

Dagregister of Opperhoofd Dircq Snoucq

9 December 1648–5 November 1649

1648

December

- 1 Departure of the *Gekroonde Liefde* and the *Koe*
9 The wind northerly and north-westerly, the sky overcast, showery weather. Nonetheless, at the insistence of the governors, the last of our ships, the *Gekroonde Liefde* and *Koe*, had to depart. The former will carry Frederik Coyett to Tayouan, the latter will carry the books and the papers of this year's trade to Batavia. Their cargoes consist of 150 chests of money and some small goods, worth in all 439,108 guilders. Both flutes sailed out of the bay, but shortly after, they returned and dropped anchor a mile off the lodge. Late in the evening an interpreter brought me the following note from Coyett, stating their problems.
- 2 'The ship had hit the reefs and had sustained so much damage that water was flooding in. It would be inadvisable to risk sailing across the open sea with so much silver. The *Koe* should not sail straight to Batavia. He would try to reach the town, weather permitting and await Snoucq's advice.' I told the interpreter what the note contained and ordered him to inform the governors. Some of our people should go to the ship and we needed a vessel urgently. I called our staff, who were already asleep, together. I commissioned Junior Merchants Boucheljon, Oetgens, Elzevier, and Maij to go on board with all six interpreters, who had come with express orders from the officials. The most senior one, Kichibyōe, remained on shore to assist me if need be. Long after midnight they returned and confirmed what had been written in the note. The ship should be towed by tow-boats and moored off the town, for pumping did not help. I had the governors informed of this and that it was the result of the pressure put on us to send away the ships, disregarding the weather. They had expected to gain a

day, but now they would lose six, and life and goods were at peril.

- 3 10 Two interpreters went to the ship with twenty barges and towed her in front of the town. One of the water-gates of our island was opened and I went on board with two *bongioisen*, two interpreters, the loading barges, and a large number of coolies. I found Coyett there in a depressed state of mind. He told me what had happened. Their lives and the goods had been in great danger and he praised the Lord for His Grace. In the evening I returned on shore with the 150 chests of money and the ballast or stones.
- 11 The remainder of the load has been removed from the ship. The stern of the ship will be set on the ship's yard, because the rudder had sustained the most damage and the stern let in most of the water. The *Koe* has also been towed to the front of the town. I asked if I could return on board today, but this was refused. I sent some planks and other timber on board.
- 4 12 More *bongioisen*, the five interpreters and several landlords – whose houses we live in – were ordered to go on board. It was said to make better progress, but the Company makes no profit from these men, only expenses. I had Kichibyōe, who remained on shore, ask permission for me to go to Coyett on board, or to see if I could be of any service to the others. But no permission was forthcoming. I sent Coyett the following note. 'I have twice requested permission through Kichibyōe to come on board with Boucheljon or just by myself to see if I could be of any service. But no permission has been forthcoming. Please let me know if you need anything and what the findings are of the carpenters, what measures they will take to repair it, and how long this will take.'
- 5 Coyett sent me the following reply. He was sorry that I had not been allowed to come, for he would

have liked to confer with me. The ship had insufficient tackle to carry such a costly load in this dangerous season, she was especially short of anchors and ropes, even to tie up a boat. If strong winds forced the ship to anchor off the coast of China or the Pescadores, they would not be able to raise such heavy anchors. He thought it more advisable not to risk sending so much silver on this ship, but to transfer the major part onto the *Koe* and send her to Tayouan.

6 From there she could continue on her journey. Time to reach the ships sailing for the fatherland was running short. He did not know when he could sail, for the largest leak was in the keel and it was not dry yet. The seams of the stern and the portholes, where most of the water came in, were still open. They are busy filling those. Four hooks of the rudder are broken. The *Koe* has supplied them with these, for the Japanese ones are unreliable. He would like to come ashore to discuss these matters with Snoucq, but the interpreters held him back, claiming that the governors would be displeased if work was held up. Four or five *bongioisen* showed up with Japanese carpenters to see how much time would be needed, but they cannot agree and argue all the time.

7 I sent for the interpreter and urged him to repeat my request that I would like to go on board because I urgently needed to discuss some matters with Coyett to the governor. Two Chinese junks have departed.

13 In the morning, I received permission to go on board till the evening, if I so wished. Junior Merchants Boucheljon and Meulenaar accompanied me. We found an ill-tempered Coyett, who was fed up with all the fuss and pointless boasting by the *bongioisen* in particular, but also by the interpreters. The ship's stern was still on land. The rudder lay on the ground and new hooks, which had been supplied by the master of the *Koe*, were being fixed to it. They made a list of everything they needed from the *Koe*. The mate of the *Liefde* took two vessels and twelve men from the *Koe* to the entrance of the bay to look for the anchor, which they had cut when

they were in danger. They were pumping out much less water than before.

8 Coyett expected the most essential repairs to be finished by the 15th, on which day he expected me back on board. We decided to divide the silver. During the night there was a storm from the north-west bringing hail and rain. The *Koe* snapped her anchor and was in danger of crashing onto the island on which we reside, but this was prevented by a great effort and casting a second anchor.

14 The bad weather continued till the afternoon. The *Liefde* was moved from the place where she had lain for the repairs to the ordinary roadstead. When the governors became aware of this, they sent interpreter after interpreter to urge us to ship the silver. They wanted the ships out of the bay that same evening, without any consideration for all that still needed to be done on board. Since the night before, I had heard nothing concerning the reloading from Coyett. Thus I rejected their proposition. I would not reload till I had heard from him, whether he could sail the day after, wind and weather permitting. I had the ropes around the silver chest rewound and the seals renewed. A few hours before dusk I was given a note from Coyett, in which he asked to divide the silver as we had agreed.

9 He asked for it to be sent on board, because the *bongioisen* and the interpreters were putting him under so much pressure that they were driving him mad. I had the silver sent on board, 80 chests for the *Koe* and 70 for the *Liefde*.

15 No Japanese showed himself before ten o'clock, thus I sent for some of the interpreters to ask them about the dispatch of the ships and should we go on board. They said that the departure of the ships was expected any moment, but because the ships had been dispatched once before, we need not go on board again. I told them that I needed to go on board and they should request permission and a *bongiois* immediately. Shortly after, they returned with the requested permission and I went with three junior merchants to sign the resolution on the division of the silver and the accounts of the costs and the bills of lading and also to say goodbye to

Coyett. At two o'clock in the afternoon, I returned to shore. The wind was westerly and the ships could not make any progress. In the evening the wind gathered more force and I did not expect the ships to be able to sail till the morning, when the wind usually blows from the land.

Departure of the *Gekroonde Liefde* and the *Koe*

10 16 Both ships have sailed. Because the weather is fine and the wind is northerly, they were out of sight around eight o'clock. Shortly after their departure, the five interpreters came to the lodge with futile compliments that the governors were pleased with the departure of the ships. Governor Gonpachirō, who had not dared leave for Edo, would leave today. He let me know that he and Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami would do their best to obtain permission for my journey to Court to pay reverence to the Shogun as soon as possible. I thanked them, although I took it to be idle talk, for there would be no question of the journey to Edo before the arrival of an ambassador. While they were here, I told them about the absurd behaviour of the Japanese towards the *relâche forcée* and the repair of the ship, of the *bongioisen* who kept yelling gratuitously and urging us on in matters of which they had no knowledge, and the rude behaviour of the landlords, rowers, and coolies, who had been employed in great numbers at our expense, which runs to 300 taels for the six days, as if the Company's funds had been transferred to them.

11 They replied that they had not been able to prevent this, because these had been the governors' express orders, particularly those of Gonpachirō, who felt much discommoded in his departure for Edo by these incidents and who had had to stay here later than ever. Thus everyone had been sent running to attend to this work as if it were a fire.

17 Fine weather, the wind northerly. The five interpreters came to tell me that the copper merchants with whom we had discussed a contract were ready to depart up country. They wished to know if we were still willing to deal with them and what the ultimate price would be for the refined copper, of

which they had shown us a sample and which is suitable for the manufacture of kettles. Even before I could give them a reply, they asked if I would agree to 12 taels per picul. I told them no, but before his departure, Coyett and I had agreed to 11 taels. They said that if we did not agree to 12 taels, there was no way of doing business.

12 I told them that, in that case, there would be none. They said that such an attitude would make the merchants disaffected and no dealings with them would be possible. Would I offer 5 mas more? I did not, but I asked them to tell the merchants of my offer of 11 taels and if they lowered their price to 11 taels and 5 mas, I would see what I could do. They left, but shortly after, Shōsuke returned and advised me to offer 5 mas extra, but I would not. A strong westerly wind during the night.

18 Fine weather in the morning with a northerly breeze, but in the evening it veered westerly and south-westerly. This is not favourable for our departed friends.

19 North-westerly wind. When we were having dinner, Kichibyōe came to discuss the copper again. He wished me to offer 11 taels and 5 mas, which would induce the merchants to continue negotiating, for they would not budge from the 12 taels. I said that I would not go higher than eleven. He kept insisting that we should negotiate, for which I also tacitly hoped.

13 I ordered him to request permission to have the loading barges stored on the island – where the fence is broken and needs repairing on the Company's account – and to look for the anchor and eighty fathoms of rope which the *Liefde* lost at the entrance of the bay. In the evening a Chinese junk departed.

20 The interpreters came with the contractors who would deliver the stones, dressed according to the models sent by Batavia, to see if we could come to an agreement. We drew up a contract for 2330 taels for 978 stones, on condition they be delivered next year before the departure of the ships. I shall have to hand them 1000 taels in payment of wages. The interpreters again mentioned the copper, but

I stuck to my old offer and there would be no agreement, unless the governors allowed us to receive all in the quiet season, so that we could test the quality and the weight properly, which permission I understood I should have before anything could be done. They agreed, but they thought it would be exceptional if I was granted it. The stonemasons also proposed asking the governors' permission to bring the undressed stones onto the island and work them here.

14 I thought this a good idea, because as soon as some are finished they can be stored in the warehouses, but I doubt permission will be granted.

21 Fine weather. I asked the interpreters for replies to my requests, which I had ordered them to get on the 19th. They said that no decisions had as yet been taken.

23 Kichibyōe, the most senior interpreter, came to the lodge and told me that the copper merchants will not go lower than 12 taels and were ready to leave. I told him that if they left now without having settled with us, there would be little time during the trade season to negotiate. Denbyōe and Hakuzaemon had assured me that the merchants would not leave unless they had made a deal with us. There would be ample time afterwards because they have copper in store.

24 Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, and Hachizaemon came to ask me if I would like to negotiate on the copper with the merchants before their departure and in that case, what was my highest bid and when would I like to see them at the latest. I said that if they would like to make a deal, they should come and negotiate.

15 It is no way to trade if the price for copper is raised every time without the sellers being present and without being able to hear their arguments. They promised that they would bring them in the afternoon. So they did, but nothing but a decrease of 3 mas was achieved and I offered 3 mas more on condition that everything be delivered in time. They promised they would do their best and I should accommodate them a little more. They were treated to *sakana* and wine, which brought them to such

a state that they would no longer talk about business. The interpreters promised to see to it that a settlement be reached, but I should not try to force it, they being of the opinion that a settlement was as good as concluded.

25 Christmas.

26–27 Nothing noteworthy happened.

28 Today as well. It is much windier and colder. Three junks have arrived from Fuzhou.

29 I sent for the interpreters, for they do not show up on their own accord. I wished to know what they had done about the copper contract, about which they are keeping silent. Had they received permission to look for the anchor and to store the loading barges on shore? I also wanted to know what cargoes the junks had brought. I was told that three of the interpreters, namely Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, and Magobei were ill at home.

16 Shōsuke and Hachizaemon came to the lodge. They said that Kichibyōe had an injury to his leg and could not go out, and therefore nothing had been done or would be done in the near future about the copper. Thus some of the merchants had left. They had promised they would request permission to deliver the copper before the trading season. There should be no doubt that a good batch according to the sample, of which both they and I had a bar, would be delivered in time. They said that the rowers demanded 40 taels to fetch the anchor, if they found it and nothing if they did not. I offered them thirty on that condition and one of our loading barges. They promised to settle this. The cargoes of the junks were only rumours, but they promised to bring me the invoices. Around ten o'clock we felt an earth tremor.

30 Overcast, the wind north-westerly, which makes it cold. When we were having dinner, Denbyōe told me that the rowers had agreed to look for the anchor and the rope for 30 taels. The last Nanking junk which left had been towed back into the bay last night.

