevented this.
- 24 Northerly wind veering southerly. Fine weather. I went to Governor Saburōzaemon. I had to wait a short while in the front hall. Senior *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came to sit with me and congratulated me. Then I was summoned inside and the governor expressed himself in the same way as Denbyōe had done on his behalf on my return. He recommended I see to it that everything went smoothly when the ships arrived and that we obey the Shogun's orders. I promised to do this and was given my leave.
- 25 Veering wind and fine weather.
- 26 South-westerly wind with rain.
- 27 Northerly wind and fine weather.
- 28 Veering wind and an overcast sky.
- 29 Wind and weather as before.
- 31 Southerly wind and weather as before. Today fourteen Roman Catholics, six men, five women, and three youths were taken to the court house. Their heads have not yet been shaven. Among them is a certain apostate Christian priest, who had lived on Amakusa. The governor had received certain information about his former faith and had promptly sent some noblemen there to arrest him without questioning him first.
- 128 He and the others have been taken to the court house to be hanged by their feet. Afterwards, six of them, including the three youths, were returned to prison without having disclosed anything.

April

- 1 Veering wind and weather as yesterday. I was told that one of the three men has died and that the two others and the five women were still alive and hanging.
- 2 Easterly wind, rainy weather.
- 3 Northerly wind and weather as before. Today the three youths whom I mentioned before have been ordered to shave their heads and they were taken

- to the governor. He pardoned them with harsh reprimands and then set them free. The ones that were hanged were taken down, chopped to pieces and burnt to ashes, which were thrown into the sea.
- 4 Wind as before, overcast.
- 5 Northerly wind with hard rain. It cleared during the day.
- 6 Veering wind, overcast.
- 7 Today is *Sekku*, a Japanese holiday, it being the 3rd day of the 3rd month, which is always celebrated.
- 8 Unpleasant weather, southerly wind, veering west.
- 129 9 Weather as before, the wind northerly.
- 10 Fine weather. On behalf of the governor, Interpreter Hakuzaemon told me that Councillor Izu-no-kami had sent him a letter requesting some glasses from the Dutch. He could not specify exactly what was meant, but they thought reading glasses. I sent two large ones to the governor. On one side they are ground concavely and they can be used instead of spectacles. He was very pleased with them. Because they have to be given under the pretext of a sale, Kichibyōe proposed a very low price. His Excellency was pleased with this and let me know that if the ships brought more – for I had just the two – and other lords wished to purchase them, I could sell them for a much higher price. Variable winds.
- 11 Magobei and Hachizaemon came. The governor has given them permission to accompany the surgeon and one or two other Dutchmen into town and to the mountains to look for herbs or violets and enjoy themselves without a *bongiois* to watch them. On their return they met His Honour in his palanquin on the road. He halted and greeted them kindly and was curious to look in their baskets to see what they had picked. Then he continued on his way.
- 130 12 South-easterly wind and very unpleasant weather.
- 13 Fair weather with a northerly wind.
- 14 Southerly wind veering easterly with an overcast sky.
- 15 The whole day rain with a northerly wind.
- 16 Wind as before, fine weather in the evening.
- 17 Veering winds with very fine weather.
- 18 Very fine weather, westerly wind, veering northerly.
- 19 Weather as before with veering winds.
- 20 Overcast, the wind as before.
- 21 Easter. Southerly wind with an overcast sky. So far no Chinese vessels have arrived, Thank God! I hope this will remain so and the Company will not suffer. I have kept insisting that all the houses of the island be surrounded by small fences to prevent burglaries.
- 22–23 Wind and weather as before.
- 24–25 Fine weather, veering winds.
- 26–27 Southerly and south-westerly wind with an overcast sky and rain.
- 131 28 Northerly wind, overcast in the morning but later it cleared.
- 29 Fine weather with veering winds.
- 30 Southerly wind veering easterly, overcast. On behalf of Governor Saburōzaemon, the *otona* came with two interpreters to ask for some small things for Lord Shinano-no-kami, who lives in Yodo. I obliged him.
- May**
- 1 Wind and weather as before with much rain.
- 2 We felt a slight earthquake during the night. Overcast with rain in the morning, in the afternoon fine weather with an easterly wind.
- 3 Fine weather, veering winds.
- 4 Fine weather, but in the evening the sky was overcast. In the morning a northerly wind from the land veering south-westerly from the sea in the afternoon.
- 5 The whole day it rained and the wind was easterly.
- 6–7 Fine weather with variable winds.
- 8 As before. On behalf of Governor Saburōzaemon, a nobleman from Kokura came with three interpreters to see the Dutch. I entertained him to the best of my ability.
- 132 9 I learnt that a Korean had said that there were fears about the Tartars' advance. Thus the Shogun had ordered the Lord of Tsushima not to appear at Court before he had investigated the truth of this. A mast was stepped on a Chinese junk to replace

- the junk that had been lost off the Gotō Isles. They are preparing to leave. It is not known what their destination is, although it is claimed to be Nanking. No news has yet come about any junks, which makes one wonder about the situation in China. It has been a very long time that Japan has not been visited by foreign vessels, which those from Manila will undoubtedly find out to their regret. May God preserve our people in Tayouan from any harm from the supposed flood of Chinese fleeing there. I do not doubt that this time the Chinese will carry rich cargoes there, which they will want to exchange for cash and to avoid much fuss they will take it to the most convenient place to sell. If this happens, this year the Company will reap great profits.
- 11 Southerly wind and very cold with an overcast sky.
- 12 Hard rains, wind as before, overcast.
- 133 Today the lords of Higo, Bungo, Gotō, and Hizen arrived. The latter left again, but the other lords stayed. It is rumoured that they are expecting the Lord of Arima, Kōriki-no-kami, who is the Shogun's *yokome* of these quarters, at any time. Many different rumours are doing the rounds about their arrival, but none is conclusive.
- 13 Excellent weather, the wind south-south-easterly veering south-westerly. In the afternoon a cannon was fired and a Nanking Chinese junk is said to have arrived. This has created a lot of agitation here. The *burgemeester* of the island came to inform me of it. Everyone is dying for news about the Tartars and wants to hear all the details. When they sailed past the island, we counted about a hundred men and they are clearly subjects of the Tartars, for their hair is shaven in that fashion. They made a great deal of noise and sounds of celebration by banging their gongs and cymbals and sounding trumpets. They flew a white flag on top, with a red round pancake and a blue border and a pennant with various colours, from the top white, then yellow, red, blue, and red. On the bow were two red banners and at the stern two green ones, on both sides along board both fore and aft were whole and half-sized pikes for their defence. After they had dropped anchor, a guard was put near them.
- 134 A barge had been sent ahead, which had asked them for their port of departure, whether they had been to Japan before, who had been their landlord, and where they planned on staying. The governor was given this information. Then a second barge was sent with the interpreters and a few *bongioisen*, but they did not go on board. They questioned them closely about the Tartars. I am curious to find out all the news and what cargo they brought, but I have to be patient. Today the people have started to harvest the wheat.
- 14 This morning the *bongioisen* went on board. The junk and all the crew were inspected meticulously, they were subjected to body searches and they had to take off their clothes, which were searched closely. Then they were free to go on shore. Their cargo consists of the following. [List.]
- 135 It is estimated to be worth about 45–46 chests of 1000 taels each, of which seven streets will enjoy 2100 taels for brokerage, 300 taels each, which provides great succour for the poor citizens. The news is that the entire Chinese empire has been conquered by the Tartar, Iquan Lauw has been captured and taken to Peking, and his son has gone to sea with four hundred vessels. Details and confirmation will follow.
- The Lord of Gotō has left and Kōriki-no-kami has arrived.
- Oribe-dono, who will stay for another seven or eight days, sent for Denbyōe and asked him about the Dutch captain. He ordered him to congratulate me on the great honour I had enjoyed at Court.
- 15 Fine weather, southerly wind. Three more junks arrived in the manner of the Fuzhou junks with several coloured flags and pennants. They reported that they came from a place near Fuzhou which had not yet been subjected by the Tartars and another will arrive shortly with an envoy. They are being kept on board for the moment.
- 136 Their cargo is worth little.
- 16 Overcast with veering winds. Nothing happened.
- 17 Wind and weather as before. The junk which was fitted out by the Chinese interpreters on the 9th has left without any cargo because they lost their cargo with their ship off the Gotō Isles. They

had escaped by the skin of their teeth. It seems that the governor has decided this, because no junk had arrived before that time to announce that they had been allowed free trade again.

18 Overcast and drizzle. Southerly wind. The expected junk has arrived. The envoy it has brought is not taken seriously, although he seems to be the Governor of Fuzhou's younger brother and he behaves with enough pomposity. He has brought several women and a carriage in their fashion, three donkeys, and three buffaloes. When the governor's interpreter went on board, he seated himself in an armchair on the poop of the junk and had two men hold a canopy above him and had the *nachoda* or the master of the junk speak with the interpreter, implying that he considered the interpreter too much beneath him to open his mouth to him. Three times a day they shoot off muskets and play their instruments. The flag is hoisted in the morning and lowered in the evening.

