

Dagregister of Opperhoofd Gabriel Happart

12 November 1653–31 October 1654

1653

November

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

10 Shortly after midday, my predecessor Frederick Coyett – having bid farewell to Governors Yohyōe and Kiemon and having attended to business for as much as it was possible – left Tsukishima. First we went to the flute the *Witte Valk* and mustered the crew; then we went to the *Kampen* and did likewise. In the meantime, the *Valk* set sail. A short while later, Coyett followed on the *Kampen*. The ships are carrying a cargo of silver and some commodities, worth a total of 832,878 guilders. Just beyond the corner of the bay and within sight of the city, they dropped anchor. We returned to the lodge. According to custom, on behalf of the two governors, their private secretaries came in the evening to advise me and the other residents – whose names and number they wrote down – to be very careful with fire and light.

11 On the orders of the governors, Interpreter Hachizaemon came to note down the distance between many cities in the world and Nagasaki according to the usual sailing routes. Coyett, who had been asked for this a few days ago, had given me the list, made up from the notes of First Mate Fem Thijisz, of Hoorn, and I handed it over. I insert it here as it might be useful in future. [List.]

2 I urged the interpreters to request the governors that I be allowed to go to the *Kampen* tomorrow afternoon, where I need to discuss some matters with my predecessor. The transport of the Company's effects has to be signed and we need to discuss some matters which were brought up yesterday and the day before with regard to the governors and the first *burgemeester*, Sakuemon. They promised they would, but did not seem eager to do so. Late in the evening, Kichibyōe brought a note from Coyett, in which he asked for some papers, which

he had forgotten in his haste, and for some provisions. I gave him the things that were requested and told him to ask for permission to take it to Coyett. I would also like to go on board in person tomorrow. He was reluctant and only promised to confer with his colleagues. He expected a refusal and was apprehensive of Governor Yohyōe's temper, who is quick to start shouting about chopping off someone's head or having the other slit his belly when something displeases him. In the night I wrote a reply.

12 Four interpreters appeared in the lodge to tell me that they had received permission to send the things to the *Kampen* and I could go as well. This they considered an unusual favour. However, I should go at once and return before evening. They impressed this upon me at least seven times. I would have preferred to go later,

3 and should we not finish the papers, spend the night there. But this was not possible, for no vessel would take me. I delayed it till noon, at which time three *bongioisen* and Interpreter Magobei accompanied me to the *Kampen*. Coyett was surprised about my personal appearance. He had finished most of his work and only the trading books were left. They will be sent from Tayouan next year. After two or three hours I signed the transport of the Company's effects, worth 67,799 guilders. I received an original copy and some other papers belonging to the office. He wanted to wait at the entrance of the bay on account of the cliffs and sail tomorrow morning. We bid each other farewell and for the sake of courtesy and with our escorts' permission, we went to the *Witte Valk*. I handed the ship's officers the letter for Governor Cæsar. They told me when they intended to sail. We returned to Tsukishima at dusk. I told the interpreter to thank the governors most heartily for the favour extended.

13 Fine, clear weather, a northerly wind. Magobei told me that the governors had been very pleased about my timely return yesterday evening. They

were also pleased that Coyett was ready to put to sea today. I guess that he had done so already, because I heard some shots very early. He showed me two Dutch documents and asked me what they said. I told him that they were passes, one issued by Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn in July 1648 to a Chinese named Souqua and the other in June 1652 by the late Carel Reniersz.

14 Wind and weather as before. Magobei came to inform me that Governor Kiemon will depart for Edo tomorrow. He sent payment, [the amount of which he had decided] at his own discretion, for some goods for which he had asked, namely, for one of the Dutch thrum blankets, which had been brought this year for Chikugo-no-kami,

4 and which according to the invoice cost 82:10 guilders, he paid 10 taels; for half a piece of white, deep-pile plush, which according to the invoice cost 98:17:12 guilders, he also paid 10 taels. This is disgraceful. Apparently we shall not fare better with Yohyōe. Because it is not appropriate to request a personal meeting with Kiemon, I ordered the interpreter to greet him on my behalf, to wish him a happy journey and to thank him for his benevolence here and request prolongation thereof in Edo. In the evening, Magobei returned to write down in Japanese the description of some medicines, such as soft salves and plasters, for the governor. Our surgeon was sent for and he started to spell out some of the lightest of them – which have the fewest ingredients and which can be found here – from the *Amsterdam pharmacopœa*.¹ He found it too difficult and stopped, saying that it was superfluous to do it now, because it would have to be done again in Edo.

15 Wind and weather as before. Three interpreters came to ask after my health and to inform me that Kiemon had departed today. My compliments had been conveyed to His Honour in the appropriate manner. On such occasions, we provide our Mercurios² – as it were – with flour and water,

which are then mixed with Japanese sauces, prepared, kneaded and decorated according to what they judge would best titillate the palates of their exacting officials. The governor had been pleased with the compliments and best wishes and had said that I should look after my health. He promised to assist me when I appeared in Edo as would Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami. In reply to my explicit question, the interpreters said that I need not be in a hurry to follow him to Edo. I should set off in time – for no one prescribed for me – and if I departed on 10 December, I would arrive in Edo in good time before their *Shōgatsu*, which is on 17 February. Then I would not have to spend much time there fruitlessly, as they saw it.

5 16 Very fine weather, a northerly breeze. Some showers in the morning. Today and the previous days, I asked the interpreters when the lacquerers would come on the island to discuss the contract for the pieces that have been ordered. I also asked them if it was time to pack the corn mill which had been sent from Holland for Chikugo-no-kami. They had told Coyett and me that some weeks ago he sent orders that before I set off, it should be sent to Osaka on one of the boats of Lord Nabeshima Shinano-no-kami. From Osaka it should be transported to Edo by sea. But these men were in no hurry. Every year after the trade has ended and the ships have sailed, they are accustomed to take things easy for a few days, being exhausted from the duties they have to carry out.

17 I sent for them. Cold weather, the wind north-westerly. Four of our interpreters appeared. In the presence of Merchants Willem Thijmonsz and Johan Oetgens, I reminded them of the aforesaid. They promised that tomorrow they would bring all the lacquerers – this being the governors' order – and the *otona* of the island, who should be consulted on this. We went to view the mill together and to instruct a Japanese carpenter to make the wooden cases in which it needs to be packed. While we were together, without even having been given the opportunity to do so, Kichibyōe started to speak about the ambassador from Batavia and he asked if we had written to the Governor-General about him.

1 *Pharmacopœa Amstelredamensis*, compiled by the physicians of Amsterdam. The first edition was printed by Joan and Willem Blaeu in 1636.

2 Mercury: messenger of the gods.

I told him that the previous captain had already done so and I intended to do so as well via Siam or other routes. He replied that one should come in the best interests of the Company. [An ambassador] was also expected from Korea. He and the other interpreters also discussed our capture of the Chinese junks sailing hither and the seizure of their goods, in particular what happened in the summer of last year off the Siamese river. They explained, offering many Japanese arguments, how distasteful our actions were to the officials of this empire. Even had we been entitled to undertake these actions – as we thought we were with regard to what happened in Siam, which the interpreters could understand –,

6 we should let those junks which sailed to Japan go unmolested, for they brought calambac, silk and other necessities which benefited this country and gratified this government and not harm the people on them, if we wished to continue trading here without peril of being banished today or tomorrow. He had not been ordered by Yohyōe to tell us this. The Japanese are not accustomed to urge or order someone to do something often and explicitly, but I think that Kichibyōe has not proposed this to us entirely of his own volition. It is possible that something new came up in connection with this matter, either at the governor's or at least at *Burgemeester* Sakuemon's. If this is not the case, then I imagine that he has said it out of concern for our well-being, which is also related to that of the interpreters.

18 Cold but fine weather, the wind northerly. Shortly after midday, *Otona* Kurōzaemon, four interpreters and a whole congregation of lacquerers, nineteen or twenty men in all, joined Thijmons, Oetgens and me. We showed them the sedan chairs, which were badly damaged, the shields (Fig. 11), betel-boxes and feet for the *katels*. We also told them the number and the size of the chests and cabinets, large and small, and the writing-boxes which have been ordered for Bengal this year and last year. We also pointed out to them how everything should be made according to the models and the written instructions that had been sent, although we ourselves did not understand everything properly. We would like them to undertake to deliver everything

curiously made next season, without setting the prices now and at that time we would pay them a fair price. The whole afternoon was spent discussing this, but because they stuck to their opinion that we should fix a price with them now, we got no further than that they would discuss the matter and would draw up an estimation and return tomorrow.

19 Cold and unsettled weather. Early in the morning the wind blew from the east, but later it shifted southerly, westerly and north-westerly, with showers. The lacquerers did not appear. According to Magobei they had not yet sorted it out. The scabbard makers were trying to cut in on the deal. It is truly a deplorable matter that we cannot order our things as we like from the best masters but have to be bothered with a bunch of bunglers.

7 20 North-westerly wind, with calmer weather. The lacquerers did not show up because today is new moon and a Japanese holiday.

21 Fair weather, the wind north-westerly. In the afternoon, four interpreters came with the lacquerers. They had conferred and were ready to propose an estimate. First they wished to discuss the chests, the large and small cabinets and the writing-boxes. After I had discussed this with Thijmons and Oetgens, I refused, because if we finalize the deal now, we shall be bound by it next year, whatever the quality of the lacquer, good or bad. When they noticed that we would not yield, they stated their quote for the objects for Bengal. We thought it was exorbitant. [Prices itemized for sedan chairs and shields for Shah Shuja,³ shields for *Nawab* Ja'far Khan,⁴ betel-boxes and parts for a bedstead. The total was 5049 taels.] As soon as we heard this quote, we left out the largest sedan chair which had arrived this year to be made for Duke Ja'far Khan. We guessed that they would ask far more for it, at least 2000–2500 taels. We considered whether we would offer a bid, mainly because the prices were so

3 Muhammad Shah Shuja, Mughal prince, second son of the Great Mughal Shah Jahan. He was Governor of Bengal.

4 The Governor of Bihar. We thank Dr Ghulam Ahmad Nadri for his identification.

excessive, but also because we were afraid to commit an error, because the instructions from the Bengal factory are not sufficiently clear. For these reasons we also kept quiet about the *norimono*. But in order not to remain silent, we offered 12 taels each for the costliest shields and 8 taels for the second grade. The lacquerers – who, according to the interpreters, number a total of 34 men, including the bunglers who had forced their way in – were not pleased, but they seemed to make a further calculation.

- 8 After a long while the result was that they could not drop their price, which displeased us. We said that if this was their decision, we would not contract for a single piece and they had to leave. They did so finally, promising to consider it.

22 Cool but fine weather. We have been preparing for the court journey. I spoke to Magobei about the lacquerware and yesterday's proceedings. We were both of the opinion that the price had been set so high on the one hand because the profits would be minuscule, having to be shared among 34 people, and on the other hand because these objects, in particular the *takht-i-rawan* were not common objects in Japan and they were extremely difficult to make. I asked whether the lacquerers had reconsidered. He replied that they stood steadfast by the previous price, claiming that they had given their most civil quote and the difference was hardly 100–200 taels. I told the interpreter that if these people would not change their minds, I intended to petition Governor Yohyōe that we be allowed to contract for these objects with one or two of their best masters, so that we would receive better wares for less silver. But Magobei advised against this. He thought that it would cause a great deal of trouble and lead to nothing. It is deplorable and a disgrace to the Japanese that their best artists may not earn anything from the foreigners and it is a pity for the artists among them that they have to keep quiet, as we saw with our own eyes yesterday, when the most skilful one among them – named Kitsibe – sat as quiet as a fish watching calmly what was going on, while the others, mainly bunglers, made a song and dance about their ordinary stuff. The interpreter promised to press the lacquerers to come to a decision. Time will tell, which is short for both them and us.

23 Nothing noteworthy happened.

- 9 24 While we were busy packing the corn mill for Chikugo-no-kami, three interpreters came to inform me that Hachizaemon – who has already travelled to Edo with Sterthemius – will accompany me. Governor Yohyōe has approved it and Denbyōe has been excused this year for the same reason as last year, because his wife is very ill. This pleased me, because there is none among this whole lot more wicked or less useful. Moreover, he has been out of favour with the commissioner for several years. It seems that the old custom of travelling with two interpreters has been abolished and this will save on the Company's expenses.

25 The mill has been properly packed and at the insistence of the interpreters it was taken from the lodge to be shown to Sakuemon. I told them that the lacquerers should come to a decision, otherwise the council of the factory and I would decide what to do with regard to the lacquerware or put in a request with Governor Yohyōe. I had one of the Company's sampans, which is very old and dilapidated and had been in use since Overtwater's term of office, broken up. The other two have been beached on the other side of the bay as is customary.

26 Shortly after midday, Magobei came to inform me that the lacquerers would come. We waited for them and finally we were told that our *otona* Kurōzaemon, who has to be present, had gone out to attend to his own business. Thus it had to be postponed.

27 All the interpreters came with 12–14 lacquerers. Merchants Thijmons and Oetgens were also present. I asked the lacquerers what they had decided on the price. They had made a new calculation of the work involved. [Itemized list of prices. The total was 4620 taels.]

- 10 With regard to the chests and the cabinets, for which they also wanted a contract, I told them that it was just ordinary work and we did not wish to discuss it. But we promised that, should they deliver the objects next season made according to our instructions, we would pay them fairly. This satisfied them. After some deliberations, we offered them 2235 taels [itemized list]. We thought this was a fine bid, but the lacquerers thought it ridiculous. We haggled a

while. The interpreters indicated that our offer was rather low, although they admitted that the lacquerers' quote was much too high. They advised us to increase our bid and come to a conclusion, because the men would be leaving in a few days. We replied that their quote was neither here nor there and they should confer. We would do so too. Afterwards we raised our bid to 2500 taels and shortly after to 2600 taels. The lacquerers pretended that they could not go any lower, but our interpreters finally managed to persuade them and they lowered their quote to 3500 taels in all. We would not accept and told them that if they did not reduce their quote,

- 11 we would not have the *takht-i-rawan* made and just contract for the shields and the other small things. They considered it again and said they would reduce it a little, but instead rose as if they wanted to leave. To cut it short, after much haggling we finally agreed to a sum of 3000 taels for all the specified items, on condition that they would deliver the work as described on the 21st and give us a written contract. [Itemized list.] Although we think the price is very high, we agreed, because Their Honours have written that the friendship of Prince Shah Shuja and Duke Ja'far Khan is of great importance to the Company and they have been waiting in vain in Bengal for these objects for two years now and, furthermore, such high profits are made in that country and especially here that they need not pinch pennies.

28 At the suggestion, or rather orders, of First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon we delivered the following items to the governor to be sent up country: two barrels containing Dutch bed feathers and one blue thrum blanket for Mino-no-kami, Lord of Odawara; one piece of white Tonkinese plush for Matsudaira Bitchū-no-kami. We shall receive payment later. We have been busy all day packing the goods for the court journey.

29 We made further preparations for our journey to Edo. The interpreters told me that the merchants who bought the Tonkinese silk from the Chinese [merchants] and us and the Company's Bengal *cabessa* and *tanna-banna* silk have made a loss. And if the silk merchants have not bought any other profitable goods, they will suffer a loss,

- 12 while recently they made a profit of 100 taels per ten chests of silver. If this is true, this augurs ill for next year. In the afternoon, four interpreters came with seven representatives of the lacquerers, including two or three of their best masters. They brought the contract signed by our interpreters and the *otona* and stamped with the usual chop of the company of lacquerers, whereby they promise to make the specified objects curiously and solidly for the sum of 3000 taels according to the models, or no payment will be forthcoming. We urged them to observe the agreement and that two or three of their best masters should supervise the work and see to it that everything be delivered in time before the beginning of the next trading season to avoid any difficulties when we take delivery, for we would be very busy at that time. They promised to do so. Every day many Chinese junks are arriving in the roadstead and many are also leaving for their respective destinations. The interpreters told me that shortly one will be sailing to Siam, one to Batavia and apparently also one to Tayouan and another to Tonkin. I intend to prepare letters beforehand for these places.

30 Nothing noteworthy happened. I consulted Magobei where and how it would be best to petition for an earlier start to our trade in the coarse wares and inferior goods, if not in general, at least to gain time, which is my main purpose. The silk and the silk piece-goods – in which their governors are mainly interested for their merchants' sake – can remain for the time being. The interpreter advised against submitting this petition to Chikugo-no-kami, the great commissioner, to avoid causing offence here. Thus we agreed that I would submit this petition to Governor Yohyōe before my departure and ask him for a favourable letter to Kiemon in Edo.

December

1–2 Nothing noteworthy happened.

3 Sukezaemon confirmed what Magobei told me on the 29th of last month concerning the loss the merchants have suffered on the Bengal silk. Hachizaemon and Magobei also came to the lodge.

- 13 They told me that Governor Yohyōe's private secretary had told them that I could set off on the 29th of the Japanese month, which is the 18th

of this month. Even though this is not an express order from the governor, I said that I would comply, because I am aware that in this country such recommendations should be complied with. They also asked me to oblige the governor with 200 gold *koban* in exchange for silver, for I could obtain them without a loss in Osaka for the expenses on the land route. I promptly handed them the required sum. The real reason for this exchange is that Yohyōe – as all governors here are accustomed to do – tries to provoke as little umbrage as possible about the funds which he amasses here. The interpreters also asked me whether I would be willing to hand over the gold that may be left over after my return from Edo to the governor's intendant to be repaid later in silver. I have no objection.

4 I invited our *otona*, the interpreters, their sons and clerks to a fine dinner according to the annual custom after the departure of our ships. Nothing else noteworthy happened.

5 Nothing noteworthy happened. On behalf of Yohyōe, Magobei came to pay 10 taels for one thrum blanket and 10 taels for half a piece of white plush, which are the same prices as Kiemon paid, mentioned on the 14th of last month.

6 Some days ago the interpreters told me that when the *bongioisen* were inspecting a certain Chinese junk, they had found a hidden spot, covered by boards, in which nothing offensive had been found, just some sailor's stuff, but three Chinese had been thrown into prison because of this. Now Magobei told me that the junk has left but the imprisoned men had been sentenced to a fine and a stay in prison till next year.

7 Nothing noteworthy happened.

8 A brother-in-law of the Lord of Gotō came with a small suite of servants to visit Tsukishima and our houses. After some entertainment he very politely said goodbye.

9 As on the 3rd, the interpreters came to exchange 280 gold *koban* for silver on behalf of Governor Yohyōe. I willingly obliged him for it does not cost the Company anything,

14 and it might come in useful in future. Last week Merchant Thijmons had a discussion with our interpreters about the Company's *daatsen*. They are

not equal, but the difference between the lightest and the heaviest is just half a catty on 180 [catties]. Thus they had proposed to have a new set made which are all equal. Should I consider this a good idea, then *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and the heads of the other shogunal cities would also consider it. In the meantime, Magobei mentioned it to me again, but today Kichibyōe came on purpose to ask for my opinion. I told him that I agreed with them that it was a good thing to have an equal set of *daatsen*, for every year even the smallest difference between the *daatsen* causes a lot of disagreement with the merchants during the trading season. I had no objections, but it should be done with the governors' consent to prevent any problems in future like those which arose during Captain Versteeghen's term of office. Kichibyōe said that Sakuemon would consult the heads and before proceeding with the matter he would inform Governor Yohyōe. Then there would be no problems. I gave my approval, trusting that this will prevent many disagreements next year.

10–14 Nothing noteworthy happened. The barge which will carry us to Osaka has dropped anchor in front of the lodge.

15 The interpreters informed me that we shall travel to Osaka on the 21st. The *opperbongiois* who will accompany us has told them this. I do not know the reason for this second delay. In the presence of Thijmons and Oetgens, I informed them of several petitions which I would like to present to Governor Yohyōe before my departure. Firstly, every year we do not have sufficient time to close the books after trade has ended.

15 In case it were impossible to give us an extension after the 20th day of the 9th Japanese month, which they claim is an eternal law and irrevocable, could we then be granted an earlier start of the trade instead? If this earlier start could not be granted for all goods, then the silk and other costly goods could be held back till the *pancado* for the sake of the Japanese merchants. But it would save us time if we could start with the deerskins, sappanwood and other such coarse and bulky wares. Secondly, to prevent all the bother and annoyance which we suffer every year, could the hatches of the ships' holds be

left unsealed and open for our use? I also asked the interpreters whether it would be opportune to mention the early purchase of copper and the loading of copper and camphor now or would it be better to postpone it till an occasion arose when these matters came up? After much debate, their general opinion was that the petitions which I intended to present in Edo should also be presented here. Furthermore, concerning the first request, they advised against mentioning it either here or in Edo. Several captains before me had requested it, but it had never been granted. The date of departure was as fixed as a wall. Trade would not be allowed before the *pancado* had been settled. And even were the governor to grant that we could sell our coarse wares before the customary time, which they doubted that he would, the merchants – who base their estimates on the arrival of all commodities – would not be willing to hand in bidding slips. There was no other way to obtain an earlier trade than the early arrival of all Company's ships. They agreed to put in a request to have the ship's hatches left unsealed. When the hatches are sealed it is not only a nuisance to us but also to them and the *bongioisen*. The interpreters advised us not to mention the copper and the camphor at present but to wait till an opportunity presented itself after our return from Edo.

16 After we had reminded him several times of the camphor, Magobei came to offer his services to obtain a quantity thereof.

16 Because there is no opportunity to contract with any merchant for a supply for three years or less, Thijmonsz, Oetgens and I decided, after some discussion, to accept his offer, on condition that we agreed on the price. But the interpreter wanted to settle on more than 9 taels per picul and we wanted to pay less. When it appeared that we would not make any headway, we considered that this year the order had not been fulfilled and last year just partly and we decided to offer a bid of 9 taels [per picul] for a quantity of 400–500 piculs.

17 The interpreter accepted the offer and he promised that, should it not be possible to supply 500 piculs, he would deliver as much as possible.

18 The interpreters informed me that Secretary Kanseimon-dono, whom Governor Yohyōe has

appointed as *opperbongiois* to escort us to Edo, had told them that we could load our luggage on the barge in two days' time and we would leave two or three days later.

19 Hachizaemon told us that when he was at the governor's yesterday, a man from Satsuma had come to see Yohyōe. He was sitting a distance away and could not make out all that was being said, but he gathered as much as that thirty-one or thirty-two days ago a ship had been spotted off shore and the people of Satsuma had tried in vain to go on board. The ship had sailed southwards on a stiff northerly wind. We wondered whether it was the last ship from Tayouan and the Japanese suspect it might be a Portuguese ship.

20 I asked the interpreter about the court journey. Was it time to load our goods on the barge? He replied that he had just been told by Kanseimon that it would be another four or five days before we would leave. He would advise us one day beforehand. I could not find out whether there was any obstacle, which one might suspect because of the delay. Hachizaemon just said that the delay was caused because Yohyōe was very occupied. He had to write many letters and send many things to Edo. He also had to attend to the Lord of Hakata, who had fallen ill on the journey from his domain hither. The interpreter also told me that news had arrived from Edo that a member of Chikugo-no-kami's household had fought with several of the Shogun's men and had killed two of them. Because of this, Chikugo-no-kami's house had been closed up for two months. He personally was not in trouble, being innocent, but it was done to observe the Japanese customs.

21 On behalf of Governor Yohyōe, Hachizaemon told me that our departure for Osaka had been set for Thursday,

17 which is the 25th. I could go and take my leave the day before, according to established custom.

22–23 Nothing noteworthy happened.

24 I went to the house of the governor accompanied by Merchants Thijmonsz and Oetgens. After a short wait, I paid him the Japanese compliments required on such an occasion, which are expressions of my gratitude for the favours he has extended to us

and a request for continuation thereof, in particular towards the remaining subordinates on Deshima, furthermore a request for a letter of recommendation to Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon in Edo. He promised to do so and wished me a happy journey. We returned to our lodge. The *otona* and Denbyōe stayed behind and reported later that the governor had been notified that the Company's *daatsen* needed to be calibrated and that he had given permission to have some made in Osaka, which will afterwards be calibrated here in the presence of the heads of the five shogunal cities. They had forgotten to mention the matter of leaving the ship's hatches unsealed. I think they forgot on purpose.

Court journey

25 I advised all our men remaining here on Tsukishima both orally and in writing to perform their duties conscientiously. Around noon we embarked. According to established custom, the interpreters and other friends joined us a while with Japanese *sakana*. In the evening, we weighed anchor, but because there was barely a breath of wind we barely reached the end of the bay out of sight of the city.

In the Barge

26 Fine weather. We anchored just off the village of Seto in the domain of Ōmura.

27 We passed our old lodge at Hirado and in the afternoon we dropped anchor in the Bay of Tasuke.

1654

January

1 We set sail in the morning. We made good progress and in the afternoon we anchored off Yobuko, in the domain of Karatsu. Adverse winds forced us to remain here till [the 6th.]

6 We set sail. In the evening, we reached Kajime-no-Ōshima, in the domain of Hakata. Two hours before daybreak we set sail again.

18 We passed Shimonoseki.

7 We anchored off Kaminoseki. We waited for the moon to rise and we left again. We made good progress.

8 At dark we reached Tadanoumi. We sailed during the night.

9 We dropped anchor off Muro. At night we set sail again.

10 Around noon we arrived off the large city of Hyōgo, the former residence of the Japanese *Dairi*. We sent a servant ahead to Osaka to notify Shirōemon, our landlord, of our arrival. In the evening, we set sail again and we reached Wakinohama.

11 We weighed anchor in the morning and shortly after we were in sight of Osaka. But the wind kept veering and our skipper feared a rough sea and wild billows on its shoals, thus we anchored again not far from the previous place. During the night the weather settled and we set sail again. Before daybreak we reached the roadstead.

In Osaka

12 We sailed to the city on a small vessel. We met our landlord, Shirōemon, in the river. Shortly after, we arrived in the city and we were welcomed by him, his father and some other people. The barge also reached the harbour in the afternoon and the Company's goods were brought ashore. Shirōemon went to Governor Tanba-no-kami to announce our arrival and to request an audience so that we could present the customary gifts. He returned with the message that the governor was entertaining a few great lords but we could visit him in three days. We also heard the same news we had heard on Tsukishima, that the merchants who had bought Tonkinese and Bengal silk this year had suffered a loss.

