

Dagregister of Opperhoofd Leonard Winnincx

31 October 1654–23 October 1655

1654

October

Departure of the *Witte Valk* and the *Kalf*

- 1 31 This afternoon, around three o'clock, I accompanied my predecessor Gabriel Happart to the flute the *Valk*, where he handed Merchant Thijmons some papers and the Japanese carried out the mustering. Happart had first taken leave of the governors and as an adieu they granted that our dead be buried here in the Japanese empire. Next we went to the *pinas* the *Kalf*, where the crew was also mustered. The two ships sailed from the Nagasaki roadstead on a north-easterly breeze, taking with them a cargo worth 609,455 guilders. May the Almighty guide them safely to their destination. Happart is taking with him the trade books, which could not be closed because there was no time left and the Nagasaki Governors kept urging us on. He will settle the accounts during the voyage and send them to us next year. It was about five o'clock before we were back on Tsukishima. When we entered the watergate, the *bongioisen* had us stand in a row and we were counted. There were 17 Dutchmen and five slaves.
- 2 After sunset, on behalf of the two governors, their secretaries came to advise me to be careful with fire and light and also to keep good order among the lower ranking members of the factory – whose number and names they had already noted. We politely promised that we would comply. We had intended to treat them to wine and fruit according to custom, but they dared not accept any, their masters having forbidden them to do so. They left after we had exchanged a few pleasantries.

November

- 1 Overcast and a northerly breeze. On behalf of Governor Yohyōe, the interpreters Hachizaemon and Magobei came to exchange 270 gold *koban*

for silver. It will be exchanged again in Osaka when we travel to Edo. The silver bars and the bill of lading will travel with me on the barge, as His Honour has ordered. Shortly after they had left, Interpreter Sukezaemon came. Under the pretext of paying for some tent wine that had been fetched and in between some idle talk, he asked me when I had arrived in the country, for what purpose and which posts I had filled successively in the service of the Company. I replied truthfully to all his questions. When I first arrived, the other interpreters had asked me the same questions but not in such an outspoken way as today. I do not know who is behind this, therefore I thought it best to insert it here.

2 Steady rain last night with a strong north-easterly wind, veering southerly around noon. The warehouses and the island have been cleaned.

3 Variable wind with showers. Very unsettled weather. At dusk a junk arrived from Quanzhou with white raw silk and other commodities, which have been noted at the end.

- 3 It brought the news that seven or eight more junks will follow. The interpreters say that the merchants are unhappy with this news. Had the junk arrived before the sale of the Company's commodities, it would have cost us at least 30 chests of money.

4 Cold northerly wind, clear weather. The interpreters told me that Governor Yohyōe will leave for Edo tomorrow. They asked when I intend to follow. I told them when it pleased the incumbent governor, Kiemon. They said that it was up to me. I replied that when my predecessors had proposed a date, the governors had still be the ones to decide as they pleased. Therefore I would also do what they ordered. In the evening, on the governor's orders, Denbyōe came to show me a Dutch document. When I read it, I saw that it was a pass issued by the *opperhoofd* in Siam, Volkerus Westerwolt, to the Chinese *nachoda* Saqua on 29 May. It allows him

to sail from Siam to Amoy. The interpreter went to report this to the governors.

5 Sukezaemon told me that Governor Yohyōe has left for Edo. Governor Kiemon intended to visit the island today. He came at three in the afternoon. He was accompanied by Matsura Hizen-sama, Lord of Hirado, who had never visited the island in all of the fourteen years that we have resided here. I escorted them to the *opperhoofd's* house and treated them to Persian fruits and tent wine. They talked merrily while enjoying the treats. Now that I was sitting with Their Honours, after everyone had had a drink, Kiemon-sama handed

- 4 me a crystal rummer that had been rinsed, which meant that I had the honour of being toasted by His Honour. This is considered a very great honour here. I handed it to the Lord of Hirado, who toasted Merchant Oetgens. He asked me if our people still remembered him and whether Mr Caron was still alive. Sukezaemon confirmed this with the words that just before His Honour's visit, Oetgens had been willing to spend a *schuit* of silver to see His Honour. This seemed to please him and he laughed heartily. Furthermore, as far as we knew, Mr Caron was living in good health and prosperity in the fatherland. When getting up, the lord requested that we oblige His Excellency – he is still called thus to this day – with some Persian fruits and tent wine. I promised I would and in the evening I sent some to him. Because the weather was fine, they went to enjoy themselves with a game of billiards and pall-mall and visited the garden. After having enjoyed themselves for about two hours on our island with a rather large entourage of nobles and servants and also First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, they said goodbye very affably and with expressions of gratitude. Everyone was surprised, because this has never happened before. We do not know whether they paid us this visit out of good feelings towards our nation or because the incumbent governor, who – I have been told this in confidence – had had words with Yohyōe on the latter's departure, wanted some diversion away from the Japanese. Whatever the reason, the Japanese take this as a sign that the Company's affairs in this country are prospering and we shall

soon receive permission to undertake the journey to Court. In the evening the Lord of Hirado sent us a reciprocal gift of a barrel of *sake* and two *schuitjes* of silver,

- 5 which I shared out, because the bottles which had contained the tent wine had been supplied by private individuals. After sunset a junk arrived from Anhai. Its cargo has been noted in the memorandum.

6 Our surgeon was asked to go to the house of Sōbei, the former supervisor of our island, who was in the throes of death, suffering from old age and paralysis, to see if he could somewhat relieve the old man's suffering. The surgeon reported that little or nothing could be done.

7 Unsettled weather with showers.

8 Nothing noteworthy happened.

9 The same weather. I conferred with the interpreters and Kurōzaemon, the island supervisor, whether it would be better to contract with the lacquerers for the three *norimono* ordered for Bengal here or to wait till our arrival in Osaka – because the work is not something out of the ordinary. We decided first to request Governor Kiemon permission to have them made and after permission had been granted to notify two or three lacquerers and ask for their quote, which will undoubtedly be exorbitant as usual.

10 Cold weather with a northerly wind. On the orders of Governor Kiemon, one of his *bongioisen* escorted our surgeon to the house of Nissie Gerobedono, a Japanese merchant, who had a large abscess on his back. After having examined it, he dressed the abscess and was then asked to attend to the man every day. Because Governor Kiemon knows about it, I agreed to let him go. The governor had Hachizaemon inform me that he had received a letter from Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami in Edo, in which the commissioner expressed his satisfaction that several rarities, such as spectacles, spyglasses, prints and earthenware, which he had ordered several years ago, had now arrived. He was looking forward to the captain bringing them to Edo.

- 6 I told the interpreter to thank Kiemon-dono for the message, notwithstanding that the governors

had limited these rarities, as he well knew, and we were afraid that we might not be able to fulfil the demands in Edo. First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon requested 2 catties of blue raisins, which I promptly sent to him. Magobei told me that the governor has given permission to have the *norimono* made and to beach our sampans. I intend to see to it tomorrow.

11 Fine weather with a south-easterly wind. Just one sampan could be beached, because the water dropped fast.

12 Around noon, while we were sitting at table, several Japanese priests came to visit us, including one who usually guards the late Shogun's grave. After they had looked into every nook and cranny, they left satisfied, without having tasted of anything we offered them. Shortly after, a group of lacquers came, accompanied by four of our interpreters, the island supervisor, Kurōzaemon, and a *bongiois*, to discuss the three *norimono* for Bengal. We were very surprised that they came twenty-two strong to discuss such a minor matter, when we had asked for two or three craftsmen. They replied that it was the governor's order. I proposed to them to have three *norimono* made in Japanese fashion, measuring the size provided by Batavia. Furthermore, the floors should be made of rattan instead of wood and they should be lined with gold cloth or velvet. When they had understood the order, they formulated their quote, namely, should the *norimono* be made of *cabessa* lacquer, each would cost 1100 taels, when made of *bariga* lacquer 850 taels, and when of *pee* lacquer – which is the lowest grade,

7 of which just pieces of junk are made –, 280 taels Japanese. I almost had a fit. I asked them if they were in earnest, because in 1648 two women's *norimono* had been shipped to Batavia on the *Koe*, both of which cost just 143 taels. How was it possible to now ask such ridiculous prices! I conferred with Oetgens and the interpreters whether we should have some women's *norimono* brought to our lodgings when we were in Osaka on our way to Edo. We understand that very beautiful ones are made there at low prices. We trust that we can obtain them for much better prices than these men here ask. Thus we thanked them for their trouble and they left.