137 In short, he will achieve little here, for the Tartars have made too many conquests and the Japanese will ally themselves with the strongest.

19–20 Rainy weather, variable winds. Nothing happened. The four Fuzhou junks are preparing to sail without having set foot on shore. They have exchanged around 80 bales of rice and other food-stuffs for some sugar. The envoy has not changed his attitude and acts as if he has obtained what he came for. The Japanese do not bother with him and merely laugh at him.

21 Clear but cold weather. North-westerly wind. In the evening the four junks with the envoy left for the entrance of the bay. They could not sail further and stayed there together. According to the interpreter, rumour has it that the Tartars have asked Korea to submit itself to them, if they do not do so peacefully, it will be done forcibly. We expect confirmation of this.

22–23 Fine weather, veering winds, mainly from the south.

24 Fine weather, veering winds.

138 At sundown the Ambassador and his suite left. Before he left, he put the donkeys and the buffaloes ashore, although they have not been accepted

as gifts or claimed by anyone. Kōriki-no-kami and Oribe-dono have also left. Nothing else happened.

25–26 Northerly wind. The Lord of Amakusa arrived.

27 Northerly wind. I was told that the Ambassador had been sent by Iquan's son, who fled with about three hundred vessels and is hiding near Nanao. I cannot get the true gist of it, because every single one of the interpreters, both of the Chinese and the Dutch, has to swear an oath and sign it with his blood that he will not disclose anything to the foreigners about themselves or the others or about any matter which might harm Japan in any way. They immediately inform the governors of any matter which comes to their attention during their intercourse with the foreigners which might harm the Japanese or is of interest to them. This shows how suspicious they are of the Dutch and other foreigners, whom they only tolerate because of the benefits they derive from the trade.

139 The Dutch residing here should bear this in mind.

28 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. In the evening, I dispatched a messenger with a letter in the Japanese manner to the Lord of Hirado to collect the debt he owes us.

29 I was told that Iquan's son and his younger brother have gathered in the Pescadores with at least seven hundred junks and a host of men. They were able to take with them many of the most important merchants with a great treasure of money and goods. The Tartars are progressing peacefully, putting everyone under their rule. If his sons surrendered, the Tartars offered to free Iquan and give him a high office. His Japanese wife has died. The great conquests of the Tartars are carried out in the most civilized manner to the satisfaction of the subjugated: no one may rob anyone of a single penny or commit any thefts. The Nanking junk is waiting for the response from the Court. It will take some time before it receives permission to sell its commodities and receives its return cargo.

140 The white silk is subject to the *pancado* and will not yield them any annual loss. They had to pay the new Tartar governor three chests of money in excess of other gifts to obtain permission to sail hither,

which, added to the more than 2000 taels which the citizens here enjoy from them, their equipage and expenses, is a sizeable sum of money. Some junks are said to have arrived in Tayouan from different quarters, which I hope is true. The master of the Nanking junk speaks a little Dutch and has been to Tayouan several times and he was here last year as well. He claims that, if the Dutch go there, they will be allowed trade. There is a large store of white silk and it can be had for a civil price. The empire of China had been under the rule of its own natives for three hundred and five years after they had wrested themselves free of the subjugation of the Tartars, who had then ruled the country for four hundred years. Thus, because of the long duration, these Tartars have become Chinese themselves and it was easier for them to carry out their conquests. The governor has received orders from Edo to send two citizens there in closed palanquins or prisons. The one is Sintok, a doctor, and the other one Goffioije.

141 They are to be sent post haste to Edo in the palanquins because they are Christians. Their families are left behind plunged into profound sadness and are being closely guarded. This has put fear into the citizens here that more may follow.

30–31 Fine weather, variable winds.

June

1 South-westerly wind. Governor Saburōzaemon came to visit the island. At our request he also visited a certain garden which has been created near our lodgings, which he enjoyed. We played a game on the table while he enjoyed some *sakana* and a drink. After he had raised his glass to me, he left very pleased. Nothing of importance happened. He merely asked how we were and when the ships would arrive. He was also curious about uncommon flowers in our country and wished to know if they could be brought here. He gave orders that the *burgemeester* should find out.

2 Unpleasant weather, hard rain and a south-easterly wind. The Lord of Hakata left. He had intended to visit the island, but the shortness of time, having just arrived from the Court and not having been

home yet, made him decide to postpone it till his return.

142 This will be in the sixth month.

3 Overcast, south-westerly wind. The Shogun has given a certain gold and silver mine permission to open. It is situated about three or four miles from Nagasaki in the domain of Oribe-dono.

4–5 Fine weather.

6 Overcast, drizzle.

7 Japanese *Sekku*. Weather as before, northerly wind.

8 Fine weather. I received a letter from the regents of Hirado in reply to the one I sent them with the messenger on the 29th of last month to collect the lord's debt. They claim that he still cannot repay, because of the poor crop.

9 Whitsun. Fine weather. Four Roman Catholics have been taken to the court house. They will be hanged by their feet. Easterly wind.

10 Unpleasant weather.

11 Overcast, fine weather, south-westerly wind. To my surprise no foreign vessels have arrived so far and it is to be feared that the matter has not been settled yet. None of the newly-arrived Chinese may stay here and the remaining ones may well leave.

143 I think that the messenger has already arrived from Court, but the governor is keeping quiet about it to see if any more foreign vessels arrive with further news and then he will act accordingly. But for the Chinese here, who may not yet sell their goods, it is a depressing state of affairs and may well give them a distaste for coming here in future to subject themselves to such exacting treatment and they will take their junks to Tayouan instead. It is rumoured that several have already set a course thither.

12 Fine weather, south-westerly wind. The Nanking Chinese have been allowed to sell their coarse wares, but they found no buyers, because these are all hoping for low prices when the southern monsoon brings more junks.

13 Overcast, rain, northerly wind.

14 Overcast, veering wind.

15–16 Wind and weather as before.

17 Fine weather, westerly wind veering northerly during the night.

- 18–21 Fine weather, northerly wind.
 22 Easterly wind, rain.
 23 Fine weather, northerly wind.
 24 Weather as before, south-westerly wind.
 25–26 Fine weather, westerly wind. The gold mine near Mogi near Nagasaki in the domain of the Lord of Arima is being exploited daily, but so far they have found little gold and silver, for they are still working the entrances.
- 144 The lord receives six-tenths and the miners four-tenths. The gold mine in Satsuma, which is seven miles wide and fourteen or fifteen miles long, is a very rich one but it may not be opened yet. Much gold is collected in the drains when it rains. I have seen several samples of this mineral but just one-twentieth part can be refined from it.
- 27–28 South-westerly wind.
 29–30 Easterly wind, overcast, rain.

July

- 1 Southerly wind.
 2 Today the Nanking Chinese have accepted last year's *pancado* for their white silk, which is to their disadvantage, but otherwise they would be forced to remain here till this year's *pancado* is settled, which might cost them more rent, if they stay as long as that, than it does now. In short, it is a bad state of affairs and the island *burgemeester* and the interpreters condemn it, but they have to accept it, although it goes against their feelings on the matter, which can only be prevented by staying away. Thus all foreigners, and especially the Chinese who come to trade here, of whom they take little notice, should take into consideration whether they wish to suffer the forced and unlawful restrictions for gain and profits or forgo them.
- 145 With regard to us, we should try to avert these [restrictions] as much as possible while continuing our trade. At times we should also bolster the regard in which the Company is held – which is shaky at the moment and affects its servants badly – with the interpreters and in particular with the *burge-meester*, the governors' minion, and others whose favour can be of benefit to us, by discussions, which, however, should be conducted carefully, otherwise
- we shall suffer even more than at the moment. We can expect little to our benefit from the interpreters, for they would rather have us suffer than speak out, if they suspect that the governors are not favourably disposed towards a matter and they would try to avert it because our impotence not only sustains their respect and gain, but it increases it daily. Thus we cannot try this tack if we wish to redress the aforesaid. The example of last year, when Van Tzum and I were able to negotiate a deal of 7 taels per picul for the camphor, which before had cost 12 taels, without the interference of the interpreters, proves this. They took this very much amiss and took the dealer with whom we had contracted for delivery of the camphor to task in such a manner that he dared not do so for quite a while after.
- 146 The same goes for the copper. The matter could be kept from the governors and they could do whatever they liked, because they had the former *otona* in their power. In short, notwithstanding the aforesaid, we have to treat them all with affection and friendship, which can be promoted by presenting them with a few trifles now and again.
- 3 Fine weather, south-westerly wind.
 4 Variable wind, fine weather during the day.
 5 Fine weather, westerly wind.
 6 Overcast, rain. In the evening a cannon was fired and a large junk arrived in the roadstead.
 7 Hard rain with a northerly wind. The junk is from Cochin China. Last year it came here from Cambodia, where it belongs. In the afternoon, two junks arrived, one of which had been fitted out on 17 May with the help of the Chinese interpreters. They say that they have come from the island of Sonchiouw – which is about 45 miles at sea off the coast of Nanking and is about the size of Shikoku – whence many of the most important Chinese, who did not want to submit to the Tartars, had fled.
- 147 It brought some paper, medicines, black sugar, for little else can be had there. The other junk was flying many flags and pennants and brought an ambassador from the same island. He has not been accepted here and his passport has already been returned. He has to wait for a favourable wind. In the evening, after one of Governor Saburōzaemon's

nobleman had given me notice, the King or Lord of Hakata, Kōriki-no-kami, and the Lord of Arima, the Shogun's *yokome* or *dwarskijker* of the southern regions, who had arrived in the town shortly before, would come to visit the Dutch with Heizō, the town's regent. They had a look at our lodgings and the map and the globe. Nothing noteworthy took place and they returned pleased.