13 Today I received the 480 *koban* on behalf of Yohyōe and repaid the silver which I had received on Deshima. We also hired horses and bearers for the journey. We need an additional twenty men to carry the corn mill over land. Chikugo-no-kami had sent orders to this effect, for some Japanese reasons.

14 We prepared for the journey ahead and for the presentation of gifts tomorrow. Matsunami Jūemon, brother-in-law of Governor Yohyōe and the collector of the shogunal domains in the Osaka region, came to visit us with a large suite. I entertained him as best as I could and found him to be friendlier than usual. He was very pleased when he left. Hachizaemon said that he had been so pleased with our hospitality that he intended to write to his brother-in-law about it. Thus one sees that once we leave Tsukishima, we enjoy Japanese compliments, well-meant or feigned. This eases the arduous journey somewhat and our escorts are also grateful.

15 Before noon I went to the residences of Governor Soga Tanba-no-kami and his colleague Matsudaira Hayato-sama – although he was in Edo – with Merchant Johan Oetgens and Junior Merchant Otto Wacker. We presented our gifts and then we enjoyed a walk through a large part of the city of more than thirty streets. I contracted with our landlord for some goods for Tonkin and also for twelve *daatsen* and other necessities for the Nagasaki factory.

Between Osaka and Edo

16 Two or three hours before dawn our whole train set off. We passed Moriguchi, which is the staple town of *kōnomono*, and some other places. We had lunch in Hirakata, saw the city of Takatsuki, which used to be the shogunal residence in former times, on the left and on the right Uji, where the Japanese *cha* grows. We passed through a nice town called Yodo, then through Fushimi. Finally we passed by the most important temple of the *Daibutsu* and we arrived in the famous city of Miyako, at the house of our landlord, Saburōemon. We were told that the governor of this city had gone out hawking in Fushimi, but was expected to return tonight. I ordered Hachizaemon to go to the governor early tomorrow to request the customary pass or safe-guard.

17 We received the pass in the morning and we prepared for departure tomorrow. We have been forced to spend an extra day here, it is said because of the pass, but I think it is rather because

Kanseimon-dono, our escort, had to attend to some business of his or Yohyōe's. Four of the principal lacquerers came to the lodge. They brought several samples of small cabinets for Bengal, which were satisfactory, apart from the division of some drawers. I pointed out some changes they should make and advised them to make everything curiously and deliver the objects on Tsukishima in the next trading season. They promised they would.

18 Two hours before dawn we left Miyako. We lunched in Ōtsu and arrived in Kusatsu in the evening. Japanese rattan is produced in this region.

20 19 We left four hours before dawn. We lunched in Minakuchi and reached Sekinojizō in the evening. Not far from here we met *Burgemeester* Gotō Shōzaemon, who is returning from Edo where he had been sent as a deputy on behalf of the city of Nagasaki to congratulate His Imperial Majesty on his new honorary title of *Udaijin-sama*, which the *Dairi* bestowed upon him last year. This has been noted in the previous *dagregister* on the 15th of the grape-harvesting month.⁵

20 About one hour before dawn we travelled on and passed through the city of Kameyama, which has a large castle. We lunched in Ishiyakushi and arrived in Kuwana at four, which is a fairly large city with an excellent castle. We dined there and prepared for embarkation. The whole train went on five vessels and at sunset we sailed across a deep bay of the Southern Sea to Miya, which also has a fine castle. We spent the night here.

21 We went on our way and shortly after departure we saw the tower of Owari on our left side. We lunched in Okazaki, a city with a beautiful castle, and while it was still bright we reached the inn in Akasaka. We have caught up with the bearers of the corn mill, who had left Osaka the day before us.

22 At the crack of dawn, we went on our way. Before noon we reached Yoshida, which is a large city with a castle. We travelled through woods along an enjoyable road. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached Arai, a shogunal guard station. We lunched

⁵ October.

here and then crossed over to Maisaka and travelled on to Hamamatsu, which is fortified with a castle. We arrived there in the afternoon.

23 Shortly after daybreak we went on our way. We crossed the Tenryū River and lunched in Fukuroi. We passed through Kakegawa, a castle town, and arrived in Kanaya just after sunset.

24 It continued to rain the whole day. Nonetheless, because we are anxious for high water, we crossed the swift-running Ōi-gawa and went on to Shimada, which is just a mile away.

25 We went on our way and lunched in Okabe. We crossed the Abe-kawa and passed through the large, ancient city of Suruga, which has an enormous castle. It was the former residence of the Shoguns after Takatsuki. We reached Ejiri in the evening.

26 We travelled on and lunched in Kanbara. We passed the Fuji-no-yama, the highest mountain of Japan, now covered with snow.

21 We crossed the Fuji-gawa and the Urui-gawa and reached Mishima, where we spent the night.

27 Before sunrise we marched on to the Hakone Mountains. We lunched on top of the mountains in the village of the same name situated by a large lake and, after having descended some frightful precipices, we reached the beautiful place of Odawara at four. It has a beautiful castle. From here we sent notice of our arrival to the landlord in Edo.

28 At daybreak we set off and lunched in Ōiso. We crossed the Banyū-gawa and arrived in Totsuka in the evening.

Arrival in Edo

29 It rained, but in order to reach our destination we set off early. We lunched in Kawasaki and arrived rather early in the shogunal city of Edo. We passed through fifty-two streets before we reached our customary accommodation. Without delay I sent our interpreter to Kiemon, the Nagasaki Governor, and Commissioner Inoue Chikugo-no-kami to inform them of our arrival and to request their assistance that we be given an early audience and dispatch. He returned late in the evening and reported that the former had not been at home and he had left the message with his private secretary, but the other

gentleman had received him in person. [Chikugo-no-kami] had expressed his contentment with our safe arrival and also pleasant Japanese compliments concerning the Company's affairs. Without doubt we shall be admitted to the Court shortly. Not long after, the commissioner's interpreter came with a similar message, which he expressed with a lot of loose talk. On behalf of his master, so he claimed, he asked for some small things, such as spectacles, burning-glasses and spyglasses. He also notified our surgeon that his master was badly suffering from stones. Recently he had very painfully excreted some fairly large calculi. He would appreciate a prescription which he could use as guideline for his treatment and diet.

30 Early in the morning a messenger came from Kiemon. He was pleased with our arrival and he would look after our affairs. He would consult with Chikugo-no-kami and other gentlemen that we be given an early dispatch. A short while after, the commissioner had us informed that he would confer with Kiemon and other gentlemen in the castle about our audience.

22 He added that he did not expect it to be far-off. Thus we should select the gifts as soon as possible in order to be prepared. According to established custom, he would inspect the list and give his approval. Together with Oetgens I made a list of the gifts so that it can be translated into Japanese tomorrow. In the evening, Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter came to inform me that the subject of our audience had been discussed by the high officials. Time is too short for it to take place on the 15th day of their current month – which is 2 February – but I should not be worried about an early dispatch.

31 We reviewed the list with our interpreter and the landlord. On their advice we changed it here and there and had it translated into Japanese. Hachizaemon took it to Chikugo-no-kami. I also gave him a curious anatomy book in Latin for Chikugo-no-kami, who had expressly asked for it. The interpreter returned very late and told me that Chikugo-no-kami had been delighted with the book. He said that Chikugo-no-kami had been asking for a book on the human anatomy for seven or eight

years now, but had received none. He was especially pleased with this one because – the interpreter had made much of this – I had employed great diligence in Batavia to obtain one in Portuguese – like His Honour had requested – but alas in vain, as such books are unavailable, being banned from sale to us, unless one is found among the goods seized from a Portuguese prize. He had not taken the list of gifts to His Honour – as I had thought – because our landlord had not yet made a fair copy. He would do so tomorrow.

February

1 Although the commissioner – whose approval is required – has not yet been shown the list of gifts selected, the interpreter and the landlord pressed us to open the goods and pack the gifts for each lord separately and to have the presentation trays made. This has been done today. A certain young nobleman named Inoue Uneme, who is married to Chikugo-no-kami's granddaughter⁶ and who is a courtier belonging to the court of the King of Mito, visited us. He viewed some goods and asked to purchase two pieces of *taffachelas gingham* and two pieces of *chela regatty*. I obliged him, but gave the cloth to the landlord in safekeeping till after the day of the audience, for before that time we cannot hand over any goods to anyone.

23 For this reason all requests are suspended until Chikugo-no-kami's orders. In the afternoon, on behalf of Chikugo-no-kami, the interpreter came for a piece of white Italian plush, a piece of Tonkinese plush and a Dutch thrum blanket. I do not think that His Honour will learn that last year four such blankets and two pieces of European plush have been brought but that half of their number have been taken by the Nagasaki Governors. In the evening, the interpreter returned with His Honour's instruction that a certain young man – named Cornelis Jacobsz, who has come with us to assemble the corn mill – should go to his house tomorrow morning for this purpose. I gave Cornelis orders to do so and seriously admonished him to behave himself

properly and modestly. The commissioner has also privately spoken to our interpreter about the annual *pancado* of the Chinese raw silk. The councillors are considering whether it should be abolished. He asked the interpreter for his opinion and – in case it should be abolished – whether the Dutch, who used to import such great quantities in former times and now import hardly any, would bring larger quantities. He, Hachizaemon, had replied that it was his opinion that we would not, because for many years in a row the trouble had not been caused by the Dutch because of the *pancado* but by the unwillingness of the Chinese, who trade in Tayouan. Furthermore, Formosa does not yield any silk but only skins and sugar. Moreover, our nation had no licence to trade in China. What will happen next, time till tell. The interpreter thinks that some advantageous decision might be in store for us this time. He also said that the reason why these gentlemen are so concerned about the raw silk is that all the best cloth – *habutae* and such – is made from this, including the shogunal gowns, which are now charged at 50 taels each because of the high price of silk. The Tonkinese and the Bengal silk are only used to make cords for their swords, purses and such. I approved of Hachizaemon's reply, but I told him that he should have mentioned the protracted wars in China and that, now that we had been admitted to Canton by the Tartars, it would not be surprising if in time we would again be engaged in a more opulent silk trade.

2 Very early, Cornelis Jacobsz and the interpreter went to the house of Chikugo-no-kami. He partly assembled the corn mill, but the steady rain put a stop to it. He enjoyed a meal there and returned before midday. When the commissioner learnt that this stripling had received specific instruction on Tsukishima and that the carpenter, who had come from Batavia for this purpose, had been sent back because of his continuous state of inebriation, he praised the judgement of the Dutch captain – Oh dear! – for knowing that the Japanese lords disapproved of such people.

24 After the audience, the interpreter said, His Honour would have his servants entertain us at his home,

6 His son's daughter.

he himself would be absent. Thus our interpreter usually returns with some pleasant tiding, this exemplifies Chikugo-no-kami's cordiality. It seems that both he and we – I mean the Dutch nation – are much in favour with this old gentleman. But these are just Japanese compliments, which we need not value more than we care to. At the commissioner's request, I sent him the case with the Sumatran peacock feathers, some cases of smoked meat and smoked tongues. A bottle of tent wine was requested for one of Yohyōe's relatives – this had already been commended to us on Tsukishima – and some was set aside for Saburōzaemon, the former Nagasaki Governor. It is surprising that gentlemen of such distinction have to request such a small thing in this way and that this juice remains in such high esteem with them as a second nectar that even the enjoyment of a *gantang* or two – which is a measure somewhat larger than a *flapkan* – and that at 5 taels each, is considered a prerogative. In the evening, the interpreter told me that our selection of gifts had been handed to the commissioner, but he did not know if he had already reviewed it. When I asked him if he would do this soon and if any changes would be made, he replied – at present and generally being more candid with us than his colleagues have ever been on Tsukishima – that he did not think so, for showing this memorandum to this gentleman every year is just a polite gesture, not an obligatory act. For, he said, how can one dictate to someone when he presents gifts, which is an entirely voluntary act? If this is true, then this somewhat opens my eyes and revises my previous opinion, which I mentioned yesterday. I set more store on this account, because Hachizaemon and our landlord pressed us yesterday to have the presentation trays made. He had asked His Honour for his warehouse to store the gifts like last year at the time of the audience. It had been granted.

3 This morning a sample of tent wine was fetched for Mito-sama with Chikugo-no-kami's knowledge, so the interpreter said. One of this king's secretaries – I think that this appellation is common among the high officials' servants of rank – came to speak to our interpreter about the red coral. He asked for this and also to see one or two clear pieces of firebrick,

because it could not be shown to His Honour before we had been to the Court and without Chikugo-no-kami's permission. I gave my consent.

25 He returned it shortly with compliments and requested that it be given to his master after we had appeared before the Shogun.

4 The selected gifts have been taken to Chikugo-no-kami's warehouse to be safer from fire and closer to the castle. The interpreter told me that, apart from this accommodation, Chikugo-no-kami has twenty men – under one leader – guard our lodgings every night so that we can receive assistance as soon as a fire starts, which often happens in Edo. His Honour attends to the Company's people and goods with such care because for two or three years many conspiracies and arsonists – including several people belonging to the higher nobility – have been discovered here, in Suruga and other major cities. A large number of them have been crucified. We saw one when we crossed the Abe-kawa, just outside of Suruga, hanging on a cross. During his life he had been the leader of 300 men, so it is said.

Cornelis Jacobsz went to the house of His Honour, where he finished assembling the corn mill, the weather being fine. He has also properly instructed one of the servants. In the presence of Johan Oetgens, Hachizaemon told me that he had discussed several matters concerning us with Kiemon, the Nagasaki Governor, this morning. His Honour had been told that our journey between Nagasaki and Osaka had taken us eighteen days by sea. He regretted this hardship we had to suffer during this cold winter time. He added that we could travel over land from Shimonoseki, should we experience inclement weather on our journey back.

It seems that we shall appear at Court on the 28th of their current month, which is the 15th of this month, and be given dispatch soon after. The councillors are considering this.

His Honour further spoke out against the gentlemen and nobles here for asking us for goods every year at the price they are sold for on Deshima, which means that we make a loss, for we pay for the expenses between Nagasaki and Edo. He said that if they wished to have something, they should buy it from the merchants and shopkeepers – who are

waiting for a profit – and not in this manner from the Dutch. He added that these foreigners may not say much, but they undoubtedly reflect upon these ill manners in their own minds. It would be better that the Dutch did not bring more goods to Edo than they need to present, for their real purpose of coming here is to express gratitude and to pay homage to the Shogun and not to sell goods. Nagasaki is the place for this.

- 26 Hachizaemon had replied that this year not many goods would be left over after the presentation of the gifts. I was pleased with this and intend to sell part of the remaining goods in Miyako or Osaka. Our interpreter and the landlord think that the expenses of carrying them back will be made good and at the same time the Edo requests can be declined in a fine manner.

[Chikugo-no-kami] had also told the interpreter that the councillors had been discussing Francois Caron in the castle yesterday. They were wondering how he was and whether he was still in the Indies. When they had been told he was not, they had wondered if he would return. Kiemon had asked Hachizaemon for his opinion, did he know anything? He had replied that he had heard that Caron-dono had been summoned to Holland on some important matters and he had sailed. But all had been well and rumour had it that His Honour would return to Batavia with his reputation intact. Next summer he would receive further information, for one person said this and another person said that. The governor had listened attentively to his reply and he responded with a profound Japanese exclamation in praise of Mr Caron.

Today Chikugo-no-kami's major-domo told our interpreter that we would appear before the Shogun on the 28th of the current Japanese month.

Saburōzaemon secretly sent for some butter. Three pieces of Tonkinese plush were also sent for the Lord of Odawara. We shall learn later if he intends to keep all.

In the evening, two noblemen came to our inn with a fairly large suite. The one was the senior chamberlain and the other the taster of the King of Mito and both are his confidants. They brought a special licence from the commissioner for 2 *gantang* of

tent wine for their lord. I had to pour it while they watched. I had to drink some first and they followed suit before the bottle was sealed and stamped with their chop and with my seal. It appears that not only in Europe are the great lords and kings on their guard against poison. Hachizaemon said as much and it is easy to surmise that this is the sole reason. On behalf of Mito-sama, the two men congratulated me on my safe arrival in Edo and kept heaping the usual Japanese compliments and civilities upon me. I reciprocated in the same manner, while offering them some wine and *sakana*, just failing to reach the mark – as far as I am aware – in bowing, bending, stooping, crawling and groaning. *Stultitiam simulare loco est summa prudentia*.⁷ These gentlemen also mentioned our impending audience, which, according to them, would take place shortly. We hope for the best.

- 27 5 Nothing noteworthy happened. Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter came to recapitulate the prescription which our surgeon had composed for His Honour. With the knowledge and the consent of Chikugo-no-kami, 2 *gantang* of butter were fetched for Councillor Abe Bungo-no-kami.

6 This morning, at my insistence, our interpreter went to Chikugo-no-kami's house to thank him for lending us his warehouse for the storage of the Company's costly goods and also to ask him about our affairs. On his return he reported that the commissioner had been pleased with our expression of thanks. He would like to have a list of the remainders by tomorrow. With regard to our affairs, it seemed that we would be appearing at Court on the 15th of this month, because the Shogun, who had been feeling unwell for some days, was re-emerging. Japanese tales. In the afternoon, a nobleman named Inoue Uneme-dono, a famous and privileged painter of the Shogun, a doctor, and some other men paid us a visit. They were properly entertained with wine and titbits and they left satisfied in the evening.

⁷ 'To fake stupidity at the right moment is the most intelligent thing to do.' (Our translation.) This Latin saying is from *Disticha Catonis*, Book 11, N° 18. We thank Dr Florence Limburg for this reference.

7 Our surgeon was summoned to the house of the commissioner, where he had the aforesaid prescription translated for His Honour. Together with our interpreter, who does not ever seem to return from that house with an empty stomach, he had been treated to food and drink. The old gentleman had come in now and again and had treated him very affably. It seems that among our interpreters Hachizaemon and Magobei are the ones who please His Honour the most, which – because Chikugo-no-kami sometimes discusses our affairs with the interpreter – comes in good stead. Yea, I have been assured that, had Denbyōe or Sukezaemon also accompanied us, they would have been ignored, that much are they disliked, and only the commissioner's own interpreter would have been employed to carry messages back and forth between his master and us. When anything happens, we can only note down what the interpreters report to us. They are our tongues, ears and eyes. Thus it is no wonder that we are sometimes misled or blindfolded by them. It is deplorable that everything we do or do not do is dependent on the good will or ill will, loyalty or disloyalty of our interpreters. Many things are undoubtedly directed according to their fantasies, while we are confined here in the lodgings and on Tsukishima. The commissioner had repeated that it appears that we would go to the Court on the 15th. He asked for some small things made of amber.

8 Hachizaemon took the coral branch and the red coral and amber beads which have been selected as gifts for the Shogun to Chikugo-no-kami for his inspection.

- 28 Later he also took a string, two coral branches and red coral and two pieces of amber which Mito-sama wished to see. They were all to his liking, according to the interpreter. He also said that the old gentleman had repeated that he expected us to be given audience on the 15th. He was doing his best. He had twice or thrice asked if the Dutch captain was aware how well he was looking after our interests. The interpreter had assured him that I was.
- In the afternoon, three young gentlemen came to our lodgings, namely Inoue Genzō, the eldest son of the son of our patron Chikugo-no-kami, Yamazaki

Sanzaemon, son of the late Nagasaki Governor Gonpachirō, and Osauwa Iffioie, all three Edo courtiers, serving in the Shogun's palace. I treated them to tent wine, spirits and other things. We exchanged compliments. They looked at some of the fabrics and small things. They asked if four pieces of *taf-fachelas gingham*, one *allegias Chargamma* and six beads of red coral – which Genzō-dono took with him for further inspection – could be set aside. They would pay for them after our audience. I promised them we would set them aside. In this semi-prison we are being looked at by both large and small, just like strange animals at the fair in our fatherland. It is nonetheless considered a great honour and these heathens undoubtedly satisfy their curiosity.

9 In the morning, a servant of Inoue Genzō-dono came to thank us for yesterday's hospitality and to tell us that his master would keep two or three of the beads. Our interpreter went to Kiemon very early, who told him that we would go to Court on the 15th. His Honour and Chikugo-no-kami were doing their best. But Hachizaemon said that it was not yet a certainty. I replied that I could understand this Japanese very well, namely that even should those gentlemen be certain of it, they would not state it as being a certainty. He laughed heartily. Tomorrow a mail would be travelling to Nagasaki and I could send a note. Without delay I wrote a letter to Merchant Willem Thijmons and the other subordinates on Tsukishima. I wrote to them that the Shogun, Chikugo-no-kami and other nobles and we were all well, except for Otto Wacker, about our arrival in Osaka and Edo and that we expected to pay homage and present the gifts to His Majesty on the 15th of this month. About half a catty of butter was secretly – Oh dear! – fetched for Saburōzaemon's major-domo, who was unwell. I obliged the Lord of Odawara with some sealing wax and promised him some from Tsukishima. The three pieces of Tonkinese plush, which did not please him, were returned.

- 29 10 The items which had been shown to Mito-sama on the 8th were returned, except for twenty-three red coral beads and a piece of clear amber, which he kept. As he has done on most days, Inoue

Uneme-dono came to our lodge to have an abscess on his left breast bandaged. It has been healing so well that he thanked our surgeon. He also asked for five red coral [beads] and for next year he requested one of 5–6 mas' weight, clear and beautiful, and a swift dog to hunt deer and boar. I had to make a note of it, but I do not think that any will be forthcoming. When reading through Coyett's *dagregister*, I found that last year this young fellow – then named Ouckon-dono – had also behaved insolently, allowing himself much freedom going through our things, taking away and returning the Company's goods, but when it came to settling his account he went out hunting – so it was claimed – and his servant paid less than the usual price. Apparently we shall fare the same this year.

11 Our interpreter went to the house of Chikugo-no-kami to inquire after the state of our affairs. On his return he said that he had spoken to His Honour, but his servants had said that we shall appear in the Shogun's palace in four days. He had not found Kiemon at home when he went there.

12 We keep hearing that we shall appear at the Court in three days and this was confirmed by several visitors. One of them was Chikugo-no-kami's secretary with some companions; next came Inoue Uneme-dono with his father Genba-sama, previously named Uma-no-jō, a very distinguished man, who had been commissioner in Nagasaki in 1647 when the two Portuguese ships sailed into the bay. In the evening, the chamberlain – I think a steward – of the King of Owari came with the commissioner's approval to fetch 5 *gantang* of tent wine and 2 cattles of almonds and also one string of red coral beads, one coral branch and some other stuff to see and choose from. I obliged him and treated him like the others before him to wine and *sakana*. I received a note dated 6 January from Merchant Thijmons and the other subordinates on Deshima. They were all well. None of the letters I had prepared had been sent yet, but Magobei had come for the one for Batavia.

13 Chikugo-no-kami sent for three pieces of *taffachelas gingham* and one writing-box. He also invited us to his home. Four of us Dutchmen, Merchant

Johan Oetgens, Surgeon Jan Stipel, Junior Assistant Jacob Verhoeven and the young man Cornelis Jacobsz, all properly attired, were carried – because the roads were dirty – there at two in the afternoon. They were entertained in a very friendly and polite manner and were treated to food and drink. But they were looked at all over and from all sides, which was undoubtedly the real reason for the invitation. It was done for the benefit of the Lord of Tsushima, who was present with his son and a large entourage, as was Governor Kiemon and Junior Commissioner Genba-dono.

On my behalf, our interpreter went to Kiemon this morning to pay him my compliments and to ask after our affairs and the audience with the Shogun. He returned with the message that there had been a meeting at the home of Councillor Sanuki-no-kami about our audience and His Honour had gone to see the commissioner, who might discuss it. But when Hachizaemon returned in the evening, I was sorry to learn that nothing had been said by these gentlemen. But as usual their servants and Genba-dono had confirmed that it would be in two days.

14 Early in the morning, I ordered our interpreter to visit Kiemon and Chikugo-no-kami again to find out if our audience is really set for tomorrow. He reported that the Nagasaki Governor had promised to speak to the commissioner, to whom he was now going. He had assured him that the high officials would be discussing it in the castle today. The interpreter could not think up a reason why it would not go through, for the Shogun was well and tomorrow was an ordinary day of audience. While we were having lunch, a certain elderly gentleman, named Hanabusa Kan'emon-sama, a former second commissioner in Higo, came to visit us with some other people, with the recommendation of Chikugo-no-kami to entertain him a little. He was very polite and had a sip of tent wine. He left immediately after, saying goodbye in a friendly manner. In the evening, our surgeon was summoned to the house of the Shogun's senior doctor, Sōetsu-dono. Many questions were put to him about various illnesses and their cures and the composition of medicines. He was treated to food and drink. It seems that these

heathens, forever trying to learn from us, think that by some short discussion between them and a surgeon, happening extempore and unplanned, European surgery can be thoroughly understood. There was no end to the fetching and returning of red coral and other goods, although we have packed away a fair part of the remainders on purpose. It is even more difficult and annoying because we have not received any tidings from Chikugo-no-kami that we have to appear in the castle tomorrow.

15 Today there was more fetching of various goods for several high officials and returning them. We were merely told that the reason why we had not been admitted to Court was that the councillors were protecting their young Shogun.

31 It has been very foul, cold, rainy and snowy weather for some days and if he has to receive many people in audience today, he may be exhausted. Blue flowers⁸ – Oh dear – because for the sake of the Dutch, the Shogun just steps out for a moment into a hall, does not utter a sound and only hears one of the councillors call out ‘Oranda Kapitan’. This is the fine audience, which his millions of subjects can never enjoy and which is therefore so highly esteemed.

16 It was as busy as ever with all the fetching and returning of our small things on the orders of the commissioner. This morning Hachizaemon went to the house of Governor Kiemon to ask him about our affairs. He was told that yesterday the governor and Chikugo-no-kami had done their best to have us admitted to the audience, but that the councillors had not approved it, for the reason given yesterday. His Honour expected that it would happen soon, short after the *Shōgatsu*. In the afternoon, the commissioner told the interpreter the same and asked him if I was sad that I had not been admitted to Court yesterday.