31 Nothing extraordinary happened. The year 1648 has come to an end. I hope for a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

1649

January

- 1–3 Cool weather. Nothing noteworthy happened.
- 17 4 Hard winds and downpours from the west.
- 5 Weather as before. This morning eight persons were carried past our island to be executed: six criminal men and two Christian women, who would be hanged by their feet. When they are hanged in this way, they can last as long as five, six or seven days, which is execrable.
- 6–8 Cold, winter weather with showers. No matter what effort I put in, I could not get the interpreters to do anything about the search for the anchor, beaching the loading barges, the information about the three junks which arrived, or the start of the cutting of the stones. It seems that now the trading season has ended for this year, they take their leisure and we sit here like prisoners, cut off from the world and we can do nothing but plead, which often has no effect. In the evening, Kichibyōe came to tell me that the rowers had found the anchor and the rope and would deliver them shortly. He came to speak of the copper and thought that the merchants would deliver it in time before the arrival of the ships. I said that I trusted they would do so.
- 18 He went on again about the execution of the four ambassadors and 61 other Portuguese here in Nagasaki in 1640. He told me about some of their laments and last words. He said: 'I am old and about to die – and I have to die in this country because no one is allowed out – but whether I live or die, I am sure that the Portuguese will never desist from seeking the most devastating revenge at some time for the tyranny, scorn, and injustice committed against them in this country against all godly and natural laws. Even some years' delay would not allow them to forget this indescribable suffering.' I agreed with him and told him that we also suffered, for our ships were disarmed and were kept without necessities during their stay here, which was also highly unreasonable. He agreed and if we were allowed to trade here, we should be trusted. We were well disposed towards Japan and would not attempt anything to harm the nation, which we should impress as a point of great importance upon the ambassador when he arrived.
- 9–10 Cold days with hail and snow.
- 11 Very cold.
- 12 It is so cold that the ice is one finger thick. Bright sunshine during the day.
- 19 13 Denbyōe brought me the list of the cargoes of the three last junks. [List.] The *pancado* of the silk had been settled at 510 taels per picul and I was told that it was sold in Miyako for over 1000 taels per picul.
- 14–16 Fair weather. Nothing happened.
- 17 The interpreters came with the contractor of the stones. He wished to have the work finished by the 8th Japanese month, *Hachigatsu*, or September. I gave him 200 taels from the sum we had agreed upon, for he claimed not to be able to pay a deposit with the 1000 taels I had already given him.
- 18 The anchor and the rope have been delivered.
- 20 On behalf of the rowers who had recovered the anchor, Kichibyōe and Denbyōe came to plead for an increase in pay. They pretend that the work and expenses were more than calculated. I complained about the excessive payments we had to make to our landlords for necessities for the house and provisions, which were far above the going rate in the town. I asked them for their help. Would they or should I request the governors for a settlement? They thought my proposal fair and told me that I should write a request in Portuguese with my specific desires and listing which items were involved. They would show it to the governors or deal with it satisfactorily.
- 19–21 Fine weather. Nothing noteworthy happened. I gave the interpreters the note with the provisions and necessities which we would like to have at reasonable prices. They promised to discuss it with the others. They also told me that they had heard that an important merchant, not one of the group with whom I had been negotiating, was about to send 2000 piculs of copper. I thought that it was well that we had not settled with the others, for if the one was trying to oust the other, this would be profitable for the Company.
- 21 22–25 Nothing extraordinary happened. Cold winter weather.

26 We felt another earth tremor. I learnt that our *otona*, Hachirōemon, had died during the night.

27–28 Nothing happened. We felt another stronger earthquake, running from the north to the south. Calm weather. The interpreters came to tell me that the governor had given permission to store the Company's two loading barges on the island till the next trading season, so that they could be caulked. The stones, which we have ordered, have to be dressed in town and not on the island.

29 The *bongioisen* came with the order that part of the fence could be opened and closed again on our account so that the barges could be brought onto the island. This was done in their presence. They stayed till the barges had been stored and the fence had been returned to its former state. In the presence of Denbyōe and Hachizaemon, I handed the stonemason the wooden models, after a proper inventory had been made. I commended he make everything as ordered and to use the stone we had chosen.

30 The barges have been careened and covered with mats against sun and rain.

22 31 Denbyōe came and we discussed various matters. Because there is such a long delay in the court journey and it is unsure whether it will take place before the arrival of the ambassador, would it not be opportune to request an audience with Governor Saburōzaemon? The other interpreters and he had discussed it and thought he should ask me for my opinion. I said that if they all thought it necessary in the interest of the Company, he should do so. It seemed to me that the suggestion had come from higher-up, for, after having refused to accept Coyett's presents, for the sake of appearance they cannot urge me to undertake the journey. Thus, now they wish me to request it. It is clear that they would not like to offend us or seem to be desirous of the gifts. At the least, the interpreters, who are dependent on the Company's prosperity, would not like to see it diminished.

February

1–3 Nothing happened. Kichibyōe and Shōsuke came.

23 They reported that the governor had received letters from his counterpart, Gonpachirō, in Edo informing him of the safe arrival of Gonpachirō and Chikugo-no-kami at the Court, but he did not mention my journey. They decided to put in my request, which Denbyōe had discussed with me, to Saburōzaemon, but it was still too early. They would wait till the *Shōgatsu* or Japanese New Year – which is a major feast here – which will fall on the 12th, has passed. They said that they had learnt from private letters from Edo that the white raw silk was worth its weight in silver, that is 1600 taels per picul. This was unheard of. I wish that we could have 1000 piculs, more to gain the favour of this people for the Company's future business than for the sake of profit.

4–7 Like the days before. Hachizaemon and Magobei and I discussed the Chinese and their trade in this country. They expected them to bring a considerable quantity this coming season. The basis of their expectation is a conference they had with some Chinese. Hachizaemon also told me that some time ago he had a discussion with a fairly respected Chinese about the Company's business on Formosa and in particular Tayouan, about the number of Dutchmen, the strength of our fortress and other matters.

24 He was of the opinion that, considering the fact that there was a large number of Chinese there, estimates are 10,000, they might plan to take possession of it. He had heard plans to that effect in Anhai last year. He thought it necessary to tell me this.

8–11 Nothing noteworthy happened.

12 This is the 1st day of the Japanese 1st month, which they call *Shōgatsu*. The interpreters, the servants, and all others who make a living from the Company, came all dressed-up to wish us a happy New Year. The more senior ones were treated to wine and the lower-ranking ones were given a small token.

13–15 Nothing happened. Severe winter weather with incessant snow showers. The whole surface is covered with snow.

16 Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, and Shōsuke, still wearing their ceremonial dress, came to visit me and told

me that still no news had come from the Court concerning my journey. Thus they thought there would be no question of it till the ambassador's arrival.

25 We agreed that, as proposed, they would request an audience with Governor Saburōzaemon in a few days. I should ask him the reason for this major change in the Company's affairs, feigning amazement that I had not been accorded the honour, which the previous captains had enjoyed, which saddened me. At least this will reveal that we are willing to execute the required display of reverence, to which they attach great importance. And it is an opportunity to obtain some enlightenment from the governor, give us hope or, if it has been cancelled, we should be told so. I would wait for the day which they thought best. I also told them that I would like to have a reply to my written petition to purchase the provisions and necessities for the lowest price and not be forced to buy them at the highest price from the landlords. They said that the death of the *burgemeester* of this island had stopped any decision being taken. I had to wait till a new one had been chosen.

17–20 Unsettled rainy winter weather. No one came to the lodge.

21–22 Nothing happened.

26 23 The joint assembly of interpreters came to notify me that they would request an audience of Governor Saburōzaemon tomorrow, for all the feast days of the new year have now passed.

24 They all came to the lodge and accompanied me to the governor's residence. My proposal was that my government had sent me here as the head of the Dutch factory for the present year and I had found that the most important aspect was that it had been an annual custom of my predecessors to travel to the Japanese Court to pay reverence to the Shogun and to present gifts to him. I had not been allowed to do this at the usual time, but Governor Gonpachirō had promised me that, when he was in Edo, he would do his best to promote the idea that I follow him around the time of the *Shōgatsu*. This had now passed, but I have not heard anything. This is a notorious change in the Company's stature in this country and I felt compelled to address the

governor, who has always been helpful towards the Company and under whose benevolent administration its servants here lived, about my amazement at this. I hoped the governor would advise me what I should do. The governor replied that he thought my proposal was proper.

27 He did not doubt that the captain would travel to Edo, even if it were after the trade season. I told him that I hoped it would be now in the rainy season, so that the next captain could make the journey after my departure, as had always been the custom. I would appreciate it if an express mail was sent to the Court on the Company's account to request this. He said that it was unnecessary, the officials at Court paid due attention to our affairs. He would do as much as he could. We returned to the lodge. We speculated on the governor's sterile replies. We decided, as we have always thought and which I have written to Batavia, that it will not happen before the arrival of an ambassador.

25 Nothing happened. I heard that the governor has appointed a new *otona* or *burgemeester* of Tsukishima in place of the deceased one. It is rumoured that he is a reasonable fellow.

26 All the interpreters came with the new *otona*, named Bada Kurōzaemon. He inspected the building of which he was now the owner. The most senior interpreter, Kichibyōe, assured me that the Company would find him a good mediator.

28 I agreed, leaving time to be the judge of that. I treated them to *sakana* and wine and they left after a few hours.

27 Nothing happened.

28 The *otona* came to the lodge with Magobei and Hachizaemon. The son of his predecessor handed him the effects. He checked the Company residents against the list given to him. They said there were rumours, based on many letters from Miyako, that I would travel to Edo before the arrival of the ships. I took this to be idle talk. I asked them to request the governor permission to send a note to Tayouan with one of the junks from Quanzhou, which were lying here, describing my experiences here so far and that there was no likelihood of my court journey. They doubted that it would be permitted, but they

promised to discuss it. I insisted that they request it and if it were refused, we could discuss it further. Two junks came sailing into the bay.

March

1–2 Nothing happened. I sent for the interpreters to ask them about my request to send a letter.

29 3 Kichibyōe and the new *otona* told me that no junks would be leaving for the southern parts of China in the near future, so that, even if we did ask for permission to send a letter, it would be fruitless. They thought it more advisable to wait for a better opportunity.

4 Nothing happened.

5 A junk left for Nanking. Magobei brought me a list of the cargoes of the last two which arrived from Anhai. The value was about 30,000 taels. They had imported 1000 piculs of black sugar, which, it is said, would fetch at least 7 taels per picul, about 14 piculs of raw silk, medicines, and some silk piece-goods. The war in China was continuing, but it was mainly a civil war, that is, the one mandarin or lord against the other and there was not much talk of the Tartars in the southern parts. Iquan was still in Peking and his son had also been summoned.

6–7 Nothing happened. There was an earthquake in the morning.

8 We felt a stronger quake.

9 With the governor's permission, eight members of our staff visited Nagasaki, accompanied by two interpreters and two *bongiōisen*. The surgeons went along to look for roots and new herbs.

30 They returned with their arms full. They had thoroughly enjoyed themselves. They had visited several pagodas and the rock from which the stones we have ordered are being hewed. Everything had gone to the satisfaction of the Japanese. When the party had left, Magobei visited me and I offered him a meal. Afterwards we came to discuss the court journey. He said that there had been letters from Edo, in which it was mentioned that, if the Company sent an ambassador, the factory might be moved back to Hirado. This was based on the fear of the Portuguese, whom they expect to seek revenge on their country. Therefore, the lords of Hizen, Hakata,

and Karatsu in turn will have to post guards here in Nagasaki to defend the town in case of an attack. They think that if this happens and we suffer any damage to our persons, possessions or trade, it will strain the relations between us. These speculations are proof of their fears and worry.

10 Unsettled weather with southerly winds. Magobei came to notify me that the 14 piculs of white raw silk which the Chinese had brought lately, has been sold at the *pancado* for 516 taels per picul and straightaway to private merchants in Miyako for 1516 taels per picul. Such a price had been unheard of before.

31 11–16 Nothing noteworthy happened.

17 We felt an earthquake which lasted for several minutes. Five interpreters and our new *burge-meester* came to discuss the best course of action towards the fulfilment of my request regarding the provisions. We discussed the court journey and I asked them for their opinion about whether I would undertake the journey or not. After much conferring, they unanimously declared that there would be no question of it before the arrival of the ambassador. This accorded with my own opinion. I asked them if it would be advisable, even though Governor Saburōzaemon had reacted half-heartedly to my last request and nothing had happened, to request permission to travel to Edo for a second time, at my own risk of how it would be taken in Edo, and if this was rejected, could one of the interpreters be sent to Edo with a petition to that end.

32 For considering the fact that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and the governors had told Coyett and me before the last trade season that His Majesty had found my explanation to accord with that of Coyett and that the suspicions raised by the Portuguese had been eliminated and we would be admitted to trade as before, on condition that we signed a document before the start of trade, which we had done to the satisfaction of the officials, I could not understand the reason for the present change entailing that we have not been permitted to pay reverence to the Shogun for two years now. My government has ordered me to follow in my predecessors' footsteps and in particular to retain the

favour of the Shogun and lords of the realm, and I did not want to be found lacking in this respect and have to face accusations by my government in future. They thought my request fair and thought it carried weight. They promised to confer with the most senior interpreter, Kichibyōe, who has to keep to his house because he is in mourning for his mother. They would let me know the result and would do their best in the interest of the Company.

18–19 Pleasant weather. Nothing happened.

20–21 Nothing important happened. The Chinese have sold their black sugar for 7 taels and 3 mas per picul.

33 The other commodities have also been sold for high prices.

22 All the interpreters came with the new *otona*, Kurōzaemon, to discuss the matter mentioned on the 17th. After much deliberation, they decided to go to Governor Saburōzaemon after the 26th, which is a feast day, and remind him of my request to him in the best possible manner, in the hope that he would write something of it in his letters to Court, which was the only way, because they knew that the governor had no authority to allow me travel to Edo without orders from the government or to send private requests. It was unlikely that a sworn interpreter would be licensed to go. And, although I had been given hope before the departure of Chikugono-kami and Gonpachirō, it was already definite that I would not undertake the journey. They promised to let me know what they had achieved.

23–28 I have heard nothing from the interpreters. On the orders of the governor, Denbyōe came to ask the Company surgeon if he knew of a remedy for a certain equine ailment. On this occasion he told me that they had not yet been to see the governor because of the indisposition of Kichibyōe, whom they would like to do the talking. I told him that time was flying and they should do it now or never. At the same time they should ask permission to send the letter to Tayouan.

34 29 I summoned all the interpreters and urged them to present my request to the governor. Because Kichibyōe has recovered, they promised to do so tomorrow.

30 A junk arrived from Anhai. I was promised a list of its cargo. The Chinese pretend that five more junks will follow and various merchandise from Anhai and Amoy will be sent to Tayouan to be exchanged there for spices and other goods.

31 The joint interpreters told me that they had been to the governor's residence, but he had gone sailing on his *hayafune* and they would try again the next day.

April

1 The interpreters returned and told me that they had presented my request to Governor Saburōzaemon. His reply had been that he thought it fair, but because of special orders from the Court, he could not give me permission to undertake the journey and he could not send another letter, because my last proposal which I had conveyed to him in person on the 14th day of the first moon – which is 24 February¹ – had been forwarded to Edo and he had not yet received a reply. If, however, I wished to send a request to Edo, he could not forbid it, but he would advise me to be patient a while longer. Concerning the letter to Tayouan sent via China, this he could permit me and he would order the Chinese to deliver my letters.