13 Westerly wind and a drizzle. Nothing happened.

14 Clear summer weather and dry. We beached the other sampans. Today I discussed with the Company servants and Magobei that we should take some action to prevent the Company from suffering a loss on the 1300 bales of rice, which have to be stored in the warehouse for a year. We decided that we should first confer with the interpreters. Around mid-August one of Iquan Lauw's junks arrived here from Fuzhou. It brought a high-ranking heathen priest named Ingen,¹ who ranks second in the Chinese empire. He is staying in the large Chinese temple in Nagasaki. The Japanese are very concerned about him, because they do not know whether he is a fugitive, as he pretends, who is on the run from the Tartars, or a spy. It is said that the people from Nanking and Fuzhou might be doing something to harm Japan, for the defence of which seven batteries are supposedly being erected near the entrance of the bay. The priest is held in such high esteem here that even the stern Governor Yohyōe not only went to take leave of him, being a holy man, before he left for Edo but he also requested his blessing, which this priest, seated on a chair, gave to Yohyōe, who was lying face down on the floor,

8 by shaking his hands clasped together without uttering a word. As a token of gratitude 100 bales of rice and 100 *schuiten* of silver were presented to the priest and his following. In Edo consultations will be held about whether or not to allow him to come to the Court, which seems to be his wish. Time will tell what the result will be. Our interpreters also told me that the *Dairi*, who was about 24 years old and in the tenth year of his rule, died of smallpox in Miyako on 30 October. A new palace, which was being built for him in Miyako and which was half finished, had not only been pulled down but the earth beneath had been dug up five or six feet deep. On the same spot a new building will be erected for the next *Dairi*. The same will be done for his entourage. Together with the garments for the new courtiers this might create a demand for commodities

1 Ingen Ryūki (Ch. Yinyuan Longqi) (1592–1673), founder of the Manpuku-ji at Uji, Kyoto.

and in the coming season there may be a good market for silk and woollen fabrics. But time will tell whether the mourning which the Shogun will observe in Edo will cause our paying homage to His Majesty to be postponed.

15–16 Cold weather with hail showers. Nothing happened.

17 This morning Itchien, nicknamed the One-eyed Chinese, died of a lingering illness. He had managed to lengthen his mortal life by a few days, as these people say, by consuming mother's milk. His estate, which is reputed to be worth over 200 chests of silver, will go to his brother Gickouquan,² who is here at present.

18 Fine weather. Nothing happened.

19 I sent for the interpreters to discuss what we should do to safeguard the 1300 bales of rice, which some of the interpreters had forced upon my predecessor Happart, against fire, theft and spillage. Not all were at home and only Kichibyōe, Sukezaemon and Denbyōe came.

9 I proposed to them that the rice be handed over to the island supervisor, Bada Kurōzaemon, on condition that he undertakes to deliver the same number of bales of fine, fresh Higo rice next season at his expense, regardless the state of the market. I would like their opinion on this. They replied that they thought this a good idea, especially because not only would this prevent any loss caused by rats and other vermin on the island, but also possible pilfering by the coolies when we went to Edo and the most prominent Dutchmen would be away. However, we shall first announce our intention to Governor Kiemon, without whose foreknowledge nothing can be done here, to avoid any problems in future when rice has to be brought on the island or shipped aboard. We shall phrase it as if it is being done at the *otona's* request, because the rice will have to remain here on the island on the Company's account. The interpreters promised to take care of the matter today. When we receive permission, we shall carry out the resolution taken

today. Concerning the large *alcatief* which had been ordered for the Shogun and which the *Kalf* has now brought, I asked the interpreters whether we should take it to Edo on the Shogun's account or include it among the gifts. They replied that, because of the serious dispute during the trading season, they had forgotten to inform Governor Yohyōe – who has already travelled to Edo – that it had come on the Shogun's account. Therefore, it would be better to include it among the gifts. But this raised a serious problem, namely that, should these governors later learn that this *alcatief* had been sent here on the Shogun's account and that we now intend to present it as a gift without their knowledge, they would take it amiss. The interpreters would consider this and give me their thoughts on it tomorrow.

10 Fine weather, westerly wind. Two of Iquan Lauw's junks left for Fuzhou.

20 Five more of Iquan Lauw's junks left. Today I offered Hachizaemon, who also went to the Court on the recent journey and who did his best to obtain permission for our dead to be buried on land – for which achievement Happart had promised him a proper gift as mentioned on 25 February, but which he had not been able to present to him on his departure – a paper parcel worth 50 taels of silver, which he politely refused to accept for the moment, saying that they were bound to serve the Company to the best of their abilities. Therefore he had only done his duty. But after I had been to the Court and the Company's affairs had been concluded in a satisfactory manner, he would confer with his colleagues whether he should accept this token of our gratitude or not.

21 In the afternoon the island supervisor came with Sukezaemon to fetch a Dutch sword and a grey Dutch hat for Governor Kiemon. They asked for the price of the items. The sword belonged to one of the lower ranking members of the factory and the price was set at 6 taels, but the hat was my own and Japanese etiquette precludes asking money for it, thus it was presented as a gift to His Honour. They left but returned a short while later with the sword, which was thought to be too expensive. He kept the hat. It is almost time to fix the gifts for the

2 His Chinese name was Wei Zhiyan. See 27 August 1651, note.

Shogun and the councillors. I asked the *otona* for the 109 rockets which have been brought here for the Shogun and which have been given into the custody of the Japanese. He told me that they had been taken on board the *Kalf* by the *bongiois* together with the munitions on the day she set sail and had left with the ship.

11 We shall find out how Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, who has surely been told by Yohyōe that they had arrived, will react to this news.

22 Rainy weather. Nothing happened.

23 According to custom, I treated Bada Kurōzaemon, the island supervisor, the interpreters and their sons and their clerk to a meal. By such acts we hope to induce them to do their best in the Company's interests, at least not harm them by being surly.

24 Fine weather. Nothing happened. My guests came to thank me for yesterday's treat.

25 A junk left for Fuzhou. I sent the interpreters to Kiemon to find out when he thought I should set off on the court journey. I would like to begin the preparations in time. With Japanese courtesy he let me know that the date of departure was left to the discretion of the captain, but His Honour thought that a month from now would be soon enough, considering that the Shogun's court was in mourning after the death of the *Dairi*, because of which the audience might be held at a late date. On the orders of the governor, Magobei will escort us to Edo, despite it being Denbyōe's turn. Because the interpreters are getting on in years – Kichibyōe for instance has not travelled to Edo since 1650 and Denbyōe is ageing and not well regarded at Court – the governors had decided prior to Yohyōe's departure that the son of the late interpreter Hakuzaemon, named Chūjirō, will travel to Edo with the captain. Magobei told me confidentially that Denbyōe and Sukezaemon will inform me of this on the governor's behalf. With some experience, in time Chūjirō will be better able to serve the Company. We have something to say about this, because this person does not know any Dutch, just a little Portuguese and

12 is considered to be a good-for-nothing. It would be better to train more intelligent minds for this

purpose so that the Company be better served for the wages they receive by clever and vigilant interpreters. But because these heathens abhor Christianity, it seems unlikely that anyone who does not belong to one of their families will be trained as an interpreter. Thus, when I am ordered to take this Chūjirō along to Edo on the Company's account, I shall have to comply. In the evening, on behalf of Governor Kiemon, Sukezaemon came to announce that Matsudaira Hizen-no-kami, Lord of Kaga, wished to have the remaining cockatoo, mentioned on 26 August and 15 September. It would be fetched tomorrow. We protested that we intended to present the cockatoo as a gift to the Shogun, but it was to no avail. The governor had ordered this and he should be obeyed.

26 In the morning Sukezaemon came with two *bongioisen* of the Lord of Kaga to fetch the cockatoo. I treated the *bongioisen* to wine and fruits. A short while later, while we sitting at table, Hachizaemon and Magobei came. I told them what had happened. They claimed ignorance of the matter, although I suspect that this is the reason why they came. Magobei, who is now certain that he will go to Edo, began to find fault with his absent colleague Sukezaemon. He said that his colleague's operations were blackguardly, doing little to promote the best interests of the Company. 'Who knows,' he continued, 'the rockets might even have left on the *Kalf* because of his wicked contrivance, the more so because it was his duty to supervise the loading and unloading of that ship.' I also learnt that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami had written to Governor Kiemon to order the two interpreters, Hachizaemon and Magobei, to take good care of the rarities sent for His Honour and to see to it that they did not sustain the slightest damage and were brought to him in Edo. I said to them: 'Have you not told the governor that they themselves have limited [the rarities] and that this will have to be mentioned in due course,

13 if we do not wish to be suspected of negligence – even sometimes called here disobedience – at Court?' They replied that they dared not even think about this in the presence of the governor, let alone mention it. Concerning the 1300 bales of rice,

mentioned on the 19th instant, the interpreters have still not informed Governor Kiemon, regardless my daily urging them to do so. Now old Kichibyōe seems to have thrown this husk for a scramble. He claims that my predecessor had promised him this rice for his son-in-law. We do not believe this and suspect that it is just self-interest. It now seems likely that the rice which the *otona* had promised to accept will have to remain here on account of the jealousy of others. In short, high and low are fuelled by a fierce jealousy and they play with us as they like. We have to endure all of this for as long as the Company wishes to remain here in peace, at least for as long until one day it may be possible to make this known without their knowledge to the great commissioner at the Court by Company servants with proficiency in the language. Then we might obtain some redress for various problems.