In the afternoon, Uneme-dono came and had the surgeon examine his chest again. The abscess has been cured. As is his wont, he behaved with unacceptable insolence, rummaging through everything in my room, even in the drawers of my cabinet. I put on my best face and watched him in the knowledge

that not only is he married to Chikugo-no-kami's grandchild, but he also has to notify His Honour of everything he hears or sees. Therefore he is given much leeway, just like his father Genba-dono, who enjoys the commissioner's affections.

17 Today is the Japanese *Shōgatsu*, or New Year. I had our interpreter convey our best wishes to Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon. Of his own accord, he also went to the houses of Saburōzaemon and Yohyōe. All were pleased. Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter came to ask for some gravel stones, which Uneme-dono had seen yesterday. I told him that I had been planning on presenting them in person to the commissioner – having been told that he is suffering from this painful illness – on a suitable occasion. I was sorry that this young gentleman had pre-empted me. I told him all I knew about the use of these stones and gave him two. I kept the rest till I would meet with our patron after the day of audience.

18 Yesterday Hachizaemon had received orders to go to the house of the Lords of Hirado. He conveyed our best wishes and was treated very affably.

32 Matsura Hizen-no-kami had spoken to him about the Dutch and their affairs and had expressed his continuing good feelings for our nation. He had said that he was pleased that a captain had now come to Nippon – this is Japan – who had resided in his domain before. He had also asked very affectionately after the well-being of Couckebacker, Caron and Elseracq and in particular if the second mentioned would return to the Indies and to Japan. He asked for two jugs or *gantang* of tent wine against cash payment; they had been refused to him on Tsukishima before, either because of the unwillingness of the governors or for another reason. I obliged him. In the meantime, Uneme-dono was back in our lodgings. He again asked for some of the aforesaid stones for the commissioner. He left happily with four of them.

I sent Hachizaemon to Chikugo-no-kami to find out how things stood. On his return he told me that His Honour had been in the castle and the major-domo had told him that there was much to do at the Court because of the *Shōgatsu* and he did not think we

8 A Dutch expression meaning falsehoods, feeble excuses.

would be given audience before the 8th or the 9th. We shall have to be patient.

19 I learnt that the Shogun has appeared before at least 4000 people today, which is really the day of audience for the Japanese and for us. All these people are deputies of the domains and cities of his empire. They have come to pay reverence to His Majesty and present him gifts as their annual homage. Is it surprising that we foreigners – Oh dear – are forgotten during such important activities? In the dark, cold and snowy evening, the aforementioned Genba-dono came to visit me on behalf of the great commissioner. He questioned me extensively about the aforesaid gravel stones. I had shown Chikugo-no-kami the highest degree of friendship by presenting them to him. He asked if he could have any others that were left for His Honour against payment of silver. I informed Uma-no-jō to the best of my knowledge that these stones are called *lapis Iudiacus* in Latin and *graveel steentjes* in Dutch because of their potency and use. They are found in Arabia and the merchants of that country sometimes bring them to Surat and Persia, from whence they are carried by our people to Batavia. It is a medicine which is not found in abundance in the Netherlands nor is it well-known. It is pulverized and taken with warm wine when the patient is suffering most from breaking stones.

I gave Genba-dono, who was very curious, all the information I could about the difference between these stones and the stone, cutting it and everything else. Finally I gave him six more of the stones. In the meantime, the Shogun's senior secretary, named Yabe Suke-no-shin, who recognized Genba-dono's servants when he passed by, came with a few others.

33 He was greeted deferentially by the other gentleman, who offered him the drinking cup first, an indication of his rank. We treated him to tent wine and *sakana*. He left well pleased with many expressions of gratitude. Uma-no-jō advised me to fix a price for the twenty-three red coral beads which the King of Mito had received on the 10th. Because Mito-sama is the Shogun's great-uncle, Uma-no-jō advised me to set a price not too high nor too low, but an average price, to prevent any unpleasant consequences.

The former might displease His Highness and the latter might set a bad example for lesser lords, on whose favour we do not have to rely, and the coral would drop in their estimation. I promised to discuss it with our interpreter and to let him know the price I had calculated, so that he could advise me.

20 I set a price for the coral with Hachizaemon. With his approval I calculated a price which left the Company with a fair deal and which was also intentionally civil, because – as the Japanese generally keep stating – we indeed come here only to pay homage to the Shogun and offer him gifts and not to sell our merchandise with a profit. Moreover, accommodating high nobles in this way, especially those who are related to the Shogun, must almost pass off as a kind of gift. I ordered the interpreter to inform Genba-dono of my plan at the first opportunity and to request his advice, which I would gladly follow. Every day people are asking for our other trifles, in particular coral beads, and sometimes they later return them. This is quite a nuisance. I think it would be better to bring few commodities here in excess of the ordinary gifts and rarities which are expressly ordered for some high officials, whose favour is of great importance to the Company. This would prevent many problems, which an *opperhoofd* without any previous experience cannot easily know beforehand. In the afternoon, an older brother of Genba or Uma-no-jō appeared downstairs in the interpreter's quarters. The surgeon was sent for to attend to his right foot, which he had recently sprained and which was badly swollen. The surgeon applied a salve, which relieved the pain immediately, or so the good fellow imagined.

21 On the orders of Chikugo-no-kami, our surgeon went to the castle with the interpreter and to the house of First Councillor Matsudaira Izu-no-kami. The councillor had suffered a bad fall about thirty years ago and he had dislocated his left arm. It had not been properly set and since then it had remained in an unnatural position and had not received any nourishment. Although he did not suffer unbearable pains, he was unable to use or control his arm. The commissioner and the Nagasaki Governor were also present and while the surgeon was applying

some oil and salves – which had been provided by Chikugo-no-kami – and a plaster on the arm,

34 they behaved like humble domestic servants. All the while the councillor addressed them by just their single names, ‘Chikugo’, ‘Kiemon’, in the same way one treats the lowliest person here. This is truly a peculiar respect, which in this whole empire increases or decreases by gradation. In the meantime, not a word was mentioned about our affairs.

22 On the orders of Chikugo-no-kami, our landlord and the interpreter went to Izu-no-kami to inquire after his arm. In the evening, they reported that it had shown no improvement. This is not surprising after just one application. One might even despair that his arm will heal at all, having been deprived of its natural nourishment for so many years. Kiemon, to whose house they had also been, had me informed that I should rest assured that I would be admitted to Court on the 15th of this month, which is on 3 March. He would do his best to obtain an earlier audience, if possible. Hachizaemon had been told the same by Chikugo-no-kami’s servants. It is just idle talk.

Because I have not heard any news about the abolition of the silk *pancado*, I asked our interpreter if he had heard anything. He said that there had been a rumour that the councillors were arguing about it, some – including Izu-no-kami – were in favour and others were against it. The latter claimed that it was improper to abrogate a shogunal decree which had been observed during the reigns of three Shoguns. Time will disclose the end of it. The heads of the five shogunal cities have come here to give advice on this important matter. I have been told that they intend to visit me to discuss it.

23 The landlord fetched a coral branch and some red coral beads for the commissioner. He told me that His Honour had said that we shall definitely appear before *Ue-sama* – that is the Shogun – on the 15th of the present month. But he would do his best to obtain that it happened before that date.

Three heads of the shogunal cities, namely those of Kyo or Miyako, Sakai and Nagasaki came to visit me. The main topics of conversation were their congratulations on my arrival here and the impending

audience at Court. They did not utter a single word about the *pancado*. I did not mention it either, so as not to let on that I had been secretly informed of this matter. I thanked them for their visit and wished them luck with their affairs and offered them some tent wine and refreshments.

In the afternoon, our surgeon was again sent for to attend to Councillor Izu-no-kami. He applied some salve as before. In the evening, Junior Merchant Otto Wacker of Amsterdam, who had been taken ill during our trip on the barge between Tsukishima and Osaka, died.

35 I had Governor Kiemon and Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami informed straightaway. I requested permission to have the body buried according to the custom in our fatherland and to have two or three Dutchmen in attendance. Very late in the evening, I received the provisional reply that it would not be proper that some of us accompanied the body, because we had come here to pay homage to the Shogun but had not been to Court. With regard to the other request, they would confer tomorrow and give me a firm decision. Nonetheless, in the hope of a favourable reply, I had a sound coffin prepared.

24 Before noon we still had not received a reply. We were both surprised and displeased that they needed to have such a long discussion about a matter of such little importance. It made us fear that our request would not be granted.

But around three o’clock, on behalf of Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon, our Nagasaki escort came with two notable *bongioisen* and a sizeable suite. They had orders to bury the dead man according to Dutch custom. After I had treated these men, who were very polite and consoled with us about the sad occasion, to a cup of tent wine and had thanked them personally and their lords for the courtesy shown to our nation, the coffin containing the emaciated, skeletal body was nailed up in their presence. It was then carried by a few Japanese about a mile away from the city and buried deep near a temple called Asakusa, so I was told later on their return by Kanseimon-dono and a few of our servants.

25 Very early our interpreter and the landlord went to thank Kiemon and Chikugo-no-kami on

my behalf for the respect shown to our nation yesterday by burying a Dutchman. This respect is shown in our fatherland to all honest men and is only refused to the bodies of hanged persons and such gallows-birds, as it is refused in this country to those who are crucified. On their return I was told that the gentlemen had been pleased with my compliments of gratitude. Kiemon had politely replied that the Dutch were right to be displeased about having their dead thrown into the sea. This was not a Japanese custom either, but it had been exercised in Nagasaki, because in the past, when a Christian had been buried, some people had gone to the grave by night and had opened it to take out a piece of his body to keep as a holy relic. Chikugo-no-kami had been occupied and they had not spoken to him, but they had left a message. I received a reply with the addition that our appearance before His Majesty had been set for the 15th.

I urged the interpreter to discuss the burial of our dead on Tsukishima at an opportune moment and I promised him that should it be allowed, he would be presented with a proper gift. He promised he would mention it, because having the bodies thrown into the sea was not a shogunal decree. He advised against discussing the requests which I mentioned on the 15th and 24th of the winter month, because this would incur the displeasure of the Nagasaki Governors and would harm our case.

- 36 It would be more proper and more successful if an ambassador were sent from Batavia to submit new requests. In the evening, our surgeon went to Izu-no-kami to dress his arm again.

26 Nothing noteworthy happened.

27 Our interpreter has been to the house of the commissioner and dined there. His Honour told him that we shall apparently pay homage to the Shogun in four days, but this seems doubtful to me. I asked him if it was not definite then, as he and our landlord had told me two or three days ago. He replied that this had been said in the Japanese way, for even if it is definite, it could not be said outright. Although we cannot do anything about it, I did not rest easy about it. I remembered that twelve days ago, according to the Japanese reports,

it was as definite as now, but then it did not take place either. I cannot but wonder about the delay of this audience, where one does not speak a word and only hears two and which was foiled on the 2nd only because of the shortness of time, as mentioned on 30 January. To sum up – bearing in mind the well-known proverb ‘to promise and give nothing is comfort to a fool’ –, it is better to resign ourselves and wait for it to happen rather than set store on their daily comfort, although it is rather depressing being confined like this. In the afternoon, Surgeon Jan Stipel was summoned to Chikugo-no-kami’s house. He stayed there till the evening to answer the questions of a so-called Japanese doctor on many illnesses, their cures and the use and potency of some single and compound remedies. He was treated to food and drink.

28 In the afternoon, our surgeon returned to Chikugo-no-kami’s house for the same reason. Cornelis Jacobsz also went to disassemble and reassemble the corn mill and to give Interpreter Ginemon further instructions. After their efforts, they were treated liberally to food and drink. The commissioner attended the proceedings in person for a long while and enjoyed himself by having them quickly swallow down a cupful and listening to their replies in plain Dutch when he asked a question now and again. He was in a better mood than usual and he talked about many things with our interpreter, except for our pending display of reverence. Hachizaemon seized the opportunity to mention the burial of our dead. He said that we wished that in future it would be permitted on Tsukishima, because it was repugnant to us and went against our Dutch custom to throw them into the sea and the Chinese and other foreign peoples who sailed to Japan considered it also a source of contempt for the Dutch nation.

- 37 The commissioner heartily agreed with us. He confessed that in the past it had been different in Hirado. He promised to discuss it with the councillors and he advised the interpreter to discuss it with Kiemon. But he forbade him to mention it to me, because, he said, it might come to pass that the Governors of Nagasaki, under whose authority this

resorted, received different orders. As far as he was concerned, even though it was beyond his authority, he would do what he could.

Changing the subject, the commissioner had related that six years ago the Shogun had been extremely angry about the case of the Portuguese Fialho,⁹ the information of which had been sent via other routes, but the truth of which had not been sincerely disclosed by Coyett, either because he was reluctant or ignorant or because of Interpreter Hakuzaemon's fault. This had been the reason that Coyett had been forced to leave without having been granted an audience and he, Chikugo-no-kami, had been refused permission to be in the presence of the Shogun for two months. At that time we narrowly escaped being banished from the country. But His Honour had done his utmost and had toiled – so he said – to re-establish our good standing out of his good feelings towards our nation and it was clear that at present all was well. But he expressed some displeasure that we hardly obliged him with small things and that for many years his requests – which he had always seriously commended to all *opperhoofden* – had been left unfulfilled. He said that last year he had spoken to my predecessor about his memorandum and some models of the year 1648, but the reply had been that it had been forgotten. I am quite assured of Coyett's discretion and knowledge of Japan and cannot believe that he gave such a reply. I rather think that either the commissioner's interpreter – whom he refused to lend 100 taels as Van der Burgh had done two years ago – or our Sukezaemon, or both, have acted in bad faith and have given the commissioner that absurd report. In my opinion neither the one nor the other is above such a thing. Last year some examples of their sinister nature had already come to light. This will teach me to assume the look of a martyr and both simulate or dissimulate on the Company's behalf for as long as I have to associate with these sons of Cham.

⁹ Antonio Fialho was the Portuguese captain of the ship that carried the Portuguese ambassador Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza from Portugal to Japan in 1647. See the *dagregister* of that year.

Having written about it, it might serve my successors as an example.

To return to the previous subject, Hachizaemon – whom so far I have found to be very willing, faithful and disinterested – then told Chikugo-no-kami that the *opperhoofden* certainly sent his orders to Batavia every year. Having fulfilled their commission, they would then have nothing more to do with it, for each would go his own way, either to Tayouan – like Coyett –, the Netherlands, or elsewhere. The captains were replaced every year and this was the reason for this inconvenience. This had not happened in Hirado, where the *opperhoofden* resided for longer periods and did their utmost to look after their affairs. The old man was pleased with this explanation, which, he declared, had never been offered to him. He then asked after Mr Caron. The interpreter told him the same as what he had told Kiemon-dono on the 4th.

38 The governor listened with approval and finally ended the discussion with words of praise for the said president.

March

1 Our interpreter went to Kiemon's house twice to ask about the state of our affairs. He saw His Honour around noon and was told that we would not be appearing at the Court within two days, because tomorrow – according to their annual custom – a thousand priests would begin saying prayers for the soul of the Shogun Taitokuin-sama,¹⁰ the grandfather of the present Shogun, in a certain temple in this city. This will last for ten days. The Shogun will attend to offer his devotion with Izu-no-kami and other nobles. This is a fine comfort for the deceased and for us. On behalf of his master, Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter brought me fifteen loaves of bread. Although they were inedible, I had him thanked.

2 For appearance's sake, I sent our interpreter to the commissioner on the same errand as he went on to Kiemon-sama yesterday. He gave the same reply, with the commendation – Oh dear – not to be disappointed. A fine response and firm proof that

¹⁰ Tokugawa Hidetada.

these heathens have little regard for foreigners, for they could have anticipated this solemn devil's day if they had been in earnest about dispatching us.

Oeffioje, Chikugo-no-kami's secretary, sent a message that rats had been seen in the godown. Hachizaemon went with a few of our servants to inspect the gifts. There was no damage to the gifts, but the vermin had made some holes in the walls and these were filled.

On his return the interpreter – who often speaks out candidly – told me that Chikugo-no-kami had been very angry with one of his wives or whores – so he called them. The commissioner had wanted her to slit her belly, but Genba-dono had interceded and she had been sent away. I asked him if it was the custom in Japan that women also slit their bellies, I have never heard of this. He explained that it was not a woman but a young man. He had been punished by his master because he had lent his body to another young man. This explanation opened up a conversation with Hachizaemon about this unnatural and nefarious debauchery. He told me – I do not know whether he felt no shame about his compatriots or despised this lewdness – that it was a common practice among the high officials. They usually care more for these buggers than for their own wives, which was the cause that they fathered few children. When these disgraceful subjects reached maturity – he said –, they are usually raised to high positions and placed above all confidants and are loved by their masters. In this way the commissioner has his Oeffioje and Matsudaira Izu-no-kami his major-domo, who take care of everything. In this way Councillor Izu-no-kami, Hotta Kaga-no-kami, who slit his belly after his master's death, and also Inoue Chikugo-no-kami and others, who had given their bodies to the former Shoguns, have all been promoted to their high positions. This is the fine heathen character,

39 to which we, orthodox Christians, subject ourselves willingly with humility, swallowing all regret, scorn and vexations like gilded pills. In sum, it is a race as described by the heathen apostle¹¹ in his first chapter to the Romans.

3 Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter came to bid me patience – of which I am running short – and tell me that I should not be disappointed that I had not been allowed to behold the Shogun's face today. The commissioner, who was looking after our interests, hoped it would be before long. He wished to offer me some recreation and would invite me to his house in a day or two. He had discussed it with a few councillors. After some refreshments, Ginemon left. I asked him to convey my gratitude to his master for his fatherly care and courtesy – as one is required to do here. That is how we are shod here and still we have to say 'Thank you very much'. He who can do so will last, for it is truly Japanese to play the humble part and sing *placebo*.¹²

The commissioner's secretary or rather factotum, Oeffioje, also had me informed that I should draw up an account of the goods which his master had sent for. According to annual custom, I drew up a very reasonable account and had Hachizaemon take it to him. He found it on the whole acceptable and just recommended a few changes. This was done in the evening and the account came to almost 600 guilders less than the cost price. It is offered to him in this way, because he is not allowed to accept any gifts from us. His Honour requested one or two firm blue stones on which the shaft of a corn mill revolves from Batavia next year, on condition that they were not very large so that they could be carried more easily from Osaka to Edo. These can be found here in Japan, but they want to have them from the Dutch.

4 Nothing noteworthy happened.

5 Shortly before noon our surgeon was summoned to the house of Chikugo-no-kami and shortly after I also had to go there in person. When I arrived, I was taken to a large hall. After a short wait our old patron joined me. He had his interpreter bid me welcome. He said that I had been confined to the house for such a long time and this had been hard on me. I should now enjoy myself. He was sorry that so far he had not been able to obtain an audience with *Ue-sama*. It would probable happen in eight to ten days. He was aware that I was longing to return

11 St Paul the Apostle.

12 I shall be acceptable or pleasing.

home. He also thanked me for the small things I had sent him and that I had allowed the surgeon to attend to him several times. I replied respectfully. He led me to the back and to a room which opened up to a delightful court with various trees and a lovely spring, in which different kinds of geese and duck were swimming. He left us and told his private secretary to entertain us and offer us food and drink.

40 We reciprocated cheerfully, without inhibitions and with frank discourse – in the manner of my national character, in plain Zeeland. The commissioner was uneasy about this and sometimes sent a servant to urge us to be merry, for which end he absented himself most of the time. He joined us two or three times for a short while. On these occasions he mentioned the small things for which he asked the Dutch every year, all of which were usually not provided. I replied in the same vein as Hachizaemon had done on the 28th of last month. I told him that I would do my best to oblige His Honour. I might be in a better position to do so than my predecessors, because I was a resident of Batavia. I had wanted to add that often the reason for the items not being provided was that the ships were late or had been wrecked, as happened last year, but I was cut short. However, our patron was content. He said that, according to annual custom, he would hand me a list of various items on my departure and I should take the best possible care of it. On this occasion I presented him another six gravel stones, the last ones I had left. He cheerfully accepted them, saying he was a great lover of medicines. When it was dark we returned to the inn in high spirits.

6 Our interpreter was feeling poorly and I sent the landlord to Chikugo-no-kami to thank him for yesterday's entertainment. Chikugo-no-kami was in the castle and Oeffioje took the message. He said that his master was happy that we had enjoyed ourselves so much yesterday. He was particularly pleased with the gravel stones. In the afternoon, the commissioner's interpreter came to our surgeon to write down the composition of a certain balm for fresh wounds. He confirmed his master's satisfaction. He also said that His Honour longed for our dispatch as much as we did. He intended to set off for his own domains, from which he derives his income, shortly after our

departure. He had not been there for fifteen years and he had now received permission to go.

7 Jan Stipel was summoned by the commissioner. His Honour sent me three Owari radishes, considered to be the best in Japan, as a rarity. The lord of that domain had given him a number of these as a present. I sent to thank him for this gift, which is a sign of benevolence. I also let him know that I had the radishes weighed out of curiosity and to my surprise I had found that the largest weighed 412 mas and the smaller ones 310 mas each.

8–9 Nothing noteworthy happened. Hachizaemon told me in confidence that more than seventy of ninety-three Japanese Christians, some of whom had spent 4, 5, 7, yea even 10 or 15 years in prison, and all of whom had apostatized before, have had a change of heart and would now rather die than renounce their faith. This will create many problems and much work for Chikugo-no-kami, who had been a Christian himself till the age of 40 and who has now turned into a persecutor – Oh horror –
41 and who has been appointed by the Shogun as superintendent of such affairs. This made me fear that our audience might be postponed again, but the interpreter did not think it would.

10 While our interpreter was out to find out about the state of our affairs, Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter came to inform me that my appearance before the Shogun would undoubtedly take place on the 28th of their month, which is the 16th, or two days later, that is on New Moon, at the latest. I could depend on this and I could again visit his house before that time to enjoy myself. This man also told me that while I was at Chikugo-no-kami's house on the 5th, His Honour had sometimes been watching me behind the sliding doors. He had taken such pleasure from this that he had told his servants this and with a Japanese exclamatory grunt he had said 'the captain is small of stature, but great of heart'. I cannot determine whether my good fortune or anything else can be attributed to the congenial treatment of our patron and Edo director. If it yields me any honour – for I know that it is taken as such – I do not care in the least, only as far as it reflects on my famous national character and paymasters. No one should think that I write this down out of idle

fame and pretentiousness and that in this way I am seeking a second commission here from my superiors, far from this. For the vexations one has to suffer in this country, especially during the trading season – when the main body of work has to be done in very few days – are so numerous and sometimes beyond all reason that in future – if matters do not improve – the directorship of the Nagasaki factory will have the reputation of being a punishment instead of an honour.

The old gentleman had me informed that during his service to the previous Shogun for ten years he had to walk through wind and rain bareheaded when he accompanied him on his hunts, as is the custom. Since then he had suffered from many colds. He asked me and the surgeon for advice, for now that he had reached a ripe old age, he would like to know what kind of food or meat he should consume in future to fortify his body and what was the best way to warm himself in winter according to the customs of old people in our country, where, he knew, it was far colder than in Japan. We gave him ample consultation – as if we had Hippocrates¹³ and Galen¹⁴ in our heads – concerning the use of warming medicines, food and drink, physical exercise, waking and sleeping and such, which was promptly written down in Japanese. The interpreter took it with him and I impressed upon him to thank his master for the goods news.

11 I sent our interpreter to the Nagasaki Governor, Kiemon, to ask him about our impending audience and the burial of our dead on Tsukishima. On his return he reported that as soon as the governor had seen him, he had said ‘Hachizaemon, I am embarrassed – about the audience which has been promised us for so long –, but there is no doubt that it will take place within five or seven days.

13 Hippocrates (ca. 460 – ca. 377 B.C.), Greek physician, regarded as the Father of Medicine.

14 Galenus (129–ca. 216), Greek physician, writer and philosopher. He became the personal physician to several Roman emperors. He exercised a dominant influence on medical theory and practice in Europe from the Middle Ages until the mid-seventeenth century.

42 Tell the captain that he should rest assured and should not feel disappointed.’ Because of these repeated, uncalled for delays, I have been very afraid that we would have to spend three months here – the same as Sterthemius – but these tidings have given me hope that we shall leave here before sixty days have passed. No one should come here unless armed with patience soaked in constant distrust, the former because one cannot do the least thing against this proud people, the latter because we usually have to deal with masters of fine dissimulation and friendly compliments, both courtly veneers.

12 This morning, on behalf of Kiemon, Hachizaemon told me that a mail would be leaving in two days and we could send a letter to the Dutch on Deshima. He said that the prayers of the thousand priests would end today and according to established custom all prisoners throughout the country, disregardless of whatever crime they had been imprisoned, would be set free, except for the Christians, poor souls.

13 Before noon, on his master’s behalf, Chikugonokami’s interpreter came again to inform me that I would apparently appear before the Shogun in three days or two days later, which he said of his own accord. But because an envoy of the *Dairi* had arrived, who would be introduced to the palace the day after tomorrow and would be entertained with great feasts, he could not say for certain. I seemed to be bursting from spite when I heard this dubious message, but the expression on my face was as pleasant as could be. It is as if one is dangling an apple in front of children. He further said that I could go to the commissioner’s house tomorrow to enjoy myself, if possible. I would receive further information.

I had a letter for our people in Nagasaki taken to Governor Kiemon, in which I wrote about our present well-being, the death of Junior Merchant Otto Wacker, my fresh hope for a speedy dispatch and, should this not be the case, I gave them orders to have two sound sampans made in time.

Today the Lord of Owari sent me a request. Next year he would like to receive a few pieces of Muscovy glass from Batavia and, if at all possible,

one lily-white and one black guenon or monkey. He was very desirous to have these rarities.

In the evening, Hachizaemon, who had been to Chikugo-no-kami and had also dined there, brought me better news than this morning. His Honour had told him that, as far as he was aware, we would appear at the Court on the 16th. The councillors had discussed it today. They had said that the Dutch had spent a long time here and were looking forward to their dispatch. I should go to his house tomorrow for some recreation. It was hard and depressing for me to sit home all day.

- 43 The commissioner had also ordered the interpreter to find out whether anyone of us had heard even the slightest rumour that the Portuguese intended to return to Japan. The Shogun and this empire would be obliged if we notified them. I declared that such rumours had not reached our ears. Furthermore, it was unlikely that the Portuguese would come here, for their power in the Indies was weak and it had been weakened even more after we captured some of their ships last year. Hachizaemon also wanted to know – he said he asked this of his own accord without Chikugo-no-kami's urging – what reply I would give should one of the high officials ask if Batavia would send an ambassador this year. I said that, although I was firmly convinced that they would, I would give a Japanese reply, that, so it appeared to me, it might happen, but I could not give an assurance. He approved this.