8 South-westerly wind.

9 Another junk arrived, it seems it is a companion to the ambassador's junk. It will return in his company without landing here. Unsettled weather with rain and southerly winds.

Arrival of the *Witte Paard*

10 Wind and weather as before. About seven o'clock in the morning, unexpectedly, a Dutch ship was seen sailing into the bay, even before the look-outs had notified the governor that a ship had been spotted.

148 I went on board after I had received permission to do so. The flute is the *Witte Paard*. She had left Batavia on 10 May in the company of the *Witte Valk* and after a stay of ten or eleven days on Tayouan, she had sailed here on 27 June. She brought a letter from President Overtwater with the Dutch news: the conquest of Hulst by His Highness the Prince of Orange, that of Dunkirk and Fort Mardijk by the French. The news from Batavia was that Cornelis van der Lijn had been appointed Governor-General. The state of affairs in Tayouan was all well, buying was very bad, sales were fair; all return ships had arrived safely. The cargo consists of raw silk, *pansies*, *pelangs*, velvet, hemp cloth, alum, skins and hides, worth 88,261 guilders. Since the arrival of the flute, the wind and the weather took such a turn and created such havoc that everyone had to go outside and lend a hand.

149 The river could not take on all the water from the drains and swept away all the bridges in the town and most of the houses on the quayside; stones 4½ ells in length have been swept away for 100 to 150 ells and several rice fields have been swept away. Many people have drowned. This will certainly cause the rice to rise in price and to be hoarded. According to

custom we notified the governor of the cargo and the news, the conquest of Hulst and at least thirty redoubts by the Prince of Orange, that of Dunkirk, the sponce of Mardijk, Armentiers and Kortrijk by the French, that we might engage in another war with Portugal and that Manila was being besieged by a force of seventeen ships, including some with 48 pieces of ordnance.

11 Wind and weather as before but abating later, so that the ship could be towed to the front of the lodge before evening. Weather permitting, she will be unloaded tomorrow. I discussed the unloading with the island *burgemeester*, who is favourably disposed towards the Company, and the interpreters and told them of the disorder which always arises during the unloading. We shall do our best together to forestall this.

12 Excellent weather. I went on board to muster the crew.

150 The *bongiois* was pleased with the orderly way things went. The goods were unloaded. The governor let me know that I could go to and from the ship as often as I liked and I could use as many crew as I liked. I thanked him and the *bongioisen*, the *burgemeester*, the interpreters, and the landlords as well for the courtesy they showed us during the unloading.

13–16 Fine weather, south-westerly wind.

17 Overcast, southerly wind. In the afternoon the governor sent Hakuzaemon to inform me that I should give immediate orders to have the ship cleaned from top to bottom, because the priest of the Buddhist faith, called Sessō Oshō-sama, one of the three wise men of Japan, wished to visit the ship. I sent orders to the ship to have her cleaned in time. I had the bowsprit draped with a white linen cloth. We were ready by the time he arrived. He looked her over, a few sailors jumped from the topsprit into the water, which he enjoyed very much. The priest declared that our ships were neat, well-made, and sturdy.

151 The ships of the Spaniards, conversely, were dirty, offensive, and not as sturdy. The governor and everyone else show him great respect. He reviles all other priests as philistines and money-grubbers. He has

come to Nagasaki to dissuade any remaining followers of the Pope. He preaches every eight days and draws extraordinarily large crowds. He is a fat man, smooth, with a large head and is a spectacle among men. His earlobes stretch across his cheeks and the community considers him to be an exemplary man and a sage. When he is at Court, he preaches to the Shogun. He is a vegetarian. He abstains from women, but, God forbid, they are flagrant sinners. A short while ago a certain priest of the same order was crucified in Miyako as an example to others for having had intercourse with a woman.

18 Overcast, southerly wind. Rain, thunder, and lightning.

19 Fair weather, south-westerly wind. One of the Chinese junks said to have sailed to Tonkin to trade had landed on the coast of Cochin China either because of contrary winds or ignorance. The inhabitants attacked it and seized the goods. If this is true, the Company will not suffer any disadvantage from the purchases they would have made.

152 20–23 Fine weather, overcast, drizzle, southerly winds.

24–25 A few *yokome* of the outer regions came.

26 Fine weather, easterly wind. It is rumoured that two ships have been spotted. Through a telescope I could see two large flags, the one on top and the other in front, but I did not recognize them. I had preparations made to be ready for the *bongioisen*. Two vessels with three Dutchmen and two letters of instruction were dispatched with the *bongioisen* and an interpreter. Without going on board, they discovered that they were two Portuguese galleons carrying the king's pennants. The second Japanese barge and an interpreter rowed to the port and spoke with them. They were told that four years ago the King of Portugal had dispatched an ambassador to the Shogun of Japan. Last year they had sailed from Goa via Macao and at 28 degrees latitude contrary winds had forced them back via Jacatra. This time they had sailed directly from Goa via the Ryūkyū Islands where they had taken on fresh water.

153 On their return, the interpreter ordered us to keep silent about this. The governor was struck by this news and he sent the interpreters there again for

further information. He also sent mail post haste to Edo and all other required places. As I see it, they will try to apprehend them by outwitting them or by using force. He has sent for forces which are expected here at the earliest opportunity, but to their regret, their appearance might have a different effect to that they envisage, but time will be the best teacher. All places, especially the main guards, were well equipped with pikes and hanging *schanskleden*, but this was more a show of bravado than for their defence.

27 Fine weather. Around nine o'clock I sent for the *burgemeester* and all the interpreters. I asked them if it were not advisable to propose to the governor to send a barge with a Dutchman or just a letter of advice to the outer island to appraise any incoming Dutch ship of the situation. For the two galleons are blocking the entrance to the bay of Nagasaki and when our ships arrive, which we are expecting at any moment, and they spot the Portuguese ships with all their pieces of ordnance, they might be at a loss to know what this means,

154 the more so because we Dutchmen had no information on the voyage of the Portuguese hither and any pirate or enemy ships could fly such flags and our compatriots might take them for either Castilians or Portuguese. They thought this a good proposal and went straight to the governor to propose this to him. The governor agreed. He would give orders to the *bongiois* in Fukahori who supervises the patrol boats outside the bay and when the ships appeared, my proposal would be carried out. I promptly sent four letters to the governor and a prince's flag so that the barge would not be taken for a simple fisherman and be avoided. A nobleman and Shōsuke took the letters straightaway to the *bongiois* in Fukahori.

155 The interpreter asked if we would render the Japanese assistance with our ships, if requested. I refrained from answering his question till the governor would also pose it. In the meantime, the interpreters kept going to and from the galleons. All their actions were executed furtively and on all guardhouses the pikes and the *schanskleden* were kept inside in order not to arouse the suspicions of the Portuguese. But the rumour has spread all over

town because the fishermen and the incoming vessels have seen the king's flags and what the ships carried. In short, they can expect nothing good and if they can prevent or elude trouble, they will be very fortunate indeed and this voyage can serve as a warning to them. Notwithstanding the fact they are Portuguese, I do not begrudge them that. I secretly sent a note of instruction to the *Witte Paard* with the provisions barge. They sent a note in return that they would follow my instructions. We have to be very careful that none of us causes any displeasure at this time.

28 The Lords of Higo, Amakusa, Bungo, and Arima arrived. The Lord of Hakata is expected tomorrow with a great many vessels and at least thirty thousand men.