35 He commended the Company import as much white silk as possible. I displayed my gratitude for his advice and his permission and I told our *burge-meester*, who had gone with the interpreters and who was also present – the more so because he is considered to be one of the governor's creatures – that I took His Honour's advice as a law with which I would comply, and for which I would always be grateful.

2 Kichibyōe, Hachizaemon, and the *otona* came. I complained to them that our new *compradoor*, who had been appointed when the supervisor of our island was changed, was of no use, for he did not speak any Dutch or Portuguese. This led to a Babel-like confusion, for instance when we ordered timber, he delivered stone. They promised to take care of it.

¹ Sic. 25 February.

- 3 Our caretaker sent a Japanese who could speak Portuguese reasonably well to offer his services. I employed him in the hope of better service.
- 4 Easter. We spent it quietly.
- 5 The new *burgemeester* of this island and some interpreters and their sons came to enjoy our hospitality. They were very jolly and drank to the safe arrival of the ambassador and his successes at Court.
- 36 Kichibyōe, the most senior of the interpreters, and I discussed the arrest of a certain Kanbyōe in Nagasaki on the Shogun's orders the day before. He was the last living descendant of the house of Ōno Shuri. He had formerly been *mestre del campo* of the Prince of Osaka.² Since the war he had been roaming the country under false names. He is expected to suffer a horrible death, just like all his relatives have suffered.
- 6 A junk arrived from Fuzhou. Because junks are already appearing, the Japanese are of the opinion that the Chinese will import large quantities during the monsoon. But they cannot be so large that the market will suffer for it.
- 7–8 Nothing happened. Kanbyōe was taken to the prison in Ōmura on the 5th.
- 9 Kichibyōe and Kurōzaemon, our caretaker, told me that it appeared that there would be no court journey this spring. I gave Kurōzaemon a note of goods to be ordered from Miyako: *sake*, money chests, paper, and other small necessities, which are ordered every year by the *opperhoofd* when he passes through. He promised to repair his house and set a good example for the other landlords.
- 37 If any of them was unwilling to repair his, he would force him to on the governor's authority.
- 10–13 Nothing noteworthy happened.
- 14 Today is the Japanese feast called *Sannichi*. On this occasion the women and children go out and enjoy themselves, like we do in Europe on May Day.
- 15–16 Nothing happened.
- 17 A junk arrived from Quanzhou with a small cargo. Kichibyōe and Magobei told me that after the
- arrest of the nobleman from Osaka, the particulars of every citizen of Nagasaki are being noted: his name, place of birth, his parents, and where he had lived after the outbreak of the Osaka War. This is done to find out if anyone of that line is still living. They also told me that two sheds where the copper will be stored had been built on the southern side of the bay, for they will start refining it any day now after the sample I had been given. If the ambassador came early, it could be delivered straightaway.
- 18–19 Nothing noteworthy happened.
- 20 The *otona* and four or five other landlords are busy with the repairs. The others are expected to follow their lead. Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, and Hachizaemon appeared.
- 38 I told them to write a reminder to the Lord of Hirado. They promised to do so tomorrow. It had been left so late because Magobei had said that he would go there in person, which has not proved to be the case. They also said that the contractor for the stones had been forbidden by the *bōzu*, the owner of the rocks, to remove any more stone. He is asking for more payment than the contractor had calculated.
- 21 The joint interpreters came with the *otona* to tell me that the junk will leave for Anhai in two or three days, should I wish to write a letter. They told me that in excess of the presents they had given the governor and others, at the request of the young Heizō, who is the supervisor of civilian affairs, the Chinese who trade in Nagasaki had had three stone bridges built over several canals which run across Nagasaki. When some of the nobles had asked Heizō why the Dutch did not pay for having a bridge built, he is supposed to have answered that there was no reason to ask this of them, for they have been ordered to remain on the island and do not commute to the city or make use of the bridges, in contrast to the Chinese who are allowed complete freedom and make use of them. This explanation was accepted. The interpreters proposed that, considering the fact that last year we did not have to shoulder the expenses of the gifts, we could offer to have one built, without asking Batavia for permission first.

2 Field-Marshal of Toyotomi Hideyori, Hideyoshi's son, during the Osaka Campaigns.

39 I replied that my superiors were well inclined towards Japan and, if it would generate some favours for the Company, they did not measure it by the cost of a stone bridge. They had always exhorted us to do our best. If the interpreters were of the opinion that it would be beneficial and that our generosity would be approved of, we would be willing to consider it. They thought that it would earn us the approval of the people and exceptional favours from the nobles, if it were presented as an act of generosity. I expressed my willingness to do so, if it would be to our advantage and that there should be no fear of my superiors should that be the case.

22 I wrote a letter to Tayouan to inform them that I had received no permission to undertake the court journey or present gifts to the Nagasaki Governor. If no ambassador appeared, nothing could be done here. No agreement had yet been reached on the copper, but we had been assured that a good amount would be available. I also sent a note of the imports of the seven junks which have arrived since Coyett's departure and the selling prices for the most important goods, to serve as a guide for their purchases, as can be seen in the copy book of outgoing letters. I also refer to my *dagregister*, which I intend to send also.

40 23 The interpreters came for my papers, for the contents have to be shown to the governor, because they are being sent with a Chinese which is out of the ordinary. I gave them the gist of it, which they wrote down in their own language. They raised objections to sending the *dagregister*, for they feared that the governor might object to its bulk and might easily retract his permission to send mail. Thus I was forced to keep the *dagregister*, but I shall have excerpts made of the material relating to my letter.

24 They returned and told me that Governor Saburōzaemon had given permission to send the papers. Because this had never happened before, he had even spoken of the necessity of the ambassador's arrival in the following way: 'Tell Captain Snoucq that he inform his superiors that, when the ambassador arrives here, he should explain the delay for so many years either by the death of the

Governor-General or other appropriate reasons and he would be well advised not to speak differently as in the case of the umbrage created by the Portuguese ambassador, as Captains Coyett and Snoucq have unanimously done. Order him to write this in this exceptional letter, so that no error be committed.' A copy of this had to be inserted in the letter in their presence. They had promised to see to it that nothing else was included.

41 The letter was sent. Kichibyōe, Hakuzaemon, and Kurōzaemon, the *otona*, came to tell me that the governor had stamped the letters with his seal and a *bongiois* had handed it to the Chinese *nachoda*, ordering to take care to deliver it. He had added that if the captain wished to send copies of the letters with the next junks sailing to Quanzhou, he could do so. They were pleased to tell me this. It seems as if their spirits have been bolstered by the governor's affability and the favour shown to the Company.

25 Full moon and in the evening strong winds started to blow from the south-west, with rain, thunder and lightning, blowing up to a storm which lasted till the next day. Then it abated, but the weather remained overcast and showery. The water had risen to the level of our residence and early the next morning it had dropped so low as we have never seen before.

27–30 Nothing noteworthy happened. The owners of the houses are busy repairing their properties.

42 The new *otona* is very active in this. Some are still failing to do so, but he promised to get them to do the repairs either by persuasion or by force.

May

1 We have started to prepare the most suitable houses on the island on the Company's account to serve as residence for the expected ambassador and his suite. By doing so we wished to convey that we were certain of his arrival and would show him special courtesies. In this vein I ordered the supervisor of the island to order fifty new mats from Miyako as furnishing for this house in time. The interpreters were also pleased with these preparations and assured me that the governor would be pleased as well.

2–3 Nothing happened.

4 Denbyōe told me that had the most senior interpreter, Kichibyōe, not been indisposed – his ailment is bothering him more and more by the day because of his great age – they would have come to discuss the stone bridge with me – as mentioned on the 21st of last month. This has to be postponed because the old man has privately engaged some people to do so. Because the surgeon and the apothecary have again mentioned that they would like to go pick some plants and flowers, which had been postponed due to the rainy weather, I ordered him to renew this request. He promised to do so tomorrow, weather permitting.

43 5 The *bongiois* came with permission and eight of our staff went to the fields. They returned in the evening and told me that they had enjoyed themselves in another part of the city. They had visited several beautiful gardens and temples and had witnessed some nobles firing at a target. Everything had been enjoyable. The *bongiois* had been pleasant and had shown off with the *jūbako* which they had taken along.

6–9 Nothing happened. Stormy and wet weather, but good for the plants. We noticed that the wheat and the barley in the fields are maturing well.

10–11 Nothing happened.

12 All the interpreters, apart from Shōsuke, came with Kurōzaemon to discuss the stone bridge. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon intends to visit me shortly to inspect the repairs and see if the owners are living up to their responsibilities. If not, he would urge them to do so. They said that this would be an excellent opportunity to entertain him and, before he left, to offer to have a bridge built at our expense. This would gain us the favour of both high and low of this town. I replied that I would willingly go along with what they deemed the most opportune action to improve the affairs of the Company in this empire.

44 They said that Sakuemon might not accept it, for he would not do so without conferring with Governor Saburōzaemon first, but if the *burgemeester* did, this would lay the foundation for improvement. The Portuguese had traded with this country for almost

a hundred years and they had never been permitted to build anything, although they had offered to do so several times. They added that the bridge would be called the Dutch bridge. When I thought about it, I could only suppose that it would woo the townspeople for us and be heard in Edo.

13–16 Nothing noteworthy happened.

17–19 Nothing noteworthy happened.

20 Early in the morning, on the orders of Governor Saburōzaemon, Denbyōe, Hakuzaemon, Hachizaemon, and Magobei came to announce that he had written to Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Gonpachirō in Edo about my request to him concerning my journey to the Japanese Court, which I had presented in person on 24 February, and which the interpreters had again presented on 1 April. He had finally received a reply from them that they had conveyed my request to the councillors. Their reply had been the following:

45 ‘Write to the Dutch captain that before travelling to Edo or presenting himself to His Majesty he has to wait till the arrival of the next captain in the next season. Confirmation of the replies given by the previous captain and the present one is needed with regard to the accusations of the Portuguese ambassador, so that His Majesty can rest assured.’ The governor thought it necessary to inform me of this, advising me to write to Tayouan with the next junks leaving for the southern regions, so that the expected ambassador and the new captain would be unanimous. He insisted that I should not take this as an order but as well-meant advice. I sent my thanks and assurance that with regard to the Portuguese ambassador’s accusation, the oral and written statement which Coyett and I had submitted would be found to be nothing but the truth. Therefore we need not resort to ruses.

21 The interpreters told me that the dispute between the contractor of the stone works and the *bōzu* owner had been settled on condition of some payment, they thought about 70 taels. They would come for it in two or three days. I agreed on condition that the work proceed and be finished at the agreed time. They assured me it would be. I told them that I wished to see if the work was being

done according to the models and the intentions of my superiors.

46 Kurōzaemon promised to ask the governor for permission.

22 Nothing happened.

23 Whitsunday.

24 Our *otona* came with all the interpreters and the stonemason, whom I gave 800 taels. To my surprise the corn, wheat, barley, and other early grains on the mountains around the town are being harvested before they have hardly seen any sun.

25–27 Nothing happened. Kichibyōe came to show me two bars of copper as they are refined here. I compared it to the sample and found them to be a fair match – the one is a little duller than the other. He thought that on the arrival of the first ship we might receive permission to receive the copper, so that all could be weighed and packed in good order.

28–30 Nothing happened.

31 I learnt that the Lords of Hakata and Arima and our governor, Gonpachirō, have left Edo for these regions. Chikugo-no-kami may not come this year. He was travelling to Nikkō with the Prince to visit the old Shogun's grave. The Shogun had bestowed a small gift on him, which was nonetheless a great honour. Kurōzaemon reported that he had asked the governor for permission to visit the stone works, but none had been forthcoming.

47 The governor had objected because I had not gone to Edo, but he would ask again.

June

1 Nothing happened.

2 The dispenser told me that two landlords, chosen from their group, had come to his room and, on the group's behalf, had told him that in future they would take good care of the daily provisions, which they will deliver for prices more civil than before. They will charge 1:5 taels for a barrel of *sake*, for which we used to pay 1:6:5 taels; instead of 25 bundles of wood for 1 mas, they will deliver 25 larger bundles for the same price; a bale of coal will cost 5½ candareens instead of 6½. The prices for other goods will be likewise lowered. I told him to keep an eye on the *compradoors* and if he found them

at fault, he should tell them so. When the ships are here and consumption is high, we shall find out if they do offer the provisions for the lowest prices as they have promised.

3–4 Nothing happened.

5 The junk from Zhoushan which arrived on 16 April has departed. Because the cargo it imported amounted to little, it is also exporting little silver.

6 Sunday.

7 Kichibyōe and Hakuzaemon came with our supervisor to show me a sample of refined copper, to which a stamped piece of paper was attached. They asked me to keep it with the other sample.

48 They said it came from a relative of Governor Saburōzaemon's, who wanted to deliver a batch of the same kind in due course for a price to be settled. He wished to be given preferential treatment because of his early approach. They also said that one of the four Nagasaki *burgemeesters*, Takagi Hikoemon, had arrived from Edo yesterday. He had told them that when the Company's landlord there became aware that we would not be visiting as usual, he had gone to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Governor Gonpachirō to ask them about the state of our affairs at the Court and why we did not show up. Their reply had been that the state of our affairs and trade in Japan was reasonably good, but that the court journey would not take place this year for some minor hitches, but the captain would not fail to travel to Edo the next season. When he said that he still had some goods belonging to the Company with him and he did not know what to do with them, he was ordered to keep them till the Dutchmen appeared again. The *burgemeester* also said that Kanbyōe had been executed on the Shogun's orders in Miyako on 5 April and as far as they knew, all descendants of the house of the Osaka prince were no longer of this world. The interpreters also said that the *otona*, who was also present, had asked the governor for permission for me to inspect the stone works and they told me the answer he had given, from which they deduced that the governor presumed that I was using this as a pretext to gain permission for some entertainment.