14 Our landlord went to Izu-no-kami on some private errand. He also mentioned us and said that these poor foreigners have spent so much time here, they must be longing to return home, as if he wanted to indicate that we would be dispatched soon. Shortly after noon, Merchant Oetgens, our surgeon and I went to the house of our patron. After half an hour he returned from the castle and joined us. He was most affable and told us to enjoy ourselves. We would be offered food and drink. We were truly regaled splendidly. A pig, which is not common in Edo, and some fowl had expressly been killed for us; fine, white wheat bread had been baked today, our cook and utensils had been summoned from our inn to prepare the meal in our fashion. All because

he thought we would eat more heartily. He invited us to do so and to drink lustily. He joined us several times for quite a while. He had a large drinking cup, made from a rhinoceros horn, which Snoucq had presented to him, brought out and the old fellow had such a good laugh when the mug was emptied by Oetgens and Stipel – I could suffice with half a mug because I suffered from shortness of breath – that he rocked with laughter. But the most enjoyable *sakana*, which whetted my appetite and raised my spirits, came forth like an oracle from the commissioner's mouth and into our ears, namely that our display – for it is nothing else – before His Majesty would take place the day after tomorrow. I reverentially thanked him for this splendid news and for the honour bestowed upon us and for his continuing fatherly concern for our affairs. There were no other interesting topics raised, just some small talk about Brazil: he had heard that anthropophagous, man-eating Tapuya¹⁵ lived there and that both we and the Portuguese sailed there and had fortifications. Chikugo-no-kami asked for one or two rare rhinoceros horns, many weather-glasses and some shark's brains – which I promised to send from Deshima – to be used against gravel. I took this opportunity to discuss several matters with him,

15 Tapuya (Du: *Tapoejer*): Tapuya was the collective name given by the Tupi Indians in Brazil to tribes that did not speak their language, such as the Tarairius, a little-known tribe considered to be one of the wildest of all Indians of north-east Brazil. The Tarairius sometimes fought as allies with the Dutch under Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, Governor of Dutch Brazil (1637–1644), against the Portuguese. One of their most remarkable features was the fact that they were cannibals. Zacharias Wagenaer, the *opperhoofd* of the Japan factory in 1656/7 and 1658/9, was in Recife between 1634 and 1641 as a steward in the service of the Dutch West India Company and he was familiar with these Tapuya Indians. He made drawings of a Tapuya man and a woman, which are included in his *Thierbuch*, a volume of paintings on various aspects of Brazilian fauna, people and surroundings. See Zandvliet, Kees, e.a., *The Dutch East India Company in the 17th Century: Life and Work of Zacharias Wagenaer (1614–1668)* (Nagasaki: Holland Village Museum, 1987).

but in particular with Oeffioje, with whom I could speak more extensively.

44 We spoke about the annual replacement of the chiefs, their departure here and there, the long delays and wrecking of ships, the reasons why His Honour's annual requests were sometimes not punctually executed. I assured them that the Governor-General in Batavia and the Directors in our fatherland were greatly concerned about obliging the Japanese to the best of their abilities. Because of the foul weather, we left in time for our lodging.

15 Our interpreter went to Kiemon very early. He confirmed that the long-wished for audience would take place tomorrow. Hachizaemon then went to Chikugo-no-kami's house to thank him for yesterday's entertainment, where he was told the same. Our old patron was at the castle and we could expect a decision. We had to wait so long that I almost lost all hope. Then, when it was almost evening, with sounds of revelry – oh dear, it was as if we were ascending to heaven – our interpreter and all the members of the household brought the most welcome news that tomorrow at eight o'clock we should proceed to the castle, where we would appear in person before His Majesty. The shogunal gifts would be sent ahead. The interpreter said that Chikugo-no-kami had told him – but had forbidden him to inform me – that the reciprocal gift would be presented in four days and we would be given our dispatch at the same time. I think this is likely, because we have been held up here for such a long time.

Audience

16 At the appointed time I went to the castle with Merchant Johan Oetgens and three other Dutchmen. There we went into the shogunal palace to a room the size of 36 mats, which is apparently the ordinary room. Shortly after, according to custom, Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon joined us and expressed their satisfaction about our success. Many gentlemen, high and low – but they could not be distinguished by their dress – also came there, including Matsudaira Dewa-no-kami,

the Shogun's maternal uncle, Councillor Ukyō, and the Lord of Tsushima. We saw the King of Mito, the Shogun's great-uncle, pass the room twice. He was preceded by a loud rustling and followed by a remarkable silence, which are signs of deference. Many people passed to and fro, bearing gifts. They were dressed very curiously according to the old Chinese fashion, which origin the Japanese do not deny. We assumed that they were the *Dairi's* people. No elephant or other strange animal could ever have attracted more attention than we and our costumes did at the Court, even though our fellow countrymen appear here every year, and still the three courtiers who had been appointed as guards had to keep many curious people away from the room. After we had spent two or three hours there – this fine audience is torture –

45 I was summoned to appear before the Japanese monarch. Walking stiffly, I followed Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon through a covered passage and then at a brisk trot, for the old commissioner preceded me at this pace, calling out '*hayō, hayō*', 'hurry, hurry', we went along the outside of the palace, turned two corners and before I knew it, we had passed a spacious room with many gentlemen and our displayed gifts inside. I was hurriedly told to bow down with my face to the wooden floor – I did not even step onto the mats – right across a large hall, where the councillors were and the Shogun was standing. Instantly Andō Ukyō-sama called out loudly '*Oranda Kapitan*'. If I were to boast that I have had a better view of this mighty gentleman than what I have heard, my conscience might deny it. It is better to be truthful. As hastily as I had come, I returned to my former seat and then we hurried to the entrance of the palace, where Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon congratulated me on my success. I replied politely and then we went to our inn, which we reached about half past eleven. This then is what is often called the audience with the Japanese ruler. It would be better to apply the word reverence, or display of submission, abject humiliation, or any other kind of vile homage. Nonetheless, I appeared before this monarch. This honour is estimated here exceptionally high and it is denied forever to many

thousands, yea millions of natives and – so it is claimed – the councillors have to confer on it more than once and it has also required a lot of effort on the part of Chikugo-no-kami in particular and Kiemon.

In the afternoon, I went to the houses of these gentlemen with Oetgens and Stipel to thank them for promoting our interests. The former was still in the castle and his major-domo Oeffioje promised to convey my message. He congratulated me on this day and assured me of his master's good feelings towards me. Our interpreter confirmed this later – with too much stress to my liking – in the presence of the other Dutchmen. The other gentleman accepted my gratitude in person. He treated us very affably to *sake* and *sakana* and expressed his delight about the outcome of our affairs. He repeated unasked his permission to travel overland from Shimonoseki to Nagasaki in case of adverse weather. He asked after Mr Caron's health and assured me that we would be given the reciprocal gift and our dispatch within three days.

17 Today I have not been feeling well, fortunately it is one day after the audience. I suffered from shortness of breath – for which I had been afraid – for the first time in 10–11 weeks. But because the weather was very fine, accompanied by Oetgens I went to present the selected gifts to Izu-no-kami, Bungo-no-kami, Uta-no-kami, Sanuki-no-kami, Izumi-no-kami, Sado-no-kami, Minbu-no-shō, Ukyō-sama, Izumo-no-kami, Bitchū-no-kami, Bizen-no-kami and Shōgen-sama.

46 However, most of them were at the castle and Ōta Bitchū-no-kami was in Hamamatsu, his domain. I thought that he was also a councillor, but our interpreter told me differently and also that he is presented with gifts every year because he is related to Chikugo-no-kami.¹⁶ The secretaries – as they are usually called – or major-domos accepted the gifts on behalf of their masters. Only Matsudaira Izumi-no-kami's secretary refused them politely, explaining that his master was mortally ill and could therefore not accept any gifts. We could take them

back and give them to our landlord in safekeeping till the outcome of the illness was confirmed. This is the Japanese way of speaking, but when we were outside the house, Hachizaemon told me that this lord had died two days ago. His death had not been made public in order not to upset the young Shogun, for whom he had been like a father, or spoil the *Shōgatsu* holidays. He added that had it occurred earlier or had it become known two days ago, our reverence before *Ue-sama* might have been postponed for half a month or a whole month. This is a blessing in disguise for us.

In the evening, I was very tired because of shortness of breath and our interpreter received a nobleman with a suite of about twenty persons. On behalf of Councillor Sakai Sanuki-no-kami, they came to thank me for the gifts which we had taken to his house today. The three guards of the chamber in the palace where we had sat yesterday informed Hachizaemon that I would receive the Shogun's reciprocal gift and dispatch the day after tomorrow. They also asked for six round red coral beads against payment for the three of them. I sent the beads to them for little money in gratitude for their service.

18 I kept to my room and my bed to gather my strength for tomorrow. I did not know whether I should receive the reciprocal gift in person or wait in my lodging like Coyett had to last year. But around noon Kiemon sent a nobleman to inform me that I should appear in the castle tomorrow at an hour which Chikugo-no-kami would inform me later. I would receive the Shogun's gift and dispatch. This honour is only bestowed upon captains. I had Oetgens entertain the carrier of this good news and asked him to thank his master on my behalf. Our interpreter and our landlord went to present the small gifts to the secretaries of Sanuki-no-kami, Uta-no-kami and Sado-no-kami. We did not present gifts to any others. In the evening, Chikugo-no-kami, who was a guest of the Lord of Tsushima together with Kiemon, sent to ask for the two remaining coral branches, which were later returned, and also for thirteen red coral beads, which he distributed among the servants of this lord. Councillor Makino Sado-no-kami also sent a servant to thank me for the gifts with an apology for not having done so

16 Ōta Bitchū-no-kami was the younger brother of Inoue Chikugo-no-kami's wife.

yesterday. The reason was that he had been at the Court till late.

- 47 19 A servant of the Edo Governor, Ishigaya Shōgen-sama, came to thank me for the gifts which had been taken to his house two days ago. Shortly after eleven, Oetgens, Assistant Jacob Verhoeven and I went to the castle. For curiosity's sake, I had a servant, who was carrying my rapier alongside the *norimono*, count his footsteps from the outer gate to the steps of the shogunal palace. If he has counted them accurately, the distance measures 2220 paces, from which one can appreciate the size of this compound, if the Court is indeed in the centre, as is claimed. When we were inside, we were taken to the hall mentioned before, where we spent about an hour and a half. Then Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon joined us with four other persons, whom we first took to be the councillors, but we were later told they were some junior commissioners. I had to approach them and our patron then addressed me. He pronounced the old lesson, namely the Shogun's hatred of the Portuguese, that is the popish Christians. Twice the amount of silver is being offered as a reward for anyone who informs on one. That we Dutchmen had so far been found to be pious and sincere and therefore the present ruling monarch, as had his predecessors, permitted us to trade in Japan. We should continue to serve this country well and refrain from bringing any such Christians here. Should we learn that the Portuguese had any intentions of returning here, we should inform the authorities in time and His Majesty's favour would descend upon us. The gifts that we had brought pleased him. As a token of this, I had been summoned in person to receive, apart from the shogunal mandate, thirty gowns as a reciprocal gift and leave to return to Nagasaki. *Si fueris romæ, romano vivito more*.¹⁷ With profound respect, in Japanese fashion, I thanked them for so much honour and promised to comply with the Shogun's orders, as we have always done. Our interpreter was given a document containing what had just been said, which should be translated into Dutch. We left and I stepped into a palanquin, for my body could not bear to go on foot. We went on

a walk through the third and largest circuit of the castle to view some beautiful buildings. Around two o'clock we returned to our lodgings and found the shogunal gift gowns already there. Shortly after a few more were brought on behalf of Izu-no-kami, Uta-no-kami and Minbu-no-shō with their expressions of thanks for the Company's gifts. Sanuki-no-kami sent 30 *schuiten* of silver.

Hachizaemon went to convey my gratitude to Chikugo-no-kami, who was resting, and Kiemon for the dispatch and the honour I had enjoyed at the shogunal court. They had contributed much to the favourable outcome. On behalf of his master, Oeffioje accepted my expressions of gratitude. The Nagasaki Governor did so in person and congratulated us. Genba-sama, who was present, added his congratulations.

20 With many expressions of gratitude for the Company's gifts, Bizen-no-kami, Shōgen-sama and Sado-no-kami sent me a few gowns. As is his custom, the latter also sent 10 *schuiten* of silver. Chikugo-no-kami also sent three, for which I had our interpreter thank him. According to custom, I presented gifts to our three Nagasaki *bongioisen*, the landlord and his parents.

- 48 I heard that the great commissioner would be leaving for his domain in a few days. He could not leave as early as he had thought previously, because he, Julian¹⁸ – if I may call him thus in respect of the popish Christian religion which he renounced –, has a great deal to do concerning the wretched souls whom I mentioned on the 9th. In the meantime, I expended much effort to collect the remaining debts. It caused many problems, as did the fetching and returning of goods, apart from the disgraceful payments for them. It is therefore unnecessary, yea even inexpedient, that more things than what are needed for the gifts are brought here, except perhaps for some of the finest and exquisite red coral beads and other rare things and even then only for the greatest lords, for the stature of the Company is dependent on them.

17 When you are in Rome, live in the Roman way.

18 Julianus Apostata Flavius Claudius, Roman Emperor A.D. 361–363. Raised as a Christian but later renounced the faith. Known as Julian the Apostate.

21 On behalf of Councillor Bungo-no-kami, one of his servants came to thank me for the gifts he had received and congratulate us on the dispatch from the Court and wish us a propitious journey home. He presented me with a few gowns. In the presence of Oetgens, I now addressed Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter Sginemon about the 100 taels of silver which Van der Burgh lent him two years ago. It would not have been proper to speak to him about it before the audience. This penniless yet haughty scrubber could only manage to offer excuses for his inability to pay up. He had been forced to spend the aforesaid sum and even more borrowed money on repairs of his house. If I pressed him to pay up now, he would have to sell his clothes and even then he would not be able to pay the full sum. However, his master might send him to Nagasaki in a few months and in that case he would do his utmost to pay half of the sum and the other half next year. I told him that I would not be so hard on him, for I knew that if the commissioner came to hear of it he would be very angry, but he should not make a fool of me. He gave me his solemn promise and confessed that he would be a dead man should his master find out. I had been warned that this would be the outcome of my dealings with this poor fellow.

Two of Kiemon's servants – *bongioisen* whom we knew on Tsukishima – came to visit us late in the evening to wish us a safe journey. They were very polite and cordial. We generously treated them to pastries and wines and they declared that they had not been so merry in ten years.

22 Several gowns were brought to me with the thanks of Councillors Izumo-no-kami and Ukyō-sama. Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter brought me a list of various goods which Mino-no-kami, Lord of Odawara, would like to order. The commissioner advised me to have it translated and to put my signature on it as proof that I promised to take care of it. The commissioner would also send me a list. I have been told that this rascal has got into his master's bad books because of his sinister dealings, which makes me think that he will never pay his debt. Some of the outstanding debts have been paid. Our interpreter has been pressing Uneme-dono for

payment and he came to settle his account and that of the King of Mito.

49 But he had calculated it in such a careless way that even Hachizaemon was embarrassed. We have to make allowances for him because he is closely related to Chikugo-no-kami. With regard to the king,¹⁹ who is the Shogun's great-uncle, the Company highly values his favour and that of other such lords. Every year it is our experience that besides the observance of the shogunal mandates, it is imperative that we oblige these high officials. Even now the commissioner had our interpreter impress upon us privately that the Dutch chiefs should bear this in mind on all occasions. Governor Yohyō's factotum, who knows that I shall be leaving soon and who had not been well since the 17th, came to congratulate me. I entertained him and promised that, as I am feeling well enough again to go out, I shall go to his master's house tomorrow to say farewell. My indisposition had prevented me from doing so.

Because I hope to travel within three days at the most, I had the remainders packed properly and preparations made for our departure. I obliged our landlord, who has been rather friendly and compliant this year, with some European goods at the ordinary price. This will save us some expenses. I announced my intention to Hachizaemon, who, although he also longs to return to Nagasaki, said that we should stay a day longer because the Japanese do not like to set off on a journey on the 7th of their month, considering it to be unlucky. Poor superstitious folk. The interpreter (who has travelled to various countries in the Indies and had mixed with the Portuguese and the Castilians before he came to work for us in Hirado) and we made fun of this. He also thought that Chikugo-no-kami's list was not yet ready.

23 Our interpreter went to Governor Kiemon very early in the morning to inform him that I was now feeling well and ready to travel. I would like to greet Yohyō's family. He also asked him whether I should visit old Saburōzaemon. His Honour gave

19 Tokugawa Yorifusa, the eleventh son of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

his approval and said that it would be proper and courteous, for, although this gentleman did not hold any office now, he had governed Nagasaki for seventeen years. I could leave in three days. After lunch I went to Yohyōe's house, which is about 1½ miles from our inn. We passed the castle's moat and five or six gates, which was at least half an hour's walk. We also passed a large number of lordly mansions. When we arrived, we were entertained by his son,²⁰ 7–8 years old; his eldest son²¹ died some months ago. His major-domo supervised and we were treated to wine and *sakana*. I responded to the many compliments in a similar vein. Then we said farewell and our escort Kanseimon, carrying Yohyōe's little daughter on his arm, accompanied me the length of the house. Later the interpreter told me that he had only done so to give the governor's wife the opportunity to view me from behind the latticework. Next we walked a long way, partly over the town rampart, from where I could see the city across the moat stretching out far and wide with many buildings. We passed a city gate and finally we reached Saburōzaemon's house. He thanked me for having taken the trouble.

- 50 He also congratulated me on my success and wished me a happy journey home. He advised me to comply with the Shogun's order. Next we went to Chikugo-no-kami to hear whether he had any advice for us concerning our departure from Edo. He was not at home, but Oeffioje promised to give him the message. He showed me the petition which was almost ready, pointing out a Dutch bed, the gall of a tiger and a large telescope. He advised me to take care of everything, the commissioner trusted me to do so. He said that it was true that the Dutch captains gave their promise every year, but it was possible that they considered it no more than compliments and quickly put it out of their minds. I said that I would not or could not reply with a *kashikomatta*,²² which is the only response the Japanese dare or may utter towards their officials, but would say so in plain outspoken Dutch, that I would do my utmost when the

ships sailed from Batavia to the Netherlands and then back here and I would keep reminding the Governor-General that Chikugo-no-kami's order be fulfilled as much as possible. I would also send a letter to the Governor-General as all *opperhoofden* did every year. I did not doubt that everything that could be obtained and arrived in Jacatra in time, would then be sent here. Both Oeffioje and the interpreter approved this reply. Hachizaemon told me that the heads of the five shogunal cities would meet at Kiemon's house this evening. They would inform His Honour of the prices for white raw, or *pancado*, silk and for the goods which we imported this year as they were sold in Nagasaki and subsequently in Miyako and elsewhere. The councillors would then be informed. I do not know if this is true or the reason for this action nor its consequences. I hope it will not be to the detriment of the Company.

24 On behalf of Baba Saburōzaemon and Yohyōe, I received thanks for yesterday's visits. In response to the repeated request of 3 December, on account of his master Yohyōe, I handed our nobleman Kanseimon 100 gold *koban*, for which he gave me a receipt. It will be repaid in silver in Nagasaki. A certain Gotō Sōan, an uncle of *Burgemeester* Gotō Shōzaemon,²³ who is one of the deputies of the five shogunal cities on behalf of Nagasaki, also requested 100 taels to pay for his expenses. I granted his request. This man claimed to have a batch of *pansies* for which he could not get the cost price. Such signs make me fear for a slack market next season. Our surgeon was summoned to Chikugo-no-kami's to check the medicines which are kept there in five chests and to separate the sound ones from those that had gone bad. He also had to make proper superscripts for the ones with which the members of his household were not familiar. Hachizaemon later went there too to repeat yesterday's message. The commissioner was not at home, but Oeffioje was just about to send us a message

51 that his master was pleased with my visit yesterday and my reply to the matter of the goods ordered. He approved our departure on the 26th. I could

20 Kurokawa Kiroku.

21 Kurokawa Zenshirō.

22 'Understood'.

23 Sic. Gotō Sōan was a younger brother of Gotō Shōzaemon (Sada'asa).

say farewell to him early tomorrow morning before he left for the castle. The interpreter brought two copies of the commissioner's memorandum. The one will remain here and has to be signed by me; the other one, together with the memoranda of the Lord of Owari and Mino-no-kami, will be translated on Tsukishima. I settled the account for lodgings, board and rent of the warehouse with the landlord. I could not induce him to accept half the amount each for a Dutch and a Quinamese servant – which is 75 candareens per day – but I insisted, because I wished to make a distinction between master and servant. Furthermore, none of us consumes half of his board and these people receive fair payment for their extra efforts. This abuse has now become so ingrained that it is impossible to change. I also hired horses to carry us to Miyako. We prepared everything for our departure.

25 Early in the morning I went to say farewell to the commissioner. I thanked him for the honour and favour bestowed upon me at the Court through his efforts and for the hospitality he has extended towards us. I requested – with expressions of the sincere service the Dutch have rendered this empire – his continuing good feelings towards me and my successors. He responded affably. He again advised me to take care of the delivery of the goods he and the other gentlemen ordered, even if it would take two or three years for some items to be sent. I again promised him that I would do all I could. Hachizaemon thought it opportune to use this occasion to mention the burial of our deceased in Nagasaki. Chikugo-no-kami replied that our wish was fair. During the term of office of Captain Overtwater one of his servants – a Lameyer – had died here. With the late Shogun's consent – the commissioner and Councillor Makino Sado-no-kami had expressly asked him for permission – the body had been taken outside Edo and had been buried there.²⁴ If this had been approved here in Edo, there was more reason for it to be approved on Deshima. But the councillors – some of whom he had consulted on this matter – would confer

and would give orders to Governors Kiemon and Yohyōe to observe it in the most proper way. Time will tell. The commissioner spoke at length about the Shogun's orders which had been given to us on the 19th. He advised the interpreter to explain them more fully later, for it would take too much time to do so now and to translate them when we were back in Nagasaki. He urged me to comply. I promised I would. After we had wished each other well, I left and went to the Nagasaki Governor to bid him farewell, *mutatis mutandis*.²⁵ He treated me most affably and urged me to comply with the Shogun's orders. He allowed us to travel over land to Shimonoseki should this be necessary and to enjoy ourselves in Miyako and view the buildings there. He congratulated me on the honours I received here and wished me a propitious journey home. He will apparently travel to Nagasaki in one or two months, after having received orders from the Shogun.

52 He hoped to see me again in good health and promised to show us his benevolence as before. Our interpreter and the clerk have been busy all through the night collecting some outstanding debts. This shows one how slow the Japanese nobles are in settling their debts. They do not pay up till the last moment. Even Chikugo-no-kami's payment came only late at night.

Departure from Edo

26 Two hours into the day – it is exactly a year since I was commissioned by the Council of the Indies to come here – we left Edo in fine weather. As is the custom, Gen'emon, our landlord, and others bade us farewell in Kawasaki with gifts.

On the journey home arrival in Miyako

April

6 Around noon we arrived in Miyako. We lost just one day when a heavy rain surprised us in Hamamatsu. In Miya we met *Burgemeester* Takashima Shirōbei, who was on his way to Edo as a deputy of Nagasaki. He told me all the people on Tsukishima were well. In Kusatsu I received a

24 See the entry of 1 February 1645.

25 'Making the necessary alterations'.

letter, which Magobei had left, from our fellow residents dated ultimo February. They wrote that they were well and that all my letters to Batavia, Siam, Tayouan and Tonkin had been sent, successively on 6, 20 and 29 January and 7 February. Two junks from Anhai belonging to Coxinga had arrived in Nagasaki. They had brought silk and other commodities worth at least 100 chests of silver. Two more are expected. This is not welcome news. We have found out here that there is some truth in the reports of the low prices for silk and other goods, for we cannot receive last season's Nagasaki price for the remnants we have brought from Edo. We shall take them to Osaka and if we have no better success there we shall take them back to Deshima. At Kanseimon's request, I lent him a further thirty gold *koban* on the account of Governor Yohyōe. They will be paid back in silver in Nagasaki.

7 I have seriously spoken to some of the master lacquerers and they have promised that the objects which we have ordered for Bengal will be delivered in time and curiously made. I also spoke to Magobei, who joined us here, and who had good hopes of 200–300 piculs of camphor shortly. He complained that no profits were made on it. According to custom I offered Saburōemon, our landlord, a proper gift and paid him for our board. We went on our way again in the afternoon. In passing we viewed some large buildings outside Miyako. In the evening, we arrived in Fushimi, where we spent the night to avoid having to sail by night.

Arrival in Osaka

53 8 It rained for some hours but when it stopped we embarked and sailed down the river, which is a most enjoyable experience. Shortly after midday we arrived in Osaka.

9 I gave orders to purchase a supply of food and drink for our journey to Nagasaki as quickly as possible. I also ascertained how much the remainders would fetch here, but it was the same tune as in Miyako: the market was sluggish and we would not get the Nagasaki price. Thus we shall take the goods back to Tsukishima.

10 It rained all day long and we could not do a thing.

11 The last of our luggage and provisions have been shipped. I reminded Shirōemon, our landlord, of the goods we have ordered and urged him that all should be delivered in good order and in time. He gave his firm promise.

12 According to custom I presented our landlord and his father, Joubia Soijin, who has twice invited us to his bath and treated us to drinks and *sakana*, with a gift and settled our account. After we had enjoyed lunch, we went to the barge, which was moored in the river a good way past Tennōji.

13–16 We had to remain in the harbour without being able to do anything.

17 We weighed anchor in the morning and made such good progress that we reached Shimonoseki on

21 We had to stay here on account of the rain and headwind.

23 We set sail with a northerly wind at eight in the morning. We passed Yobuko and shortly after sunset Hirado. We spent the night in the Bay of Kawachi.