156 A great number of Japanese vessels managed to tow both galleons half-way into the bay. None of the citizens was allowed to watch their entrance on the quayside or from the windows of their houses. Thus the quay was empty and all the windows were closed. Each announced its safe arrival with seven shots. The interpreters went to the ships and passed on the governor's orders to remove their flags and the cross on the topmast and to cover the saints standing behind the poop with canvas so that the people of the town would not take offence. This was done. They remained there till Gidayū and Governor Saburōzaemon's second secretary went alongside both galleons on an impressive *hayafune*, beautifully fitted out with pikes, bows, and guns. They welcomed them on behalf of the governor. The compliment was returned according to their custom with all the crew shouting out three times as a sign of joy and each ship fired seven shots and again when they returned. They do not know better than that all is well, and they are not aware what is cooking, acting as if they have never read or do not remember the lesson of the old Prince Willem that one should not stumble over the same stone twice [once bitten twice shy]. They themselves are the cause of any harmful consequences. The ambassador's name is Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza.

157 His secretary is Duarte da Costa Homem, the captain Antonio Cabral and of the second ship Antonio

Gouvea do Valle. They have set up tents on the whole ship, which will also cause problems. Today about 50,000 men have arrived from Hizen and it is rumoured that about two thousand vessels and a hundred thousand men will be gathered here to drive away the two ships, that of the admiral and of the vice-admiral, each mounted with twenty-six pieces of ordnance and with about two hundred men, mainly whites and a few lascars. They were very reluctant to enter, but they were lured with sweet words. The Japanese tried to get the munitions, the gunpowder, and the balls ashore as usual, but they were refused, with the claim that he was not a merchant but an ambassador, yea, he was even a blood relative of the king. It was granted, although we know that many dogs spell death for a hare and it will not save him or his crew.

29 Three times the *hayafune* went along side and on two occasions fifteen or sixteen men went on board, but on the last occasion the master refused this, he would only allow two or three.

158 The ambassador's request was noted down and translated. They did not fire shots as before but they did sound the trumpets and shouted 'Salvo' three times. In the afternoon they hoisted their flags again, for they could not stand seeing the prince's flag flying in the roadstead. The Japanese condoned this, a little courtesy for a short time, which will blind them the more and make them more arrogant. Their longboat was taken from them with the excuse that when they needed it, it would be sent to them.

30 The interpreters went on board just once. Nothing extraordinary was done, but rumour has it that the entrance of the bay was being closed off with booms (Fig. 10). Barges were keeping a close guard. A large force had gathered there. Kyūshū, or the Nine Provinces, where Nagasaki is situated, will produce at least 100,000 men.

31 At midnight Chikuzen-no-kami, Lord of Hakata, arrived. This year he is in charge of the guards here. He, Governor Saburōzaemon, and the other lords conferred till six o'clock and then he left again.

159 The Lord of Higo also arrived. It seems as if action will be taken either tonight or tomorrow, the more

so because everyone is sending his wife and children and whatever possessions he can far out into the town up the mountains and even further. Water is being poured on the shingled roofs. In short, the common people are despondent, all the more because rumour has it that there is a mortar on board. We shall see what happens.

August

- 1 Fine weather. The *hayafune* went to the ship and requested once more to be given the pieces of ordnance, the gunpowder, and balls. They refused as before, on the grounds they were an embassy. Their hopes were raised by the message that they should wait for the messenger with news from Edo. The Lord of Hakata, who remained here the entire day, wishes to settle the matter himself without asking anyone for assistance. He wants to use soldiers instead of rowers to avoid being hampered by useless people.
- 160 The governor has informed the citizens – lots of whom are fleeing with wife and children and their possessions to the mountains and far out of town – that they should keep calm and have no fear, for all will be settled when the mail returns with orders from the Court and the Shogun. This has managed to put a stop to the chaos. The island *burgemeester* – either on orders or on his own initiative – proposed I request permission to tow our ship closer to the lodge, so that she would be in less danger. I refused, lest they should think that we did not trust the governor to take good care of us, the more so because when we Dutchmen arrive in the bay, the rudder of our ship, the gunpowder and such are taken away, and we are thereby entrusting ourselves to his protection or rather that of the Shogun of Japan, for we cannot defend ourselves and thus we await the governor's orders, with which we would willingly comply. Today, at the request of the ambassador, he was supplied with fresh water, fruits, and all kinds of vegetables. The same favour was not extended to the vice-admiral, although the ambassador would have appreciated this.
- 2 Excellent weather. Before daybreak, both junks of the Chinese ambassador sailed to the bight

of the bay, called Kōzaki, to put to sea at the first opportunity.

- 161 The Portuguese vice-admiral was also supplied with fresh food. Governor Saburōzaemon had the interpreter ask me if I had any business on board. I thanked him and said that I did not, lest he should think we are worried, although I have secretly sent a message on board. Nothing else happened. The Lord of Satsuma and his retinue are expected tomorrow. Kōriki-no-kami and the Lord of Higo have brought many arms, including, it is said, two large pieces of ordnance which the Dutch have presented to the Shogun in the past. A great number of old vessels are being bought above their value, of which, I assume, fire ships will be made.
- 3 Fine weather. The interpreter, who had been sent by the governor, told me that two ships were approaching. I sent two barges with the *bongioisen*, but they saw none. The outermost observation post told them that it had been the two Chinese junks with the ambassador.
- 162 The governor has given orders that when the ships enter the bay they should not fire shots, or indeed on any other occasion. Otherwise, if they fired shots in the roadstead, the citizens might panic into thinking that the Portuguese were firing at the town to set it on fire, as the interpreter admitted frankly, which would induce them to flee. The governors had also given orders that, when they passed the Portuguese, the Dutch should stand up straight, so that they could be seen. This made me suspect that it was nothing but a fuss raised to frighten the Portuguese into thinking that the Dutch will aid the Japanese. Several times the interpreters have proposed quietly, as if it was their own idea, I request permission to take our ammunition to the *Witte Paard*. I gave them the same reply as before, that I would not bother to do so, because it had been brought ashore on the governor's orders and we were now under the protection of the Shogun and the governor, who would take care of us, because we were incapable of defending ourselves, as they well knew. In short, they are making a great fuss with a lot of boasting, but do little, are poorly equipped, and have a vague strategy, even though all the lords

of the nine provinces of Kyūshū, where Nagasaki is situated, have put their heads together with Governor Saburōzaemon.

163 They say that more than a hundred thousand men have been gathered, around three hundred pieces of ordnance, and two thousand vessels, and that the Lord of Hakata intends to carry out the operation with just his own men. We think it is a foolish idea, although time and weather have been on their side. It appears that some of their ordinary vessels, on which some stands were erected as if to play a game of entering, found that the entrance was still open and passable. This has caused a great despondency among both the nobles and the common people. I am embarrassed to write about it here. I had never thought that the Japanese would be shown up to be so inept. They should not have waited for orders from the Court. They might have been able to trap the Portuguese with sweet words and subterfuge, but now the only way left is to use force. They hope that the Portuguese would just leave. The *burgemeester* has told me that every barge which sails out of the bay is given a fee of 1 tael because it has to pass the Portuguese, of whom they stand in fear.

164 4 Very fine weather, north-westerly wind. The Lord of Satsuma arrived with a host of men and many more are expected from Chikugo. The *burgemeester* told me that yesterday he had been to the governor and had told him of my longing for the ships. He had been asked what the reason was for this. He had replied that it was to close the entrance of the bay and to besiege the Portuguese. He had burst out laughing and was pleased to hear this. I was very annoyed about this and it was visible to him that I did not appreciate him telling the governor anything without my knowledge. It may just be to test me.

5 Every day they are busy conferring. According to the interpreters the governor gets hardly any sleep. In the afternoon, a junk was spotted. It arrived in the roadstead in the evening. Today for the first time, the barge of the lodge has taken water to the flute, because if the Portuguese had spotted our longboat, they might have made a claim to have access to theirs daily.

6 The governor had the interpreters inform me that the junk which arrived yesterday came from Tonkin and had left on the 12th of the 6th month.¹⁶

165 All was well there and one of our ships had sailed long before they did and the other was to follow shortly. I had him thanked for the information. I was also told that two other junks were also on their way hither. They had to pay high prices for everything and the copper had been exchanged for 6 taels per picul in Tonkinese currency. In the evening the governor sent two interpreters to have me write a note for the incoming ships. They should follow the orders of the interpreters or the *bongiois* when they entered the bay, because the right entrance will be closed off to keep the Portuguese inside. The interpreters will take turns and remain outside. One ship had been spotted off Amakusa according to the fishermen. I complied with his order and sent four letters of instruction, a prince's flag, and a chart with the depths marked on it. The interpreters keep asking me if we would act against the Portuguese to serve Japan and to oblige the Shogun. I told them that this very year I had stated at the Court and, recently again to the governor, that we were friends. 166 Until the governor asked me himself, this was not the time to discuss it. They continued that Elseracq had stated that if the Shogun ordered it, we would do so. I told them that this had been said out of courtesy, for if the Shogun of Japan had concluded an agreement with someone, his subjects could not contravene it. It was the same in this case. They should consider whether their Shogun would respond positively or badly in a case where the Japanese had gone to trade in Siam or somewhere else, or had appeared there at the same time as the Dutch, and that King had then ordered us to kill the Japanese, although we were friends, in order to please him, and how this could be justified to our government. I told them this in a discursory manner, partly to show them our good intentions and to divert them from their intentions. The interpreters and the *burgemeester* agreed that this was a legitimate concern.