49 I told them to explain to the governor that I was not looking for diversion off the island – for I was not disposed towards any amusement, not having been allowed the honour of presenting our gifts and paying reverence at the Japanese Court – but His Honour had allowed the order to be placed at the stone works during his administration and thus it was only fair that he would allow the inspection thereof to prevent all or part of it being made contrary to my superiors' orders because of a misunderstanding on the part of the contractor, which could be corrected now but not at the time of the ships' departure. I did not wish to go to the place where the stone is being hewn via Nagasaki or any pleasure gardens, but I merely requested – considering that this place lies across the bay within our view – to be allowed to go there on a barge in the company of a *bongiois*. They would put this request to him and thought he would grant it. They would also ask permission to have the Company's loading barges repaired.

8–10 Rain.

11 A rumour reached us from the town that two ships have been spotted, but it soon evaporated. I hope it is a forecast of early ships. During the night there was a severe earthquake.

50 The shock travelled faster and lasted longer than all previous ones. At this time of year it is considered extraordinary, usually they occur during the winter months.

12–18 Rainy and windy weather. Nothing happened.

19 The *otona* brought permission to have the barges caulked. I sent for the carpenters. They made preparations for the work to be carried out. They had a straw tent erected above one of the barges so that they would not get wet. I asked the *otona* to have the interpreters write to Hirado. They keep putting me off, passing it from the one to the other. I also asked him to obtain permission for me to inspect the stone works. He promised to do so.

20 Sunday, nothing happened.

21 Kurōzaemon and Kichibyōe told me that the four Nagasaki *burgemeesters* intend to come for an inspection of the progress the landlords are making in repairing the houses. They arrived with the other

interpreters and a large suite. I went with some employees to meet them and together we went round the island. They were pleased with the work in general.

51 They ordered our *otona* to order the few obstinate landlords who have defaulted to live up to their responsibilities and carry out the repairs. If any of them fails to do so, he has to be taken to Their Honours, and we could rest assured that when the landlords learnt of this, they would rush to do the repairs. After the inspection, I took them to the garden and the billiard table and then to my house. I showed them the silver ship and all other rarities. In the meantime, the ship was prepared to sail. I treated them to as many fruits, confitures, and *sakana* as could be prepared at this short notice. While they were sitting down and enjoying themselves, Kichibyōe expressed our gratitude for their assistance rendered to the Company and then he told them of our superiors' fondness for Nagasaki and their offer to build a bridge over one of the canals. They listened very politely to the offer. They would confer with each other whether they could accept such a liberal gift. They expressed their gratitude for the generosity shown towards their town. I would be told of their decision in due time. I also requested them for their mediation in obtaining permission from the governor for an inspection of the stone works. They promised to do so, saying that they did not doubt that permission would be forthcoming, but it would be better to wait till the arrival of Gonpachirō.

52 They shared my regret that I had been confined here for a whole year without being allowed to go anywhere. They gave me hope that these restrictions would be lifted when an envoy arrived. The ship was ready and they heartily applauded it. They spouted water at each other and had a jolly time. Next we went to view the house which is being prepared for the ambassador. They seemed pleased and left very content at two o'clock in the afternoon.

22 Kurōzaemon came with compliments of gratitude for the entertainment enjoyed yesterday. He said the *burgemeesters* had sent him expressly to offer their services, if needed. I repaid them in

kind and sent a small present to Sakuemon's children, which was accepted gratefully. I also sent an appropriate present to the wife and daughters of our supervisor, who, a while ago, had sent us lots of fruit, *sakana*, and other cooked dishes.

The Company servants obtained permission for the third time for as many as wished to go out with the interpreters and a *bongiois* and enjoy themselves. Eleven of them went, taking with them a bottle of wine and a *jūbako*. On their return they told me that they had visited some temples and had been entertained by persons of note, more than ever before.

53 Junior Merchant Boucheljon, who had also gone in previous years, claimed that on those occasions they had not enjoyed a tenth of the freedom and affability shown today.

22–26 Nothing noteworthy happened.

27 I learnt that Governor Gonpachirō had arrived in Nagasaki. He had spent some days in Hizen. I had Kichibyōe order the interpreters to go and welcome His Honour on my behalf tomorrow and to ask permission to present myself to him in person.

28 All the interpreters, except Denbyōe, told me that they had done as ordered and had welcomed the governor. The governor had said that he would like to see me.

29 Heavy rains.

30 The interpreters and our supervisor came in their best dress and announced that I should appear with them before the governor. Johannes Boucheljon accompanied me. I started by telling the governor how pleased I was with his safe return and with his successes at Court. He thanked me and was also pleased that we were well. I said that Coyett and I regretted that he had been impeded in his journey to Court by the return of the ships last year.

54 We could not have been found lacking in diligence, but the nature of seagoing caused grave problems if one did not pay heed to wind and weather, which had been the case owing to the arguments and hurry. He replied that the trade had started late that time, which had caused all the arguments. If the ships arrived early this year, everything would

proceed more satisfactorily. I was asked if I had other business I wished to propose. I said yes and told him that when he and Commissioner Chikugonokami departed for Edo, they had raised my hopes of being permitted to undertake the journey to pay reverence to His Majesty. To my great regret this had not happened, but I hoped we would revert to the old custom this year. He replied that it was true that it had not happened last time, but this year the captain would undoubtedly travel to Edo. We took our leave and we were allowed to return via a different route than the one we had taken before. Back at the lodge, I treated our supervisor and the interpreters to some *sakana* and wine. In the afternoon our supervisor sent me a large dish of fruit and had the bearer tell me that he was highly pleased about my good meeting with Governor Gonpachirō.

55 The carpenters have finished the loading barges. They expected that the older of the two should last for another two years.

July

1 The dispenser and the *otona's* servant tried to calculate the pay for the workmen and the timber, but the landlords whose month it was for making purchases raised some objections. They claimed that the delivery of the timber was their due and they had not been consulted. This gave me cause to complain about them and the trouble they usually made and to ask for a proper reply to my petition – which had been written in Portuguese and given to the interpreters in January. Thus I summoned all the interpreters to discuss it with our supervisor and to see if I could manage to arrange that everything be ordered through him, all the more so because he would be so inclined. These landlords do not care so much for the Company's interest as their own. Furthermore, they have never been ordered to do so, but have taken it on themselves, having forced it from *Otona Liemon* in 1646.

56 2 They did not show up.

3 I was told that some of the landlords had gone to see the *otona* and had argued with him that the purveyance belonged to them and he should keep

out of it, for he was no more than one of them. It got to the point that they were summoned to *Burgemeester* Sakuemon.

4 The interpreters came without the *otona*, who had been invited to the anniversary of the death of Heizō.³ I showed them my predecessors' complaints on this matter and that since 1646 they had been taxed for a third on the purchase of provisions by the landlords. Without being forced to by anyone, they had intruded themselves in the business and they had usurped this just to satisfy their greed. I asked them that, now that a dispute had arisen between our supervisor and the landlords, they defend the Company's case to the *burgemeesters* of the town and, if necessary, inform the governors how we are at the mercy of this greedy selfish lot – against Their Honours' intention. They should be satisfied with the substantial sum of money they receive for their houses.

57 They should let our supervisor, whose only income this is, enjoy the proceeds of supplying us with provisions, because we trust him but not the landlords, for we are certain that they have robbed the Company, of which some of the interpreters are well aware but let pass, and other such examples. They promised to do what they could, which Kichibyōe, whom I consider to be the most loyal, in particular promised me. In the morning the first Chinese junk from Anhai arrived this season. Its cargo is of little import.

5–6 The days passed without speaking either to the interpreters or to our *otona*. His servant told me that he had been with the interpreters to see Kichibyōe and the landlords had gathered somewhere else. They had been to see the first *burgemeester*, Sakuemon, several times and there had been many arguments. The *otona* had remained neutral but had accused the landlords saying that the Dutch had many complaints about being overcharged and he knew that they did this without the governors' knowledge.

3 Suetsugu Heizō (Shigesada) died on the 12th of the 9th month (9 October) 1647.

58 If the governors were to find out, they would soon laugh on the other side of their faces. I hope that the Company will be able to catch something good in this troubled water.

7 The interpreters, except for Hachizaemon, came to confirm what I had been told yesterday. They added that they could see an end to the matter, but they and the *otona* intended to argue some more with the landlords and in the end they would propose addressing the governors to explain the matter to them – Kichibyōe told me that this was Sakuemon's advice – but he trusted that the landlords would not let it come to that and a solution would be found soon. I praised their diligence. They said that Sakuemon had grasped the matter and had said that the Dutchmen are showing their goodwill towards Nagasaki, as is evident from their presentation of funding for a bridge, and it is only fair that they are supported in their justified complaints, of which this is one.

8 Shōsuke brought me the list of the cargo of the Chinese junk which arrived lately. It was indeed of little import.

59 Kichibyōe also came and I told them to ask permission to have the fence opened and the loading barges moved around the 10th or 11th, when there is a new moon and a high tide. They should also ask permission for me to inspect the stone works.

9 Nothing happened.

10 The interpreters, except for Hakuzaemon, came with permission to move the barges. This will be done tomorrow, when the tide is at its highest. They said that four of the landlords had gone to Kichibyōe on the 24th and had raised many complaints, but he had contradicted them on our behalf. They had requested to be allowed to carry on this season as before to put a stop to the gossip among the common people, after which they promised to hand over their charge and the *otona* of my choice could take it over. I replied that they should hand it over now and the *otona* – who has been appointed expressly to serve us – should be allowed to carry out his charge as his predecessors had done. I was sure that this was the intention of the governors, who would not wish them to take advantage of us.

If they did so willingly, I would overlook their wrongdoings, but if they objected and tried to take over the Company's effects, they could rest assured that I would address Their Honours. Would we be friends or enemies? The interpreters said they would take this message to them and let me know their reply.

60 11 They returned with permission to open the fence and move the loading barges. This was done before noon. They went to the governors with the *bongiois* and returned early in the afternoon. Kichibyōe did the talking. He said: 'Yesterday we presented three petitions to the governors: to move the barges, to inspect the stone works, and to relieve the landlords of their charge. The first has been carried out; the second has been granted for once, and that by the governors' own decision and not by that of the Shogun, for as far as the latter is concerned the Dutch captain has to remain on Tsukishima; in the third and most important matter it has been ordered that you should enjoy the freedom to have the person you choose buy your provisions and other necessities and the governors understand that you are not tied to anyone. However, it should be a sworn person, either the *otona* or one of the interpreters. They understand that he will buy everything for the same prices as charged to the people of the town. Their Honours do not wish to appoint anyone or hold the Company to anyone.' I asked for a written statement signed by all, for I had put in the petition in writing, in case we should need it in future. I said that I wished to have the *otona* supply us, as had always been the custom. They promised to come to the lodge with him the next day and I should appoint him in their presence.

61 It would then be noted in their book together with the statement given to me for future reference.

12 They came and Kurōzaemon was sent for. I had them tell him that the Governors of Nagasaki had relieved us from ordering from the landlords and had allowed us to choose whom we wanted to supply us with provisions at the lowest price, according to the statement in Japanese. I had chosen him to supply us, because the governors had appointed him to be responsible for us and we trusted him and

hoped he would accept. He replied that he was willing to serve the Dutch, but it would be a dangerous charge, for all the landlords would turn against him and he also has to rely on his people, who have to buy the trifles, and they would be watched by everyone. Therefore, he wished to confer first and also announce to the governors that he had been chosen. Without their advice he could not accept the charge. He would let me know his decision in a few days' time. I commended him for his caution.

13 The *bongioisen* escorted me to the place where the stone is being hewn. We were only allowed to go by boat and go ashore at no other place. Johannes Boucheljon, the *otona*, and all the interpreters went along.

62 We found that a great deal had already been done. The contractor said that the work could be finished by the end of the month, if necessary. I took the measurements of several stones and found all to be according to the models. Although the rock is very hard, the stones are so well fashioned that it could not have been done better in Europe. It is a large enterprise and about a hundred men are working on it. I let the contractor know that so far I was pleased with his work. All the stones could be supplied according to the models, but the forty steps could not be made in their full length of ten feet, some were two or three to four or five inches shorter. If they had to made to their full length they would be faulty, claiming that that amount could not be supplied in that size. We discussed it at length, but nothing could be done about it. I decided to accept them if they were four or five inches short at the most. They seemed very pleased with this. As soon as the first ship has been unloaded, a lot of these stones will be loaded as ballast. We decided how we would protect them from knocks. I presented the workmen with two barrels of *sake*. The *bongioisen* said that they had been ordered to inquire if we were pleased with the work and to report on it. I told them that it was to our liking, which pleased them.

63 Kurōzaemon and the interpreters Denbyōe and Shōsuke told me that the governors had been most pleased that the contractor had done such a good

job. Their Honours had asked how long before they thought the ships would arrive. They had said that we expected them in fourteen or fifteen days. While we were at the stone mason's yard, one of the copper merchants – whose refinery is near – came to visit us and showed us fifteen or sixteen bars of the refined mineral, which looked very fine and tested even better. He intends to supply the Company with a good batch this year. He presented us with a *jūbako*, as did the stonemason and the master who makes the customary journey to Osaka. He complained that this year he had had to forgo his profits. All showed their goodwill, as did the *bon-gioisen* by being very polite, but the governors had given orders that they should not eat or drink with us, which they did not.

14 Nothing happened.

15 A junk arrived from Tonkin. It had been expected last year. Our friends had seen it in a severe storm off Hainan and it was thought to have foundered. It had returned and had spent the winter there. Its cargo consisted of 265 piculs of silk and piece-goods, worth 53,000 taels purchase price.