24 We reached Seto very early, but because of bad weather we had to remain anchored there.

Arrival in Nagasaki

25 We set sail and around one in the afternoon we dropped anchor off our lodge. We thank the Lord for a safe journey. Merchant Willem Thijmons and the other subordinates were all well. He kept a diary during my absence and the following are the most remarkable notes:

54 Several junks left for China and other destinations. Several arrived from China, of which mention was made on the 6th. I shall not give any details, but refer to the separate notes. Several of the owners of the houses on our small island have begun to carry out the necessary repairs. Some were ready and others were still busy. We shall have to begin soon on some repairs to the house of the interpreters, the buttery and the pantry on the Company's account. The work on manufacturing 3000 copper chests and 650 silver chests is progressing smoothly. Thijmons has contracted for the construction of two sound new

sampans for the loading and unloading of the ships. They are to be of the largest size. He had advanced 100 taels to pay for the timber, which has to be procured in Satsuma. According to the contract, the sampans should be ready at the end of July and will be built under our supervision on this island. On the 12th, under the guise of looking for medicinal herbs with Governor Yohyōe's consent, the men went out for a walk and enjoyed themselves. The junks which recently arrived from China had brought rumours that Coxinga and the Tartars had united and that the Tartars had appointed him mandarin of a few sea harbours and of a part of the province of Canton. A junk which set sail to Cambodia on 5 January had stranded off one of the Satsuma islands. Little of the cargo had been salvaged. The Chinese had returned here on 2 February and with Japanese money given on bottomry they had procured another vessel with which they had left for Cochin China on the 5th of this month. This is the end of Thijmons' notes. I told our interpreters to find out when Yohyōe would like me to go and greet him.

26 Hachizaemon told me that I should go to the governor tomorrow. On behalf of Kanseimon, he asked if I would be willing to oblige his master with 200–300 gold *koban* at the Edo price. I willingly obliged him. I am pleased that I can accommodate this strict man with a friendly act and I hope that this will win us some favours during the impending trading season.

27 I went to the house of Governor Yohyōe with Merchant Oetgens and Assistant Jacob Verhoeven, who have both accompanied me to Edo. We were received after a short wait.

55 I thanked him that under his shadow we had been able to complete our journey without any problems and had enjoyed honour and success in Edo. I also thanked him for having appointed Kanseimon, a nobleman of excellent disposition and pleasant company, as our escort. I was also grateful for the hospitality shown to me by his young son and his servants. On behalf of the Company, I appreciated that he had continued to show benevolence towards the Dutchmen who had remained behind and that he had permitted them to send letters to Batavia,

Tayouan, Siam and Tonkin. He responded affably and expressed his contentment about the successful outcome of our business. When I left, I also expressed my gratitude to our escort Kanseimon for his congenial help and courtesy during the journey. If he were to escort any of my successors in future, I requested that he treated them in the same way. He promised he would and he assured me that his master was more than pleased about the loan of the 130 *koban* in Edo and Miyako.

Magobei has returned from his journey and he came to visit me. I reminded him of the camphor for which he had contracted. He promised to do his best and expected to obtain 400 piculs. Seventy piculs had already been delivered.

28 I gave Hachizaemon some sealing wax and other small things for the Lord of Odawara and some dried shark's brains for Chikugo-no-kami, which I had promised them in Edo. Hachizaemon would include a note to Oeffioje to inform the commissioner of my safe arrival.

29–30 Nothing noteworthy happened. Yohyōe has been given 2 *gantang* of tent wine.

May

1 Together with Thijmons and Oetgens I inspected the buildings which are in need of repair, as mentioned on 25 April.

2 Magobei informed me that 120 piculs of camphor had arrived from Satsuma. He asked for 2000 taels on account. He said that if he had to borrow the money with interest, he would make a loss instead of a profit as a reward for his efforts. With the knowledge of Thijmons and Oetgens I promised them to him.

56 He would ask the governor for permission to have the camphor delivered to the island, but he would do so under a false name, because he did not want it to be public knowledge that he was involved. I agreed to his proposal, for we are dependent on the actions of the interpreters in order to procure this stuff in time. Every day I hear that a fair quantity of bar-copper will arrive from Osaka and Sakai. I intend to request permission in 1–1½ months for the purchase of this copper in order to gain time.

The 20th day of the 9th Japanese month, the set date of departure of the last ship, will be on the 30th of the grape-harvesting month,²⁶ which is soon enough.

3–4 Nothing noteworthy happened. I learnt that a Chinese whom we know will leave shortly. He might take a letter to Tayouan. I intend to write some lines to Cæsar about the state of our affairs.

5 *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came to my house to have our surgeon attend to his right leg, which has been hurting him for a long time. I think he also wanted to congratulate me on my journey to Edo. I treated him and the *otona* to wine and refreshments. We had some conversation and the *burgemeester* said that I appeared to be sad that we were confined to Deshima. I replied that there were other more pressing problems, but patience would overcome them. But there was one matter which really troubled us, namely that the trading season was so short and we had no time to conduct our affairs properly. This had recently been apparent when Coyett and Van der Burgh were here. Sakuemon agreed with me. He promised to do his best to achieve that the governors grant an early start to the trade. I thanked him. I think I can rely on him, because this man has always been considered a friend of the Dutch. I offered him a clear mirror in an ebony frame, which had caught his eye. Such a small gift might contribute to his good feelings towards us.

6–11 Nothing noteworthy happened. Magobei told me that tomorrow the Chinese whom I mentioned on the 4th might leave for Tayouan. Therefore I could prepare a letter. He would come for the contents for the governor's information.

57 12 It has been raining since last night. Strong winds were blowing from the east, then they veered westerly. In the evening, Magobei came with the Japanese clerk to note down the content of my letter, which is not important. He will come for the sealed letter tomorrow morning and with Yohyōe's consent hand it to the Chinese skipper.

13 Magobei came with his colleague Sukezaemon, the *otona* of this island and their clerk. I gave them the letter and asked them to thank the governor for his courtesy. The junk appeared around noon and dropped anchor away from the city. I sent for Hachizaemon and told him that now that Kichibyōe, who had been ill, and Denbyōe, who had been confined to his house after the death of his wife, are both leaving their houses again, they should all come here to translate the Shogun's orders and the demands of Owari, Mino-no-kami and Chikugo-no-kami into Dutch. I would like this done the sooner the better.

14 Hachizaemon came to tell me that old Kichibyōe's condition had deteriorated and he could not come. Yohyōe has paid *schuitzilver* for the one hundred *koban* which we gave to his *bon-giois* Kanseimon in Edo and the thirty *koban* in Miyako.

15–19 Nothing noteworthy happened. I treated the *otona*, the interpreters and their sons to a meal according to established custom after our return from up country.

20 In the afternoon, a son of the Lord of Hizen, Nabeshima Shinano-no-kami, a 53-year-old man, his father being around 80, came to Deshima with a large suite. I entertained him in my house for about an hour. He said goodbye cordially.

21 One of the aforesaid gentlemen came to thank me for yesterday's hospitality. He brought me three gowns as a gift. I responded to this unexpected honour in the right manner as Japanese customs demand. He seemed a decent man and I offered him a drink of tent wine. Later I learnt that he had given each of our interpreters a *schuut* of silver.

22–25 Nothing noteworthy happened. Today is Whit Monday and with Governor Yohyōe's consent – which he gives twice or thrice a year –

58 almost all of our fellow residents went for a walk outside the city, under the guise of looking for herbs. We returned in the evening. I had the *otona* and the interpreters thank the governor for his courtesy. In passing we spoke to the carpenter with whom Thijmons contracted to have the two sampans

26 October.

made. He said that the timber would arrive in ten days.

26 Nothing noteworthy happened.

27 I have given Magobei 200 gold *koban* in payment for the camphor for which we have contracted. He claimed that more than 200 piculs have already been delivered. He has already received 800 taels in silver. I asked him and his colleagues to request the governor in time for permission to purchase camphor and copper, so that we can take delivery before the opening of our trade. This will prevent a lot of trouble and gain us time. He assured me that had we not contracted for the camphor so early – according to our agreement of 17 December – we would not be able to obtain any for less than 10 taels. The Chinese recently had to pay that price for a small batch of 96 catties. He said that the rise had been caused by the high price for rice, the price of which has risen at present to 15 mas per bale. This is the pay which the camphor producers pay their workmen, who number many. He also told me that rumour – and they were just rumours – had it that the *pancado* of the Chinese silk would be annulled. Gotō Sōan, who had been deputized by the city of Nagasaki [to report] to Edo – as I mentioned on 24 March – has not yet returned. He would bring confirmation. Time will tell if it is true and whether it will have a good effect on the Company's business, in particular bring an earlier start of the trade, although I am afraid that the late arrival of the ships will always be the greatest obstacle.

28–31 Nothing noteworthy happened.

June

1 Barges from Satsuma brought a number of Chinese who had set sail for Quinam four months ago. Their junk, which had been built here, carried 45 chests of silver. It was lost off the Satsuma coast together with the captain and twenty other men. I heard that little of the cargo had been salvaged.

59 2–6 Nothing noteworthy happened. Hachizaemon brought me the 100 taels of silver which I had lent to the Nagasaki citizen Gotō Sōan in Edo on 24 March. He arrived here two days ago. He said that up to the time of his departure, which was about a month

after us, the matter of the *pancado* had not been settled. If it ever will be, time will tell. I reminded the interpreter, as I have done many times before, that all or some of his colleagues should come to translate the Shogun's order and the other documents into Dutch. I have also spoken to the interpreters about whether the time is right to request Yohyōe's consent for the purchase of copper and camphor. Some were of the opinion that it was still too early and he might not give his consent before Governor Kiemon's arrival. They also mentioned that the export of copper might be forbidden this time or that its price might rise considerably, because an immense quantity of this mineral was needed for the reconstruction of the roofs of the *Dairi's* palace, which had burnt down. It might be just an excuse of the merchants to raise the price.

7–11 The interpreters have not yet brought me a decision on the camphor and the copper, nor did any of them show up to translate the Edo documents. Thus I summoned them all, but old Kichibyōe is ill and some of the others are unavailable. Only Magobei and Hachizaemon came with the Deshima *otona*, Kurōzaemon. Concerning the first matter, Thijmons, Oetgens and I urged them to work on it. We wished to gain time, because time is short during the trading season. They said that they would first confer with *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and their colleagues. Concerning the second matter, they would do so shortly when Kichibyōe was on his feet again and their mates were available. I asked them when the carpenter would begin on the two sampans. Had the timber arrived? They replied that they had received a message from Satsuma that the timber was ready there. It is expected here soon. They also said that there was time enough, for the carpenter could finish the work within a month.

60 For some years now, three of our warehouses have been taken up with the Shogun's sailing rigs and goods belonging to the Lord of Karatsu. This is absurd and inconvenient. We have spoken of this privately, but now the *otona* mentioned it. They decided that they would confer with Sakuemon to see whether one godown would suffice. We think

one is still one too many, because the Company has to bear the costs of the rent.

12–15 Nothing noteworthy happened.

16 On behalf of the governor, Hachizaemon came to inquire what kinds of rare bird are found in Batavia and in Java. Lord Tōdō Daigaku-sama, who is a great lover of strange birds, would like to know. Last year some cassowaries and turkeys were ordered for him. I asked him what he had done so far with regard to the matters raised on the 11th. Had he, his colleagues and the *burgemeester* given it some further thought? He had not discussed it with the other interpreters, but our *otona* had spoken to Sakuemon. He would propose it to the governor when the latter was in a good mood.

17 Magobei had just been to see the *burgemeester* and I asked him about the same matter. He could only tell me that Kichibyōe, who was the only one whom he had consulted, thought that it was still early. He said that Kichibyōe thought so because Kiemon was not here. I said that they do not care. He did not pursue the matter. He promised that as soon as another quantity of camphor arrived from Satsuma, he would request permission to bring it here.

18–20 Nothing noteworthy happened. On behalf of Chikugo-no-kami, whose major-domo had sent him a letter, Magobei asked for two reams of large-sized Dutch paper. I obliged him. He told me that the high price of rice, which stands on 18 mas a bale, was rising even higher in these regions. In the domain of Hakata and thereabouts at least a thousand people had already died of starvation. The price of silk and silk piece-goods was also on the increase. The price of Chinese white raw silk had risen to 482 taels a picul. This promises us a better market than five or six months ago.

61 I have not yet received a formal decision on the matter mentioned on the 11th and time is passing swiftly. I told Magobei that I intend to summon all the interpreters and the *otona* shortly. He agreed and added that about 2000 piculs of copper were already in the city and he had heard that half this quantity was on its way, but none of the merchants had arrived so far.

21 Our *burgemeester*, Kurōzaemon, came with Interpreter Sukezaemon. They informed me that the timber for the two sampans had arrived from Satsuma. They would ask the governor permission to have it brought onto the island and to have the sampans built. Consent was given and the boards, which were excellent, were brought. I urged the carpenter to make haste and to make the vessels sound and sturdy and join them with strong ironwork.

22 At dawn a good number of carpenters began work on the sampans. We hope they will be ready in time. Hachizaemon came and confirmed the high price of the raw silk. It is already more than 490 taels. He also said that recently 27 streets had been reduced to ashes in Edo.

23 At my summons, the *otona* and all our interpreters, except for Kichibyōe, who is ill, and Denbyōe, came. In the presence of Thijmons and Oetgens I asked them what results they had achieved with the matter of the copper and the camphor. The *otona* said that he had consulted *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, which I noted on the 16th, but that Sakuemon was of the opinion that Yohyōe would not give permission before the arrival of his colleague. Furthermore, none of the copper merchants was here, only some of their servants. But today or tomorrow they would present my request to the governor, which could do no harm. We were pleased and we added that they should inform the governor that the reason for this request is to ballast the ships and to gain time in general. They should also thank him for having given consent to have the sampans built. They promised to do so and asked how much copper we intended to purchase. We agreed to purchase 3000 piculs provisionally till we receive precise orders from Batavia. We think we cannot go wrong with this quantity.

They promised to begin on the translation of the Edo documents as soon as possible. Some of the owners of the houses on Deshima have been failing to carry out the necessary repairs. We asked Kurōzaemon to urge them to do it, so that the godowns will be repaired in time and the floors and walls will be dry and in good condition when the ships arrive.

62 24 The *otona* came with four interpreters. They told me that Governor Yohyōe had given permission to purchase copper and camphor without raising any difficulties. Sakuemon had also been present. They considered it an exceptional favour, the more so because he was such a strict man. They advised me to act sincerely when the time came, otherwise the governor might withhold us his favour on other occasions. They would inform me when the merchants arrived.

25 I had a discussion with Magobei about the best way to proceed with regard to the purchase of copper. Would it be a good idea if he wrote privately to our landlord in Osaka to inform him that we had permission to buy, so that the copper merchants might be told and they would be induced to come earlier? Magobei thought that the merchants were likely to raise their price as soon as they became aware of it. Besides, it was unnecessary, because today or tomorrow the first *burgemeester* would inform the servants of the merchants present here and undoubtedly they would notify their masters. With regard to the camphor, he thought that more would be sent from Satsuma shortly. The purchase of this can be done *pro forma*, because we have a contract with Magobei himself and he does so under the name of one of Sakuemon's friends to keep it from his colleagues and thus avoid getting himself talked about.

26–30 Nothing noteworthy happened. None of the interpreters came to translate the documents into Dutch. This procrastination is truly remarkable.

July

1 The Company's ordinary baker is baking the bread much too light at present. I sent Magobei and Hachizaemon to fetch him. I told him that the bread should weigh 6.5 taels and he should bake ten for 1 mas, as we had contracted for, if he wished to retain the Company's custom. He promised to do better. The copper merchants have not yet arrived, but some of their servants claim that they have a proxy to deal on their behalf. I urged the interpreters to confer with their colleagues and the Deshima *otona* whether it was worth opening the negotiations. The

merchants have also stated that a large quantity of copper is needed for the *Dairi's* palace in order to induce us to pay a higher price. Time will tell if they will insist. The interpreters told me that for the reconstruction of the palace, the wages just for the construction, fashioning the copper and ironware and such

63 would come up to 2500 chests of silver, excluding the materials, the day wages for the usual coolies and the lacquering. A certain architect had offered a quote of 2000 chests, but it had been considered too low. The Shogun is contributing 6,000,000 taels – which is 18,000,000 guilders at 60 stivers a tael – to this magnificent building. The King of Kinokuni and other lords are contributing the timber and other materials. Our interpreters will come tomorrow morning to make the translation.

2 The *otona* came with four interpreters. They told us that they and old Kichibyōe had agreed that we should ask the copper merchants for a quote. We could do so tomorrow. They would also bring two men to discuss the camphor. Then we began to translate the Edo memoranda of Owari-no-kami, Mino-no-kami and Chikugo-no-kami and also the shogunal orders, which had been given to me in writing in the shogunal palace on 19 March. The latter document proved to be, not what I had thought so far an express order for the Dutch, but a universal order for all the Shogun's Japanese subjects stating his will on the issue of Christianity. We should also follow it to the letter. Its substance is as follows:

Of old and with an annual repetition, the previous Shogun had issued orders that no Christians – papists to us – should live in Japan. But the present Shogun's order, although he is still young, is even more rigorous than his father's. The late Shogun had offered a reward of 200 *schuiten* of silver for informing on a *padre* – that is a priest – and 100 *schuiten* for a lay brother. But the present Shogun is offering 300 *schuiten* for a *padre* and 200 for a lay brother and 50 or 30 *schuiten*, depending on the circumstances, for an ordinary Christian. Should a Christian be kept in hiding in one of the houses of a five-house-neighbourhood – this is the way they are combined all through Japan – and this is later disclosed by other

people, all the occupants of the five houses will be subjected to the punishment set for it.

3 Today the *otona*, the four interpreters and three men came to negotiate on the copper with me and Oetgens. Thijmons is ill. They began the discussion by saying that this mineral is very expensive at the moment, for the reason I mentioned two days ago. They would like to know how much we would be willing to pay for it. We replied that we set little store by their claim, for a little copper did not matter in Japan. As merchants they should state how much they wanted for a picul weighed on the Company's *daats*, on condition that it was pure and fine like the copper we receive every year.

64 They finally stated a quote for 12 taels. After having checked the prices for the past three years, we offered 10 taels. They refused. I told them that I had only made this offer at my own risk to gain time by buying early. But it might be that when the ships arrive shortly, they would bring orders from Batavia for a lower price. They should consider this. They left and promised to confer and asked us to do likewise. Meanwhile, two other men came, the one was the landlord of the camphor merchant from Satsuma, who still had a batch in keeping, and the other the son of Sakuemon's secretary. Magobei had told me in confidence that he is the man in whose name he, Magobei, had contracted for 400–500 piculs of camphor over six months ago. Thus this young man came *pro forma*. Magobei had arranged this to avoid anyone becoming aware of our agreement. For formality's sake we asked them for their price. After some discussion they said 11 taels. We offered 75 mas per picul. They left with the same recommendation as stated above. As far as Magobei and we are concerned, it is just pretence. It remains to be seen whether something will come of it, because the *otona* and the other interpreters do not think we can hope for a price as low as 7–8 taels.

4–6 I have been asking the interpreters for their thoughts on our bids for the copper and the camphor. They think that it will not be possible to buy either commodity for that price and for the copper in particular they expect that we should pay around 11 taels. If we manage to get it for 10.5 taels, we

should be pleased, for apart from the pretext of the *Dairi's* residence which the merchants use, they are well aware that it is worth 1 or 2 mas a picul to us to get it in time. It should not make a difference to us, as long as a reasonable profit can induce the merchants to continue refining the copper, the export of which has been the result of many years of petitioning. However, we also think that we should not show ourselves to be too eager in our negotiations to avoid raising the price, for it is apparent that the copper that has already been brought here can be bought for a fair price.

65 For some time the wind has been southerly and it has been dry, but now it has started to rain. Hachizaemon told me that the price of raw silk was rising again and at present it is fetching 575 taels a picul in Miyako.

7 Wind and weather as yesterday.

8 Fair weather with a stiff breeze from the south-east. I sent for the interpreters and Deshima's supervisor to find out what the copper and the camphor merchants had decided. The *otona* came with Sukezaemon and in the presence of Thijmons and Oetgens they told me that they had not heard from those merchants. They thought that the copper merchants did not have enough authority to make a final decision. The owners were expected in twenty to twenty-five days. But if we so wished, they would speak to them.

Shortly after, Hachizaemon also arrived. He told us that the son-in-law of old Kichibyōe had 1000 piculs of copper at his disposal. He thought we might be able to make a deal with him for 11 taels, which is the price we would settle for with the others. But we did not agree to his proposal for the moment, because it will raise problems when we are already committed.

9 Wind and weather as before.

10 Fine weather with a fresh southerly breeze. On the orders of the governor, Hachizaemon brought me a letter from Chikugo-no-kami's major-domo Oeffioje. On behalf of his master, he asked to be sent next year three peonies made of glass and some ornamental *cloosterwerck*, such as we have given to the Shogun this year. The specifications will be

mentioned hereafter on our demand for rarities. Yohyōe thinks that these small things – although this is not specifically mentioned – are for the Shogun himself. Hachizaemon also told me that the copper merchants were saying that they would not discuss the deal with us any further. As far as they were concerned, they did not care whether the Dutch captain wished to purchase or not. They intended to wait for the arrival of the junks at which time they would be able to sell their copper for a good price. The other one, named Sgimbe, whom I mentioned on the 8th, would sell his for 11 taels. This shows how difficult it is to reach an agreement, even when we have the governor's permission. These fellows understand all too well why we want an early purchase. But we still intend to remain aloof to avoid being forced to accept a high price by showing too much eagerness.

66 11 Wind and weather as yesterday. One sampan has been finished and the carpenters started on the second.

12 Our *otona* and three interpreters came to report that the copper merchants stood firm. They only wished to know how much we were willing to pay, without lowering their price. I offered last year's price of 103 mas a picul. They objected, stating the high price in Miyako. It seems that we shall not be able to come to an agreement with this lot, but that we shall have to wait for their masters, who are expected soon. But in order that we are seen by the governor to be making an effort to negotiate and thereby avoid his displeasure, I authorized them to speak to these fellows and offer them 10 taels and 3 mas on our behalf and leave it at that. With regard to the camphor, they said that we might get it for 95 mas. In the afternoon, a large junk from Cambodia arrived in the roadstead.

13–14 The interpreters informed me that the *nachoda* had told them that peace had been concluded between Cambodia and the Dutch and that two junks had arrived there with some Dutchmen. Batavia had sent news that a vessel would sail here directly. These Chinese have loaded 200 chests of copper onto their junks as ballast. They will pay the same price as we.

15–16 Wind and weather as before.

17 Fine weather, the wind north-westerly. After the governor had given us permission, I went to the other side of the bay with the merchants and junior merchants to inspect the two old sampans. They were much eaten by worms. I ordered our carpenter to repair them so that they can be used when our ships arrive.

18 A stiff easterly wind with rain.

19 A stiff wind from the south and the south-east. Hachizaemon brought me a letter written to Governor Yohyōe by Chikugo-no-kami's secretary Oeffioje, informing me that he had received the jar of butter from Osaka – sent to replace the quantity he had lent us in Edo – and

67 the dried shark's brains sent from here on 28 April. The commissioner was very pleased, for he noticed that I was keeping my promises sincerely. You can see how one can capture and retain favours here with trifles. I mention it, because when the governor handed Hachizaemon the letter, he had added that it was an expression of the commissioner's good feelings towards me. I had Hachizaemon write a note in reply which will be sent by Yohyōe to Edo. 20–23 Fine weather with a fresh southerly breeze. The arrival of our ships is nigh. I spoke to the *otona* about the copper and the camphor, but there was no news. According to the merchants, confirmed in a written statement from up country, which they themselves had seen, copper is now 8 mas per picul more expensive than last year. They do not think that it will be possible to get it for 10.5 taels. They doubt that we can get the camphor for under 9 taels. I discussed this privately with Magobei and he assured me that a certain quantity would be available to me and, when orders came from Batavia, I could take as much as I wanted from him. He could sell the remainder to the Chinese. In order to see whether we can come to an agreement with these people, they will bring them here again.

24 Fine weather, easterly wind. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came with several *bongioisen* to air the Shogun's goods. In the evening, the goods were stored in a warehouse and they chose the best warehouse and the one we need most every year for storage of the Company's deerskins and elk hides.

Thijmons, who runs the administration of the warehouses and has the best knowledge of their use, warned the *otona* of this in my presence on 11 June and on several other occasions. He told him that we would rather offer them the use of two or three other ones smaller than this one. However, either because this man has made a mistake – which I believe – or because the governor has given express orders – which they want us to believe – we are inconvenienced more than ever. I would have liked to protest to Sakuemon, but as soon as Hachizaemon began to speak about it in the presence of the supervisor of Tsukishima, he was told ‘hush, hush’ and was not allowed to say anything, because it was done with the knowledge and on the orders of the governor. This is cold comfort, which is even regarded as a favour. I was also told that Joubia Zojin, the father of our landlord in Osaka, had arrived here yesterday with the goods the Company has ordered.

68 25 Rainy weather with strong easterly winds. Four interpreters came with the Deshima supervisor. They brought the so-called copper merchants and the two previous camphor merchants. Nothing could be achieved with the former, these men’s authority is too weak in the absence of their masters or their indecision too great. This meeting is just to put up a show for the governor, who has consented to the early purchase, to prove that we are working towards an agreement. He will receive reports about our negotiations. But I was given the advice that we should close a deal on the camphor to make it look better in the governor’s eyes. Thus we first offered 8 taels and then 8.5. After they had left, claiming that they could get more than 10 taels for small batches in the city, we authorized the *otona* and the interpreters to settle for 9 taels at the most, if possible.

26 Wind and weather as before.

27 Fine weather, south-easterly wind. Without our knowledge, permission had been requested from Yohyōe and had been given that the goods from Osaka be brought onto the island. We agreed with the *otona* and the interpreters, at my suggestion, that they will be packed and stamped after their holiday, which is tomorrow. Otherwise it would cost

us two or three days during the busy trading season. They reported that a camphor merchant – they do not know that he is Magobei’s associate – agreed to 9 taels a picul, but the others would not accept.

28 Weather as yesterday, wind from the south.

29 The two old sampans have been repaired and they have been set into the water to carry the dirt from the island into the bay. Magobei told me that the aforesaid goods will be packed and sealed tomorrow.