¹⁶ 14 July 1647.

7 The interpreter, who went yesterday, went again today with a *kobaya* and a *tentō*. In the afternoon, I was told that the ship which was mentioned yesterday was close to Nagasaki. A junk arrived from Zhangzhou with shaven Chinese.

167 At the same time I was told that another ship was off shore. Even though two interpreters had gone outside the bay with letters of instruction, I asked the governor to send one or two Dutchmen there as well. He allowed this and they went. The governor gave orders that the ships should fire shots upon entering the bay, again in the roadstead, and when they were passing the Portuguese.

Arrival of the *Berkhout* and the *Kampen*

8 Another *tentō* was dispatched in the morning. Shortly after, Junior Merchants Johan de Groot and Boucheljon sent me a message that the flute the *Berkhout* was approaching and the *Kampen* was off Iōshima. They had left Siam on 2 July in company of the *Jonker*, which they lost in bad weather on the 25th off the coast of Cochin China near the Boxhoorens. I received a letter from the *opperhoofd*, Jan van Muijden, informing me that all was well and he was sending me an extraordinary cargo. Rice was very expensive and could not be had. I can look forward to a third flute from there. The cargo consists of sappanwood, deerskins, cowhides, rayskins, *namrak*, eagle-wood, and elephant's teeth.

168 As the governor had ordered, the ships fired shots when they entered the bay and then again as they passed the Portuguese midway in the bay, the *Berkhout* in the rear and the *Kampen* in the van, without paying them any attention and they fired shots again in the roadstead. The quayside and the windows were full of people. Rumour has it that Chikugo-no-kami, Gonpachirō, and Matsudaira Oki-no-kami of the Four Provinces or the island of Shikoku, will come here on account of the Portuguese. Every day one can see swarms of barges coming in from all regions and the water of the bay is hardly visible between all the *hayafune* and other vessels which keep coming and going so that even a child with a bit of common sense can make out that something is going on, which does not portend any

good for them, but it seems that they are not paying it the attention it requires.

9 About midnight another junk arrived from Tonkin. Early in the morning I went with a *bongiois* to the *Berkhout* to muster the crew and give the necessary orders.

169 10 Easterly wind. In the afternoon two junks arrived from Zhangzhou with shaven Chinese, more are expected. This will cause the prices for our goods to drop. Some are said to have sailed to Tayouan with piece-goods, sugar, and other goods. The whole of China has been conquered by the Tartars. Some double stivers or Dutch coins were found on the Chinese. The interpreters were familiar with them and they were returned without any problems. In the evening, the *Berkhout* was empty and all the goods came on shore dry and in a good condition. It is possible that our rudder and the ammunition will have to remain on board on account of the Portuguese.

Arrival of the *Jonker*

11 Northerly wind. The crew of the *Kampen* has been mustered and we started to unload, but because the *bongioisen* had much to do at the governor's, we did not start till late. In the meantime, a ship was reported to be off shore. I think it might be the *Jonker*. I have been told that there is no one on board who knows his way around the bay of Nagasaki. I sent Shōsuke to the governor to request that one or two Dutchmen be sent to meet her.

170 Shortly after noon, the *bongiois* ordered a halt to the unloading. The whole town is in suspense, because it seems that mail has arrived from the Court with orders that everything should be ready for the arrival of the commissioners. Just before this happened, while I was still on board the *Kampen*, the governor sent Hachizaemon to borrow three cables. He did not say to what end. I told him that our ships were not manageable without cables, but I would try to oblige him within our means. I was afraid we would be in danger if storm and bad weather hit us. But he promised to return the cables undamaged in a short while. So I let him have them, also because a refusal might harm the Company's interests. Four

junks have arrived, it is claimed from Zhangzhou and Cochin China. In the evening, the flute the *Jonker* arrived from Siam.

171 There is no end to the chaos in the town. Their preparations show how inadequate they are. Late in the evening two Nanking junks were launched. They are also being prepared for service.

12 Northerly wind. Variable winds in the afternoon and calm, which prevented the *Jonker* from entering the bay. At nine o'clock, on behalf of the governor, Shōsuke came to thank me for the loan of the cables and returned them. I think that the request has been made more to test our willingness to aid them than for any other reason. I think that they will think twice before asking our assistance, because several times, when the *burgemeester* and the interpreters have asked me about it, I have rebuffed their suggestions with such sound arguments that they wholly agreed with me.

172 I was told that Matsudaira Oki-no-kami and his force arrived in Hirado yesterday. He will appear here as soon as possible. Two more Nanking junks have been launched. Together with the Tonkin galley which was built here last year, they are begrudging neither effort nor money. The town is in chaos and the people are living in fear. Five mas are paid for a day's wages to each rower who sails out, which is an exceptional sum. Today we could not unload because of all the hustle and bustle.

13 Around midnight, on behalf of the governor, Kichibyōe came to ask me for some oakum with which to caulk the junk. There was none on shore, so I wanted to send a messenger on board, but this was not necessary as they were supplied from the town in the meantime. Around noon Matsudaira Oki-no-kami arrived with his son, a younger brother, and a host of people. The *Jonker* hove to in the roadstead. In the evening, Hachizaemon came with a Dutch pass and a Siamese gold mas to ask what these meant and if they had anything to do with the Pope.

173 I told him that President Overtwater had issued the pass in Tayouan on 20 January to the interpreter Kimptingh or [his son] Pincqua, on the junk of *Nachoda* Sicqua for a journey to Cochin China and

back to Tayouan. But one sees what happens. If they encounter any obstacles on the way to or from Tayouan, they feel free to be excused from it. Their arrival in these regions is very much to the disadvantage of the Company.

14 The Japanese *Bon*. Fine weather. The *Kampen* has been unloaded. The rudder and ammunition have been left on board as was the case with the *Berkhout*. The Portuguese have received some fresh food. They are becoming suspicious of the activities of the barges, large and small, which are being loaded with timber and bamboo and other stuff. They were talked out of it. Although it is their *Bon* Festival, the governor and the lords gathered at eight in the evening.

174 They decided to close the entrance to the bay this very night to prevent the birds they are after from escaping. If that were to happen, all these lords will either be banished or executed.

15 Fine weather, easterly wind. Early in the morning, I saw that the mouth of bay was closed off by barges. They are still working at it. On behalf of the governor, Shōsuke asked me to write a note to inform the expected ships of the situation and to reassure them. They should anchor outside the bay till further orders or till this affair has reached a conclusion. I did as asked and wrote four letters. Four interpreters, Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, Hakuemon, and Hachizaemon repeated what Shōsuke had said. We should not be worried or afraid for this did not concern us. The closure of the bay and all other preparations were directed only at the Portuguese. I had the governor thanked for his fatherly concern for our welfare. I wrote the four notes and Hachizaemon took them aboard.

175 When the Portuguese rose at dawn, they were greatly upset and started to splash about and prepare themselves. They removed the flagpoles at the back. I do not know to what end. Around nine o'clock, they hung out a white flag signalling that they had a request to make. The two secretaries of the governor went to the ship on a substantial *hayafune* with three interpreters in a smaller *kobaya*. They listened to the Portuguese request, their displeasure at the closure of the bay and so forth. They replied that this