27 Fine weather. A junk left for Anhai. I sent a letter to Governor Cæsar in Tayouan and one to Westerwolt, *opperhoofd* in Siam. The contents have been noted in the copy book of letters, dated 26 instant. According to custom, the *otona*, two interpreters and their clerk first noted the contents of my letters so that Governor Kiemon could be informed. He has to give permission before my letters can be handed to the Chinese skipper. In the evening I was told that the letters had been handed over.

28 Same weather as yesterday.

29 In the afternoon I learnt from old Kichibyōe that Governor Kiemon had pardoned about twenty people who had been imprisoned for some minor wrongdoings and had released them from detention. They include the following merchants:

- 14 Hori Kurōemon, Josinda Kisemon and Firando Schieseijmon, who are all blood relations. In 1653 they had submitted their bidding slips for various Company commodities, but afterwards they had refused to accept them, thus rendering the Company's goods unsaleable. As a punishment and an example to others, they had been confined to their houses since that time and had not been permitted to go out.

30 Unsettled weather, loud thunderclaps. Nothing happened.

December

1–4 Fine summer weather. Nothing noteworthy happened. Two junks left for China.

5 We have begun packing the gifts and other goods for our journey to Edo. The island supervisor and the interpreters did not think it wise to take the large *alcatief*, as mentioned on the 19th of last month, especially because when it is seen next to the Persian *alcatief*, it looks too modest. In future it can be sold to the Shogun or be presented as a gift. One piece of *scharlaken*, which had been cut in several places during the unloading and opening of the case in the trading season and which cannot be mended, has also been considered unsuitable to present to the Shogun. After the goods had been packed, the island supervisor and the interpreters told me, on Governor Kiemon's behalf, that Chūjirō, the son of the late interpreter Hakuzaemon, will also travel with us to Edo to gain experience, as stated on 25 November. Although we do not like this, we have to show ourselves to be pleased and grateful to the governor for his concern, especially when these interpreters insist on their dignity, claiming to be the Shogun's interpreters and having been chosen by the Nagasaki authorities. In order not to offend them, we should comply.

- 15 Eight pieces of *salpicados*, which had been stolen in the trading season and which had been recovered by the coolie-masters were now returned. Because this had never happened before, we offered them the four worst pieces at the suggestion of the supervisor and the interpreters, in the hope that this will spur them on to be more vigilant, because it is almost impossible for the Company servants to prevent the Japanese from stealing.

6–9 Fine weather. Nothing happened.

10 A cold northerly wind with rain and hail.

11 We have been preparing the goods which we shall take to Edo.

12 Fine weather. A few of the interpreters, who had not shown themselves for the entire week, came to visit us.

13 Sukezaemon informed us that the Lord of Hirado had arrived last night to finish the work on the batteries, which had been stopped for a while

on account of the *Dairi's* demise. His Honour had asked Sukezaemon how we were. He had told him that we were fine. The Lord sent his regards. In Japanese fashion we returned the compliments.

14 Clear weather with a north-westerly breeze. Nothing happened.

15 The Deshima supervisor and the interpreters told me that they had conferred with First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon on departing for Edo on the 20th day of the 11th month, which is the 27th of this month,³ which the Japanese and the heathens consider a lucky day. I paid the fees for the barge, the wages of the interpreters, the *bongioisen* and the Japanese servants in cash, so that everyone could go to the market. We have been forced to hire one Japanese servant more than we did in previous years. Last year he had also made the journey to Edo, but Hachizaemon had paid for him.

16 These men very impertinently demanded a gift for Hakuzaemon's widow as a means of support during our journey, because her son would be joining us. We politely refused and asked them whether it was not enough that we were taking her son, who could do us little or no service, at the Company's expense. They partly agreed, but the widow was impoverished. I should lend her 100–200 taels, which would be repaid in the next trading season. They would stand surety. I also thought this not a good idea, because this loan would have to be negotiated at interest to pay for the expenses on the trip to Edo. When they noticed that their proposal had fallen on deaf ears, they proposed that I should give something to the son, Chūjirō. I replied that it was too early, but should he make himself worthy of it during the court journey, he could expect something afterwards.

16 Governor Kiemon had Magobei inform me that he had learnt – I guess from the first *burgemeester* – that I would set off for Edo on the 20th day of the Japanese 11th month. He was pleased about this, because this was a lucky day. He would write to the Court. Cold, rainy and unsettled weather.

17 Similar weather.

18 The weather has improved. The Deshima supervisor and Sukezaemon visited me and told me that First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon had summoned all the heads of the streets in Nagasaki and had ordered them that they should supervise the use of fire and light carefully, to prevent any accidents happening through carelessness. His Honour was not worried about Deshima – this is an expression of Japanese courtesy – because he knew that the Dutch captains were very careful. I just happened to be composing an instruction for the Company servants remaining behind during my trip to Edo and I told both of them so.

17 I asked them to translate it for the *burgemeester* for his assurance and give him my regards.

19 Unsettled weather. We have prepared and packed all the remaining goods we need for our journey to Edo.

20 Cold weather with a northerly wind.

21 Every day the governors and other great lords, even the interpreters, indiscriminately, without caring whether we are well supplied or not, keep sending for some butter. Hachizaemon and Magobei came to tell me that a letter had arrived from the great commissioner, Chikugo-no-kami, in which he urged us to take a goodly quantity of butter to Edo, which he wanted for himself and other high officials at the Court. This will be difficult because we have a very small stock of this dairy produce. But we shall take as much as we can spare, in order not to displease the commissioner. Considering that we never have the pleasure of enjoying any of the Company's pigeons, which are kept in several cages, on our plates, because the cats and the rats take off with the young, I have contracted with the carpenter to have a decent dovecote made, 1½ *ikjes* square, on four posts, for 30 taels as soon as possible. We trust that this expenditure will be balanced this year by the lower expenses for food when there are chicks.

22 Thick snow covering the mountains in many places.

23 Same weather.

24 Last night there was such a heavy snowfall that the Japanese claim that this had not happened

³ Sic. 28th of this month.

here in twenty years. The barge which will take us to Osaka arrived in the roadstead. The interpreters and others told me that all the barges which had left this roadstead heading for Osaka 18, twenty or more days ago, were still lying around the bight of the bay waiting for suitable weather.

18 This has not yet caused any delay to our departure to Edo, which is set for the 28th.

25 Christmas. The Deshima supervisor and Sukezaemon came to greet me on this festive day, which they are also celebrating as a holiday, because according to the Japanese all the grains and crops are reborn on this day or are made ready to produce their crops next summer.

26 Today Governor Kiemon sent Hachizaemon to ask me if everything was ready for our journey to Edo and if we would leave in two days, regardless of the weather. I replied that we were ready to leave and with his permission we would leave when the weather had improved. The interpreter promised to inform the governor. The Japanese merchant Nissie Gerobie-dono, whose [abscess] – mentioned on 10 November – has almost healed, has presented 5 *schuiten* of silver to our surgeon, who will also travel to Edo, as a token of gratitude for his cure and his trouble in attending to him every day. I have allowed him to keep them.

27 The weather is calming down and I sent for the skipper of the barge. I asked him if we could set off tomorrow. He told me that the water around the bight of the bay was still choppy and it would be impossible to sail. Thus we shall wait for two or three days. The Deshima supervisor and the interpreters came to ask me what requests I was planning on presenting at the Court this year. They have to inform Governor Kiemon, from whom I hope to take leave tomorrow. I told them: to leave the hatches of the ship's holds unsealed; the export of various kinds of timber. The governors here could take some action about the short time given to us to trade,

19 because it was not a shogunal order but a decision of their own, so that they could leave for Edo sooner. They understood the latter point, but they wanted to discuss the first two points first with the

secretary. He could then inform the governor. The interpreters would let me know his reply. We would have to accept that, because the Japanese haughtiness does not allow humble requests to be rejected. This is the usual course of action.

28 The weather is improving, but we could not go to the governor, who was said to be occupied. We have to wait till tomorrow.

29 In the morning Kurōzaemon came with three interpreters. Looking happy, he told me that not only had the governor's secretary put our requests to the governor, but Magobei had also discussed the points with the governor. The latter had promised that he would write a favourable letter to his colleague Yohyōe in Edo. I should not mention the matter when I visited His Honour to take my leave. In Edo I could remind Yohyōe of it. I got ready and went to take leave of the governor with Merchants Oetgens and Messteecker. We had little to say, just that we asked permission to leave, would he write a letter of recommendation to the Court and protect our fellow Dutchmen who stayed behind? He replied with Japanese courtesy: 'I wish the captain a happy journey. I shall take care of the recommendation to Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe-sama and keep an eye on Deshima.' Thereupon we rose and returned home.

20 All the goods we need on the outbound journey were loaded on the barge. We hope to leave tomorrow. A junk arrived from Fuzhou with 15 piculs of raw silk and other small stuff, which has been specified hereafter.