64 It can be sold here for double its worth, if not too many Chinese junks arrive. To my surprise we did not receive a letter from the Company's residents. They told us that on their departure on 13 June, our people had collected only 30 piculs of silk and would be late sailing. They had been chased by a Dutch ship for three days and had been able to escape. The governors pay no attention to this mockery, because of the old accusation of the owners of the junks that, sailing from Tonkin, they had been taken by the Dutch. Thus, if anything is going on, they will not be believed.

16 Nothing.

17 Another junk arrived from Anhai, belonging to a underling of Iquan's son – who is said to have become a great mandarin of Canton a short while ago – with a rich cargo, consisting of 50 piculs of white silk, 50 piculs of poil silk, and piece-goods. It is rumoured that three or four more of the same owner are expected to arrive, with a similar cargo. Some of the crew have been in Tayouan recently. They say that before their departure on the 29th of

last month, seven ships had arrived from Batavia, loaded mainly with rice for China. I was surprised to hear this, for I could not understand why they should be loaded with rice. They said that this year a fair amount of piece-goods had been transshipped in Tayouan. I look forward to seeing the result of this.

65 18 On behalf of Kurōzaemon, Kichibyōe and Denbyōe came to tell me that Kurōzaemon had gone to the governor the day before and had presented a request to act as our purveyor. This had been granted. He had immediately given instructions that the Company be well served. I was pleased with his solicitude and invited them all with their sons to a Japanese entertainment of salted crane and duck tomorrow.

19 They came and enjoyed themselves till the evening. Today it was overcast and the wind gathered force from the south-east, turning into a gale.

20 Showers. I hope it will not hinder our expected friends. In the afternoon the interpreters came and thanked me for yesterday's entertainment. I gave the stonemason, who was with them, 500 taels of silver.

21 Nothing happened.

22 A junk arrived from Cochin China.

23 We heard a rumour that two ships had been spotted off the Nomo Bight.

66 The interpreters brought me the same news, claiming that the guards on the mountain tops had brought the news, but they were surprised that the governors had not summoned them, nor had they informed us, as is the custom. Thus they feared that it was untrue. In the afternoon two junks with top sails sailed into the bay. Because of the poor vision, they had been taken for ships. In the evening another arrived. They had sailed from Quanzhou thirteen days ago. They were also underlings of Iquan and carried the same load. About ten o'clock in the evening another arrived.

24 I was told that the junk which arrived last evening, had sailed directly from Batavia forty-five days ago. Its *nachoda* is called Siqua and it was loaded with coarse wares. I asked the interpreters if I could talk to the Chinese in the presence of

themselves and that of the Chinese interpreters. They thought it would be futile to ask.

25 Our supervisor and the interpreters came to tell me that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and his three colleagues had gone to Heizō's residence yesterday and had discussed the matter of the stone bridge. They intend to mention it to the governors today, but before they did so they wished to ascertain that I had not changed my mind – as I had made the offer without the foreknowledge of my superiors. I repeated what I had said: that my superiors had commended me to do anything that would benefit the Company's interests.

67 In that case, there were no restrictions. Therefore, my offer still stood. They were most pleased.

26 Another *wankang* arrived, I was told from Anhai.

27–31 Nothing noteworthy happened.

August

1–3 Warm summer weather.

4 Kichibyōe, Denbyōe, and Hakuzaemon came. They were surprised that there was still no sign of any ship. They asked me if I could think of any reason. I said that compared to previous years, they were not exceptionally late, but I suspected that the delay was caused by the sailing of the ambassador or that he had to wait for his outfit. They thought that if my masters intended sending one, they would send him early, so that he could undertake the journey to Court before the trading season. It was uncertain if trade would be allowed before His Honour had travelled to the Court. I replied that I did not doubt that he would come if he had a safe voyage, nor that we would be allowed to trade after he had arrived. There were no disputes between us and the Japanese ruler, but we wished to convey our gratitude and confirm our long-standing friendship. I thought that they had not come of their own accord, but had been sent by the governors, the more so because they headed in that direction when they left.

68 While we were sitting, I sent for the baker. Because he was aware that wheat was very cheap and because all our provisions were supplied at a lower

price and he should also do his share, he agreed to supply us for a year with eleven and a half loaves of bread for 1 mas, instead of ten loaves, of similar weight, baked dry and fluffy as usual, that is instead of 100 loaves now it would be 115 for a tael, each weighing 6½ taels. In the afternoon a junk, or rather a Portuguese galliot with a Chinese rig, arrived from Cambodia, and during the night two more small *wankangs*, the one from Fuzhou and the other from Zhoushan.

5 Another junk arrived from Anhai.

6 Another junk arrived from Fuzhou. It had lost its mast and had been forced to make for Satsuma. In the evening five more passed the bay. In the morning eight were said to have dropped anchor.

Arrival of the *Maasland*

7 While I was having dinner, I was told that two Dutch ships had been spotted off the Nomo Bight. The *otona* and the interpreters confirmed it. The governors had ordered them to tell me that, if I wished to send a vessel there, the *bongioisen* would be ready. I said yea, I would. Junior Merchants Boucheljon and Meulenaar were sent with Hachizaemon and the usual letters of instruction. While they were sculling out of the bay, another Portuguese vessel with Chinese rig arrived before the city.

69 It also came from Cambodia and was fully loaded. Later I was told that it had been sent here with the King's cargo. The junior merchants returned around ten o'clock in the evening and reported that it was the flute the *Maasland* from Tayouan carrying Anthonio van Brouckhorst as my successor. She had left Tayouan on the 27th of last month with letters from President Overtwater dated the 26th and a cargo worth 39,370 guilders. The interpreters, who had stayed back to hear the news, were rather disappointed, but were still happy that the ambassador was coming.

8 Brouckhorst was feeling poorly. I ordered twenty tow-boats to tow the ship in front of the city. The governors gave us permission to go on board. The interpreters and our *otona* came and sat down with

me. They wanted to hear the news from Europe and the Indies to report to the governors. I told them that peace had finally been concluded between the King of Spain and our nation – which one had thought would never occur – and a general peace among all the Christian princes, towards which they had worked for five years, had now been concluded. The King of France was the only one at odds, but he would undoubtedly come to terms with it. Then they would join together against the Turkish Emperor – who was infesting the Christian countries in several areas – and shake that evil off.

70 They asked if the war in England continued and if they were included in the peace. I replied that the English islands were separate from mainland Europe and were not at war with anyone, but they were plagued by bloody civil wars, which were not likely to end soon, but this struggle had nothing to do with other rulers. Of the news from the Indies I told them that the Kings of Tonkin and Quinam, who, as they were aware, had been at war for some time, were now at peace. This seemed to please them. They asked if the Company ships had taken a Cambodian junk. I told them yes, and would continue to do so till that King had compensated the Company. They replied that we could do what we thought best as long as it happened outside their territory. They asked if the ambassador had been sent from Holland or from Batavia. I answered that he was expected from Holland, but if he did not arrive in time, a prominent citizen of Batavia would come. This pleased them and they left.

9 The *bongioisen*, interpreters, and *otona* came early to open the water-gates. The barges were unloaded. Before noon the secretaries of both governors came to remind the landlords and the *otona* of their responsibilities and to advise me that I should impress upon our people to be civil, to prevent giving rise to complaints. I assured them there would be no cause, and I requested they exhort their people to treat us well and should any Dutchman misbehave himself, not to hit him or punish him, but to inform me and I would give him his just punishment. They promised to do so. They

were very pleasant. In the afternoon, Kichibyōe and Hachizaemon came with their clerk to ask about the peace.

71 First they asked which countries belonged to the Christian princes and would adhere to the treaty which was in the process of being concluded. I mentioned – starting with the ones they knew best – Portugal, Spain, the Pope, the Princes of Italy, the Empire of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Muscovy, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the United Netherlands, England, and France. They wrote them all down. Then they asked why, when the Dutch were residing in Hirado, they had always said that water and fire and light and darkness would sooner merge than Holland with the Spaniards. I replied that they had said so for good reasons, and that I would still be speaking in the same vein if, to my utmost surprise, it was not to the contrary, for it would have been impossible for our nation ever to reach peace with the King of Spain if we had to request it, because of the great resentments he harboured against us as heretics and rebels, etcetera. For over sixty years he had repelled us, had deprived us of our lives and properties, and had placed us under excommunication by the Pope and had consigned us to hell. The Pope had even promised a plenary indulgence to anyone who killed one of us. I could not have imagined that this vainglorious Castilian would humiliate himself to the extent of begging for peace from us, as he had done now to his ultimate degradation. Now he has to forego all his claims to our lands, the titles of which he had flaunted so far. I hoped to be able to show the Articles to the Shogun of Japan soon, so that he would know what kind of peace we have concluded with the King of Spain and how we are now regarded by him, he and his subjects having despised and defamed us here in Japan before. Love for us had not forced him to conclude this treaty, but necessity, to which our victorious armies had reduced him. The Dutch could not have fought such a powerful king for eighty years and concluded peace with him during their lifetimes, or ever, but just as all temporal things are inconstant and many matters often end differently

from what one sees or comprehends, this was also the case here.

72 10 We have been busy unloading.

11 After the flute was unloaded, I went aboard with Anthonio van Brouckhorst to inspect the books and the papers. The *bongiois* left it entirely to us. The gunpowder and munitions were unloaded and everything went satisfactory. Shortly after noon we returned to the island.

12 Nothing noteworthy happened.

13 All the interpreters came with our supervisor. The four Nagasaki *burgemeesters* had sent them. They told me that the *burgemeesters* had conferred with the governors on the presentation of the stone bridge. They thanked me for my generosity and were very pleased about the offer. However, they had to forgo it for now, but they would continue their favour towards the Company. The *otona* told us in particular that the governors had advised against accepting the offer at this moment and would rather wait to see how matters developed. He thinks they were referring to the ambassador and his achievements at Court. They brought me the permission I had asked for to build a gallery or balcony for the new *opperhoofd's* house and also for the dining-hall, on the condition that no boys would sit there playing music with their feet dangling or spitting on the street, nor should any other person climb in the windows or any other high spots to look out at the governors or other nobles when they were passing the island on their boats, but each and everyone should behave respectfully towards their superiors including the *bongioisen*. I replied that the Dutch were unfamiliar with the Japanese customs and could not live according to all of them, the more so because we live separately and had little intercourse.

73 Whatever we did was not done out of contempt, but born of our liberal habits. They could hardly be taught all these finer points just by words, but in order to show our willingness to co-operate, I asked for this in writing, so that I could inform my people and hold each to his duty. They were pleased. During the slack season I had often discussed with them, and in particular with Kichibyōe and our supervisor, because no honourable women are

allowed to come to our lodge on penalty of corporal punishment, whether it would not be possible to ban the public women from our island during the trading season as well, because of the many disturbances and the debauchery, which led to accidents occurring daily, especially because I feared that a fire might be caused by some drunkard or other person, leading to the total destruction of all the houses and the Company's property. I asked them to see what they could do about it, even if it cost money. I gave the *otona* the memorandum for the timber and other necessities ordered by Tayouan to be delivered in time.

14 Nothing happened. Two junks arrived.

15 Another junk arrived, fully loaded.

16 The interpreters and our supervisor came on the orders of the governors to ask what junks the captain-elect had encountered on his journey hither, from where they had come, and where they had parted company, because the crew of a junk claims to have been chased to Satsuma by a Dutch ship. The governors did not believe them, but they would nonetheless like to hear our version. Brouckhorst replied that it was untrue, and furthermore, our superiors did not allow us to molest any junks near this empire, nor had there been any intention of doing so.

74 He had indeed twice sailed close to a junk and shortly before his arrival here he had seen one setting course for Satsuma, but he had not known why, for he had merely been following his own course therefore had not paid heed to anyone else. We added that the Chinese were liars and were always trying to make us appear in an unfavourable light. If we so wished and did not desist on account of Japan, we could take all the junks sailing here. We asked them to report this, which they did. Shortly after, they returned and told us that the governors had accepted our reply and did not set any store by the Chinese complaints. They also said that they had addressed each governor separately about our petition on the whores. They had promised to give it their due attention.

17 Nothing happened. Two junks arrived.

18 Another one. In the evening, Denbyōe told us that two Dutch ships had been spotted. But,

according to Brouckhorst's report that they had sailed late, they should not be expected so soon.

19–22 Nothing happened.

Arrival of the *Gekroonde Liefde*

23 Kichibyōe and Hachizaemon told me of rumours that ships had been spotted ten miles off shore. Later they came bearing further news that there was definitely a ship off the Nomo Bight. I requested a *bongiois* and had boats prepared, which were dispatched at two o'clock with the usual letters of instruction.

75 While we were sitting down with the interpreters and the *otona*, we fell to discussing whether it might be the ambassador. I asked them how they thought he might come ashore. They thought that, if he liked, he could come on a barge or even two, or in his own boat. I told them that according to international law it was the custom to show an ambassador of a friendly nation – on which terms we were with Japan – some honours on behalf of the local government. They were silent, put their heads together and had nothing more to say, but left. Shortly after, we could see the ship and news came that it was the flute the *Gekroonde Liefde* out of Siam. She reported that the yacht the *Griffioen* had sailed from the Siamese river four days ahead of her and the *Witte Paard* was to follow four or five days after her. One hour before sundown she dropped anchor in front of the lodge.

24 I went on board with Brouckhorst to give the usual instructions and to muster the crew. This went satisfactorily and we started to unload. In the afternoon the governors sent us a message that another ship was off shore. We trusted that she was the *Griffioen*. Another vessel was sent with the usual instructions. Four hours after sundown they returned and told us that the ship had been becalmed for seven or eight days and now she was anchored off Iōshima.

Arrival of the *Griffioen*

25 Easterly wind, which holds the ship up. Heavy rain later in the day, but in the afternoon the wind veered southerly and we saw her enter the bay and she dropped anchor. Notwithstanding the rain, on

the orders of the governors, the interpreters came to inquire, now that we had received letters from the three ships, if these letters contained any news of Macao and the state of the Portuguese affairs in their holdings.