- was the Japanese custom, for if the messenger from Court was delayed and the Portuguese had left in the meantime, the Shogun would be very annoyed and they would be held accountable. This was the reason that it had been done and they should not worry. They promised to open the entrance again once the messenger had returned. Although it is clear in what danger they find themselves, they seem to close their eyes to it and allow themselves to be ensnared by sweet words or their arrogance. Hereafter their complaints will be idle and in vain. Nonetheless, they speak audaciously, threatening to shoot all the small vessels to pieces.
- 176 The closure of the entrance of the bay is being finished. The Portuguese are letting themselves being locked in, they even watch it during the day. The *bongiois* was unavailable and we could not unload.
- 16 Fine, dry weather, very hot and variable winds. Early in the morning I went to muster the crew of the *Jonker* and then we started to unload.
- 17 At daybreak we could see the bridge of ships in the entrance of the bay with several towers, two or three tiers high, and strengthened with various strange instruments of war, looking more like a castle than a bridge. It seems that they have been preparing for this for three or four years, and now finally they can carry out their plans unhindered, taking their time and at their ease – for the Portuguese are letting them get on with it. But it is of little significance, because they can easily blast it open with their cannon and their fireballs,
- 177 unless the multitude of people, whose numbers are really incredible, and the fire ships – almost all vessels have been turned into these – assault them by surprise, using brute force – for, as the saying goes, many dogs are the death of the hare – which will present us with an incredible spectacle. During the day a Portuguese master gunner died. He was carried out to sea on a barge and buried there. The *Jonker* has been unloaded. The cargo is in a good condition. Both the *bongiois* and I were pleased with the proceedings.
- 18 They are busy night and day closing the bay. The Portuguese are watching it passively. I went with the *bongioisen* to the *Berkhout* to inspect the chests and such. All books and papers were checked and returned. The hand guns were taken from on board and put into safekeeping. He said that the governor had ordered to leave the rudder and munitions on board for the time being.
- 178 Shortly after, the interpreters returned from their visit to the governor. They told me that the governor apologized for any delay and inconvenience. I had him thanked for his courtesy.
- 19 Very early in the morning, the interpreter came to tell us that the governor was annoyed that the hand guns had been taken from board yesterday. This is a test to see if we mind. I told him that we would comply with his wishes whether he wanted to leave them on board or not. We went on board the *Kampen* to inspect the chests and the papers. All went well. A note was made of the hand guns and they were left on board without being put under seal. This is done with the hope that we shall let them use them against the Portuguese. I trust that I shall be able to excuse that without incurring their displeasure.
- 20 We have inspected the *Jonker* and the hand guns were left on board. They are busy preparing everything for the arrival of the commissioners.
- 179 21 We have decided to leave the ships as they are, because they are under the protection of the Shogun of Japan and the governor here. We have also decided not to aid the Japanese against the Portuguese, although they would appreciate this. I learnt that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Gonpachirō will arrive here within two or three days with the Shogun's orders. The secretaries have advised the Portuguese of this and they showed their delight by shouting and sounding their trumpets. In the evening, a certain person told me secretly that the Portuguese will be given the freedom to leave. Thus one sees how the Japanese are defeated by two ships, even though they have been preparing against such an event for at least three years, and they have assembled all the forces of the Nine and the Four Provinces, namely those of Kyūshū and Shikoku. Driven by fright and the fear of disgrace and the harm they might suffer, they will allow the Portuguese to leave.

- 22–23 Northerly wind. Nothing extraordinary happened.
- 180 24 Variable winds.
- 25 Easterly wind veering south-westerly. Rain showers. The officials have not yet arrived. I think this is deliberate so that before their arrival everything will be dealt with in such a way that the release of the Portuguese will create little commotion. I was told as the truth (whether it is credible or not) that in the year 1640 none of the Portuguese would have been killed, but they would have been left to go in freedom, if the mail from Edo had arrived two hours earlier or later.¹⁷ It may also be that for the Portuguese to carry out their plan, they will be directed not to Nagasaki but to Hirado or Yobuko under certain conditions, saying that as long as they simply carry on their trade, Japan will not be in any danger. But this is implausible, and it is more likely to be what the common feeling is, that should the envoy of the new King of Portugal not return, five or six galleons might arrive to find out what really happened, which would create formidable problems here. To prevent this, this time they will let them leave with explicit threats not to return or they will be dealt with rigorously.
- 181 Likewise, the Japanese would not in the least have utilized our forces against the Portuguese either by requesting it or by forcing us, for I assume that at the time of Arima¹⁸ their respect was rather dented by the loan of one flute. Today our ammunition was taken ashore. They had let it remain on the ship just in case an attack would be carried out against the Portuguese and our ships – each of which would have drawn nearer to the shore assisted by 150 men and an interpreter – would have had to defend themselves, as would the Chinese, each by fifty men. In short, the governor and all the others have placed themselves in extreme difficulties about which is the appropriate action to take. The Lord of Hakata, who is now in charge of the guards,

had wanted to carry out the first attack with 40,000 men and 20,000 more were to follow, and if it transpired that his 60,000 men were too weak, the Lord of Higo would carry out the attack with the other forces. So far the Portuguese have not requested trading rights, but they say that the only reason they have come is to announce, as they are doing all over the world with joy, that they have wrested themselves from under the Spanish yoke.

- 182 But the Japanese think this strange and do not understand why they have come again. If they are killed this time, they will come again, which are weird speculations. The bay is still closed and most of the forces are still lying off there. One cannot form a correct opinion on this matter. Vessels from Shimonoseki brought the news that people there are saying that all Nagasaki citizens have fled to the mountains and into the countryside with their nearest and dearest and all the possessions they could carry. This rumour has spread fear all over the region.

26 Overcast, rain. South-westerly wind. A junk arrived from Cochin China. Some barges in the mouth of the bay made way to let it pass.

27 Veering wind. Downpours. Every day many vessels and people are leaving. The bridge of ships is remaining there till the officials arrive to show them how they have acquitted themselves. It is a disaster and everyone thinks they have made a laughing stock of themselves.

- 183 It seems that if they thought that their honour was at stake and they would be covered in shame, they would not let the Portuguese leave. A junk from Cochin China arrived. [List of cargo.]

28 Calm weather. South-westerly wind. A *tentō* brought the news that two Dutch ships had been spotted. The governor confirmed it and a vessel was sent to them with instructions. Only one ship was seen, but it was too far and the wind swung around to the wrong direction. The interpreter was ordered to stay there and he returned at ten in the evening. Yesterday's junk has been unloaded. On the orders of the governor, the *burgemeester* and the interpreters showed me a small bundle of deerskins. In the presence of two noblemen, they wished to know

17 The Dutch sentence is puzzling.

18 The Shimabara Rebellion in 1637–1638, when *Opperhoofd* Nicolaes Couckebacker sailed to Arima with one flute to assist the Shogun's troops.

what kind of skins they were and where they came from. They went to all the ships and two more persons came. We decided that they were not from Batavia, Siam, Cambodia, or Tayouan. The skins were probably bought in Manila and these poor souls will have to take them back without being allowed to sell any.

184 Two junks arrived from Quanzhou. [List of goods.] They brought news that the Dutch have taken Fort Cabita at the entrance of Manila Bay on 20 June. I dearly hope so.

Arrival of the *Jonge Prins*

29 Fair weather. Northerly wind. Before noon, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and the second governor, Gonpachirō, arrived. Their journey took fifteen days. They immediately had a conference with the governor and the lords. They carried the Shogun's order, which consists of five points, translated into Portuguese. The gist of it is as follows:

In consideration of the fact that the new King of Portugal has sent this ambassador to the Shogun of Japan, he has spared their lives. Otherwise they would not have escaped their due punishment, of which they were well aware, for contravening the orders and mandates issued to them before.

185 For their Christian belief was becoming more and more suspect in this country and in future nothing would save them from the death penalty.

In the afternoon, the ship which was spotted yesterday appeared at the entrance of the bay. Frederik Coyett, my successor, sent me a note. He had left Batavia on 12 July in the company of the *O's* and he had arrived in Tayouan on the 7th of this month, from whence he sailed on the yacht the *Jonge Prins* on the 17th. I had the *burgemeester* and the interpreters request the governor he be allowed to come on shore. But the governor was too busy to receive them. Late in the evening, on behalf of the governor, Magobei came to congratulate me on the arrival of the ship with my successor. He apologized that he had been too busy to attend to my request, but tomorrow morning he would do so. I sent a *tentō* with a note to Coyett to inform him of this.

186 The *kobaya* with refreshments had to be unloaded again. Another junk arrived.

30 About nine in the morning the *bongiois* came and we went to the *Jonge Prins* at the entrance of the bay to welcome Frederik Coyett and to muster the crew. I saw the Japanese battle array and found them utterly inadequate, worse than I had ever thought. The mustering went well and to the satisfaction of the *bongiois*. Coyett came on shore with us. The yacht will remain outside the bay till further orders. I sent the *burgemeester* and the interpreters to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Gonpachirō to welcome them on our behalf. They expressed their sympathy for us and said that the Dutch are very sincere people. They asked after our well-being and congratulated me on the arrival of our ships and the new captain. Fine weather with veering winds.

187 The yacht has brought an excellent cargo from Batavia and Tayouan, consisting mainly of European goods and some other stuff, worth in all 221,263 guilders.

31 Nothing noteworthy happened. I informed the personnel of the contents of our superiors' letters. I was told that the entrance of the bay will be opened in two or three days.

September

1 On behalf of the governor, Hachizaemon asked us if we would unload the ship outside the bay, as the Chinese also did, because she might have to remain there for a few more days. I discussed it with the council of the factory. It will put us to great expense and will put the goods in danger of getting wet, breaking, being stolen and such, the more so because our sampans are unsuitable and only large vessels could be employed at high tide.

188 Having taken all this into consideration, we decided to present the governor politely with the alternative that if there was any hope that the ship could enter the bay within four or five days, we would rather wait, for we would need at least four or five days. Otherwise we would accept the governor's counsel. His reply was that we should wait for two or three

days. He allowed Coyett to bring his chest of belongings on shore and also the livestock. The second Nanking junk arrived. [List of goods.]