30 I ordered the Company servants remaining behind both orally and in writing to do their duty. In the afternoon, I boarded the barge with Merchant Oetgens, Junior Merchant Hogenhouck, a surgeon, an assistant, a servant, Interpreter Magobei, the young interpreter Chūjirō, an *opperbongiois*, two *onderbongioisen* and thirty Japanese servants. We rowed to the end of the bay, where we dropped anchor off Omodaka. As usual, the Deshima *otona*, the interpreters and other men accompanied us with their gifts of Japanese titbits – really called *sakana* – and after we had presented them with a counter gift of real money, which is what they are

after anyway, and had treated them to Bacchus' tears⁴ according to custom, they wished us a happy journey and parted from us in the evening.

Court journey

In the barge

31 We weighed anchor before dawn, set sail and passed Seto, in the province of Ōmura in the afternoon. We dropped anchor off Kibachi.

1655

January

- 1 We dropped anchor a mile off the Bay of Kibachi, but when the weather worsened, we weighed anchor and were forced to put into the bay.
- 2 Same weather. We dared not weigh anchor.
- 3 We entertained our senior escort Boffij-dono and the two *onderbongioisen* or city servants to the best of our ability.
- 4 The weather settled during the night and we weighed anchor. At dawn we reached the Bay of Hirado and dropped anchor right in front of the square, where the Company lodge used to stand.
- 21 It was now partly occupied by several small Japanese houses and a guard house. The other part was being used for a rope walk for the production of straw ropes. Our interpreter Magobei went ashore to visit his friends. On his return he told us that the Lord of Hirado had gone out hawking.
- 5 After sunset we sailed on an easterly offshore wind in the company of a number of barges. We dropped anchor off the village of Yobuko, in the domain of Karatsu.
- 6 Northerly wind with rain and hail. We had to stay here.
- 7 The same.
- 8 North-westerly wind and fair weather. We weighed anchor and sailed together with a multitude of barges, which included several merchants who had left Nagasaki eighteen to twenty days prior to us. Contrary winds had stopped them from

making any progress. When the sun set, the weather changed into a flying storm, so that we were in some danger when we dropped anchor off Kajime-no-Ōshima around ten o'clock.

9 The weather calmed and the wind was south-easterly. We continued on our journey and reached Yamaga-no-misaki. We were afraid of hitting the lee shore, but we managed to reach the roadstead.

10 Westerly storm wind, bringing bitter cold, hail and snow. All the mountains are covered with snow.

11 The same weather and we dared not weigh anchor.

12 Last night it became less cold. In the morning we weighed anchor and continued. We entered the small canal on a counter-current. We could not overcome the high tide by rowing and we had to drop anchor in the middle of the canal until the tide dropped. In the afternoon we reached Shimonoseki.

13 Before dawn we set sail with a multitude of barges. The wind was westerly and the weather fine.

22 We passed Kaminoseki and at sunset Tsuwa. Off Tadanoumi we ran into a counter-current and we dropped anchor for the night. We have sailed 29 Dutch miles.

14 We weighed anchor. We soon passed the city and the castle of Mihara, in the afternoon Bingo and in the evening Nishidomari. In the night we dropped anchor off Muro.

15 In the morning we reached Muro, where we bought some provisions. We continued on a westerly wind and passed the castle and the city of Akashi, where the water was very choppy. At sunset we reached the large city of Hyōgo, the former residence of the Japanese *Dairi*, where we dropped anchor. I sent a Japanese servant to Osaka on a small vessel to announce our arrival to our landlord, Shirōemon.

Arrival in Osaka

16 In the morning we left with around 300 barges, which was an enjoyable sight. In the afternoon we reached the Osaka River, where we were met by our landlord as usual. He carried us to his house on a small vessel. We were welcomed by our Japanese friends. In the evening we went to the bath to

4 Wine.

cleanse ourselves. The Company's goods have been unloaded and there was no damage as far as we could tell. The goods have been taken to our lodgings.

17 In the morning Shirōemon, our landlord, went to the house of Governor Matsudaira Hayato-sama to announce our arrival and to request permission to appear before him with the customary gifts. We were welcome tomorrow morning, in the afternoon he would be attending to some matters concerning the city. We prepared the gifts for him and his colleague, Tanba-no-kami, who is in Edo at present. The 270 gold *koban* which we had given to Yohyōe in Nagasaki were returned and we restored the silver which we had received.

23 A Japanese merchant named Izumiya Rihyōe, who is a favourite of the Nagasaki Governor, Kiemon, came to ask about the quantity of copper that the Company intended to buy this year. I did not tell him, but I mentioned that I might buy 500–600 piculs of sheet-copper, if it were of a good quality, as a sample when I passed on my way back from Edo. I advised him to have a few samples ready at that time. We could then negotiate on the price on the basis of the quality.

18 In the morning we went to Governor Hayato-sama to greet him and present him the gifts. Next we went to the house of his colleague, where his secretary accepted the gift with the promise to notify his master, who was in Edo, by letter. Then we viewed part of the castle from the outside. It is well constructed of hard stones and the outer avenue is laid with blue *arduin*. We walked through a part of the city and then returned to our lodgings. We hired horses and bearers to carry us and the goods to Edo, but they would not be available before the day after tomorrow. In the afternoon, several Japanese merchants came to greet us, including an old patron, who claimed never to have seen a Dutchman in his life (Fig. 12). He looked in wonder at our dress and I was surprised by his large ears, which were more than twice the normal size.

The so-called secretary of Governor Kiemon, who is living on one of his estates in this region, also came to greet me in Japanese fashion. We reciprocated in

similar manner and treated him to tent wine and *sakana*. I had our landlord send for one of the best women's *norimono* as they are made here, according to him, so that we could order the three *norimono* for Bengal. But we found that it was covered with matting on the outside and the inside was just bare varnish. The costly lacquered *norimono* are made in Miyako, where the principal lacquerers live. Therefore we shall take care of the order when we pass through there.

19 Rainy and showery weather. At noon the grooms came to inform me that they would not be ready to leave tomorrow because some horses were still missing. We protested to the interpreter that we wished to leave tomorrow. It was to no avail, we would have to be patient. I do not think that this is the real reason, but that our escorts have not finished their private business. At the landlord's insistence, all of us went to the bath at four in the afternoon. We spent some time there. Then we were told that the governor of the island of Amakusa, named Suzuki Saburōkurō-sama⁵ would visit us this evening, thus we hurried home. The governor came with a large suite. He was a young boy, 14 or 15 years old, favouring the Shogun in appearance, it is said. He spent over an hour looking at our persons, our dress and my side arms, while I treated him and his suite to wine and such. He left very pleased, expressing his gratitude – I could not be found wanting in that respect either.

20 Last night it froze hard. Our landlord ordered one hundred gowns for the fatherland and some small goods for the Nagasaki office. We prepared to continue on our journey to Edo tomorrow.

5 This is an error, for Suzuki Saburōkurō (Shigenari), the *daikan* of Amakusa, had died in 1653. His successor as *daikan* was his adopted son, whose name was Suzuki Ihyōe (Shigetoki), but he was older than the boy mentioned here. Saburōkurō's son named Shigesuke, but also called Saburōkurō, was born around 1641 and could thus be the boy referred to in the text. In that case he should have been referred to as the son of the former governor of the island of Amakusa.

On the road between Osaka and Edo

21 Around two hours before daybreak the whole train set off. We stopped for a meal in Hirakata and around five o'clock we arrived in heavy snow and bitter cold in Miyako at the inn of Saburōzaemon, our landlord.

22 In the morning a group of lacquerers came to negotiate with me on the contract for the three *norimono* for Bengal. I would have preferred to deal with just two or three of the principal ones,

- 25 but this was impossible. They said that the whole group had to be complete. I asked them whether they had reconsidered the preposterous quote they had given me in Nagasaki. If not, we would not order any. After some deliberation they dropped their quote of 1100 taels to 900 taels. I offered them 250 taels on condition that the *norimono* be lacquered with the best quality lacquer. They laughed heartily and offered to make three *norimono* for 300 taels, which would look all right. I accepted the offer and told them that they should make one to show me when I returned from Edo. Should it be satisfactory, then I would order two more. They replied that it would be impossible to make them at such short notice. It would be difficult enough to have them ready by October. I put it to them that in 1648 the price of two *norimono* had been 143 taels. They said that while this was true, the person in question had already delivered his lacquerware onto Deshima and because he had incurred the displeasure of the Nagasaki authorities, he had been forced to sell it for whatever the price the Dutchmen had been willing to give. I told them that my stay here was short and if they could not make the objects for a lower price, I would not order any. They conferred and gave me a quote for 700 taels, I bid 300 taels. They lowered their quote to 600 taels. We raised our bid to 400. Neither party conceded. Finally we took into consideration that these *norimono* have been ordered two years ago and that they are designated as gifts for the prince of Bengal – with whom the Company is somewhat at odds at the moment. Thus we decided to pay a higher price than we had intended and we reached an agreement with the lacquerers. They undertook to make three *norimono* of the best

quality lacquer for a total of 1500 taels, according to the specifications of the memorandum. The interiors have to be lined with gold cloth or velvet. They gave me a written contract.