76 Had we heard if they were making plans to come to Japan, etcetera? We replied that we knew nothing of it and the Portuguese power in these regions was declining and as far as we could tell, there was nothing to fear from them. Because I imagined that they might already have been told by the Chinese, I told them that last year one of our ships, on its way from Siam to Tayouan, loaded with rice had run into a storm off the Macao Islands and for her own safety she had sought harbour there with the intention of proceeding on her journey when the weather cleared. But the people of Macao had learnt of this through their fishermen and, because of the scarcity of foodstuff in the town, had forced the ship to sell the rice for a reasonable price. The ship had done so and because the monsoon had passed, she had returned to Batavia and had reported to our government how miserable Macao was, being almost destitute of everything. A weight of 10 taels of gold, for which 120 taels of fine silver are paid elsewhere, costs only 90 taels there, but they could not exchange it with the Chinese because of a lack of silver and other merchandise, which proves their miserable state and lack of resources. The interpreters said that the governors had been discussing with them whether Brouckhorst, who is the captain-elect, would be able to make any statements about the insults committed by the Portuguese ambassador. But, as he had been in charge of the Tonkin factory and had not been further than Tayouan since, it was not likely that he would have any further knowledge of the matter.

77 The governors had then said that the ambassador would clarify the matter. I renewed my request about the public women. They thought that a few more days should pass before they could remind the governors of it. Every day junks are arriving, and it is not possible to mention them here every time. Thus I refer to the separate notes. One of these junks was found to carry a pass issued by Overtwater to a certain Chinese called Sauwan, a citizen of the town

of Zeelandia, dated 28 March 1649, licensing him to sail on his junk, 1800 piculs' weight, from Tayouan to Quinam and back without visiting any other place, except in case of emergency. This proves this scoundrel's inequity.

26 Part of the *Liefde* has been unloaded and she is in need of ballast. I decided to give her a portion of the dressed stones, as we shall also do when the other ships are unloaded.

27 The *Liefde* has been unloaded. The ammunition has been taken to the governors' arsenal. We have inspected the books and the papers. The *bongiois* has sealed the hold. The same day we started to unload the *Griffioen*. In the afternoon, on behalf of the governors, Kichibyōe and Hakuzaemon came to find out if the Chinese had made a false accusation. When the Chinese were in Tayouan, they seem to have seen two Portuguese being carried to Macao in one of our best ships, after they had been honoured by the firing of cannon.

78 I said that the Chinese were scoundrels and they were short of memory, for last year when I arrived I had told them about the Portuguese. They had remained on one of our ships and their galliot had missed them and thus they had arrived in Tayouan, where they had not enjoyed more hospitality than the lowliest Chinese. On the orders of the President, my *merinho* or provost had lodged them. They protested that they were aware of it and had informed Governor Saburōzaemon at the time. With regard to their departure to Macao, this had been in the last northern monsoon. They had arrived in Tayouan on a certain damaged ship from Manila. After the ship had been repaired and was ready to return to its rendez-vous, they had been sent off on a Chinese sampan, which our people had taken along for this purpose, near one of the islands off Macao, so that our ship would not have to sail within reach of their town. That our ship had fired, had been in honour of their government – which is our custom on arrival or departure – and not because of these rascals. I asked them to inform the governors of this and to take into consideration how the Chinese and other covert enemies of the Company present

all our actions to the governors in an unfavourable light in order to destroy us in Japan. They promised to do their best. A few hours later they told me that they had given the governors satisfaction and had reminded them of the case last year.

28 Another junk arrived. We have been unloading the *Griffioen*. I gave orders for a load of stones to be taken to her as ballast.

79 29 The ship has been unloaded and the ammunition has been brought ashore. The *bongioisen* have inspected the ship and I have inspected the books and papers in their presence. We returned to the lodge together. The rudders have not been removed, because it is difficult to do so. Another junk arrived, which is said to be the fifth from Cambodia.

30–31 Nothing happened.

September

1 Another junk arrived.

2 The interpreters came with one of the commissioner of Kinokuni's minions. He paid us 20 *schuiten* of silver for the two buffaloes which were sent to him last year. I treated him to some *sakana* and confitures. I told him that if His Highness needed anything else from our regions, he should let me know. He was very pleased. He did not doubt that when the new captain travelled to Edo, his master, whom he said favoured our nation, would request a few things from him.

3 The interpreters came to inquire about two Genoese ships which had been taken in Batavia. Brouckhorst told them about the affair in general terms. They said that they had heard that these people had designs on Japan and therefore they applauded the taking of ships and the Governor-General's precautions. They asked whether the governors should be told now or should they wait till the arrival of the ambassador. Our advice was to wait, for our government had not written about it, but all was based on hearsay. The ambassador would give us full elucidation. They agreed.

80 I added that Japan could rely on us for such services as long as they trusted us and treated us as faithful allies. We were powerful enough to bar entrance to

the Indies to all ships because of our good relations with the Indian kings and the reports we received daily from all quarters.

4–7 Nothing happened.

Arrival of the *Kampen*

8 There was a rumour of a ship and shortly after confirmation came, but it was still far off the Nomo Bight. The wind was favourable and I thought it better to let her approach more before sending a vessel. At sundown she dropped anchor in the entrance of the bay. It was the flute the *Kampen* from Tonkin. She had been dispatched to Tayouan on 31 July together with the *Valk*. Her cargo is worth 254,126 guilders and consists of Tonkinese silk and, compared to previous years, few piece-goods, although there had been few competitors to compete with in the trade.

9 I sent twelve barges to tow the ship to the lodge. She dropped anchor in front of the lodge around noon. The *bongiois* and I went on board and found Senior Merchant Schillemans and his party in fair condition, but Master Jan Kant was critically ill and there was no hope of recovery. Schillemans complained of having suffered graver difficulties than last year in Tonkin and he was absolutely adamant about not returning there.

81 The lower-ranking men thought the situation was the same as before and business had been carried on as usual. Fifty-five chests of Japanese *schuitgeld* had been risked for the second time over sea on the *Valk* and had to be returned as superfluous capital. They had sent their ship's boat with thirteen men to the island of Nanao off the China Coast, but they had been chased away by over thirty junks lying between the island and the mainland. They had had to leave the men in the boat behind, who presumably all have lost their lives, which is a woeful incident.

10 It drizzled the whole day and we could not unload the ship.

11 Most of commodities have been unloaded.

12 In the morning, I was told that Master Jan Hendricksz Kant had died shortly after midnight.

I asked the interpreters if it would be possible to request that he be buried somewhere on an islet, but they gave me no hope for this and I let it pass. They brought permission to have a coffin made, which was done. The body was carried out at sea and dumped there. It is truly a deplorable indignity that these dogs do not consider a Christian worthy of a foot of earth. On the same day Zievert Hendricksz Kant, a brother of the deceased, and also critically ill, came ashore, as did some other sick men in order to convalesce. The ship was empty by the afternoon and I carried out an inspection together with the *bongiois*. When we returned ashore we were told that fishermen had spotted a ship.

Arrival of the *Witte Paard*

13 Thunderclaps and continuous rain. No ship appeared. Even if one was at the entrance of the bay, the darkness prevented her from making an approach. When it cleared somewhat in the afternoon, she was spotted from up on the mountain.

82 The governors sent us a message to confirm it. I immediately sent two junior merchants with the usual letter of instruction, but even before they returned the ship had already arrived. It was the *Witte Paard* from Siam. The journey had taken forty-eight days. She had encountered much adversity and on 20 August she had even run the risk of perishing off the Macao Islands, but with God's help she had been saved, suffering only the loss of her mainmast.

14 Rainy weather and we could not unload.

15 Rainy weather in the morning, but later it cleared. I requested the presence of the *bongioisen* and they came. We mustered the crew and read out the usual orders. We started to unload the ship, but rain put a stop to it in the afternoon.

Arrival of the *Witte Valk*

16 We continued to unload the ship, but we had to stop again. While we were having dinner in the evening, we heard a cannon being fired. We thought it sounded louder than that of a junk and when we looked out we found that it had come from a Dutch

ship. She was anchored in the roadstead and in the moonlight we took it to be the *Valk*. Although it was already late, I had the *otona* ask the governors for permission to send a barge to find out, but it was refused.

17 In the morning, it turned out that it was indeed the *Valk*, hailing from Tonkin via Tayouan. She had left there on the 2nd of this month and brought me a letter, dated the 1st, from the President and Council of Formosa.

83 She brought a small cargo worth 2600 guilders. The interpreters and the *otona* declared that the governors were surprised by the small size of our cargoes. I replied that, on our behalf, they should tell the governors that this showed our attachment to Japan, for, considering the great expense which carrying such small cargoes entailed, their town enjoyed more profit from them than my masters and they could rely on us continuing to bring them as long as we could, which they believed we would. Master Jan Kant's brother also died during the night and he was taken to the same grave. The interpreters told me of another ship. It is a large ship and flying a flag on top. Because all the other ships which had been destined hither had arrived, this led us to assume that it was the ambassador. I decided to go with Brouckhorst and two senior *bongioisen*. We went past the Papeneiland, but it was so misty that no ship could be seen from the top of the mountains. Two approaching barges told us that the ship had been at the entrance of the bay but had put to sea again and we returned.

18 There was no news and because we feared that ignorance might lead the ship to choose the Arima Bight instead of the entrance of the bay, the governors gave permission to send deputies there. Merchant Jan de Groot and First Mate Pieter Doedesz were sent to look for the ship and guide her here.

84 The *Witte Paard* was empty by the afternoon. The ammunition and the rudder were removed and the usual inspection was carried out, the hatches were sealed and we came ashore with the *bongiois*. Shortly after, I went with another one to the *Witte Valk*, where we mustered the crew and had the

orders read, so that tomorrow, although it is Sunday, we can start unloading.

Arrival of the *Robijn*

19 With a south-westerly wind and under a clear blue sky we started to unload the *Witte Valk*. We were looking forward to the ambassador. Around ten o'clock the yacht flying the top pennant sailed into the bay and dropped anchor in front of the lodge an hour later. De Groot announced that it was the yacht the *Robijn*. The person whom the Governor-General had sent as envoy, by the name of Petrus Blockhovius, had died on 15 August and Merchant Andries Frisius was on board as his replacement. I had already requested *bongioisen* and we immediately went on board with Brouckhorst and Schillemans. There we indeed met Frisius, who had been appointed to replace the envoy in case he died – which seemed to have been predicted.⁴ I announced this to the interpreters and the *bongioisen* even before we left the cabin. They asked some sharp questions about the quality and status of the deceased. In order not to create any further obstacles – for merchants being used for such a post fills them with disgust – I told them that he had been a *doctor iuris* and because of his learning he had been sent directly from the Netherlands to fulfil this honourable charge.

85 He had not even spent a fortnight in Java and undoubtedly the fatigue of such a gruelling journey had been the cause of his death – he not being accustomed to the sea and was already 50 years old, at which age, if one is accustomed to the cold, one cannot adjust to the Indian climate. The body had been carried on the ship and, if necessary, could be

4 See the instruction given to Petrus Blokhovius by the Governor-General and Councillors of the Indies. VOC 873, fos. 60–68. For a transcription of the text, see *Diaries kept by the heads of the Dutch factory in Japan. Dagregisters gehouden door de opperhoofden van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan*, Vol. XII November 5, 1649–December 31, 1651 (Tokyo: Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo, 2013), pp. 243–263. The instruction also states that Frisius should keep a *dagregister*. For this *dagregister*, see VOC 1176, fos. 585–639.

viewed. All humans were mortal and so this gentleman had suffered his fatal end. They accepted this explanation. They asked what rank his replacement had. They were told that he was a member of the College of Justice and had served as secretary of that college in the Indies for some years. Thus informed they intended to go ashore together to report to the governors. I told them that we did not doubt that the envoy should be allowed to go ashore with his arms. They promised to see to this. After lunch they returned to the lodge with two *bongioisen* and their attendants and on behalf of the governors they allowed Mr Frisius to come ashore with his arms, but none of his suite was allowed to do so. We, the *opperhoofden*, could take five or six of our personnel on board. We did everything according to their proposal. All honours had to come from our side. The letters were taken to the governors and they were told that the gunner had also arrived.

86 In the evening the interpreters came to inform the envoy that the governors had read the letters. His Excellency, or in this case, his replacement had travelled from afar and should rest. The governors were particularly pleased with the gunner. In the meantime the *Valk* has been unloaded of most of her cargo.

20 Early in the morning, on behalf of the governors, the interpreters came again in the company of our supervisor, Kurōzaemon. They said that the governors were pleased with the letters and asked if the envoy had anything else to tell them. They were told no. They questioned him about the news from Europe, and they were told about the treaty between Spain and our nation, and with the Kings of France and Sweden, the new altercations between us and the Portuguese, the seizure of the two Genoese ships at Batavia. Mr Frisius told them the details and they wrote everything down for the governors' information. They returned in the afternoon to check our explanations with their notes. I asked them to do their best to ensure that the governors allow the journey to Court be undertaken at the earliest opportunity, even if only to Osaka, to meet up with the news from Edo. They would mention it to the governors. The *Valk* is empty. The books have been inspected.

87 In the evening two interpreters came to tell me that the envoy could not travel before a reply had come from Court. This would take about twenty-eight days. Express mail would leave tomorrow. Thus we had ample time to prepare. I asked if it would be possible to keep the small amount of white silk out of the *pancado*, but they said that would be impossible and dared not request it.

21 We went on board, the crew was mustered, and the placard read. A start was made with the unloading of the ship. While this was in progress, three or four different troops of Japanese, in the service of the governors and others, came on board. They inspected everything closely, even going up to the coffin of the deceased, lifting the shroud and touching the coffin. They found everything in order. According to the interpreters they were satisfied. We treated them with as much honour as we could, some had a drink, others refused. The wet weather put an early stop to the unloading.