2 At the request of the governor, the deer and the dodo were taken to the council house and then returned. In the evening, the Lord of Hakata came onto the island with both governors and a large suite to have a look at the aforesaid. They were fairly pleased with them. The deer has to be given to the Lord of Hakata. We are awaiting the fate of the Portuguese.

3 The Portuguese have been supplied with rice, water, and other provisions.

189 The letter of credence has been returned to the ambassador. The governors sent two interpreters to ask me if I would like to send some barges to tow our ship inside. He would have some boats removed from the entrance to make way for the ship. I thanked him for the offer and sent five boats. Thus the *Jonge Prins* was towed into the roadstead. There was a rumour that another ship had been spotted. They asked about the gunner and I gave them the answer I have been ordered to give.

Arrival of the *Zwarte Beer*

4 Fine weather as before, south-westerly wind. Early in the morning, Chikugo-no-kami, Saburōzaemon, Gonpachirō, and Kōriki-no-kami were rowed to the entrance of the bay. They ordered the Portuguese to weigh anchor and leave. They were told to go as far as Takabokojima before they could hoist full sail.

190 They asked for a written reply in Portuguese. They asked if it was perfectly clear to them, so that, if they came again in future, they could not claim that they were not the cause of their own damnation. The flute the *Zwarte Beer*, out of Tonkin, was still outside the bay. The officials gave her permission to enter the bay with the order to fire four broadsides when given a signal, thus she fired twice when outside, once when she was passing, and once when she arrived in the roadstead. It greatly amused the officials. Chikugo-no-kami is supposed to have said: 'Look at the Dutchmen, who always seek to oblige His Majesty and who have always been found to be

sincere in their trade. They can sail before the wind into the bay which has been opened for them with expressions of joy. Conversely, the Portuguese are rightly sad, for they have to leave the bay, which we had closed by expending great effort because of them, in a state of anxiety with the wind against them.'

191 5 The officials returned around midnight. During the day the Portuguese were reported to have sailed three miles past Iōshima. The *Jonge Prins* has been unloaded. The bridge of ships has been dismantled and the bay has been opened. Chikugo-no-kami was given the list of the rarities which have been brought for him. He was very pleased. A large junk arrived from Cochin China, loaded with skins and sapanwood.

6 Fine weather. Today the large globe was shown to Chikugo-no-kami. He was more than pleased but sent it back for the time being. All the rarities were locked away in the warehouses. The governor had instructed the *burgemeester* and the *bongiois* to do so without my knowledge. This is to prevent Chikugo-no-kami from seeing the rarities, although some have been sent specially for him. In short, there is great envy among the officials. The Lord of Hakata, whom the governor has allowed to have the white deer, asked for the price for it. I expressed my gratitude for his courtesy in aiding us with the towing boats and the other favours he extended to us during our return from the court journey.

192 I only wished for an opportunity to oblige him. This deer was a mere trifle. He would not accept it as a gift, thus, with the approval of the *burgemeester* and the interpreters, I charged him 4 mas and 3 candareens.

7 I went with Coyett to the ship, where we inspected all the books and the papers. The crew was given instructions on how to behave. Chikugo-no-kami sent for the large globe. The interpreter asked the governor if he could also have a parrot. The governor allowed this, but he excused the telescope for the time being, although Chikugo-no-kami was very desirous to have it, by saying that he did not know in which warehouse it had been stored. The governor

- ordered the interpreter to tell His Excellency when he handed him the parrot that some animals could be sold.
- 193 If he did not order the governor to keep them for the Shogun, he could take them for himself. He sent the parrot back for the time being and said he would wait. No *bongiois* was available and we could not unload the *Beer*.
- 8 Fine summer weather. The *bongioisen* are still unavailable and we could not unload the *Beer*. On the order of the governor, the parrot and some other birds were handed to Matsudaira Oki-no-kami, who is a blood relative of the Shogun and lord of the four provinces of the island of Shikoku. We can but comply with his order. Many other lords departed.
- 9 The *Beer* has been unloaded.
- 10 I sent the *burgemeester* and the interpreters to the governors to request the settlement of the *pancado*. They returned with the message that they had been given orders to see to it. They asked why so little *pancado* silk had been imported.
- 194 I replied that this had been caused by the changes in China. They wrote down which ships had sailed last year and at what date and with how many crew from Batavia to Manila. What conquests they had made and what losses they had suffered. They wanted to know it for this year too. I did not have the right information, but when I received it, I would let the governors know. The rudders of the ships, apart from those of the *Jonker* and the *Prins*, have been brought ashore. I announced the appointment of Cornelis van der Lijn as Governor-General of the Indies by the *Heren Zeventien*. Frederik Coyett witnessed the oath of allegiance I and the other members of the factory swore to the new Governor-General. Three persons, one assistant and two seamen, who had transgressed the rules by swimming from one ship to the other, were pardoned because of the occasion. Variable winds.
- 195 The interpreters inquired if any expression of gratitude had come for the release of [the men from] Nanbu. I replied that none had come.
- 11 The governor has given permission to settle the *pancado* tomorrow. Okabe Uma-no-jō, Chikugo-no-kami's secretary, came to visit us with his son and his suite. I entertained them. He wished me a good voyage home and Coyett a good journey to Edo. He would meet him there. A junk arrived from Quanzhou with few goods.
- 12–13 Nothing happened. I have been looking forward to the settlement of the *pancado*. The wind northerly.
- 14 I urged the island *burgemeester* to remind the governor and the *burgemeester* that the *pancado* needs to be settled. On behalf of Sakuemon, Denbyōe told me it would be done in the afternoon.
- 196 The heads of the five shogunal cities and the four *burgemeesters* came and we settled the *pancado* to the satisfaction of both sides. They asked why so little silk had been imported. I told them that the troubles in China were the cause. [Negotiations. Settled at 310 taels for the first quality and 270 taels for the second quality.] In the evening I sent the interpreters to the governors to thank them that everything had been settled so smoothly. The *burgemeester* came to tell me that the governor congratulated us on the settlement and tomorrow morning the warehouses would be opened and we could start trade.
- 15 Variable winds. The governor's noblemen came and all the warehouses were opened.
- 197 The white *pancado* silk and the rayskins will be inspected later. Some rarities and the objects Chikugo-no-kami has ordered were also unpacked and inspected. The interpreter made a note of them. The Shogun's youngest son¹⁹ has died. The town is in mourning.
- 16 We made preparations for the first sale. Chikugo-no-kami apologized for bothering us every day but it was on behalf of the Shogun and requested we send him the rarities and the requested objects. They were sent to him before the governors had inspected them, who, out of envy might keep one of the carpets, the camlets, and the Roman cloth before returning the rest so that they could also capture the Shogun's favour by presenting him with something rare, without the knowledge of

19 Kamematsu. He was not Tokugawa Iemitsu's youngest son; Iemitsu's fourth son, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, was born in 1646. See the entry of 9 April 1645.

- Chikugo-no-kami. I had the interpreters answer his questions as they deemed fit. It seemed satisfactory. In the evening the interpreters asked if some white *pancado* silk could be measured to be presented to the Shogun.
- 198 17 The island has been opened and the first viewing day of the goods was held. The rarities for Chikugo-no-kami were handed to him. But it is certain the governor will have a say about them. I think, and according to the interpreter as well, they are not given to him gladly, either by changing the price, which I have set as low as possible to oblige His Excellency, or by keeping quiet or even keeping them for himself. In short, one has to believe what one is told, although I do not think it really is as they pretend.
- 18 Fine weather, the wind south-westerly. The skins have been put on view and most have been inspected. I went to the trade centre. But trade was put off because, on the advice of the interpreters and the factory personnel, we wished to make use of the new balances which Denbyōe had ordered from Shirōemon, our former island *burgemeester*, in Osaka to prevent any duplicity. Chikugo-no-kami sent for many objects and inspected them. The world maps, copper horses, and other things assigned as presents for the Shogun, were rejected because, according to the interpreter, Japan would look too small compared to the rest of the world in the eyes of the Shogun.
- 199 He apologized for the bother he caused. He promised to repay the new captain in kind when he appeared in Edo. We bought a bowsprit for the *Jonge Prins* for 180 taels.
- 19 Fine weather. We have not yet received a decision on the balances, which can be inspected by anyone in the saleroom. We had put them there for inspection before trade commenced to prevent any arguments. It seems that they cannot decide. Denbyōe, who ordered them, says that the Japanese are not bothered about fair play. In the afternoon, on behalf of the governors, the *burgemeester* and interpreters Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, Shōsuke, and Hachizaemon came to announce that the Dutch had been residing in Nagasaki for eight or nine years now and all had been well up to this year.
- 200 In future, every year when the first ship arrives, the governors wish to know how many ships will arrive that year and from which regions. The *pancado* will not be settled before all have arrived. The new and the old captain have to advise Batavia of this new rule. Furthermore, if we wished to have something new made, we should ask the governors first. We could not act on our own initiative as we had done in Hirado. We promised to comply. The governors were pleased to hear this. The interpreters have contrived so that the old balances have to be used. We agreed just so we can start trade, for time is running short because of the delay caused by the Portuguese. I think that the aforesaid has been ordered so that Japanese, like the skins merchants, can find out how many commodities we import and that others can set their prices. I am afraid that more such rules will follow.
- 201 I asked the interpreters what would happen if a ship were to arrive afterwards, would it be sent back? They said that the governor would decide. It seems that the officials would rather have the Dutch gone before they travel to Edo, so that they are not delayed by them and they can give a better account. A junk arrived from Quanzhou.
- 20 The first sale has been held. I was told that many letters have arrived from the Court. Chikugo-no-kami asked when we could have a ship ready to sail, for His Excellency would love to sail on one and view it all over. As soon as the bowsprit of the yacht was ready, we would let him know.
- 21 Southerly wind, fine weather. Some goods have been delivered.
- 22 A very strong northerly wind with rain.
- 23 Nothing happened. The *burgemeester* and the interpreters have compared a balance which they had ordered themselves with the one we had made. This has caused another delay. They do not know what they want. The Company is being treated unfairly by the interpreters. We can do nothing about it and have to accept it. A junk arrived from Zhangzhou.