30 Clear weather, the wind southerly. We took delivery of the goods from Soijin and settled with him. They were packed, marked and sealed. We have settled for 9 taels a picul of camphor. I advised the *otona* and the interpreters to have it brought the sooner the better. Late in the evening, we were told that a Dutch ship had been spotted off shore, but the governor had already gone to bed. Tomorrow we shall receive confirmation.

31 Wind and weather as before. In the morning Denbyōe came to confirm the news. As soon as further news had come, we could send some Dutchmen there.

69 We did so in the afternoon, but they could not see any ship.

August

1 Fine weather, a southerly breeze veering westerly in the afternoon. This meant that the ship, which had been spotted two days ago, having dropped anchor off the Bight of Amakusa flying the flag on top, did not appear. We received permission to send some men there. They returned around midnight reporting that they had seen the ship, but had not gone on board, because the Japanese *bongiois* had stopped them.

Arrival of the *Witte Paard*

2 Wind and weather as before. We received permission for the third time to send men there. It was not before eight o’clock, on account of the shilly-shallying of the Japanese, that two Dutchmen could go out with a letter of instruction for the ship’s authorities. In the evening, they returned with the news that they had been on board the flute the *Witte*

Paard. Governor Cornelis Cæsar had dispatched her on the 19th of last month with a small cargo consisting of elk hides, deerskins, powdered sugar and red coral. The *otona* and the interpreters came to note down the goods and they asked for the news, including whether an ambassador was on his way. Because it was very late, I left it till the next morning to reply.

3 Wind and weather as before. The aforesaid men came very early and noted down the muster-roll of the ship. Then they proceeded to the news, which I gave them in general: the war between the English and our nation; Batavia and Tayouan were thriving; the five ships which left here last year had all arrived safely; but the yacht the *Sperwer* – for whose arrival we had waited so long, which had delayed the trade – had been lost; the one-eyed Chinese – about whom people here had been muttering last year that the Dutch must have captured him – had arrived in Tonkin in tatters and was expected here this season. I declined to give them an answer to their question whether an envoy would come here or how the Company's business had fared in Canton. I left it till the arrival of Leonard Winnincx, my successor. Tayouan is ordering some timber and I urged them to confer whether and where in Nagasaki or elsewhere it could best be obtained. I had heard that one of the copper owners had arrived and I asked them to arrange that I negotiate with him. I would also like to take delivery of the camphor as soon as possible.

70 In the afternoon, the governor's private secretary came to inspect the living quarters and the warehouses to see if they had all been properly repaired. He warned all the owners to be careful with fire. The *Witte Paard* anchored in front of the city. I sent the interpreters to ask for permission that I be allowed on board to carry out the mustering and to start unloading tomorrow. I told them to confer with the *otona* whether this was a good occasion to propose to the governor to leave the hatches unsealed. They promised to consider it, because it matters greatly to them. Shortly after I was told that Yohyōe had gone hunting and no orders could be obtained for tomorrow.

4 Fine weather, south-easterly breeze. The *bongioisen* came and I went to the *Paard* to carry out the mustering. According to established custom, the orders were read out and affixed. I warned the crew that they should follow the orders to the letter. Then we started to unload. I had the carpenters of the flute tar the two new sampans so that they can do service for a longer period.

5 Fine weather, the wind southerly. We made good progress unloading the Tayouanese goods and by the evening little remained. Two *opperbongioisen* [supervising] at the gate came to my house, as they sometimes do out of curiosity. They were very friendly and talkative. Because no interpreter was near, we did not get far. I could gather from their words that they were asking, among other things, whether an ambassador was coming. This shows that they are expecting one.

6 Wind and weather as before. Around noon the remaining goods were brought from on board. I went to the *Witte Paard* to inspect the books and papers. After I had done this, I noticed to my regret that one of the *bongioisen* was urging on the crew – who were busy with the water leaguers and were working hard enough – by beating them and kicking others who came too close. His impetuous actions caused the barrel of Spanish wine to be knocked against something else and it lost its bottom and all its contents. We cannot do anything to stop this brutish behaviour if we do not want to make it worse. Governor Kiemon has arrived from Edo. I sent the *otona* and the interpreters to greet him. He responded cordially.

71 I urged the interpreters to present our request concerning the ship's hatches and to do something about the purchase of copper and the delivery of camphor.

7 Fine weather. A northerly wind veering south-westerly. In the afternoon, Thijmons, Oetgens and I had a meeting with the copper merchant who recently arrived, the three previous fellows, our *otona* and three interpreters. We had a long discussion but could not reach an agreement. They kept insisting on the present high price of this mineral and wanted 115 mas. We offered 10.5 taels a picul

and refused to go higher for the time being, till we received orders from Batavia. We regret that the obstinacy of these men prevents us from buying it earlier. When they left, the interpreters indicated that we might get it for 11 taels. To the aforesaid reasons they added the high price of rice, with which the workmen have to be paid. I urged the interpreters, and in particular Magobei, to have the camphor delivered and to present my request concerning the ship's hatches to the governors. They promised to do the former, but they dared not bother the governors with the latter, because Kiemon was very occupied, having just arrived.

8 Rainy weather, the wind northerly.

9 Depressing weather, southerly breeze. Magobei told us that another copper merchant had arrived two days ago and he had tried to induce him to settle with us for 10.5 taels. He had told him and the other one that we would go no higher and would not do anything during the impending short trading season, thus they should make a decision now. But it was in vain. As soon as it is dry, a batch of camphor will be delivered.

10 Fair weather, wind as before. No camphor came, but Deshima's supervisor promised to ask the governor for permission tomorrow and Magobei would speak to the copper merchants again to get them to accept 10.5 taels. They are beginning to listen, if only the interpreter would promise the same price for next year, to which we cannot consent.

11 Rainy weather, veering winds, but mainly from the south-east. Delightedly Magobei came to tell me that yesterday, after much effort, he had been able to negotiate a price of 105 mas per picul of copper with the merchants. But they had kept insisting on the same price for next year, claiming that their profits are meagre. He said that Soijin and others had confirmed this.

72 In Osaka it cost 9 taels with all expenses. Just 3000 piculs had been sent. To avoid provoking envy among the other interpreters and the *otona*, Magobei wanted to send for the merchants today to settle the deal in their presence. This was done and we closed a deal for the delivery of copper at 10.5 taels a picul of 100 catties on the Company's *daats*.

The copper should be pure and refined conform to our samples. Tomorrow the Deshima supervisor and our interpreters would go to the governor for permission to have the copper, the camphor and some other goods which had arrived from Osaka delivered onto the island. I urged them to also mention leaving the ship's hatches open. They showed little enthusiasm, for when copper had been loaded on the ships the holds had to be closed and sealed.

12 Wind and weather as before, but later veering south-westerly. It brought *Nachoda* Lipsien from Siam. The *otona* and the interpreters reported that the governors had approved our requests concerning the copper, camphor and goods from Osaka, but they had refused permission to leave the ship's hatches open. They said they could not do so because it had been done in the present way since Saburōzaemon's time. Before the evening, we received a batch of camphor.

Arrival of the *Breda*

13 Fine weather, the wind easterly, later veering westerly and southerly. Further deliveries of copper. Around midday the governors sent a message that a large ship had been spotted and we could send a vessel there. I sent two Dutchmen with the usual letter of instruction. They returned in the dark of evening and brought the papers of the return ship the *Breda*, which had left Batavia on 3 July with a cargo worth 165,168 guilders, consisting of Bengal silk and various fabrics, some sugar, sappanwood and pepper for the fatherland and 59,101 guilders' worth of sappanwood, buffalo-horns, *namrak*, deer-skins, cowhides and rayskins from Siam. The ship dropped anchor in front of the lodge very late. In the meantime, our *otona* and the interpreters wrote down the names of the crew and the cargo. I gave them precise information on the goods the ship was carrying for the Netherlands. They expected that it would be allowed that they remain on board, unless we resolved to sell them should we find a good market for them. The only news I could give them from Batavia – although they again asked about an envoy – and Siam was that the Chinese who had been attacked last year and who had been

complaining here had gone on complaining there and had been given no for an answer. The Siamese king intended to send his ambassadors on two yachts with gifts for this Shogun. I received the copy of a letter from Volkerus Westerwolt, dated 25 May. The Chinese Lipsien has the original, but he has not yet come ashore.

73 14 Fair weather, southerly wind, some rain. Today we received 700 piculs of copper. After we had mustered the crew, a batch of sappanwood was unloaded from the *Breda*. I received the letter from Siam carried by Lipsien from the governors. The goods for the Netherlands remained on the ship.

15 Easterly breeze, unsettled, rainy weather. This bothered us when we were unloading the skins from the *Breda*. The sailcloth which we have been ordering from Batavia for a couple of years would have come in handy now. We made good progress with the weighing of copper. I informed our Deshima supervisor and the interpreters of Tayouan's demand for timber and urged them to request the governors permission for its export. The *otona* promised he would ask, but the interpreters thought it ill-advised because during Van Tzum's term of office, Saburōzaemon had refused it. Heavy beams and *sugi* boards would not be available in Nagasaki anyhow, thus we shall have to make do with other kinds.

Magobei told me that the *bongiois* who had been so ill-behaved on the *Witte Paard* on the 6th, had fallen into disgrace with the governors. I thought that this had been brought about because I had shown my displeasure to his colleagues and Kurōzaemon and they had reported this to the governors. But he denied this, they would not have dared. A *dwariskijker* had reported it.

16 The wind south-easterly with so much rain that we could not unload anything from the *Breda*. We devoted our efforts to the copper.

17 Dry weather with a south-westerly wind. The last of the 3000 piculs of copper has been weighed. We have been unloading the ship. The merchants have another 500–600 piculs of copper here on the island. They would like us to take delivery of it, but I want to wait till further orders from Batavia, even though it is as pure as last year's, to which not only

the merchants and the interpreters attest, but also Willem Thijmons, who is an expert.

Arrival of the *Kalf*

18 Wind and weather as before. We proceeded to unload the *Breda*. Around eight o'clock two dispatch boats brought the governors news of a Dutch ship. I received permission to send some Dutchmen there. Oetgens went with an assistant and a letter of instruction. A short while later the ship sailed into the bay and dropped anchor in front of the lodge. It is the *pinas* the *Kalf*, which left Batavia on 14 July with a cargo worth 267,391 guilders, consisting mainly of Bengal and Chinese silk, various kinds of Coromandel and other fabrics, European textiles, provisions, rarities and other commodities.

74 She brought my successor Leonard Winnincx. With the governors' permission he came ashore with a few others. We promptly carried out the mustering and announced the rules and regulations. In the meantime, two other factory members went out to meet the other ship of whose arrival we had been given notification, but on their return in the evening, they reported that they had not seen any ship. The cargo of the *Kalf* has been noted down and the list has been given to the governors.

19 Fine weather. Today is a Japanese holiday and we had to postpone unloading the remainder from the *Breda* till tomorrow.

20 Wind and weather as before. We started to unload the *Kalf* and the remainder from the *Breda*. The books and papers have been inspected. On both ships, I had a written order, issued by the *Heren Zeventien* against private trade mentioning in particular the premium an informant would receive, read out and the placard was affixed on the ships and in the lodge at the usual place. The yacht was unloaded with haste. On the orders of the *bongiois* many cases with Dutch goods were opened on board. This caused many difficulties.

21 We have been unloading the *Kalf*. The Lord of Hirado arrived here yesterday. He and both governors sailed on a few *hayafune* some distance away to inspect the places on both sides of the bay where, according to the interpreters, two batteries will be erected, each with many pieces of cannon. I have

heard the interpreters mention this before. This is a clear sign that they fear the return of the Portuguese. The governors let me have a letter which the one-eyed Chinese, who arrived from Tonkin yesterday, had brought for me. It was written in Kecho, dated 25 July, and the contents are as follows: On 20 January, Baffart had left Tayouan on the *Witte Valk* with a capital of 158,581 guilders and he had arrived safely [in Tonkin] on the 28th. Trade had been more sober than ever, caused by the poor yield of the mulberry trees, which had been damaged by the high water, the perishing of the silkworms, the exceptionally high price of the cash [coins] and the arrival of several traders, namely six large junks from here and from China, one from Manila and a navet from Macao. Because of all this, the price of silk and fabrics – of which little was brought to market – had risen so high that *cabessa* silk was being sold for 9, 8.5, or 8 *facaer*. The *pelang*, which was of very poor quality and of which neither the length or the width were as desired and other piece-goods were priced accordingly.

- 75 And yet all that had been purchased did not exceed the sum of 17,463 taels. All debts were still open, apart from the old King's, who had settled his. He had been very reasonable and had not accepted any silver for his delivery of silk. Conversely, the young King had been very greedy again. Over and above his debt of 11,000 taels left outstanding from last year, he had extorted a further 22 chests of silver, rejecting instead an offer of 12 chests with three pieces of iron ordinance. In sum, business there was so bad that Baffart harboured serious doubts about the continuation of the Company's trade in that kingdom. The *Valk* had already drifted down the river with twenty chests of cash [coins] and some commodities. Baffart would depart with the other factory members for Tayouan on the 1st of this month at the latest, leaving just three men behind. On behalf of the governors, the interpreters came to ask what news the ship had brought. I gave them the news taken from the letters from the High Government. The war between our state and England continued with great force. This is the reason why it is hazardous for the East Indies ships to sail hither and back, with great expenses and they

can carry few European goods here, in particular the rarities which the Japanese nobles have ordered. On this occasion I also told them about the great naval battle fought last year off the Dutch coast between the two fleets; I also told them about the capture and destruction of several English ships near Persia and Surat last year and this year. Furthermore, we are also continuing our war against the Portuguese, in particular in these regions. A few months ago our people had been engaged in a ferocious battle off Ceylon and we had burnt and destroyed five capital galleons and forty frigates. Two of our ships had been sent to Canton last year, but they had been forced to return to Batavia without having achieved anything in Peking, which could be attributed to the machinations of our enemies, the Portuguese and their consorts. Furthermore, having taken note of these governors' displeasure about the seizure of deerskins from Chinese junks in the roads of Siam last year, the Governor-General had sent orders there to refrain from doing so in future on account of the Japanese, although we are justified to do so. Finally, about the non-arrival of an ambassador we told them that after the death of the late Governor-General letters had been written to the Netherlands about this and a reply was now expected from Holland. Apparently, without [the directors'] express orders no ambassador would be sent. I added that the sober reception and little respect which the envoy Frisius had received had given little contentment to the gentlemen in Batavia and in our fatherland.

- 76 Moreover, such an embassy was not worth all the trouble, because an envoy does no more than an ordinary captain nor does he present any requests much less obtain any freedoms. I asked them to inform the governors of the last point. They said they would not because it was not the Japanese way. It would look as if Their Honours had given express orders, but *Burgemeester* Sakueemon had only mentioned it in passing because of his good feelings towards us and had merely suggested it to us as a good cause. With regard to obtaining any freedoms here, Denbyōe promptly raised a Japanese objection: one would be able to deduce from this that the ambassador did not arrive out of love or affection

for the Shogun but for special gains. One can easily detect from this these people's proud national character.

22 Fine weather, the wind blowing from the sea. We have been busy unloading the *Kalf*. The governors informed me that they would consider whether they would purchase the 100 sows of lead loaded on the ship as ballast for the Shogun. We cannot raise any objections, because it is material for war. The two cassowaries for Tōdō Daigaku-sama have been fetched with the governor's permission.

23 We have unloaded the remaining goods from the *Kalf* and we inspected the papers and the books. We have not yet received a decision on the lead. According to Magobei, who had been to see the governors about it, it would be left on the ship. I urged the *otona* to ask the governor whether we could export any timber, so that we could decide on the purchase.

24 The Deshima caretaker has been to see Yohyōe and Kiemon about the timber for Tayouan and Batavia. He managed to obtain permission for the export of 100 beams, 100 planks, 300 heavy boards and 1000 *sugi* boards. The governors stated that in the past Saburōzaemon had refused any to be exported because the quantity had been large. They had permitted it this time because the quantity was small. We should not request permission in future because it would be refused. The *otona* and the interpreters repeated this three or four times. According to them, I should be pleased because the order was small.

25 Fine weather, north-westerly wind. I contracted for a quantity of porcelain jars and flasks for Batavia. They were much cheaper than last year because that was the first order. I also contracted with Soijin for the purchase of 1000 *sugi* boards from Osaka, to be delivered on the departure of the *Breda*. The Deshima caretaker would bring us samples of the remaining timber as soon as possible.

26 South-westerly wind with fine weather. The governors gave us instructions about some strange birds and such, which private individuals had brought on our ships, namely

77 to which gentlemen they should be distributed and at what price. Tōdō Daigaku-sama, who is a great lover [of these strange animals], has been obliged with three lory birds, two cockatoos and two squirrels. The King of Kaga has been obliged with a lory bird. The two most beautiful cockatoos should be kept for the Shogun. If one should die during the journey, we would not be embarrassed. If both stayed alive, Daigaku-sama would receive one more. The same price would be paid for them as for the others, that is 10 *schuiten* of silver for each.

27 Fine weather, a southerly breeze. A short while ago, the governors asked for the curious telescopes, reading glasses and other small things which the *Kalf* has brought. Now they want to know the price for each item. Merchant Boucheljon and I determined the prices in such a way that the Company did not lose and Their Honours were not overcharged. Apparently they will take some of these goods for themselves or for other gentlemen to capture their favour, although they are well aware that most of the things have been ordered expressly by Chikugo-no-kami. The interpreters dare not mention this and we have to comply. It seems that there is a great deal of jealousy among these gentlemen. Each tries to oblige the high officials with rarities to win their favour.

28–29 Nothing noteworthy happened. The *Kalf* has been beached in order to be careened.

30–31 Fair weather, some rain, the wind northerly, veering westerly. We have not yet received any camphor. I urged the interpreters and especially Magobei to have it delivered. They told me that a batch was expected from Satsuma any day now. The owner would bring it, because he wanted to be present at the delivery.

September

1–2 This morning I was informed that the sailmaker on board the *Kalf* had died. I sent for the *otona* and as many interpreters as possible. I told them that on the occasion of Wacker's death in Edo, Chikugo-no-kami and Kiemon had raised my hopes about the burial of our dead. I pressed them to request the

governors that this be done on this occasion. Finally Hachizaemon went with Kichibyōe's son. After a long while they reported that they had first gone to Yohyōe, but he had no knowledge of the promise made in Edo. Then they had gone to Kiemon, who is a kinder and more affable man.

78 He had been taken aback, for he had completely forgotten the matter and he had failed to inform his colleague. But he went at once to discuss it with him. The result was that we should be patient this year. In Edo it had indeed been mentioned by the two aforesaid gentlemen, but Yohyōe thought he had not been sufficiently informed to go against the old established custom and give his consent to the burial of the Dutchmen. In due course both governors would write to Edo about it. I could advise the next captain to request it when he went to Edo and then he would be successful. After a little while the corpse was carried outside by the Japanese and thrown into the sea. Hachizaemon told me later in confidence that Governor Yohyōe had been quite annoyed, because his colleague had discussed the matter with Chikugo-no-kami and had not informed him. For when it concerns the government of Nagasaki, the one cannot lift a finger without the other one knowing. But the interpreter did not doubt that it would be granted in future. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon offered me the quantity of thirty times 100,000 old copper cash, which he had heard we had tried to obtain in vain in the past. I did not reject the offer but shelved it till the arrival of the ship from Tonkin.

3 Fine weather, westerly wind. We finally received a batch of camphor, net weight 15,125 catties. I ordered the interpreters to request the governors for permission to ship a batch of copper to the *Kalf* and the *Witte Paard* tomorrow to ballast them and to unload the stones. They did so reluctantly. They thought that it was not necessary to mention the lead which had been loaded on the *Kalf* in Batavia. They expected that it would be left on the ship, because the governors had not mentioned it. I would have preferred that they did, but the interpreters thought otherwise. I guess that they must have heard something on the side from one of the

secretaries. With the governors' permission, a son of the King of Hizen, Nabeshima Shinano-no-kami, went on board the *Breda* with some others to satisfy his curiosity. We were not even consulted or called to attend.

4 The camphor has been packed. Eight hundred piculs of copper were shipped to the *Kalf* and 700 piculs to the *Witte Paard*. The *bongioisen* had 150 chests opened to inspect them. This caused some damage, but because the chests have been made sturdy and sound, the damage was limited.

79 It is strange that even though we received this mineral, which has been packed and sealed by so many Japanese, recently, they still are making things difficult for us. But it is bearable, because it is done outside the trading season.

5 Fine weather, westerly wind. Before noon we were told several times that both governors intended to visit our ships. I promptly sent a note to the masters to have the ships cleaned from top to bottom and both inside and out. I also ordered that on the arrival of these gentlemen, they should be welcomed in a polite manner. I ordered our interpreters to find out whether I should go on board with Winnincx to entertain Their Honours. I had some *sakana* and drinks prepared. In the evening, while we were waiting for an answer, we saw several barges sail to the *Breda*. Later we learnt that Yohyōe and Kiemon had spent some time on the ship enjoying themselves. Maybe we were not told to avoid any obligations if we entertained them.

6 To our regret and the surprise of the governors, so we are sometimes told, no ship from Tayouan or Tonkin has appeared. If they had arrived, we could have started trading within five or six days. Sukezaemon told me that about 400 barrels of camphor had arrived from Satsuma. I gave orders to have them brought onto the island.

7 Fair weather, the wind northerly. While we were waiting for the camphor, Magobei told me that this batch had already been brought from Satsuma last year, but only now had the owner given his decision to sell it for 9 taels a picul. It is the same batch that we could not obtain at this price on 27 July. It would be brought today or tomorrow. Later Magobei

would supply the remainder of the 500 piculs we have ordered.

8 Wind from the sea, fine weather. The camphor, 434 barrels in all, has been delivered.

9 Fine weather, northerly wind. The camphor has been weighed, it amounts to 21,517½ catties net. It started to rain in the evening.

10 Veering winds with rain. Some copper which the owners had left behind in the hope of a sale has been brought to the city.

80 The *bongioisen* had many of the chests opened for inspection. It is no wonder then that we foreigners are treated in the same manner.

11 Fair weather with a stiff northerly breeze. Today is a Japanese holiday, the 1st day of the 8th month. We could not proceed with packing the camphor.

12 The camphor has been packed. We did so with some reluctance, because the ship from Tonkin and the last one from Tayouan have not yet arrived. Still, we are forced to proceed, because there are just forty-eight days of our season left. To avoid any reproaches later that we had not put in a request before, in the presence of Winnincx, Boucheljon, Thijmons, Oetgens and Momme, I urged the interpreters to confer with the *otona* whether we should begin requesting the governors that trade be started, at least in the coarse wares and those goods of which no more can be expected. They should bring to their attention the shortness of our stay, the long delay in the arrival of the Company ships, which is apparently caused by the continuing northerly winds and the foundering of the *Sperwer* last year. They decided unanimously to discuss the matter first with Sakuemon and tomorrow early in the morning, which is the most suitable time in Japan to achieve anything, the request would be put forward to the governors either by them or by the *burgemeester*.

13 Fine weather, northerly breeze. We have not received an answer to the matter we discussed yesterday.

14 The wind is veering south-westerly. Two interpreters and the Deshima supervisor reported that they had informed the first *burgemeester* of our wishes yesterday. He had promised to consider it and to discuss it with the governors as soon as he

found them in a good mood. We could look forward to a decision in two or three days. I learnt that a few lacquerers had arrived from Miyako. I ordered the interpreters to find out whether they had brought the goods which we have ordered for Bengal.

15 I kept asking the interpreters what they had discussed with Sakuemon. Finally the most candid one told me that he had spoken to the governors a few days ago about the opening of our trade.

81 The governors are unwilling to give their consent, because two of our ships and fifteen or sixteen junks are still expected from China. It was still early. We have to wait another five or six days and the *burgemeester* would promote our case. This is hardly any comfort. But Hachizaemon told me in confidence and with the promise of keeping silent, that one of the heads of the merchants of the five shogunal cities had told him that they had been ordered by the governors to settle the price for the *pancado* silk as soon as possible. If this is true, we shall begin trading soon.

All the aforesaid lacquerware is in the city. At my suggestion, the *otona* and the interpreters agreed that the owners should request permission to deliver it to Deshima. Should the owners not receive permission, they would request it on my behalf. I learnt that on both sides of the bay not two, as noted on 21 August, but six to eight batteries have been erected, paid for by the Lord of Hirado, but without waiting for the Shogun's definite orders. With the governors' permission, one of the two cockatoos, mentioned on 26 August, has been sent for by this lord to be presented to the Shogun.

16 In the presence of Kurōzaemon and the interpreters, I negotiated with a timber merchant on some boards which had been brought from Satsuma and some beams. We could not agree on a price because timber is very expensive at present. I advised him to reconsider his price. Magobei told me that a barge had arrived from the same domain with some camphor. In the evening, I urged the *otona* and the interpreters to repeat my request of two days ago to Sakuemon and, if he agreed, to present it to the governors. He promised he would do so tomorrow and he would do his best to see that the Bengal goods be delivered as soon as possible.

17 Fair weather, the wind veering south-easterly and south-westerly. All the interpreters and Tsukishima's caretaker came to inform me that they had consulted with Sakuemon and had subsequently presented my request to Kiemon and Yohyōe. No permission had been given, but the reply from both was very cordial, even from the latter, to the surprise of the interpreters. The governors had said that it was still early and two of our ships and many Chinese junks might arrive soon. They would confer. We could take delivery of the lacquerware for Bengal in the trading season, it was not customary to do so out of season.

82 It is indeed remarkable that our advocates have not been badly treated. The timber merchant came, but he stood firm on yesterday's quote. I offered him 21 mas for each board, which was 6 candareens less. He wanted to go to a man from Satsuma, who was the real owner, for his final decision. But I heard instead that someone else had bought it in the meantime. The aforesaid camphor has been brought onto the island. On behalf of *Burgemeester* Takashima Shirōbei, Sukezaemon came to request that we order a quantity of 40–50 *schuiten* of Chinese gold from Tayouan for the Lord of Hizen, Nabeshima Shinano-no-kami. The lord would like to have it because its alloy is higher than that of Japanese gold. We would greatly oblige him. Because this is a new kind of request, I wished to confer with Winnincx and the other factory members. We decided to give this reply: we were willing to oblige this lord, who is one of the most powerful ones here in the south, but we would do so only this time and on condition that we receive Nabeshima's silver here for shipment to Formosa. But the lord would run the risk of transport by sea both ways, that is for the silver and for the gold. Moreover, if the amount of gold could not be obtained in full or in part on Tayouan, we could restore the silver in 1655. In this way the Company does not run any risk or loss and it can use the money for some months at no cost. During the night downpours and hard thunderclaps.