22 Nor could we make any progress today.

23 We resumed the unloading. I proposed to the interpreters that the envoy present the gifts to the governors in person, as this might increase their willingness to help us at Court. They thought it a civil proposal and would confer on it. Because the decaying corpse of the deceased was exuding odours, although it is kept in a well-closed box, we intend to have a larger coffin made and to fill it with camphor and keep it on board and respectfully take it back.

88 So far, I had been hoping that the governors would prohibit the public women from entering the island during the trading season – it being forbidden on penalty of corporal punishment to honourable women, but the interpreters expect that there will be no change. However, they will do what they can. I issued a prohibition to this effect with a heavy penalty, as can be seen from the copy. Last year, by request of the *opperhoofd* of the Tonkin factory, I had also asked for some timber. It had been promised us by this season. Now we would like to have it, and I had sent the *otona* to the governors to request it, as well as some for Tayouan, but it had been refused. The governors have prohibited the export of timber except for some *sugi* boards. We cannot

object. The governors have permitted the purchase of a mast for the *Witte Paard*, this being essential. During the slack season I had tried to obtain some spars for a low price to keep in store, but no permission was granted. I also asked the *otona* and the interpreters to propose to the governors that the munitions and the rudder remain on the *Robijn* out of respect for the envoy, according to international law. They did not think this would be granted.

24 In the morning, they told us that we should wait before proceeding to unload the ship, for the governors were with the Lords of Hakata and Hizen and they could not see them.

89 25–26 Continuous rain and hard wind and nothing could be done. For some time I had been trying to have our *otona* find out from *Burgemeester* Sakuemon if we could proceed with our trade when the envoy arrived. I asked again and was told that as soon the *Robijn* had been unloaded, we could request free trade. The *burgemeester* had discussed it with the governors and did not doubt it would be granted. But the Japanese take it as an insult that the envoy has come with a ship full of merchandise. This nation holds us in contempt. They want all the honours from our side but we do not enjoy the least courtesy from theirs.

27 The wet weather continues and there is no hope of finishing unloading the *Robijn*. I sent for the interpreters and the *otona* and asked for their advice with regard to having the envoy present the governors with gifts now. Also concerning unloading the munitions from the ship, for time was flying by and it might continue to rain for some days. I asked them to request permission to have the *pancado* settled on the small amount of white silk we have imported and the trade opened. They were willing to do so. They returned in the afternoon and told us that they had put all my requests to the governors. They had promised to confer and give their reply the same day or tomorrow.

90 But in the afternoon the weather cleared and the *bongioisen* came to finish the business on the *Robijn*. The interpreters told us that the governors had ordered that the munitions had to be taken from this ship as from all other ships, but the balls

could remain on the ship. Concerning the gifts they had not decided yet. The representatives of the five cities are expected to come tomorrow for the silk. We went on board and after the usual inspection of the books and papers, I returned ashore with the *bongioisen*. We have also had the coffin of the deceased put in a larger one filled with camphor.

28 On behalf of *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, the interpreters came with Kurōzaemon to inform me that the governors had given permission to settle the *pancado*. Because the amount is so small, the heads of the cities would not come to the lodge as usual, but we should state our asking price and the *burgemeester* would discuss it with the merchants and try to get the most for the Company. I replied that the silk had been bought for high prices and had mainly been sent here to show our goodwill. The 4 last piculs sent from Batavia had cost 450 taels and the other over 300 taels. I asked the interpreters to inform the *burgemeester* of this. I relied on his discretion in settling the price. The interpreters praised my move and thought that this would get us a higher price than any bargaining would have done. Time will tell.

91 The master and Magobei went looking for a mast for the *Witte Paard* in town. They found one but were charged 200 taels for it. They were able to bring down the price to 180 taels. While we were having a meal with the envoy at his home in the evening, all the interpreters and the *otona* came to tell us on behalf of the governors that the Chinese were pestering the governors daily with requests and complaints that several of their junks had been taken by our people. They request that the governors force us to restore them. They would like to know the truth of it and if our government had given any orders to seize Chinese junks sailing to and from Japan, like those from Cambodia and Quinam – for they had understood from the previous captains on successive occasions that we were doing so because of our wars with those kingdoms. The governors would like to know the truth of it, not only from both captains, but also from the envoy. We replied that our government had not given any orders to seize any other junks but those from the aforesaid kingdoms.

We had never done so or had tried to do so. We would continue to do so till those rulers had given us satisfaction, just as Brouckhorst had stated on his arrival that this year a junk from Quinam had been taken. We did not seize them off the Japanese coast, which, if we wished to do so, we could readily do, but off their own coasts, because then we were certain that their home ports were there. We did not act indiscriminately, the governors could rest assured of that. We need not tell the governors what perfidious people these Chinese were.

92 They would always try to slander us in this empire, there was no doubt about it. The interpreters thought that the governors would be pleased to hear this. They also said that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon had conferred with the heads of the cities and they had almost as good reached an agreement. They thought it would be between 500 and 600 taels for three kinds. We said that we had hoped for more, but we relied entirely on his discretion and we would accept his decision.

29 Three interpreters came to announce that the governors had been pleased with our resolute replies. They had said that whatever the Company did in those kingdoms did not concern them. Shortly after, Denbyōe and Shōsuke came to congratulate us on the start of trade, for *Burgemeester* Sakuemon had reached an agreement on the *pancado*. The prices were 580 taels per picul for the first quality, 550 for the second, and 510 for the third quality. We expressed our contentment and had him thanked for his troubles. They also told us that the governors would not accept any present from the envoy before his presentation at Court. Furthermore, we need not ask for the ambassador's ship to wait for his return, for the governors had no objections. In the afternoon, the *bongiois* and the landlords removed the seals from the warehouses and we could take charge of the Company's commodities.

30 Four *bongioisen* came to inspect the rayskins and the eagle-wood, to see if there was any suitable for the Shogun.

93 We helped them as best as we could and treated them to *sakana*. We intend to hold the first sale tomorrow and started to put out the goods on

view. We also told the interpreters to urge the copper merchants to settle the final price so that we could receive our orders in time. In the evening, they came with their clerk and noted the goods we intend to sell in order to have bills put up. We have also been busy selecting the presents. We expect that the envoy need not present gifts to each and everyone who receives gifts from the captain on the annual journey. We asked the interpreters what they thought of this. They thought we had a point, but their opinion did not carry much weight. They would discuss it with *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and others. We thought that the governors should advise on this matter because of the appeal our government in Batavia had made to them. They promised to find out and report back.

October

1 The rainy weather prevented us from putting out the deerskins. This has to be done on the streets. Shōsuke appeared and told us that the island had been opened and everyone was allowed to view the merchandise. I asked him and the other interpreters to request the governors to have some *bongioisen* supervise the crowds viewing the goods to prevent any thefts, for our personnel does not carry enough authority.

94 They promised to do so. They returned promptly saying it had been granted. The warehouses would not be opened before they had arrived. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came with the heads of the shogunal cities and their suite to congratulate us on the arrival of the envoy and the start of our trade. We treated them as best as we could and assured them that our government would import more white silk into Japan when possible. The viewing of the goods was carried out in an orderly fashion and the rabble was kept away from the warehouses thanks to the supervision of the *bongioisen*. Governor Saburōzaemon had ordered that the people should be allowed to view the goods to their heart's content and the Dutch should be allowed to trade properly. In case of a dispute or refusal to pay, they would mete out justice to the merchants, if required. We applauded this measure.

2 Early in the morning, it was dry and we put out the deerskins to view, so that they could be included in the sale, but this could not take place, for the interpreters said that some of the silk merchants had not been able to inspect the goods to their satisfaction yesterday and had requested permission to do so again today. This was done to their satisfaction. They also told us of several requests from the *tonos* from Arima, Hizen, Hakata, Ōmura, Gotō, and the governors [here].

95 I told them that I was willing to fulfil their requests from our stock, but that I wished to have a definite decision on our presentation of gifts here and in Edo by the envoy and the captain. Then we could settle the official's requests. They understood this. They also said that one of the Nagasaki *burgemeesters* and the heads of the cities intended to attend the sale and therefore some lined mats should be placed on the floor. They arrived and the sale commenced and, Praise the Lord, it was successful. Most of the commodities, especially the Bengal prime quality silk, brought an excellent price, 100 taels per picul more than last year. This leads one to conclude that when this quality of silk becomes better known in this country, it will find a good demand. The San Thome rayskins raised 51 taels and 2 mas per hundred, which is a rise of 5 per cent. The sandalwood yielded a loss and need not be sent for the time being. Because of the presence of the officials, the sale was conducted exceptionally quietly and in a very orderly manner. Lots of goods were delivered today.

3 We started to deliver the bulk goods. I again told the interpreters to urge the copper merchants to settle the price, for they have to do this and not we. We settled the price for 500 piculs of iron for Tayouan and also sold the skins which we could not sell yesterday because of the rain. The cowhides raised half of what they did last year, because the Chinese have imported a great many and also because a lot of deerskins have been offered for sale.

96 They found a better market, especially the Tayouanese assortment.

4 The delivery of the goods is making little progress because the Japanese are slow in receiving the

goods. We have made preparations for the second sale and put some more goods on view. The interpreters complained that they could not reach all of the copper merchants and the governors had ordered that all of them need to be present before we could negotiate with them.

5 We put the remaining goods on view and tried to announce the sale, although the wet weather had prevented us from delivering sugar and skins. The interpreters told us that the sale of the sappanwood and other bulk goods has to be postponed, because the governors wish to discuss something with the heads of the merchants. We did not mind because the Company will not suffer because of the delay. The buyers of the Coast rayskins complained about 1900 pieces, claiming that these were not from the Coast but another kind. We politely rejected their complaints and told them that they had had ample opportunity to inspect the goods.

6 The weather was clear and we urged the merchants to take receipt of their goods, especially the skins and the sugar. Around nine o'clock, the *burgemeester* and the heads of the cities came to the lodge, accompanied by the *bongioisen* to keep away the rabble and everyone was admitted to view the goods. The first Chinese junk has departed.

97 Several important merchants came to my room. I entertained them and also some of the copper merchants, but because their associates did not show up, they would not negotiate. In the evening, on behalf of Saburōzaemon, the interpreters and the *otona* came to raise some points about the *alcatief* which he had ordered for the Shogun three years ago and which has now been put on the list of gifts which will be presented to him. The governor thinks that the Shogun might be reluctant to order anything in future, therefore he would like to know what it cost and if it could be kept out of the gifts. I replied that the Japanese ruler enjoyed such a great esteem with our government, that none of us would ask for any payment, even if it were ten times more grand. It was true that Governor Saburōzaemon had handed the models after which these *alcatieven* should be made to my predecessor Van Tzum and our government had taken care of the order, but

not with the intention of asking for payment at any time, for we only wished to oblige His Majesty and present him with whatever pleased him most every year, and we considered ourselves lucky that this small present, which we knew would please His Majesty, had been included among the ambassador's gifts. We would be happy to know with what gifts we could oblige him every year. This compliment seemed to please them.

98 7 Fine weather and we delivered the deerskins. The bulk goods cannot be delivered as long as the merchants are conferring. I was told today that the Chinese of the junk which arrived from Batavia intend to equip a larger one because of the large profits. There are also more of them who have their eyes set on this voyage. This should be averted in the interest of the Company. At eleven o'clock the *burgemeester* and the heads of the cities came onto the island and the sale commenced. This second sale was also very successful. If it proceeds like this, we shall almost reach last year's profits. There were two parties of which the highest bidder was absent, thus the batch was held up for we could not sell it to the next bidder. It seems that the *burgemeester* will report this to the governors and in that case we shall have to wait for their decision. We were busy with the sale till three o'clock in the afternoon and we still had not heard from the copper merchants. I discussed this with the interpreters and on the advice of the governors they thought it best to have notices affixed that whoever had copper for sale could bring his samples to the lodge and negotiate. They thought that this way would yield the best price. Shortly after, the Lord of Arima came to my room with a large suite and demanded to be shown the imported rarities. But two of the governors' *bongioisen* had told the interpreters, who in their turn whispered to us that this should be refused by saying that the goods were still packed and we had nothing on hand. This was done, but it took an hour of our time. We delivered about twenty batches of the sold goods.

8 We wanted to put out more skins on view to be sold separately, while the other goods are being delivered, but the rain prevented this.

99 Today we inspected the spyglasses and spectacles which have arrived. We found them to be badly damaged. The costliest spyglasses and spectacles, for which people here are most eager, were for the most part darkened or cracked, just like the crazing on thin ice. We judged that this had not been caused by falling or rough treatment, but because the crystal of the glasses had cracked of itself after having lain too long, for they all looked as if they had been covered with flour. We found the faults to be such that they cannot be prevented by using a preservative. Therefore no crystal spectacles or tubes should be sent in future, but the very best common glasses, which are not subject to this kind of deterioration. I have elaborated on this point because this nation is so desirous of these articles, not caring for expensive jewellery, but only for the glasses. We have settled the dispute with the buyers of the Coast rayskins. We had to let off a hundred pieces, which we would rather do than argue in front of the governors.

9 We have delivered the remaining goods. We put out a goodly amount of skins and settled with the buyer of the powdered sugar, with whom we have had quite a few arguments because the sugar has never been imported in chests or weighed and therefore does not have its own balance. He wanted to have the sugar weighed with the balance with which the sappanwood is weighed, which we refused. But we reached a settlement. In the evening, on behalf of the governors, the interpreters and the *otona* came to tell us that the *alcatief* which had been ordered for His Majesty would remain a present, but it should be handed to Saburōzaemon, he being the one who had ordered it, and he asked to know the price. I replied, having already pretended not being able to ask anything from His Majesty, that the price should be sent from Batavia next year.

100 They also said that they had understood from *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and the governors' secretaries – but not from the governors themselves – that the envoy needed to have gifts for all the persons whom the captain gave gifts to every year, but if Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and the officials thought that he need not present any gifts other than to the Shogun, the Prince, and the

six senior councillors – as other ambassadors usually do in this empire – then the goods could be returned or the captain could sell them in Miyako and, as these decisions are like laws to us here, we thought it better to comply and we shall swallow the contempt with which the envoy is being treated on this occasion.