24 Fair weather. The Nagasaki *burgemeester* has complained that the people up country keep making profits. This has been noted and will be used to their benefit, but I do not know how.

25 The second sale has been held. Complaints have been vented to the governors that the silk piece-goods have been sold for prices which are too high. The whole town had vied with one another, which raised the price. In short, they think that the Dutch are here only to transport the goods.

Arrival of the *Hillegersberg*

26 The *Prins* is ready to sail. I went on board with Coyett and Brouckhorst. Shortly after, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and both governors came. The anchor was weighed and we set sail, but becalmed we could do little. We entertained the officials as best as we could and they left satisfied.

203 In the evening, on behalf of the governors, the *burgemeester* informed me that a Dutch ship had arrived. Shortly after someone came with a note – and with five sailors – from the flute the *Hillegersberg*. They were lying off Cabessima. Merchant Bijlvelt had sent them. They had encountered bad weather on the 17th and he asked for some towing boats to tow him here. The ship had lost its foremast and had suffered substantial damage. They had sailed from Tayouan on the 2nd with a cargo of sandalwood, alum, red sandalwood, cinnamon, deerskins, and such. I reminded the *burgemeester* and the interpreters of the price for the copper, because time is passing. They said that the senior *burgemeester* was ill and therefore he had not been able to negotiate with the merchants on the price, for the governor 205 does not concern himself with this. They do what they like with the foreigners.

204 There is more behind it. The interpreters, who should be on our side, will deliver one-quarter of the copper. The news from Manila is not good either. When we have received confirmation, we shall inform the governors.

27 Fifteen towing boats have been sent to Cabessima to tow the *Hillegersberg* here. In the afternoon Chikugo-no-kami had one of his noblemen inspect the quadrant and test it.

28 The *Hillegersberg* arrived in the roadstead. I went on board to muster the crew. I heard that Chikugo-no-kami and the governors had sent for the silk merchants and had asked them why they had bought the silk for such a high price and had been so desirous of it. The merchants were given a fright. They should sell the copper to the Dutch for a high price. Notwithstanding my continuous sweet reminders to the *burgemeester* and the interpreters, I still have not been told the price.

205 They claim that there are at least forty shiploads hereabouts. I cannot make any sense of their actions.

29 South-westerly wind. Coyett and I went to Chikugo-no-kami and the governors. We were received in audience and the interpreters wrote down the following and we translated it:

The Dutch and the Portuguese concluded a treaty for ten years, of which we have informed the Shogun. The councillors in Edo have also been informed, but they do not seem to understand it, because the Portuguese have been banished from Japan and may not trade here, but this year the latter have come here with two ships which has aggravated their case. Therefore the Dutch should not have close relations with them and should make known here what their relations are with the others. But if we keep this a secret and others disclose it, the Company will suffer for it.

I replied that in the Indies we did not trust the Portuguese, nor did we allow them trade in any of our places, and in Brazil we were at odds with each other.

206 Seven or eight years ago, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami came to Hirado with the Shogun's order that the Company's lodge should be demolished. The reason was that Captain Caron had acted improperly in matters of trade, which caused the Japanese merchants to suffer great losses. Chikugo-no-kami ordered the Dutchmen to settle in Nagasaki. There they were ordered not to act like Captain Caron so that the Japanese would not suffer any losses. Four or five years ago, two ships appeared off Nanbu. They fired their cannons and raised doubts about their origin. Vessels were

sent out to investigate. Ten Dutchmen were taken to Nanbu, and afterwards they were taken to Edo, where on the orders of the Shogun they were interrogated by Chikugo-no-kami. On questioning they said that they had been sailing to Tartary. They would have been thrown into prison and tortured, but because the Dutch had been granted freedom by Gongen-sama, the grandfather of the present Shogun, because they had done Japan some service, the men were pardoned. Because it was cold, out of compassion, they had also been clothed.

207 Captan Elseracq went to Edo that year and the men were handed over to him. This required an express ambassador to convey the Dutch gratitude for the Shogun's benevolence, the more so because the previous Governor-General had died in the meantime and Elseracq had returned to the fatherland, which was the reason that they had kept quiet thus far. The Governor-General should send this ambassador separate from the ordinary captain. 209 Both captains, the one who is leaving now and the one who is staying, are ordered to see to it that this is done. They also asked for the reason why every year one ship was dispatched very late. The reply was that this was not done on purpose, but that storm winds and bad weather were usually the cause. Sometimes they were delayed because they hoped that the Chinese would bring more goods. They ordered that this should not happen again. This ship should leave with the others on the 20th day of the 9th month, which is on 3 November;²⁰ so that the governors would not be discommoded. If we did as ordered, our trade would continue for a very long time. Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and both governors declared this to be so. Nagasaki, 29 September 1647.

208 30 The copper price has been settled at 9 taels per picul. It has been done in the manner of the *pancado* by the heads of the five shogunal cities. 210 The reason is that no one will lose in this way and each will deliver his share *pro rata*. This has partly been brought about by a request from the Nagasaki

citizens so that the merchants from up country could not deny them their share in the profits.

October

1 The *Hillegersberg* has been unloaded. The *burgemeester* and the interpreters came to inform us that the price for the copper, which we contracted for yesterday for 9 taels per picul, had been raised to 9 taels 2 mas. We thought this strange and improper. We could not agree to this, even though time is running short, but we have to prevent further breaches of contract. We went to the governors to present them the annual gifts and we also went to Heizō, who had gone to see his dying father in Miyako. We also visited all the *burgemeesters* to thank them for the favours – as they have to be called – which they extended towards the Dutch factory this year. Some of the *burgemeesters* were not at home, but the others were very hospitable and treated us to *sakana*.

2 We put out goods on view, including the alum. It was not sold in the first sale. The merchant who bought it did not have enough money, the skins were too damaged, and other annoyances put an end to the sale. Late in the evening, the four *burgemeesters* settled the matter of the copper in our favour.

3 Rainy weather, which delayed the sale. We started in the afternoon. In the evening copper was delivered onto the island.

4 A Japanese holiday.²¹ We started to weigh the copper in the afternoon.

5 Northerly wind. We are being pestered every day. Every time a delivery of goods is made, they have some complaint about it. Either the goods are rotten, spoiled, or undeliverable and they repudiate the sale. They try to get their profits every which way they can, justified or not. Even the interpreters collude with them to the Company's detriment.

They state openly that we should advise Batavia that this is the way things are done around here. This is a great pity. Outside the trading season all is well, but now, even though some of the goods have been sold a while ago and the time of departure is nearing, they leave them just lying there. The alum

20 Sic. 17 October 1647.

21 The *Kunchi* Festival.

has been sold for a second time, but they have not taken receipt of a single catty, notwithstanding all our efforts to have them do so. In short, we have to suffer in silence and be patient.

6 Fair weather. It is the 9th day of the 9th Japanese month and a Japanese holiday. Visits are made to one's superiors. Nothing could be done.

7 Some copper has been received and the goods sold have been delivered. It has not passed off without annoyances. Chikugo-no-kami and the governor are much pleased with the walking stick which can be fired. They will have some made.

8 Fair weather. We have delivered goods, which cannot proceed without aggravation.

211 In the afternoon, Chikugo-no-kami's secretary came to have a look at some black wood.

9 In the evening, we decided to proceed with the loading of the ships and to re-engage some young men whose contracts have expired.

10 The buyers of the Bengal silk came to warn us not to sell the remainder of the Bengal silk, although we wished to proceed with the sale, for this would create serious problems. We shall have to keep the eight canasters, because if they are sold for less than in the previous sale, the merchants would claim a reduction for the previous batch sold, which had been sold for 80 taels more than usual. The *dagregister* ends here prematurely.