18 Fair weather with intermittent rain. Favourable winds from the sea. Very early Sukezaemon came for a decision on the matter mentioned yesterday. A master of the *Breda* would like to have the hatches

opened to re-stow the sugar, but the interpreters were afraid to ask the governors because they had spoken to them recently about more important matters. In the night again much rain.

19 Some rain with a stiff south-westerly wind. No ships have appeared and we have not received a decision from the governors, both of which makes us sad.

20 Fair weather and we took delivery of the camphor. It weighs 18,691 catties net. A north-westerly breeze.

83 Our *otona* and the interpreters are willing to speak to the governors about the opening of trade, but they thought that it was still too soon after the previous occasion. Furthermore, Kiemon and Yohyōe had promised to consider it. I should leave it up to them. Meanwhile, time is passing fast. Late in the evening, we were told that a ship was off shore. We were very happy.

21 Fine weather, the wind northerly and easterly. The governors gave us permission to send two Dutchmen with the letter of instruction. In the evening, they reported that they had seen no ship, they had been told that it was off the Satsuma coast. But shortly after midday, a barge had arrived from the Gotō Islands, whose crew reported that they had clearly seen a Dutch ship out at sea. This led us to think that the ship is sailing back and forth on account of the northerly winds and we fear that it will be difficult for her to arrive here.

22 Depressing weather, a northerly breeze. We heard more rumours about the ship. [The men on] a barge from Sakai declared that they had seen her off Hirado's southern bight. We think that the ship might be unfamiliar with the course.

Arrival of the *Witte Valk*

23 The wind north-north-westerly. Just when I was about to urge our interpreters and the *otona* to restate our request of the 12th to the governors, we received the happy news from private persons that a ship had been spotted off Seto, 3–4 miles from here, and later that there was another ship between Iōshima. The governors confirmed the news of the second ship and suggested to us that we send a good number of barges to tow the ship

here. We were very pleased with this suggestion and had them thanked for it. We sent three Dutchmen there with thirty vessels. They were given orders to proceed also to the second ship with the letter of instruction, should they spot her. We hope that both will soon arrive here so that we can begin trading. In the afternoon, the ship was towed into the roadstead. It is the *Witte Valk*. She left the Arckaron River with Louis Baffart on 8 August together with the junk *Zeelandia* and arrived in the Pescadores on 24 August. The next day the *opperhoofd* dispatched the ship hither with a Tonkinese cargo worth 174,531 guilders.

84 From a letter written by [Baffart] we learnt that after the dispatch of his letter of 25 July, he had bought a fair quantity of silk, but very expensive and partly of poor quality, from private merchants and the young King. The outstanding debts had in the main been paid either with merchandise or silver. But the trade had been very sober and difficult, which is clear from the cargo. Together with the copies of two letters of 3 and 13 August from Governor Cæsar to the authorities of the ship the *Vrede* lying at anchor in Pehou, Baffart informed us of the sad news of the perishing of the ships the *Utrecht*, off Ilha de Prata, the *Kampen*, outside the roads of Tayouan, and the *Tayouan* sailing into the same canal. Some crew of the first ship had arrived there on the boat and a galliot, and a junk had been dispatched to fetch the remaining crew from the aforesaid island, where they had kept themselves alive with turtles and sea-gulls. No one had been saved of the second ship, but all the crew of the third ship. It is hoped that the merchandise can also be salvaged.

The subordinates who had gone outside the bay had not seen any other ship. We are beginning to despair that she will ever arrive, because from the copies and our friends who have just arrived we have learnt that apart from the return ship the *Vrede* only the flute the *Lam* was in [Tayouan]. The *Pelikaan* and the *Koning van Polen* had so far not arrived from Batavia. The governors were guests of the Lord of Ōmura and we could not ask for permission to muster the crew of the *Valk*.

24 Fine weather, a northerly breeze. In the morning I went with Winnincx and a few others to

the *Witte Valk*, where we mustered the crew and announced the annual ordinances and prohibitions on private trade. Then we started to unload and we made good progress. A few hours later the governors had me informed that a ship had been spotted 10–12 Japanese miles off the Nomo Bight. I intend to send a vessel out there tomorrow. This is good news, but it will delay our trade. We are also still waiting for twelve or thirteen of Coxinga's junks, for which reason, the interpreters tell us, the heads of the five cities are delaying the settlement of the *pancado*.

85 However, they also think that on account of this delay the Company's goods will fetch a higher price, because when the merchants are assured of no further imports, they will be more confident in their purchases. This seems logical and offers some comfort, but the shortness of time – from today we have just thirty-six days left – will force us to leave disorganized. On the arrival of the last ship, I intend to request the old 50-day stay, although Saburōzaemon has refused it several times after 1647, for the reason that the Japanese at that time found out that our last ship had been dispatched late on purpose, which is true.

25 Clear weather, a fresh northerly wind. Five hundred chests of copper have been loaded on the *Valk* to replace the stone as ballast. The *bongioisen* did not open a single chest. We have not received any further news of the ship mentioned yesterday except that some bargemen, who arrived here last night, had seen it clearly out at sea. I wanted the *otona* and the interpreters to go and ask the governors that trade could begin, but they could not do so today, because the governors were enjoying themselves at Sakuemon's house. Today is the 15th day of their 8th month and a common holiday, so that it has to be left till tomorrow. The rudder, munitions of war and such have been removed from the *Valk*. I was not feeling well, thus Winnincx went with a few others on board to inspect the books and the papers.

26 A northerly breeze and lovely weather. I sent for the interpreters and the supervisor of Deshima. Old Kichibyōe was the first to come. I told him my thoughts on the trade and that when our last ship had arrived, I intended to ask for a 50-day

extension. His mates and the *otona* arrived in the meantime and they started to discuss it in the presence of Winnincx and Boucheljon. In the end they could only agree to communicate our request about the start of trade to Sakuemon and propose it to the governors with his permission. But they would not even consider the other point, we should first try to obtain a start of trade and then, when time ran out, we could request a few days' extension. They left and in the afternoon they reported that the governors had agreed, through the mouth of one of their secretaries, that the captain was right.

86 It was time. They had summoned the heads of the shogunal cities and had ordered them to settle the *pancado*. One may assume that it will not take long. Meanwhile, we are losing precious time and later we shall be driven on like donkeys. These obstacles are unbearable, but there is nothing one can do about it. Because we have not heard anything about the ship, but it is assumed that she is off shore, the *otona* agreed to my proposition to confer with the interpreters tomorrow whether they should ask the governors that a vessel be sent out and, if possible, board the ship to instruct the authorities about the right course should the northerly winds keep blowing.

27 Wind and weather as yesterday. The interpreters announced that the governors had received further tidings of the ship. It was not a Dutch ship, but a large Chinese junk. In the afternoon, it came sailing into the bay. We have not heard anything about our business affairs, only that the interpreters claim that it was not because of any unwillingness on the side of the governors, but that the heads of the merchants are reluctant to settle the *pancado* on account of the junks expected.

28 Veering winds, fair weather. I am tense and longing for the start of our trade. There are just thirty-two days left of my stay. I spoke to Magobei about it and asked him if there was something wrong as far as we were concerned. He said no, nothing was wrong, it was just the settlement of the price of the Chinese raw silk. The governors could not force the heads of the five cities to settle it. Cæsar and his council have informed us in their letters, which the *Witte Paard* brought us, that the state of affairs in Formosa is

most distressing and it is to be feared that soon they will come to suffer more difficulties and famine. Therefore, they are ordering 8000–9000 bales of rice, 400–500 bales of wheat, apart from some minor goods. I calculated that we have five ships to carry all these provisions, that three ships have foundered off Tayouan and this will increase the problems. Apparently [Cæsar] is in such dire straits that he will not send another ship here, nor will he be able to send the required goods to Tonkin, Siam, Batavia and the regions in India.

87 In addition to the camphor, lacquerware for Bengal, goods for Tonkin and other merchandise, we find ourselves unable to send the requested order for wheat to Tayouan on three ships, the *Witte Paard*, the *Kalf* and the *Valk*. Therefore we decided, as noted in our resolution, to employ the return ship *Breda*, which the High Government had ordered should be sent straight to Batavia as soon as possible, for the Tayouan run. We shall ask the governors for permission to unload the sappanwood, sugar and pepper, which had been left on the ship with their consent, and to sell it. This will give us more space and increase the Company's capital, which is at present rather small in the northern regions. We trust that, should the *Breda* sail from here around 15–20 October, she will arrive in Batavia in time to sail to the Netherlands. We had just taken this decision and had summoned the interpreters, when unexpectedly at dusk the four Nagasaki *burgemeesters* entered with the heads of the five shogunal cities to announce the settlement of the *pancado*. After they had sat down, they asked me in the presence of Winnincx and Boucheljon to offer a quote for the Company's *pancado* silk. This is just done *pro forma*. I made several excuses and asked them to consider that this silk had not been bought in Tayouan but in Batavia, where it had been brought from China and at a high price, simply to oblige the Japanese. When they pressed me, I asked 550 taels a picul for the *cabessa* and the other kinds accordingly. After some negotiations we agreed on 440 taels for the first grade, 410 taels for the second and 370 taels for the third. This is considerably more than in previous years and a good price. It will be even better if the silk sorters assess a fair quantity

as *cabessa*, but I doubt they will. After these gentlemen had been treated to some wine, confitures and other refreshments, as is customary, they left. I spoke to the *otona* and the interpreters about our resolution to send the *Breda* to Formosa and told them to ask the governors for permission to lift the aforesaid goods from the ship before the start of trade and sell them here. As reason I gave them the foundering of the three ships and the small number of ships here. On purpose I did not make the slightest mention of the distressing situation in Tayouan.

88 The objections they raised, by comparing our people with their own servile nature! They said that the governors would not understand how we could ignore the order of our Governor-General. This would give them cause to think that we speak with two tongues and that in the past, when we requested to leave these goods on the ship, we had deceived them or had lied to them. They might judge any future requests against this. We replied that our circumstances were not like those of the Japanese. We were telling the governors, who had good sense, our honest opinion and they could not read anything sinister into what we were saying, for we did not propose this seeking to make high profits on these commodities, for we could not know the results, but only for the aforesaid reasons in the best interests of the Company. After much debate, they could barely be induced to confer with Sakuemon. They dare not appear before Yohyōe and Kiemon personally with our request. I urged them to do so as soon as possible.

29 Wind and weather as before with some rain. Two *bongioisen* came to unseal the warehouses. We had various goods taken out for display for the first sale. We intend to sell everything in three sales, because time is short and the cargoes are less than in previous years. Our interpreters had been to the house of the first *burgemeester* and had discussed the unloading of the goods from the *Breda* with him and his colleagues. The result of the discussion was that we could not present our request to the governors, because they assured us that the last ship had to leave on the 20th of their 9th month. We promptly held a meeting to discuss this. We decided

that it was inadvisable, because we shall not have enough time and because of the consequences of making the desired commitment for this and future years, although when it matters, we cannot stay one moment longer against the governors' wishes. Conversely, we decided that we would ask our *otona* and the interpreters to speak to Sakuemon again, on condition that in the meantime the masters of the ships will inform us how much grain each ship, in particular the *Breda*, even with her cargo of sapanwood, sugar and pepper, will be able to carry. We put everything in motion before the evening and we instructed the interpreters as much as needed.

89 From the masters' rough calculation, it was clear to Winnincx and me that it would not be possible to fulfil Tayouan's order unless we substantially decreased Batavia's order for 200 *lasten* of wheat. We ordered the masters and their helmsmen to let us know by tomorrow which would be the safest course to Tayouan for the heavily-laden return ship, whether directly there below the northern reefs or to the islands of Pehu. On behalf of Governor Kiemon, deputies came to inspect the rayskins, as is customary, to see if there were any suitable for the Shogun. Eighteen rayskins were selected and stamped and taken to the governors with the piece of calambac and all the red coral. Later they indicated those that they would like to have, none of the most inferior, and which ones would have to be kept apart to be used in Edo, among a larger number.

30 We have put the goods selected on display. There were a few short on the number of textiles from the Coast, because some were damaged by water. Many pieces of *laken* were moth-eaten. We decided not to set them aside but to sell them as a lot. The interpreters had been to see the first *burgemeester* yesterday, but he had been with the governors and the Lord of Hirado. Thus they went to see him again this morning, but his reply was as unfavourable as the first time. He had said that he dare not mention this matter to the governors, because no firm assurance could be given about my departure. It was doubtful whether a favourable decision would be forthcoming. To indicate the difficulty involved, the interpreters added that all cargoes have to be given in writing

when the ships arrive and the lists are sent to Edo. Any later changes would not be correct procedure. I asked if there was no other way left to achieve our objective, which we felt compelled to seek in the interest of the Company. They promised to confer with Sakuemon. This made me doubt that they had indeed been to see the *burgemeester* for a second time and that they might just have been sweet-talking to me. But I pretended that I was pleased with their promise and asked them to speak also to him about our twelve new *daatsen*. Should we mention this in the notice of the first sale or announce it to all merchants at the time of the sale to prevent any problems such as occurred during Versteeghen's term?

- 90 A couple of the interpreters were very busy fetching and bringing back spyglasses, spectacles and other small things for the governors, we assume. All these trifling errands took up many precious hours. Yesterday they had taken the pistols, which I had never seen before, to the governors. Today they showed me that the steel of one of the largest had split after a blow, as Yohyōe claims. He would like two of them next year. The damaged one was given to me and the others to the *otona*. The masters and the helmsmen advised me that, in their unanimous opinion, it would be best to send the *Breda* straight to Tayouan where it should anchor below the northern reef. I gave my approval that a certain sailor on the *Witte Valk*, who had stolen two pieces of costly embroidered *pelang* from the Company warehouse in Tonkin with two of his mates, which we have been told just a few days ago, be sent to Tayouan to be punished there.

October

- 1 Fine weather. The Japanese sales notices have been written out and affixed according to custom. The goods on display were viewed by the merchants or their servants, with many ruffians among them. Everything has been prepared for the first sale tomorrow. Our interpreters and the *otona* reported to the governors that everything was ready. They were very pleased about the good progress and they gave orders that guards should be posted in front of

the godowns to prevent the riff-raff from thieving. They had consulted Sakuemon for the third time about lifting the goods from the *Breda* but more and more objections are being raised. Now it is feared that, should we go against the orders of our Governor-General and present this request, it might well be that in future when we wish to keep some goods on the ships, the governors would refuse it. Furthermore, should permission be given now and we complain later about running out of time, even if there is little work involved, the governors would certainly object that we had brought all this trouble on ourselves and had no reason to complain. But the biggest objection is that all merchants in the city know which and how many commodities we and others have imported.

- 91 On the basis of this the merchants have made their estimates and they have already bought sappanwood and pepper from the Chinese, so that if we sold these goods, they would suffer great losses, which they would exaggerate far beyond the truth and raise many complaints, which we could not remedy. We need not worry about our new *facaeren*. They had been tested at the house of the *burgemeester* by the heads of the five shogunal cities and they had approved them. All merchants present in Nagasaki had been informed and we could use them without any problems. *Burgemeesters* Sakuemon, Hikoemon and Shirōbei came with the heads of the merchants to prevent any disorder at the start of our trade. They told me that the governors wished us to let the merchants inspect the commodities to their heart's content so that when someone reneged on the deal, he could not pretend that he had not been able to view the purchased goods properly. They said that before the start of the sale tomorrow three or four merchants would compare the *daatsen* with the old ones and that should prove sufficient.

- 2 Depressing weather with some rain. A few merchants came to view the goods and try out the new *facaeren*. They promptly pretended that they differed half a catty with the old ones. By the time that we should go to the auction house, many were unwilling to hand in their bidding slips unless they could test the weights at their leisure tomorrow,

for now they did not have enough time. They want to compare it with a certain *daats*, according to which all other *daatsen* have been made in Osaka. They went to Sakuemon and the heads of the five cities and tried to make us accept this unreasonable point. We refused, telling them that if the merchants, not having bought anything yet, are already creating such difficulties, we would undoubtedly have to suffer them a hundred-fold more when they were formal buyers. It was either the one or the other. Either they had to make their estimates based on these *facaeren* before the auction as true merchants or they should be improved to their satisfaction and ours, if there was anything wrong with them. Meanwhile, we told the *otona* and interpreters that in December we had already been apprehensive about these problems, similar to the ones in 1647, and therefore we had been reluctant to have new ones made and equalize them. Not only then but now also they had assured us of the contrary, for the *facaeren* had been renewed at their suggestion

92 and with the consent of the *burgemeesters* and the heads of the merchants and the approval of Yohyōe. They had nothing to say and seemed to be embarrassed. They said that the merchants could not be forced by the governors or the headmen, for each negotiates on his own behalf. After much deliberation between both parties – Winnincx, Boucheljon, Thijmonsz, Oetgens and Momme assisted me, we agreed to proceed with the drawing of the bidding slips. The *burgemeesters* and the headmen did not want to continue as guarantors, but they trusted that no problems would evolve. After the auction we would have to deal with fewer people and before the delivery of the merchandise the old and the new weights could be compared with each other and if they were found to be equal, there could be no argument or they would call upon the governors' authority. Then we went to the place of auction, where we had to wait a full hour before the heads of the merchants came. Thus we assume that they had been deliberating about this matter for a long time. Of the 59 lots selected, 57 were sold. The men who had bid for the Tonkinese *pelang* and the Siamese cowhides did not show themselves. On average the goods were

sold for excellent prices: the Bengal *cabessa* silk for a little less, the *bariga* made far more, the Tonkinese, which was of a rather poor quality, sold for much less than last year, the *lakenen*, even though moth-eaten, and the other European goods fetched high prices, except for the Armenian serge, which did not make the cost price. The Siamese cargo, except for the *namrak*, the Tayouanese deerskins and sugar, the fabrics from the Coast, San Thome rayskins, mercury, putchuk, catechu, elephant's teeth, cloves, pepper, nutmeg, various kinds of prepared leather and the Pegu *namrak* all made handsome profits, but the Tonkinese piece-goods just a fair profit and the sandalwood a very lean profit. The vermilion could not be sold in public, because just one man and his company have been given the privilege. We were busy till late and had to make use of candles, which has never happened before. The reason is the aforesaid problems with the new *facaeren*. In the meantime, from a warehouse right across from the *opperhoofd's* house, twelve *salpicados* and nine *taffachelas gingham* were stolen. It seems that they were pulled out cleverly from under the door with a long hook. The thieves have not been caught, even though Thijmonsz warned [the guards] at the gate at once. We also found a hole in the wall where the pepper was stored. These roguish tricks are intolerable and there is nothing we can do.

3 We have delivered some goods.

93 I urged the interpreters to send for the vermilion merchants and for someone to print a batch of Tonkinese fabrics. They should also ask for permission to export 11,000–12,000 bales of rice and 3000–4000 bales of wheat and to see to it that we receive the pots and pans for the surgeon's shop and the required timber in time. We had many arguments with the buyers of the red and green *lakenen*, which were certainly in a bad condition, but which the merchants had had ample opportunity to inspect. They managed to get half an *ikje* on each batch. Late in the evening, Governor Kiemon sent us a message that a ship had been spotted off shore about 12–15 miles off Nomo. He advised us to make haste after its arrival with the unloading and sale of the goods so that we could leave on the 20th of

their 9th month. Denbyōe thinks that he said this because the stern Yohyōe and the Lord of Hirado were with him.

4 Rainy weather, so that we only delivered the mercury. The vermilion merchants have tested the samples and have found them to be somewhat better than thought at first. Thus they raised their bid to 160 taels per picul. They claimed that they could not offer more. I insisted that they confer again and so would we to decide whether we would sell for less than 200 taels or take it back. We brought out a chest containing Tonkinese fabrics which the Prince and some others had forced on Baffart. We found that some pieces had been damaged by ants. We handed over the batch to be printed according to the samples. In addition to the placard we have published against the banned trade, we now published another placard in which we forbid the purchase and shipping of various coarse goods to prevent the ships, which need all the space available, from being over-burdened, which, as we know, happens every year with the help of the Japanese. It is still being rumoured in the city that the ship

94 is not far from Iōshima. Our interpreters, whom I had again urged to ask for permission for the export of grain, advised postponing the request for a few days, on account of the tidings of the ship and because no new rice was available. I do not know if they have other intentions.

5 It has been raining all day and we could not do anything nor can we rely on being granted one hour's extension because of this. We have not received confirmation of the ship, thus we believe it is probably another junk. Whenever I spoke to the interpreters about the export of rice and wheat, they raised objections, saying that it is unlikely that we shall be given permission to export a substantial quantity, because the crops are very low up country, although we have heard that down country the crops are extraordinarily abundant. Many times the interpreters and the *otona* have spoken to us on behalf of a certain Osaka merchant regarding the purchase of 300 piculs of copper, which he had brought here just before the start of our trade. But every time we refused, stating that we had already

exceeded Batavia's orders, thus we would not accept any more, unless it was for a lower price, which we could account for to our superiors. But because we later heard that this person supplies the Company with copper every year and is willing to spend the proceeds on our goods, to which effect he has already made a statement, and, moreover, that he is a favourite of Governor Kiemon, who has raised him, and that he is at present a *compradoor* in Osaka and that we could render His Honour a service – although here in Japan one cannot say so openly – we all decided to accept the batch if he would sell it at 10 taels [per picul] or at last year's price at the most. We think that this will be in the interest of the Company, on the one hand because the governor will be pleased and on the other hand because the copper merchants will not be discouraged.

6 Fair weather but muddy, so that few of the goods have been fetched. Whatever the efforts are which our interpreters and the Deshima supervisor are employing, we have now found that the tidings of the ship have also contributed to their dilatoriness. The merchants would like to wait for it, although we do not see that its arrival will give them any grounds for cancelling their deals. But it is now said that it is a misunderstanding and it is probably a junk. Meanwhile our precious time is being wasted.

95 A Chinese about to sail to Nanking today had hidden a note, containing just simple greetings from a Japanese for delivery there, in his stocking. The *bon-giois* had found it – which proves how closely these people are searched – and both had been thrown into prison. The junk is being kept back for the time being. It is certain that there will be no happy ending. On behalf of the vermilion merchants, the interpreters told me that they would go no higher than 160 taels per picul. I conferred with the other factory members and we decided that I should try once more to get a higher bid. If this was not possible, we would let them have it for that price, because we would still be making a substantial profit and we are not certain that we would receive as much or more in Tayouan. Moreover, the silver cash is always welcome. The interpreters and the *otona* promised to present my request for grain, which we estimate

to be 11,000–12,000 bales of rice and 3000–4000 bales of wheat, to the governors. Over dinner we were told that both had given their consent without any difficulties, but each had said *pro forma* that he would confer with his colleague.

7 Fair and dry weather. Although the merchants would come early for their goods, according to the interpreters, it was late in the day before they came for the Bengal *cabessa* silk, rough salempores, nutmeg and such. We had many arguments with the buyers about the nutmeg, but few with those who bought the silk. It seems that these people are out to pester us on purpose because time is running short. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came around noon to restore order among the reluctant and tardy merchants. Two interpreters had requested this of the governors. He brought permission to export the grain. The *burgemeester* inspected the vermilion and took a catty for each of the governors. Kurōzaemon and five interpreters came to notify me in the evening that the governors had ordered *Burgemeesters* Sakuemon and Hikoemon and the heads of the other shogunal cities to impress upon the merchants who had bought the Company's goods that they should take delivery today or tomorrow, because no reason on earth could be employed to make our last ship stay after the 20th day of their 9th month. If the merchants were at fault, they would have to account for it. They also urged me to do everything possible,

96 because neither rain nor any other inconvenience would be accepted as an excuse. This is a tremendous exaction, against which we cannot do one jot.

8 Clear weather. Today we have delivered many batches of goods. On the orders of the governors, the heads of the shogunal cities, who came on the island in turns, drove us, but in particular the buyers, on and insisted that the factory members continued work later than usual. We had to work by candlelight. I was told that Yohyōe has threatened a few merchants with having their heads chopped off. Because of this intimidation a good number of Tayouanese deerskins, which we could not count in the evening, had to remain on the street overnight. This is a sign that this terrible man has terrified

them and that the last ship will not be allowed to stay after the 30th of this month. We had much trouble with some unreasonable merchants, in fact the most with the rudest pedlars, who completely wasted our time. According to the interpreters there was still no new rice in Nagasaki. I intend to confer tomorrow with the other men about the purchase of that grain and to send it first to Tayouan, which is the most pressing, on the *Breda*. We found that 25 pieces of Tonkinese *pelang*, which had been displayed but had not been sold and had been stored temporarily in a warehouse with some other goods because we were not given time to store them away properly, had been stolen and also that a fair number of San Thome rayskins had been damaged. The finest grains or stones have been cut out. Even if each of us had been an Argus, we would still be short of eyes to supervise the hustle and bustle of this unruly and large bunch of riff-raff.

9 Very fine weather and we made such good progress with the delivery of the merchandise that we were almost finished by the evening. While we were making up the list of the second sale, the interpreters came several times to advise us on behalf of Sakuemon that it would be better to sell the bulk of the remaining goods in one sale. The remainder could easily be sold privately. We took into consideration that this advice probably originated from the governors and after consultation with Merchant Willem Thijmons, who is in charge of the warehouses, we decided to follow this advice, for it is to our best advantage if we oblige both governors in this way and speed up the Company's business, and the merchants know that we shall sell everything. We have brought out various goods and put them on display. We struck a deal with the merchant whom I mentioned on the 5th and accepted his 300 piculs of copper at last year's price, that is 10.3 taels a picul.