- 26 Should their work be found wanting in any respect, the Company will not be obliged to accept it. We trust that they will keep their promise and deliver fine and curious work. While we were negotiating with these fellows, our landlord went to the house of the governor to ask for a pass, which he received. We set off and lunched in Ōtsu. The sun had already set when we arrived in Kusatsu in thick snow and bitter cold. This is the place where Japanese rattan is found.

23 We left before dawn. We lunched in Minakuchi and slept in Sekinojizō. Heavy snowfall.

24 We passed the city of Kameyama and lunched in Ishiyakushi and reached Kuwana in the evening. The whole train embarked on five barges and we crossed over to a bay on the Southern Sea. Around eleven o'clock at night we arrived in Miya. The weather was fine.

25 At dawn we set off. We lunched in Okazaki, which has a fine castle. This place is said to have been the first stronghold of the rebel Shogun. For this reason and because of their loyalty in former times, the farmers enjoy more freedom than the other citizens of the land. We marched on and spent the night at an inn in Akasaka.

26 Before dawn we travelled on. We passed Futagawa. The shogunal pass with permission to carry the pistols and the puffers which we have brought for the Shogun past the guard post in Arai was waiting for us. No arms of any nature may pass this post without the express permission of the Court in Edo. The pass only mentioned three pistols, of which the Nagasaki Governors had been notified on my arrival. They had also been told of the puffers, but it seems that they had not written to Edo about these. On the advice of the *otona* and the interpreters one pistol had been left behind on Deshima because it was useless. Because as we now have four pieces of firearm with us, but the pass mentions only three, we have to leave one puffer in Arai, where we lunched,

27 until further orders from the Court. We were exceptionally deferential to the guards, just like everyone else who passes here. We travelled on and reached Hamamatsu around four o'clock. Heavy rain today.
 27 We travelled on before dawn. We refreshed ourselves in Fukuroi, having crossed the Tenryū River first. We passed two fairly high mountains and arrived in Kanaya in the dark.

28 After sunrise we set off. We crossed the Ōi-gawa, which had almost run dry. It was over thirty paces wide and one-and-a-half to two feet deep. We had to spend more than usual here for being carried across. We lunched in Okabe. We passed the old city of Suruga and reached Ejiri in time.

29 We set off before sunrise, lunched in Yoshiwara, passed the foot of the Fuji-no-yama, which is the highest mountain of Japan. It was covered with snow. Around six in the evening we reached our inn in Mishima.

30 Before dawn we were marching on to the Hakone Mountains. We lunched in a village by a lake high up on the mountain. We saw four small temples or houses of priests, who beat a small gong continually. They sell strips of paper with a text written on them for a small sum of money to the passers-by. The buyers fix them with stones to the edge of the water. The souls of the deceased for whom they have bought the strips can then come there to drink water. This is a sign that these people believe in the immortality of the soul. We travelled down a difficult and rocky road. It was very cold and the entire area was covered in snow. A few times we stuck a rattan into the snow, but the stick did not touch the ground. We finally reached Odawara. We sent a servant to the landlord in Edo to announce our arrival.

31 We set off before dawn.

28 We lunched in Ōiso, passed the Banyū-gawa and around three o'clock we reached the village of Totsuka.

February

Arrival in Edo

1 We left earlier than usual so that we could reach our destination today. Around ten o'clock we

reached Kawasaki, where we lunched and around three o'clock we arrived at our customary inn in the shogunal city of Edo. Our interpreter Magobei promptly went to inform Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami of our safe arrival and to ask his mediation for an early dispatch. The commissioner was very pleased. He was sorry for the inconvenience and the bitter cold we experienced during our trip. He promised to do all that he could on our behalf. He asked for my name and my age. He wanted to know what rarities we had brought for him. The interpreter had told him what he knew. Chikugo-no-kami did not say anything with regard to the presentation of gifts to the Shogun on the Japanese New Year's day, which is on the 7th present, merely that we should set them ready. Yohyōe, the Nagasaki Governor, was at the house of the fourth councillor, Sakai Sanuki-no-kami. His secretary, Kanseimon, would tell him of our arrival on his return home. Late in the evening Chikugo-no-kami's secretary sent us a message that his master had discussed our audience with a few councillors. Because it would be very busy at the Court on Japanese New Year, our audience had been postponed till the 15th of their month, which is the 21st present. We should prepare ourselves for that day.

2 I gave Magobei a list of everything that we had brought for Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and of all our provisions.

29 Magobei returned in the evening and told me that Chikugo-no-kami had been pleased and had ordered him to take most of the items to his house tomorrow. He had also asked for some Dutch smoked meat, but we did not bring any. His Honour had also ordered that our surgeon should go to his house to discuss some medicinal herbs with the Japanese doctor. Notwithstanding the Shogun's edict or rather that of the councillors – for no edict of the Shogun can be violated – that no one ranking below the high nobility use a *norimono* in Edo, in particular within the confines of the castle, for the reason that the sons of several nobles had smuggled in whores in this way, the commissioner had ordered our surgeon to go there in a *norimono*. Should anyone stop him, he should say that it was

on Chikugo-no-kami's order. When the Dutch captain went out, he should do the same. These are Japanese courtesies and signs that the Company's affairs are in good standing at the Court. Chūjirō, the late Hakuzaemon's son, went to Yohyōe today. He welcomed us and promised to do his best to see that we obtain an early audience.

3 Before noon we were busy unpacking the Dutch earthenware and cupping glasses for Chikugo-no-kami. Much of it was broken. This must have happened on the country road with the packing and unpacking of the horses. Magobei took a batch of the rarities to his house. He reported that Chikugo-no-kami had been tickled pink. With many polite words he had expressed his amazement about something, I cannot remember what. He would have been even more pleased should I have been able to provide him with some Dutch smoked meat. He was very desirous to have some, but we do not have any. Subsequently he had asked what rarities we had brought for the Shogun. Had we brought any gold *lakenen*? The interpreter had replied that we had not, but we had brought a few large, fine bezoar stones for the Shogun and the councillors. Chikugo-no-kami had replied that they would be much appreciated for maintaining good health, because smallpox was rife here.

30 Moreover, none had been presented to the Shogun for some years. His Honour had also asked for the rockets. He was not pleased when the interpreter told him that they had been loaded back on board and shipped away in the rush. More care should have been taken with the goods for the Shogun. We should see to it that they were brought here next year when they were returned. The interpreter had told him that the captain had already written to Batavia about it. They would undoubtedly be sent back. The old man was pleased with this thoughtfulness and he set aside his displeasure. In the afternoon Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter, Guinemon, came to welcome me on behalf of his master. He had a look at some of the things we have brought. As usual he offered us his services. I thanked him and entertained him. He trusted that we would be admitted to audience on the 21st. Today the Shogun

bestowed an extra annual allowance of 500 bales of rice on Yohyōe, the Nagasaki Governor, over and above the 300 bales of rice which he and his colleague Kiemon each enjoy. This grant has been bestowed in appreciation of his faithful service. Our interpreter assumes that this might mean that he will be relieved of his charge of Nagasaki and will be promoted. I sent Magobei to congratulate him.

4 Inoue Uneme-dono, who is married to the daughter of Chikugo-no-kami's son, came to greet us with a rather large following. He spent three hours in my room, rummaging very impertinently through everything including my clothes and bedding. Finally, after some merry and ordinary talk and having been treated to wines and fruits – for which he showed no distaste at all – he thanked me and left. He took with him the string of red coral, some fabrics, some of my clothes and a timepiece which was lying on the table – and which Kiemon had seen yesterday – probably to satisfy the curiosity of some others. Chikugo-no-kami sent Chūjirō to fetch the Dutch earthenware, spectacles, cupping glasses, medicines, oil of turpentine, amber from which oil will be extracted, two pistols,

31 one puffer, tent wine and Spanish wine. After dark Magobei returned the catty of raw amber. He thought the quality too poor. There was just one pair of spectacles which was suitable for His Honour. This is not surprising, because the governors had limited the number in Nagasaki and had taken the best. We may not offer this as an excuse here. On the advice of the interpreter and the landlord eight pairs had been set aside for Saburōzaemon, former Governor of Nagasaki and a few other gentlemen. The interpreter told me that he would take them privately to Chikugo-no-kami tomorrow, in the hope that there might be a pair or two which he could use. Similar to last year the use of Chikugo-no-kami's warehouse to store the gifts was offered to me. In order to take advantage of this offer, because in his warehouse the goods are safer from fire – which tends to rage in Edo – than in our smokehouse of an inn, Oetgens and I made up a list of the gifts. Our landlord and Magobei wrote it down so that a copy can be shown to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami tomorrow.

5 Magobei and our landlord came to inform me that they had conferred on the list we had calculated yesterday. They had found that the gift for the Shogun amounted to less than last year's. It should be increased, because, so they said, the rules of Japanese courtesy – in my opinion dissimulation – would not allow for a decrease in such a gift. It should instead be enlarged. I replied that according to our estimate, my only finding was that I had closely followed in my predecessors' footsteps and I had even surpassed the gifts presented by Coyett two years ago. Therefore I would like them to point out to me wherein the difference lay.