10 It is Sunday and the copper merchants have finally shown up, at least twenty of them, accompanied by the *otona* and the interpreters. We got right down to business. Although the samples were similar to the previous ones, they demanded 13 taels and 5 mas. I told them that we had lost precious time and renewed our bid of 11 taels and 3 mas, adding that they should have started with their last asking price of 11 taels and 7 mas and we could have settled it quickly. They said that that was last year's and now was another time. We said it was the same negotiation and since then there had been no change to do with copper. They would not yield and left without having done any business. In the afternoon we sold a batch of skins and the price was higher than at the first sale. Two junks departed. They are said to be carrying more provisions than in any previous year because of the scarcity in China.

101 They are also exporting a certain kind of root called *woeringh* and an inferior quality of copper of the kind we rejected last year.

11 We put more goods on view for the third sale. The skins we sold yesterday were delivered and because it was dry, we started to deliver the sappanwood. Two interpreters came to tell me that the patrol boats guarding two of the ships in the roadstead were needed elsewhere and thus the ships were left without guards which did not mean more freedom for them. I sent a note to advise them of this. It is clear that they have no intention of allowing us more freedom. I discussed the matter of the copper with the interpreters, reminding them of last year's negotiations and the difference with the merchants this year. They were of the opinion that if each merchant could negotiate for himself, we would reach a better deal than in this way in which they had to sell jointly, which had been ordered by the governors. Tomorrow and the day after was a Japanese

holiday and we would have to wait till after to reach a settlement.

12 Notwithstanding the Japanese holiday,⁵ Kichibyōe, who had not come for three or four days because he had been indisposed, came to visit me, mainly to tell me what he thought about the copper dealings. He advised us to stick to our bid of last year and not to offer more until they decreased their price.

102 He thought that the price could be fixed between 11 and 12 taels for copper according to the samples. He said that there was at least 8000 piculs in town and some merchants were willing to sell. He had spoken with some of them and he had also learnt that there was a lot of alloyed copper among the lot, thus when we received it we should pay close attention to it. He promised to do his best that this price was accepted. I thanked him.

13 The goods that had been put on view were inspected. The mast for the *Witte Paard* was taken on board.

14 Another holiday and nothing noteworthy happened.

15 We held our third sale. It was also a success. On the orders of Governor Saburōzaemon, *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came to inspect the large *alcatief*. He asked for it to be placed on the scale, and its exact measurements were taken. He told me that the governor had sent him to tell me that because he had ordered it for the Shogun, it could not be used as a gift, and he had to know the price or else it could not be sent to Edo. I repeated my excuses of the 6th, adding that notwithstanding this, a price would have to be fixed. I added that our government was ever willing to oblige the Shogun, nor had we ever fallen short in fulfilling the wishes of some of the officials. He remained for an hour and a half.

103 An hour later he returned and said that he had told the governor what I had said and had also given him the measurements of the *alcatief*, but they did not tally and he had decided to let us have this *alcatief* to be included in the gifts, provided that

5 The *Kunchi* Festival.

the one ordered would be made according to the model post-haste with the price added, and if any questions were raised in Edo we should say that it had not been finished, but would be sent next year. I thanked Sakuemon for his efforts on our behalf. Shortly after, the interpreters and the *otona* showed up to ask me for my final bid for the copper and they would do their best to obtain this. I told them last year I had offered 11 taels and 3 mas and the merchants had asked 11 taels and 7 mas and we had almost reached a settlement. They promised to do their best. An hour later they returned and said that the merchants asked 12 taels. I repeated my old song that they should start where they had left off. They promised to do their best, but I suspect that some of them, and especially Denbyōe, are encouraging the merchants and want to get the highest price, thus the very people who are supposed to translate for us and assist us, are the ones who bite us. In the afternoon, eight or ten merchants came to my room and wasted their breath. They stuck to 118 mas and we to 113 mas. Kichibyōe asked us to name our final price, but we would not unless they lowered theirs, as he had proposed to me before.

104 Because he thought he knew it on the basis of our previous discussion, before they lowered their price, he prematurely offered 115 mas. Nonetheless, they stuck to their price and left without having done any business. This is not to our liking, for time is flying by.

16 We have delivered some goods from the last sale. Nothing was heard from the copper merchants. They are deliberately exasperating us. Because the time for departure is approaching, they think they can press us to accept a high price or because of the great hurry in receiving the copper, they might get away with mixing it with alloyed copper. This really is an exceptionally vexing problem.

17 We have finally reached a settlement and have contracted for the delivery of 4000 piculs of copper for 11 taels and 6 mas per picul. Each city, Miyako, Sakai, Osaka, and Nagasaki, was assigned a warehouse in which to store its copper. Each would stamp its copper with its seal and we would receive it in chests of 1 picul's weight. The Dutchmen who

took receipt of the chests would write their names and that of whom they received it on a piece of paper which would be put inside each chest. This would reveal the name of whoever cheated. I gave orders to have a number of chests made. I have not had them made beforehand so as not to give away our desire for the copper.

18 A good batch of copper has been delivered. We have put out some skins on view. Cornelis Claasz, of Warmond, died and was thrown into the sea. He had served as our gardener.

19 Copper has been delivered. We received permission to export 6000 bales of rice and 2000 bales of wheat.

105 We have been ordered to dispatch at least three ships on the 20th of their month, which is the 25th. We promised to do this if we received some copper. They would not agree to this, the ships can leave without copper. Junks are leaving every day.

20 Chests have been made for the copper and we started to weigh it on four scales. We also sold about 25,000 skins of different qualities. In the afternoon, a sailor of the *Robijn*, who had been ill for some days, died. Not even half an hour later these vultures had already taken the body away to dump it out at sea without anyone of the factory being aware of it.

21 We discovered that a great deal of the copper from Osaka was inferior to the sample. I ordered to put a stop to it. Others did not give the full weight. I dealt with it as far as I was able. The most aggravating part was that the landlords opened the chests which had been delivered yesterday and had already been sealed, sometimes even breaking them to pieces, to check if nothing else but copper was packed in the chests, although innumerable Japanese were present as witnesses. These are the vexations we have to suffer.

22 We continued as before and we started to load the flute the *Maasland* and by the evening she was half full. Yesterday and today the governors have been pressing us to make haste, because three ships have to leave on the 25th. Their pressing and urging are indescribable.

23 The *Maasland* has been fully loaded and we started to load the *Valk*.

106 There were more problems with the copper. Junior Merchant Willem Thijmons, who is competent in brass-founding and thus has a good knowledge of copper, and who had been appointed to supervise the receipt of it, came to tell me that the copper was inferior to the sample. Thus I had a stop put to the work. I would rather have no copper than any that was inferior to the samples. Because of the pressures of time, the Japanese are trying to cheat us. In the evening, the *Valk* also had most of her load. The vexations which we had to suffer today cannot be described. When it was dark, on behalf of the governors, Kichibyōe and Denbyōe came to tell me that on the 20th of their month, that is the 25th, three ships have to depart, three days later another ship, four days later the fifth ship, and on the last day of their month, which is 4 November, I have to leave on the last ship. The envoy's ship was not included and I could wait for her, if I so wished. I riposted that we still had to deliver 2000 piculs of sappanwood, many bulk goods still had to be sold and so forth, but there could be no argument about it.

24 We have been extremely busy. A ship was being loaded through each of the water-gates, copper was being weighed on three places. The flute the *Kampen* was not given time to get rid of her ballast and take on copper and because night fell, she could not take on her load of rice and wheat either. In the evening the *bongioisen* were still sitting at the water-gate writing by the light of a candle. Three interpreters and the *otona* came to inform me that we have to be ready early in the morning.

Departure of the *Maasland*, *Kampen*, and *Witte Valk*

107 25 At dawn we were already being pressed to hurry up and by the afternoon all three ships had been dispatched. The value of the cargoes amounts to 482,932 guilders. [Also given separately.] When I returned on shore I checked the remainder of the Company's goods, and because no news has arrived from Edo, I left all the remaining Dutch goods at the factory, for the remainder can easily be sold out of season and there should be no shortages in the gifts

to be presented by the envoy and by Brouckhorst. I added what was left to the rest to be put on view tomorrow and if possible be sold in the afternoon, for in three days, and then three days after that, two more ships have to sail. The *Griffioen* will sail directly to Siam and the *Liefde* via Tayouan. Because no news has arrived from Edo, the governors refuse to accept their customary gifts and for this reason, Saburōzaemon is said to wait before travelling to Edo.

26 Before dawn we were summoned to load the ship for Siam. I sent for the forty steps for the Governor-General's residence, of which only fifteen, one of which cracked, could be loaded. Thus the remainder will have to be sent on the *Liefde* and the largest pieces, ninety in all, will be loaded on the *Robijn*. We also loaded some chests of copper.

108 We have settled the price for the lacquerware that was ordered for Siam last year. It was rather high, because the pieces are not ordinary and after this country's fashion. Some remaining goods were put on view and sold in the afternoon. I also had the copper merchants told that we could not receive any more copper today because of the governors' pressuring us to leave, but if they wished to deliver some more, they would have to do so to my successor after the departure of the ships. When I went to greet the *bongioisen* at the water-gate, which we have to do twice or thrice a day when they are here, I told them of our difficulties because of having to make such haste. I knew that Kichibyōe, who did the translation, regretted this and I had him inquire if it would be possible to get an extension of one or two days for the last ship, so that the accounts could be settled. They thought that no change could be made, but if it was brought down to one day, they might try to achieve something, but they did not expect it would be possible.

27 I settled with the merchants and they were paid today. The remaining skins were delivered and the *Griffioen* was loaded. I paid the lacquerers.

Departure of the *Griffioen*

28 Early in the morning, the *Griffioen* was dispatched and she reached the Papeneiland in the

afternoon. I was assured that tomorrow news will arrive from Edo about the envoy. I hope so.

109 29 To all appearances, we had a cease-fire and I settled with several people. We made preparations to start loading the *Liefde* tomorrow. We went to bed without any news. It is five weeks since the messenger left.

30 We started to load the *Liefde*. All the copper and most of the rice has been loaded. Kichibyōe and Shōsuke came to inform me that we could visit the governors. They took this to be a good omen. They would not be receiving me if they had not had news from the Court. They also thought that it would be a good idea to present the governors and other officials here with a double present, to prevent a larger single present creating a custom. I agreed, relying entirely on their good judgement.

31 In the morning, we continued to load. The interpreters again came to discuss the gifts, but they had decided that it should not be a double gift but – as had been decided on the departure of Versteeghen – a large single gift should be presented. I shall have a respite for my departure but not an hour longer than the 1st day of their 10th month.⁶ They also came to inquire after the European news regarding the peace. I repeated what I stated before. Then they went to the envoy and my successor, to find out if we were unanimous on this subject, which they found we were. Everything was noted down.

110 This was for the benefit of the governors, but also for their own when they were in Edo. We had a discussion and were almost certain that hostilities would erupt again between us and the Portuguese.

November

Departure of the *Liefde*

1 In the morning, the *Liefde* set sail for Tayouan carrying letters to the factories on the Coromandel Coast, in Bengal, Surat, and Persia. We prepared the gifts for the governors, the *burgemeesters*, our supervisor, the interpreters, and servants, with the intention of presenting them the following day. But while I was having supper with the envoy, five interpreters

came to tell me that I had to postpone presenting the gifts to the governors till further notice or at least till news had come from Edo about the envoy. They said that it was expected any moment now. Both governors had discussed my departure and I would have to leave on the 5th, but the ship could stay at the entrance of the bay for a further two days if I had not finished my papers. I think it will be a while before there is any news about the envoy, which can only be taken as an affront to us and I intend to complain about it, but discretely, for nothing can be achieved here by doing so vociferously. I think the governors had been curious to find out what we would be giving them, especially Saburōzaemon, who is said to have been behind all of this, so he can give his major domo instructions for the receipt and sale of the gifts before his departure to Edo.

111 2 Like last year I prepared the gifts for the *otona*, the interpreters, and other servants so that they can be written off in the books. I have settled all accounts.

3 We have started to load the *Witte Paard*. The books have been closed. I have delivered the gifts which I mentioned yesterday. The interpreters told me that I shall have to take leave of the governors in the morning, but no news has arrived from Edo. They had said before that it would come within twenty-six to twenty-eight days, but there is some rumour that the Shogun is ill, and that this is the cause of the delay, but it seems far-fetched.

4 The last ship has been loaded. Brouckhorst and I went to the governors to say farewell. I told them that I regretted the difficult circumstances surrounding my forced departure, especially that I had to leave without being able to bring news about the embassy to my government. They replied that the time of departure had arrived and it was uncertain when that news would come, thus there was no question of waiting for it. They would extend Brouckhorst all possible favours after my departure. They were pleased that the trade had been carried out satisfactorily. I requested to say something more, which they granted. I intended to sail on the ship tomorrow, but I had not finished my paperwork, although we had been writing night and day to comply with their orders. Would they allow me

⁶ 5 November.

to stay here in the lodge for a further twenty-four hours and then go on board. They said that they could not allow this, but they would allow me to stay at the entrance of the bay for a further two days to finish my paperwork. They could not allow me to stay on shore because this would contravene the Shogun's orders. I thanked them and took my leave. The interpreters even said that we had enjoyed a great honour.

112 Who can comprehend these people? Nowhere else under the sun are the rules stricter!

5 I handed the command of the factory over to Anthonio van Brouckhorst. I said goodbye to the supervisor of the island and the interpreters, commending them to keep on executing their responsibilities towards the Company. They promised to do so. I said goodbye to my friends and embarked in the afternoon. I intend to spend two more days at the entrance of the bay to finish the paperwork. May the Lord grant us a safe journey and preserve the Company's effects and servants in this empire.