10 Fine weather. The merchants came for some goods. We have been busy all day bringing out the remaining goods for the second sale and selecting the gifts for the governors, *burgemeesters* and others, which we have to present shortly. In tonight's meeting, in pursuance of our resolution of 28 September,

we decided to dispatch the return ship the *Breda* and the flute the *Witte Paard* to Tayouan around 20 October with a cargo of rice, wheat, camphor, copper and silver cash as stated in the resolution. On the advice of the masters and helmsmen, to circumnavigate any dangers, the *Breda* will sail straight to the northern reef and not to the Pescadores and for the same reason the flute will accompany her. The *pinas* the *Kalf* and the flute the *Witte Valk* will stay for the last voyage, which according to the exact Japanese will be on 30 October, when Merchant Happart will depart with both ships. I have already mentioned on 2 September that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon offered us a batch of copper cash for 17 mas the thousand. He has now repeated his offer. After some deliberation, we decided to reject the offer, partly because of the high price and partly because, on the basis of Baffart's letter in which he does not order any and writes about the sober trade in Tonkin, we doubt whether there will be any formal export from Tayouan to Tonkin, but mainly because we have been told that these coins can only be smuggled in there, otherwise we might run the risk that the King, Prince and other officials will want them for 8–9 mas. We have been told this happened to a certain Portuguese.

98 So far the vermilion merchants have not offered a bid above 160 tael a picul. We have decided that, should they not raise their bid, we shall let them have the batch for that price rather than send it to Tayouan, for these merchants have the sole privilege here of buying this stuff.

11 Very clear weather. We have written out the list of the second sale in Japanese and before noon the lists were affixed everywhere. The merchants could view the goods on display from noon till the evening. Meanwhile Sakuemon came on the island. I spoke to our interpreters about the purchase of rice and wheat, but after some discussion we agreed to wait for a few more days when the price will apparently have dropped on account of fresh supplies, which are brought every day.

12 Before noon several merchants came to inspect the goods. Shortly after, we began the second sale. There were seventy-two lots and proceedings lasted

till dusk. Everything has been sold, except for seven half pieces of red *laken*, for which just one bid had been offered. It was not opened according to established custom, we were told. The alum merchant reneged on his bid and someone else took his place on condition that we give him some in excess. The merchandise again fetched good prices, especially various kinds of Bengal silk and the European goods, of which the black Armenian serge beat the lot. Conversely, the fine green *lakenen*, the *rassetten* and the *perpetuanas* – which included few black ones – and also the cloth rash and the *stametten* made less; the fabrics from the Coast and Bengal made fair prices – except for a few – and so did the spices, especially pepper, which fetched 1 canda-reen above 10 tael and the *rompen*, which fetched 2 mas more per picul than the fine quality nutmeg did recently. The remaining Siamese deerskins and cowhides sold well, but the rayskins did not do as well; the Formosan powdered sugar sold for 11 tael, but a batch of sugar from Tonkin made 12.5 mas less; the sandalwood from the same place sold for no more than 9.5 tael, which is exceptionally low, but the price is commensurate with its quality. The 892 mas' weight of round red coral of various prices, which we had divided into three lots, fetched more than 1630 tael, which is excellent, in our opinion. The Tonkinese goods were disappointing, the *pelangs* did not fetch more than 3.5.7 tael, which is a small profit. Meanwhile thieves, who are pestering us more than in previous years, were seizing their chance by using a grappling hook, which they had managed to cast over the door of the warehouse where the Bengal silk is being kept,

99 to lift some of these costly goods. However, they were caught and kept confined till the evening, when I handed the case over to our *otona* and the interpreters. I did not approve of complaining to the governor, for nothing had been stolen.

13 Fine weather and we delivered many lots to the buyers, but there was no end to the thieving. Another 15 pieces of Tonkinese *pelang*, some rayskins and Coromandel fabrics are missing. They must have been stolen. I complained to the interpreters. They told me that we should try to catch

one red-handed and he would lose his life. But, they added quietly, what would we do should it be a Dutchman, for it was not only the Japanese who were committing these crimes. They claimed that one of the interpreters had caught a sailor in the act recently, but they would not disclose more.

14 The governors are urging on the merchants and the subordinates delivered an incredible amount of goods. Over the past two days we have delivered 68 lots, which has never happened before here on Deshima. It is no wonder then that while such great crowds were jostling in the warehouses some goods went missing. In all, however, the supervision was good. We have finally made a deal with the vermilion merchants for 170 taels a picul. Sukezaemon told me that the common copper merchants, having heard that a certain person will supply us with a further 300 piculs, are now claiming a share in it. This will create a lot of problems. Thus he asked permission to say that it was for me or someone else privately and then these people would have to give up their claim. I was surprised by this proposal. I wished to clear myself of any suspicion in future or from committing this act now and replied that there was no reason in the world for me to agree to this. They should see to it that the owner, who was the sole seller, was also the sole supplier. How would one ever enter into an agreement for some years with a single person in this amazing country! Because I am feeling well enough to go out again, I ordered the interpreters to find out whether I could visit the governors the day after tomorrow to present them some gifts, according to annual custom.

100 They should also send for the grain merchants because I wish to speak to them about the purchase of rice and wheat.

15 We have been busy delivering the remaining goods, including the vermilion. The merchants were behaving very unreasonably, but they did not gain anything. The lacquerware which we had ordered for Bengal has been brought onto the island, for now we have space in the godowns. The governors returned the case with various prints which had been sent here for Chikugo-no-kami and which I

had never seen opened. They kept several for themselves, for which they asked the price. They advised me to keep two or three small books for Mino-no-kami. This is the way these gentlemen dispose of the Company's rarities as they please. We received better news about the piece of calambac, which they had kept for ten days. Experts had valued it as the best kind and had set a price of 80 taels a catty. However, both governors had added 12 taels to this to stimulate the foreigners to import this perfume and had accepted it at this price for the Shogun. After having been cleaned and some pieces having been cut off here and there, it weighed 105.5 taels. But, as is the custom here, one-tenth of the weight would be subtracted and thus just 95 taels [weight] would be paid for. One could only wish that all the Company's goods would render such profits in these meagre times. We would have liked to have the rice merchants now, but the interpreters, who are occupied with other petty business, want to delay it till the 18th, for tomorrow we have to present the gifts and the 17th and the 19th are Japanese holidays, on which days nothing can be done. It is remarkable how sometimes we are being bullied by these people and obstructed in our business, for which they care little, and I foresee that when the first ships are dispatched this will happen again. In the afternoon, we brought out the gifts to have them packed separately for each of the recipients. We thought that everything was in order, we had calculated that it was more than last year. The interpreters had also increased our selection according to their opinion and had approved it. But now it was not to their liking, something was lacking here and something was lacking there. They compared last year's gifts with this year's and kept on bothering us till some more were added and it was more to their liking. All this fuss, for each piece had to be inspected over and over, lasted till late in the evening.

101 It would be necessary were it possible to achieve anything with liberal gifts, but far from it. I rather think that they consider it a servile tribute.

16 Although it rained heavily today, in order not to lose time, we went to present the annual gifts – which even this morning had been altered at the

interpreters' suggestion – to the two Nagasaki Governors and other officials. We were treated affably by all. Heizō treated us to some refreshments and at the house of the four *burgemeesters* we were treated to food and drink. On those occasions we thanked the officials for the assistance they had rendered me during the past season and we requested they extend the same favours to my successor.

17 Fine, sunny weather. But today is a major Japanese holiday²⁷ and only 80 chests of silver have been delivered from the *Geldkamer*. Because Tayouan had informed us that last year there had been [28] paper parcels of money short in a chest, the delivery was supervised by four junior merchants and 8–10 assistants, although we believe that last year the mistake had not been made here but that the theft had been committed outside Japan. I urged our interpreters to see to it that the grain merchants come to negotiate tomorrow, because we intend to dispatch the first two ships as soon as possible.

18 The 3 piculs of copper which we purchased recently at 103 mas [a picul] have been delivered. We also inspected the lacquerware for Bengal which we contracted for 300²⁹ taels, which was on the whole fine and well made. But we discovered that of the other objects, for which the price had not been fixed, some chests and cabinets had been decorated with human figures, which we had forbidden them explicitly last November. I kept reminding the interpreters to send for the grain merchants. They had to inform the governors first. The result was that, as I learnt later, after the governors had given permission, a public notice was affixed to Deshima's gate to notify everyone that whomsoever had rice or wheat for sale could come to us to make a deal. In the afternoon, we were shown several samples of these grains, but no one wanted to set a price and we did not order any. The interpreters promised to do their best tomorrow. They confirmed that the rice will be substantially more expensive than

last year, because the crop in the upper domains is very low.

102 In the evening, I gave our *otona*, the interpreters, clerks, *bongioisen* and others their annual gifts, for which they thanked me.

19 Today is another Japanese holiday, which hinders our business. In the evening, we struck a deal with several rice and wheat merchants at a far higher price than last year, as had been predicted, because a great quantity of these grains has to be transported to the upper domains where the crop has been low. The interpreters went to the governors to ask for permission to begin loading the ships tomorrow. Permission was granted.

20 We began to load camphor, copper and rice on the *Breda*. We worked till the evening, when rain threatened. The rice is fine and tallies with the samples. We also received some goods which we had ordered for Tonkin. I urged the interpreters and the *otona* to discharge the sorting and the weighing of the Chinese silk.

21 Notwithstanding our manifold requests, we could not obtain permission to have the two ships loaded at the same time. Thus we went on loading the *Breda*, which was almost fully loaded by the evening except for 1000 bales. One of the wheat merchants, who had first supplied a batch of good wheat, then began to bring old wheat teeming with mites, thinking he could get away with it. But we found him out and had a few hundred sacks, which had already been loaded on a sampan, removed and taken back to the city. We had another honest man replace him. The heads of the five shogunal cities came before noon with a large number of decent merchants and the usual silk experts to sort and weigh the Chinese *pancado* silk. They found the quality to be rather poor and in their opinion it could not pass for *pee* or the third grade. After much deliberation and with a majority of votes, they selected just 10 piculs as *bariga* and the remainder could hardly pass for *pee*. There was no *cabessa*. And yet I was told that they valued it thus out of consideration for us – who had imported no *pancado* silk for some years – and to stimulate us to import more in future. As soon as I heard this bad news, I went

27 The *Kunchi* Festival.

28 Worm-hole.

29 Sic. 3000 taels.

there in person and asked them politely to consider that this silk had been bought at a high price in Batavia and only to oblige Japan. Therefore they should reconsider.

103 Even should the whole batch be valued as *bariga*, the profits would be meagre. These good men began to deliberate again and finally they stated that it was a fact that the batch included a large quantity of a quality lower than *pee* – Boucheljon, Oetgens and I were surprised about the rubbish inside some of the bundles – but to encourage us, they had selected 10 piculs as the second grade and they would now add a further 3 piculs to these 10 especially to oblige the captain. I had to be content with this. The silk was delivered in the evening and we still made a profit of 10,526 guilders on the cost price of 52,245 guilders.

22 Today is another major Japanese holiday and we could not do anything. The interpreters promised that tomorrow they would request that the two ships be loaded simultaneously. In the meantime, we again inspected the chests and cabinets we had ordered for Bengal and we found that all the objects were without any figures that would displease the Moors. However, the lacquerers asked such high prices, although we offered them fair prices for each assortment, that we could not achieve anything. We advised them to consider that they might be left stuck with the lot instead of making any profit.

23 We loaded the *Breda* and the *Witte Paard*. Apart from some camphor and copper we loaded 2000 bales of rice and we hope that both ships can be dispatched tomorrow. The lacquerers, who seemed rather cool, were again told that if they wished to sell anything, they should drop their prices and do so now, because we need time to pack everything properly and if they left us no time, we would not accept a single piece.

24 It rained all day and night. We could not load the *Witte Paard*, but we still intend to dispatch both ships tomorrow. Before noon, the lacquerers came to see if we could agree on the price for the chests and the cabinets. But for a long time it seemed as if we would not come to an agreement. They remained adamant on their high price till the

evening and on a batch of 80 pieces, both large and small, they wanted about 1000 taels more than what we offered, which was 1821 taels. Finally we raised our bid to 2000 taels and declared that we would go no higher nor would we accept one piece from them if they kept stalling us. Time was running short to pack all the goods and ship them. This was effective and after some discussion and calculation and the interpreters' mediation and with their protestations of a meagre profit,

104 we closed the deal. It was very late when we noticed that the weather had calmed. In the hope that the ships will be able to sail tomorrow, we closed our letters and other papers for Batavia and Tayouan.

Departure of the *Witte Paard* and the *Breda*

25 Fine weather and we loaded the remaining goods on the *Witte Paard*. An hour or two before dusk we dispatched her and the *Breda* to Tayouan. Their cargoes are worth 569,242 guilders. May the Almighty God guide them safely to their destination. They left the roads in the dark, because it was very calm.

26 We have packed all the lacquerware which we have bought for Bengal. Tomorrow it will be loaded on the *Valk*. Recently Interpreter Denbyōe came to my bedroom while I was ill in bed. In the presence of Oetgens, he received 1 catty of red ochre from Boucheljon, which, he said, was for Heizō. Probably Magobei had received orders from the same gentleman, for he came shortly after to ask for half a catty, which, for the aforesaid reason and because others had told me that the governors would dispose of it, we refused and when he kept on insisting, we kept referring him to Denbyōe. But this morning we gave in, although there is little left. But see, while I was having lunch with Winnincx, Boucheljon, Thijmons, Oetgens, Le Seuter and the masters of the *Kalf* and the *Valk*, Interpreter Sukezaemon came with another message. All the red ochre should be handed over to the governors, just 1–1½ catties should be reserved for Chikugo-no-kami and no one else should be given any. He even added that, should someone present him with a whole ship load, he would not dare accept it. I replied that old

Kichibyōe, the *otona* and Magobei had each asked for half a catty for Heizō. Sukezaemon replied that they could not have it. At that moment Magobei, who had come to fetch some tent wine and Spanish wine for several gentlemen, entered. I told him that he could not have any red ochre on account of what had just been said. He flew into a rage and in the presence of Hachizaemon he began to rail first against Sukezaemon and then against me, but we could not understand a word of it. He went on ranting and raving like a madman, foaming at the mouth and making furious gestures as if he wanted to tear me apart and attack me with his weapon and could not care if he lost his life. There was nothing I could do to stop him. I was appalled.

105 Finally, I tried to make him see some sense in his senseless rage by telling him that he exceeded the bounds of his profession and most disgracefully offended me, the captain of the Dutch nation. I added that had I been conversant in Japanese, I would request an audience with the governors to complain about him and his offensive behaviour. Hereupon the interpreters left. But on the advice of my fellow men, I decided to send for our *otona* and the other interpreters to tell them what had happened and to insist that Magobei stay away from the island from now on, for we could not accept that our whole nation, in the person of the *opperhoofd*, be reviled by an interpreter. But I could not get them together, they were all busy. Now and again one would come to my room to speak to me and request me not to take it ill, the man had been inflamed with anger, which they compared to a typhoon, which also passes. In the evening, I heard that Magobei had been to see Winnincx, who had confronted him with his disgraceful conduct, and also Boucheljon. He had expressed his deep regret and wondered how he had become so incensed that he had forgotten much of it against me, whom he had always professed to be his friend. Meanwhile he cast a lot of the blame on Sukezaemon, who had started it by saying that he could not have any red ochre. While this was going on, we were confronted with another problem. Because we intend to give the *Valk* its cargo, several interpreters first asked

Thijmons and later me how much rice we could ship. Denbyōe and Sukezaemon, the most scheming one of all, brazenly claimed that on the 19th we had contracted for 9800 bales of rice and now we would have to accept them. We could protest as much as we liked. We had not mentioned a specific amount, but when they had forced us we had only estimated that the *Breda* and the *Paard* would be able to take on about 6000 bales of rice and about 2000 bales of wheat, which amount had been fixed. We had not mentioned the *Kalf* and the *Valk*. It was like talking to the deaf. Magobei, who had carried on before, was now quiet and reasonable, as were Hachizaemon and the *otona*, but Denbyōe and Sukezaemon kept insisting and shouting us down.

106 We could not reason with them. They acted as if they were our superiors. This was the case: lying through their teeth, these two rascals had their clerk note down of each of the rice merchants present how much rice he could supply and this had led these men to think that they could bank on having to supply this amount. When our fine interpreters saw that we would not yield to their unreasonableness, they went to Kurōzaemon and, after they had spoken to us once more, to no avail, they went to the governors, where they undoubtedly painted the picture in the wrong colours. For after dinner the three of them came with the *otona* and told me in the presence of Winnincx, Boucheljon and Oetgens that the governors ordered us to accept the aforesaid quantity of rice, whether the ships could carry it or not. They referred to a previous example of some men who had retracted their bid for European goods. They were still confined in their houses without knowing when they will be released. When I wanted to reply and show them how unreasonable they were and could do with us as they pleased because they knew that we could not defend our case to the governors, they rose and left without saying anything further. Now these sinister dealings of our interpreters force us to find a solution in this constrained time. We deliberated what would be the best course of action in the interest of the Company. Even this morning, when I was not aware of any problems, I had given a certain citizen an

undertaking for 500 bales of wheat. On the first two ships we had shipped a quantity of 6500 bales of ordinary rice, 300 bales of white threshed rice and 2000 bales of wheat. Tayouan's order is for 800–900 bales of rice and 400–500 bales of wheat. Therefore, just about 2000 bales of rice are short. Conversely, we are forced against all reason to accept 9800 bales, 1500–1600 bales of which we do not expect to be able to ship. Thus we have decided to keep the rice that is left over till next year and none of the wheat because that is more perishable. The rice is very fine, fresh Higo rice. It is a minor inconvenience for the Company, but it is intolerable that we have to yield to the pressure of the interpreters, the very men who should speak up for us in times of need. I went straight to the *otona*, who is a very amiable and helpful man, but unfortunately does not know a single word of any European language, and with the help of his son,³⁰ who surpasses all our interpreters in his command of the Dutch language, I informed him of the matter and protested to him that under duress – not caused by the governors but by Denbyōe and Sukezaemon –

107 we would accept the rice forced on us. Whatever we 108
could not ship away, we would keep on Deshima till next year. I am glad that I did not contract for the rice all by myself, but on the advice of Boucheljon and Thijmons, just as we usually do when it concerns something important.

27 In the morning we began to load the *Witte Valk*. By the evening, we were finished. We intend to load the *Kalf* tomorrow. On the advice of my colleagues, I told Kurōzaemon that we had finished selling and delivering the merchandise and were almost ready loading the ships, but we were still busy settling the books and papers. Thus we would need two or three days after the 20th to finish, if not here on the island, which I preferred, then on the ship at the end of the bay. I asked him to discuss it with the interpreters and, if necessary, with Sakuemon, and then present my request to the governors. They could add that I had been ill for a good length of time, to make the request more reasonable. He promised to do so.

28 We loaded copper, the lacquerware for Bengal and rice on the *Kalf*. I reminded the interpreters and the *otona* that they should go to the governors to request an extension of two or three days either here on the island or at the end of the bay. They promised to ask the latter point, they dare not request the former, because Yohyōe is set to travel to Edo on 2 November and because the Lords of Hizen, Hirado and Arima are expected here the day after tomorrow to watch our ships sail, which they are eager to see.

29 Rainy weather and we could not ship the remaining goods on the *Kalf*. We have to leave it till tomorrow. Meanwhile, we worked hard on the paperwork. I hope that I shall be given two or three days so that the trading books can be made up properly. Progress is being delayed because of the slow payments for some commodities, rarities and small things which the interpreters have fetched for themselves, several lords and other persons, the accounts of which were finally ready in the evening. The interpreters then came to report that they had been to Governor Kiemon in vain in the afternoon. He had listened in person to my proposal, but he had objected that it seems to have become an annual custom. I should give my solemn promise that it would not happen again and that next year my successor would leave exactly on the 20th day of the 9th month. He would discuss it with Yohyōe, otherwise it would be refused. In any case I should be ready to leave the roadstead come rain or sunshine and in spite of still having to ship some goods. I protested that I could not be ready in one day much less give the requested undertaking. I declared that not only my superiors in Batavia, to whom I should account for my actions, but also the governors here and everyone else who knew me would consider me a prize fool with reason and I would be a laughing stock. I did not intend to depart from Japan with that reputation. I also complained about the exceptional rudeness, even injustice, with which we are treated here. It was beyond the bounds of all civility and most absurd that four Shoguns, in succession, had permitted the Dutch to come and trade freely in their country and yet we are not given proper time

30 Bada Shichibei.

to do so, a sign that they care little for us and our friendship. This had come from Kiemon, who was reputed to be a very kind-hearted and affable man. ‘What,’ I said, ‘would it be like if it had come from Yohyōe, whom they themselves call a blusterer?’ The interpreters agreed with me in everything – if only that would help! – saying that it was plain force and tyranny and that a tyrant could not be worse, but we had to obey and be patient and many more such feeble excuses. I concluded that even to save my life, it would not be possible to be ready tomorrow, but I would leave, even if we had ten times more to do, rather than give such an undertaking, which I could not, for it touched upon another person and another year. I asked them to convey my request one more time to the governors with as many reasons as they could think up. They left. Meanwhile I settled with the *Geldkamer*, paid the rent for Deshima and other expenses. I was busy till our interpreters returned with the final decision, which they, poor men, presented as a favourable one, namely that if the weather was fine tomorrow, I should leave the roadstead,

109 but I could stay in the harbour for another day and no longer; if not, then I could leave the day after tomorrow and then put to sea. They said that Winnincx could not depend on such a favour next year, but his day of departure was fixed on the 20th day of the 9th month, in our reckoning 20 October. We should see to it that our ships arrive earlier. Next I introduced Leonard Winnincx to the Dutchmen present as the *opperhoofd* of this factory according to the commission given to him by the Honourable Gentlemen. We worked as hard as we could so that I could leave here with some degree of respectability. It rained through the night.

30 It rained the entire day, so that we could not ship the remaining goods, much less leave. We spent the time closing the trade books and other papers. The *otona* and the interpreters told me that I could say farewell to the governors tomorrow before I boarded the ship and leave the same day. I received the remaining silver from the *Geldkamer* and I closed the books. Late in the evening, Denbyōe told me that I should say farewell to the governors at six

o'clock sharp because at seven o'clock they would be going out with several nobles to inspect the batteries on both sides of the bay.

31 Fine weather. Together with Winnincx and Boucheljon, I went to the house of Governor Kiemon where Yohyōe was also present. I thanked them for their help during my stay here and asked them to extend the same assistance to my successor, in particular in Edo. I further requested Yohyōe that when he was in Edo, he would remember the matter of burying our dead here so that next year it could take effect. They replied in a friendly manner and wished me a happy journey.

110 They were pleased that the weather was now fine. It was true that we had finished our trade this year in a short space of time and they were pleased about that. We should see to it and also write to Batavia and Tayouan that our ships arrive here early and we would have more respite. They asked if the Shogun's mandate which had been handed to me on 19 March in the palace had already been translated into Dutch and if the new captain had been informed. With regard to the burial of our dead, Yohyōe promised to make consultations in Edo, but when I proposed during my expressions of gratitude that burying the dead is a universal custom throughout Europe and only ruffians and thieves are thrown into the water, which our nation, having been admitted to trade here during the reigns of four Japanese Shoguns, has to suffer to its disgrace and dishonour in the eyes of other foreigners, I received the peremptory pronouncement that in future our dead should be buried in the Japanese way in the ground, laid in a large box or barrel, without any ceremonies, which he probably thought was common to all Christians. To their recommendation that our ships should arrive early, I replied that in the past year we had waited in vain for a long time for the last ship from Tayouan, because it had perished. But they should bear in mind that in Batavia it was often necessary for the ships to wait for those sailing from Holland, Surat, Persia, Bengal and other countries in order that the people of this country could be obliged with the goods they had ordered. Furthermore, sailing our ships was unlike sailing the barge to Osaka,

when one could row during calm weather. One voyage could take much longer than other voyages. The governors agreed with me and added that they only wanted us to do everything possible. After having expressed my gratitude for everything, we returned to the lodge and I prepared for embarkation.

APPENDIX received on 28 September 1655 from Batavia via the *Anjelier*. The invoices of both ships had not been finished and I had wished to check several accounts in the trade books to prevent as many mistakes as possible so that I could present a correct transport of the goods, but I was pressed to leave and could not even close and seal some papers which would be sent to Tayouan on the *Valk*. I had entertained hopes for a long time that had we been given just two days' respite, everything would have been finished properly. In the afternoon, I went

111 on board the *Witte Valk* and mustered the crew. Then I went on board the *Kalf* where I did the same. In fine weather both ships sailed on a northerly wind. Both ships carry a capital consisting of silver, copper, lacquerware, grain and such, worth in all 609,455 guilders. May the Almighty God grant us a safe journey. The effects remaining with Leonard Winnincx amount to 57,883 guilders. At the time of departure the interpreters told me on behalf of the same merchant of last year that he could supply us with blue stone next year if we so wished, because last year we had received permission for this. Also, because the governors have allowed the export of some timber, which we could not ship now on account of lack of time and shortage of space, a Nagasaki citizen, who is Yohyōe's factor,

has offered to deliver it in time, if I would tell my successor so, but the governors should be informed first. I declined the first offer, on account of Their Honours' orders. The second offer appealed to me and I told Winnincx that I did not know whether it was worth the trouble to bother the governors now, should Tayouan's order for timber be repeated next year. But our interpreters approved it, even if it were only as a compliment. I think that through both men, who are favourites of Kiemon and Yohyōe, they want to get into Their Honours' favours, if they are not out for gain. Magobei, who has expressed his regret several times for the happenings on the 26th and who has been showing his best side, addressed me in a friendly way on my departure and confessed to his guilt and asked that we part as friends. I acquiesced, but complained about the unacceptable pressure put on us by

112 Denbyōe and Sukezaemon, so that now we were forced to leave 1300 bales of rice on Deshima. This was intolerable and unforgivable. Magobei agreed to this, but he added that there were also wolves in sheep's clothing, referring to the *otona*, Kurōzaemon, who seems to be our devoted friend, but who has taken sides against us in this case. I am not sure what the truth is or if jealousy is at play between these men. I do know that it is a terrible matter that in Japan we are dependent on the good will or the ill will, the loyalty or disloyalty of our interpreters in all our affairs. No doubt many things are settled according to their fantasy and we can do little, for all our affairs have to be proposed by them while we are constrained as semi-prisoners.