- 32 They told me that the difference lay in the red coral, which is highly esteemed, but the quality of the string that I had brought was too poor to employ as a gift. Thus we should compensate for this with other goods. We did so and in the end they were satisfied. A fair translation was made of the copy and it was taken to Chikugo-no-kami. In spite of being occupied with many matters at Court, he had read it with satisfaction, except for the fact that he had again asked for gold *lakenen* for the Shogun and mumia for himself. The interpreter had told him that we did not have any of the first item and he would ask the surgeon for the second item. He was certain that His Honour could be obliged with some – for the interpreter himself had brought 3 catties. They told me that showing the list of gifts to Chikugo-no-kami was not done to ask him for approbation, much less that His Honour would wish to make any changes, but it was merely to communicate to His Honour that the Dutch captain has calculated the gifts for the Shogun, the councillors and other officials in the same manner. He considers this an exceptional courtesy, for, they say, how can anyone lay down the law to someone else when he presents a gift out of his own free will? In the afternoon we unpacked the goods and sorted the gifts. While we were busy, several of Chikugo-no-kami's servants came to fetch some goods, even the blanket off my bed. It is unbelievable how these people keep coming and going, each behaving as if he is in charge, taking whatever they please. We have to accept it with a pleasant

face and treat them to *sakana* all the while. In the evening an earthquake.

6 The measurements for the presentation trays were taken and the trays were ordered. The gifts were then stored in Chikugo-no-kami's warehouse. The man in charge of his kitchen came to fetch some things, including Dutch salted meat. He asked whether we had brought any cow's oil.

- 33 I asked him if he meant milk or butter. He said no, he had been ordered to ask for cow's oil. Can you believe it? According to annual custom, one of the domestic servants drove out the devil from the house by thrice throwing beans against the ceiling and shouting 'Pha'.⁶ I was told that this is done in every house in order to chase this devil from the whole country so that the crops will not be harmed by his evil deeds in the coming year. Their ancestors have made an agreement with him that he may not return to Japan before the beans that have been thrown about have ripened. They think that they can prevent this by a clever strategem by frying or roasting the beans and outsmart him in this way. Just as if St Nicolas is crazy.

7 Today is Japanese *Shōgatsu* or New Year. Nothing noteworthy happened. Several people came to congratulate us. We properly entertained them. Magobei went to the houses of Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe to congratulate them on my behalf. They were not at home. He gave the message to their private secretaries.

8 Around noon a certain Jassindaijo, major-domo of Inaba Mino-sama, Lord of Odawara, came to welcome me on his master's behalf. I treated him to wines and *sakana*. He looked through some of the remaining goods. He took five pieces of salem pores, a piece of velvet, a piece of *chela regatty*, a piece of *salpicados* and ten pieces of Dutch earthenware, which Chikugo-no-kami had returned, to show to his master, so he said.

9 No visitors today. In the evening Magobei told me that today he had travelled more than eight miles,

6 *Setsubun*.

34 going hither and yon, taking reading glasses, spy-glasses and spectacles from Chikugo-no-kami's house to the councillors. Among the eight pairs of spectacles which had been sent to him recently, there was none that suited His Honour. He had repeated his request for rarities. He had expected that something exceptional would have been sent from the fatherland for His Majesty. The interpreter said that had not three Company ships perished off Tayouan this year, something rare would surely have come here for His Majesty. Furthermore, this year the captain had not dare bring more goods than needed for the gifts, because last year comments had been made about it, that the captain should not think that he came to Edo to trade, he came to pay homage to the Shogun. The commissioner supposedly replied that this was true, but it would do no harm should he bring a few more goods to oblige some of the councillors – I think his favourites. In short, last year too many and now too few goods, in spite of us having brought enough. How can we please this proud nation? They trifle with the Company's goods and toy with us as they please.

10 Before noon Magobei took a few burning-glasses and spectacles to the house of Councillor Abe Bungo-no-kami. His secretary had told him that our audience has been set for the 15th of their month. This is good news, but I hope it is not just a pleasantry. Chikugo-no-kami sent to ask for some sealing wax. I obliged him. Late at night our interpreter told me that His Honour had told him that our impending audience had been discussed by the councillors and they had decided that it would take place on the 15th of the Japanese month. The commissioner had ordered him to prepare the presentation trays, which we have already ordered some days ago. He also told him that he would have liked to go hawk-ing in his domain, but that would not be possible before we had been given our leave. Denpachirō, the son of the Nagasaki Governor Kiemon,

35 sent for various fabrics and rugs from which to chose at his leisure. We have not heard anything about the red coral and how it will be apportioned. We have to be patient.

11 Shortly after midday, Inoue Genba-sama came with his son, Uneme-sama, and Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter, Guinemon, and a large entourage to congratulate me on my safe arrival. I reciprocated his compliments. I treated these nobles to all the pleasantries and courtesy their station requires and entertained them with wines and titbits. His Honour asked me for my name, age and such things. He said that I would behold the Shogun's countenance on the 15th day of their month. He thanked me for the hospitality and left. He took some rugs which he will return later or pay for. Three prominent courtiers from the palace of Chūnagon, King of Mito, came visiting me in the afternoon to satisfy their curiosity about the Dutch. I thought to entertain these noblemen in similar fashion as the others with wine and titbits, but because these men had come upstairs without the permission of our escort Boffij, he sent Chūjirō to let me know that I should not offer them anything and to prevent this he even sent the two city officials to keep watch in front of my door. Finally, after some insistence, he allowed me to pour them a cup of brandy, which they requested out of curiosity. The arrogance of our escort exceeds even their national pride to such an extent that Magobei has declared several times that he has never met anyone like him. It causes a great deal of vexation to all of us. Patience. He who has embarked with a bad man has to cross over with him. When I told our interpreter this in the evening,

36 he promptly had an excuse ready – as if to justify his compatriot – saying that the high officials have *dwaarskijkers* or spies everywhere and in particular near the foreigners. Through these spies they hear and see whatever goes on in the Japanese empire, among the great and small. These noblemen had gone upstairs without the knowledge of Boffij and he did not know their intentions. Therefore, he meant to say, His Honour had two reasons for sending the two *onderbongioisen* or city officials after them so that they could see what they were up to. In this way he showed that he was fulfilling his duty to look after us. But he could not think up any better explanation for first forbidding and then allowing us

to pour them a cupful of brandy than that Chūjirō had translated his message poorly.

12 Chikugo-no-kami asked for an itemized list with the prices of the goods and the rarities that occasionally had been fetched for him. Together with Magobei I made up the list and I principally followed Magobei's advice. I struck a happy medium in order not to offend the commissioner, who is our advocate here. My predecessors also managed to avoid doing so. We again drew some curious visitors, I think they were two cousins of First Councillor Izu-no-kami. I entertained them for an hour and treated them properly. Genba-sama sent a servant to thank me for the hospitality he enjoyed yesterday. He brought a salted swan as a gift, which is considered a great honour in this country. I accepted the gift with a Japanese grunt and told the servant to convey my humble thanks to his lord for this undeserved great courtesy. After he had enjoyed a drink, he left. The King of Owari sent an important merchant to fetch 3 *gantang* of tent wine and 5 *gantang* of Spanish wine, 5 catties of almonds and several spyglasses and rugs. He also gaped at my clothes, as people have been doing every day. I treated him to drinks and fruits. He gulped down quite a bit. When he left, he took my clothes with him.

37 He claimed that the King had asked to be shown them. At eight o'clock at night, an *innocent*, which he had learnt I intended to wear when I appeared before His Majesty, was brought back by an escort of nine or ten men. The reason was that someone in the house of this king was suffering from smallpox. For should this gown have been in that house, I would not be allowed to wear it when I appeared at Court, because no person and no item from a house where this disease is present may enter or be brought into the castle, so concerned are they for the Shogun's health, especially because he is still young.

13 Uneme-dono, who bothers us every day under the guise of visiting us, returned the string of red coral, from which he kept thirty-six of the best beads. Chikugo-no-kami, who suffers from gravel, sent his doctor with a few medicinal books, so that our surgeon could look up a remedy to break up

and pass the gravel. Furthermore, [he would like to know] what care he should take and what food he should eat, because he suffered great pains every day. So far he had not been able to find any relief from the things he had taken.

Genzō-sama and Gensuke-sama,⁷ the former is the son of the son and the latter the son of the daughter of Chikugo-no-kami, both courtiers and well regarded by all the nobles, came to greet me. I thanked them appropriately and entertained them. They regretted the bitter cold and the inconvenience I had suffered during my journey here both on land and on sea. I replied in Japanese fashion that the hope of seeing the Shogun's face – for that is the way in which the interpreter expressed himself⁸ – had made me forget all the inconvenience. The response was a Japanese exclamation in the form of a grunt. Meanwhile they drank a dishful of tent wine and then a cup of Dutch spirits and became saucier and saucier.

38 They behaved just like Uneme-sama and rummaged through all my belongings. At first I was embarrassed by their behaviour, but then I began to laugh at them. Finally, after having entertained them and having paid them as many compliments as I should – they being Chikugo-no-kami's next-of-kin – they left. They took some round coral and coral branches with them to choose the ones they liked and they would return the rest.

14 Nothing noteworthy happened. After dark Guinemon returned some of the red coral. Genzō-sama kept thirty-three pieces of the round coral and the coral branches. He promised to pay for them later. Magobei privately went to the house of Chikugo-no-kami. On my behalf he thanked him for the use of his warehouse. His Honour asked after my health. Magobei told him that I was well. Chikugo-no-kami was pleased.

15 Genzō-sama must have felt well-treated last Saturday,⁹ for he returned with Sanzaemon-sama,

7 Gensuke was not a son of Chikugo-no-kami's daughter, but of his son, and therefore a younger brother of Genzō.

8 The Dutch original gives *backhis* [*bakkes* or *backhuis*], which is considered slang for face.

9 That was on the 13th.

who is held in high regard here and who is a son of Gonpachirō, the former Nagasaki Governor, and with a large number of prominent noblemen. I treated them as best as I could. They brought two children of high officials with their tutors. They looked at everything. I offered them a couple of small amber cases. After having been complimented, the party finally left, expressing their thanks. Afterwards I found Uneme-dono, who had not wanted to come up because of a fit of jealousy, with the other Dutchmen. Our interpreter went to Chikugo-no-kami to take a few spyglasses from there to Mino-sama. The old man had mentioned that the audience would be granted soon and had ordered Magobei to come for the money for the things he had taken.

39 Magobei took some of the remaining red coral to Yohyōe, who lives about an hour and a half away from our inn, because of which the interpreter had not gone there for several days. Because they are small and of poor quality, His Honour did not care for them and even got angry with Magobei, which is unfair, because neither he nor we can do anything about it. He said that the best ones had been given to this person or that and Magobei had now brought him the rejects. There is no shortage of selfishness and jealousy among the great or small. He asked after my health. He also said that I would appear before *Ue-sama* – that is the Shogun's name – on the 21st. The King of Owari returned my clothes with an expression of thanks.

16 Onis Rockrobe-dono, supervisor of Kiemon's family, came to visit me with a few others. I entertained them. Oetgens and our surgeon Johannes Winsch, both of whom have been to the Court twice, and even the interpreter were surprised by the large number of visits, because no one can visit us without Chikugo-no-kami's permission. This leads us to conclude that the Company's standing must be very high. No doubt I shall be granted an audience on the 21st. I have been making up the account of the goods Chikugo-no-kami has taken through Magobei, but the continual visits and Magobei's coming and going has prevented us from completing it. Furthermore, every day more goods

are being fetched and returned and I think that this will go on till the day of departure.

17 The son of one of the Governors of Edo came with a rather large suite of young imps to visit me with Chikugo-no-kami's permission. I treated them to tent wine and titbits. They left satisfied. Guinemon, Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter, came to write down some remedies from Galen and Paracelsus,¹⁰ with the help of our surgeon, for breaking and passing stones.

40 He also wanted to know what the old man should eat or forgo, so that he might serve the young Shogun, who is just 15 years old, in spite of his advanced age. 18 Councillor Kutsuki Minbu-no-shō sent his major-domo to ask for some fine things, of which we had none. We entertained him and he left with ten salem pores, our drinking glasses and the blanket off my bed to show his lord, so he said. So far the weather had been dry and fine, but in the evening it began to rain. Today is the 12th day of the 1st Japanese month. The Japanese superstitiously consider this a day suitable for medicines. Thus our escort Boffij wished to have the bezoar stones packed in the boxes in which they will be presented. This was executed, as if the stones would increase or lose their potency by doing so now or yesterday. 19 It rained the entire night and it lasted till midday. When the rain ceased, several noblemen from the Shogun's palace came to greet me or have a look at me. I entertained them as they merited. After they had seen the Dutchmen, they left. Uneme-dono came with a 60-year-old Miyako citizen named Bouckij. He is a watchmaker by profession and came to fix a small timepiece which was somewhat out of kilter. When we were alone in my room – for otherwise it would not have been possible – he told me in Portuguese that thirty years ago he had been in Batavia and that he had been in prison now for eleven years because of the name of Our Lord, as

¹⁰ The original has 'Parcus'. Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus Von Hohenheim (1493–1541), known as Paracelsus. German-Swiss physician and alchemist, who established the role of chemistry in medicine.

he expressed it. Had he not been an excellent craftsman, he would have been put to death long ago. Five of them were still confined, even though they had been released from prison. They could only go out with Chikugo-no-kami's permission and under guard, as he did now. For the same reason hundreds of others were still kept in various prisons, where they saw neither sunlight nor moonlight.

41 I treated this elderly man to grape juice and Dutch fruits, which are picked twice a day all year round. He enjoyed it all and put the butter and cheese that were left over in his knapsack to share out among his fellow brethren. Because the date of the audience is nearing, I sent the interpreter to Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe to find out how matters stood and whether we should prepare to go to the Court in two days. On his return he reported that Chikugo-no-kami had discussed it with the councillors, but no decision had been taken. His Honour would again speak about it tomorrow. He had no doubts that it would take place and we should be ready. Yohyōe had replied in the same vein. Dry and pleasant weather.

20 Early in the morning Chikugo-no-kami sent his interpreter, Guinemon, to return the two pistols sent to him on the 4th instant. A few days ago, Magobei, who is frequently to be found at His Honour's, let slip – without my knowledge – that the pistols were meant as gifts for His Majesty. I could add them to the designated gifts. I should see to it that His Honour receive two similar ones in future. I thought this strange, because it would never have entered my mind to ask for them, let alone actually do so. Therefore I asked Guinemon to stay till Magobei, who had gone to his master to find out about the audience, had returned. He came back a short while later and I asked him about this matter. His reply was ready: yes, he had indeed spoken to Chikugo-no-kami without my knowledge. I should keep the pistols here and add them to the Shogun's gifts. He would settle it with His Honour. Guinemon thought that Magobei had somewhat misinterpreted him and began to blather about his sincerity. He said that it was true that he owed the Company 100 taels and could not pay up,

42 but he would sell part of his house next year and settle his debt. I considered that the time had not yet come to demand payment and told him that I was not demanding money from him. He replied: 'That is true, Captain, but I have borrowed money from the Company and I shall retribute it.' So far this man has conducted himself in a very humble and polite manner, which contrasts with his behaviour in previous years. I do not know whether the 100 taels which he cannot repay, being a beggar, has put a bridle on his tongue or that he has spent it and cannot let on to his lord. In the afternoon two groups of the Shogun's courtiers came to visit. I entertained them. These steady visits to see us Dutchmen have given us hope of an early audience. Our hope was rewarded, because Chikugo-no-kami sent one of his servants to inform me that I have to get ready to pay homage to His Majesty early tomorrow. I expressed my gratitude for this good news by presenting the messenger with two red coral beads. He thanked me but had to refuse them, for he could not accept them without his master's permission. I sent Magobei to Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe to thank them humbly for all their efforts on the Company's behalf and their continued benevolence – for they like to be thanked in this way. The interpreter reported that they had been very pleased. Yohyōe had said that last year the captain had arrived early but he had been received in audience late and this year the captain had arrived late and has been granted an early audience. He is truly fortunate. On my behalf, the interpreter had thanked Chikugo-no-kami for the loan of the two pistols to present to His Majesty. 43 His Honour had praised our thoughtfulness, but next year he wished to have two others to replace them. The interpreter had promised this. In the afternoon we all went to the *furo* or bath to cleanse ourselves. My servant could not go because two days ago he had fallen ill with pains in his side and cramps in his guts.

Audience

21 Around eight o'clock I sent the gifts for the Shogun to the palace. A short while later I followed with four Dutchmen. On the way one of

Chikugo-no-kami's servants came to warn us to hurry. We passed three moats and arrived within the palace. We were led to the customary waiting hall – which is thirty-six mats in size – where we sat down. A crowd of both spiritual and worldly men came to have a good look at us. They asked our names and ages. Without any scruples, one of the most senior priests, who was dressed very curiously, asked a very silly question, namely how the Dutch could scratch themselves when they were itching, wearing such tight clothes, which differ considerably from the Japanese loose garments. One of the Dutchmen replied that for such a task the Dutch employed their womenfolk. The priest grunted in Japanese fashion. In the meantime Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe sat down with me and welcomed me. They said that I had to wait a while. They were very busy and left. One of the shogunal shaven-headed servants offered me the use of an inner hall to keep us away from all the onlookers and for some relief from the cold. But when I saw that it was difficult for him to open it, I politely declined the offer. About an hour and a half we had to sit there waiting. Then I heard a loud buzz and through the open sliding doors in the gallery I saw great lords passing, including the Kings of Kinokuni and Mito, the Shogun's great-uncles. I was told that the Shogun had appeared and he was giving audience.

- 44 A quarter of an hour later, Yohyōe came for me in the room where we were sitting. He said that it was time. I stood up and followed him with Magobei at my heels. We passed a large hall crowded with people sitting like statues. I was told that they were the greatest lords of the land. We passed through a gallery and two right outer corners. We finally reached a fairly large hall covered with mats, where our presents were neatly laid out almost a foot above the floor. The interpreter told me to turn right – for Chikugo-no-kami, who had called out to me on the way, remained behind the sliding doors. I knelt on the gallery and rested on my arms. Straight in front of me I saw the Japanese monarch standing upright in a hall with no light on either side, about a foot higher than the gallery where the gifts were displayed. He was dressed in a black or a dark coloured

gown. Three or four persons, I guess the councillors, were sitting crossways on his left. I had a clear view of the monarch, whose face is long rather than round. I heard Andō Ukyō-sama call out 'Oranda Kapitan', signifying 'He is lying there and is paying homage to Your Majesty with a presentation of gifts'. As soon as I heard this sound, I bowed my forehead almost onto the floor and lay like this for a moment. Then Magobei, who was lying slightly behind me on my right side, pulled me by my coat and said 'Captain, we have to leave'. I stood up and left without looking up. We returned the same way to the previous hall with the other Company servants, who had been given permission by the Shogun's servants to follow me to the place where the gifts were. We remained here for a moment and were congratulated by several great nobles. Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe also came to congratulate me that the Shogun was pleased with the gifts. Our patron gave us permission to leave. We rose and had walked a few steps, when a courtier came with one of the pistols to ask how to fire it, as it was not cocked. The interpreter cocked it and showed him.

- 45 He went away and we went home. Before we left the castle, a nobleman told Magobei that the Shogun had already handled and looked at the pistols and the bezoar stones. In the afternoon we first went to thank Yohyōe, because he lives far away and we were afraid that we might not find him at home. Next we went to Chikugo-no-kami, who had been waiting for us, and then to Kiemon's son. We expressed our gratitude for their help in promoting this important occasion. There was no shortage of compliments and congratulations. In all three places I was told the same: last year the captain had arrived early but had been granted an audience at a late date, while I had arrived late but had beheld the Shogun's face within twenty days. Chikugo-no-kami repeated that the Shogun had been pleased with the gifts, especially with the pistols and the bezoar stones. He expected that I would be given leave and the reciprocal gifts within two or three days. He asked that our surgeon visit him in two days. He wanted to ask him a few questions about medicinal herbs. I respectfully told His Honour he would

go to him. In our presence Yohyōe had some words with Magobei about Chūjirō, the son of the late interpreter Hakuzaemon. As far as my companions could make out, it concerned the announcement to the councillors that he would serve as an interpreter in future. Not a word has been said to me about this. Fine weather with sunshine.

22 According to custom we took the gifts to the houses of Izu-no-kami, Bungo-no-kami, Uta-no-kami, Sanuki-no-kami, Sado-no-kami, Ukyō-sama, Izumo-no-kami, Bitchū-no-kami, Bizen-no-kami and Shōgen-sama. None of them was at home. I was told they were at the castle and their secretaries accepted the gifts on their behalf.

46 At several places we were offered *cha*. Chūjirō accompanied me everywhere. Our landlord Gen'emom – who is well regarded by both high and low – informed everyone of Yohyōe's recommendation made yesterday. This leads me to believe that he will be promoted to interpreter in Nagasaki this year, when he will be of as much service to us a fifth wheel to a cart.

23 All the aforementioned councillors, except for Bungo-no-kami, Uta-no-kami and Sado-no-kami sent their secretaries or major-domos to congratulate me on my good fortune in having beheld the Shogun's countenance. They also expressed their thanks for the gifts we took to them yesterday. Ukyō-sama and Izumo-no-kami sent me a few gowns, notwithstanding that the Shogun has not yet presented me with the reciprocal gift. They said that they should be used on the country road against the cold. Matsudaira Izumo-no-kami had been angry with his secretary for not having entertained us in the *zashiki* or inner hall when accepting the gift. He apologized for this. Japanese feigned civilities. Our surgeon spent the whole afternoon at Chikugo-no-kami's. He had discussed how to break and pass the gravel with a Japanese so-called doctor. He had summarized several cures from various authors, which had been written down.

24 In the morning Makino Sado-no-kami sent his secretary to congratulate me on my success at the Court. The illness of one of his relatives was the reason that he had not greeted me in person two days

ago, when I took the gift to his house. – What lies have I been told then, that he was in the palace! – He was grateful for the gift. The King of Mito, the Shogun's great-uncle, sent his courtier Uneme-dono to ask for three or four large, pure, red coral beads, weighing 5–7 mas.

47 I have none at hand and he asked that some be sent in future. His Honour had asked for them several times before, but none had been sent. He offered to give several taels of silver should we be short of cash. We politely declined the offer and replied that it was not a matter of cash, but unavailability, for even in Europe they were hard to come by. I promised to do my best to obtain them when I met with the High Government in Batavia. Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter, Guinemon, came in the evening to consult our surgeon on behalf of Genba-sama, whom Happart mentions on 12 February of last year, for a cure for the unnatural bleeding through his hind part, which sometimes bleeds profusely. Without any shame or masking it, Guinemon told us that Genba-sama had sustained this complaint through sodomy as a female bedfellow, having been Chikugo-no-kami's catamite when he was a young boy. As a result, Oh horror!, he became a confidant and has been elevated to a high position – considering that he was just an ordinary fellow. Our surgeon suspected that several blood vessels in his behind must have ruptured and turned into fistulae. He gave him a cure as required for a person about 45 years old and continually suffering from this complaint. The Court has not granted us our leave today. Guinemon expects that it will be granted tomorrow.

25 People have been fetching so much of our provisions that yesterday we ran out of butter. Now we shall have to make do with Japanese food. We are almost running out of tent wine and Spanish wine and still there is no end to those fetching it or drinking it. Several high noblemen came to congratulate me, including the Shogun's famous painter, who came with Uneme-dono and some of his kind. I had to act the factotum in my room. In the afternoon Chikugo-no-kami sent one of his servants to inform me that the day after tomorrow I would receive

permission to leave from the Shogun and his reciprocal gift, because tomorrow is the anniversary of the death of the Shogun's father. I sent Magobei to thank our old patron for the good news.

- 48 Magobei found His Honour at home. He gave him my message, which pleased the old man. He told Magobei that no new orders would be issued, as had been the case last year. Therefore he did not know whether the captain would have to go personally for the gifts or that it would suffice that Magobei and Gen'emon, the landlord, did so. I had discussed this with Magobei and had told him that I would think it a great honour should I be granted a personal audience of leave like my predecessor. Magobei was so forward as to tell Chikugo-no-kami this, with Japanese politeness smeared all over his face. Chikugo-no-kami replied that the captain was exceedingly proud. It would create a great deal of inconvenience if he appeared in person in the palace, because that would require the presence of several councillors and many arrangements would have to be made. However, he would discuss it with First Councillor Izu-no-kami and inform me of their decision afterwards. So far our affairs have gone smoothly and I thought it was time to consider the best way to present to these proud and exacting people with our requests concerning leaving the hatches unsealed and the export of timber. Magobei objected to speaking to Chikugo-no-kami about it, saying that it was not his concern but that of the Nagasaki Governors. I told him that when we were in Nagasaki and I discussed it with all of them and the *otona*, they had said that such requests had to be presented to the Edo court. Furthermore, we had requested a letter of recommendation from Kiemon-dono, as mentioned on 29 December. Now that we wished to get down to brass tacks, he was playing with me. How could anything be achieved? He felt tripped up and had nothing to say but that he trusted that it would cause more harm than good should we mention it to Chikugo-no-kami. I asked him why they had told me differently in Nagasaki if they had not meant what they said! He seemed either crushed or annoyed and said that he was just an interpreter and if I wished him to request

it on my behalf, he would do so. In the presence of Oetgens, I told him that I did not want it to be like that,

- 49 but that now that we were at Court, I wanted to confer on the best way to proceed so that we would not incur the wrath of the Nagasaki Governors. Finally we agreed to remind Yohyōe of it when we went to take our leave and to follow his advice about whether or not to mention it to Chikugo-no-kami. From this it becomes obvious how we are misinformed and led like a dog on a leash by these interpreters. As long as it is plain sailing and it is for the aggrandizement of the Japanese, they are industrious men, but with the first gust of wind, which does not even diminish the Japanese pompousness, they lower the sails, creep into their shells and look away. Our landlord and the interpreter took the small gifts for the secretaries to their homes. They were all grateful.

26 Chikugo-no-kami sent a message that at the palace at eight o'clock tomorrow we would receive the reciprocal gift and our dispatch from His Majesty. It was not certain whether I would be received in person, because His Honour had not yet spoken to Izu-no-kami about it. Nonetheless we should be ready in case we were to be received in person, if not, Magobei and our landlord would take my place. He would let me know by that time. About half an hour later a fire started eastwards of our lodgings. A large number of houses burnt down.

27 Hard wind and heavy rain. Around noon my hopes of receiving a personal audience at the castle were dashed. Chikugo-no-kami sent me a message that Izu-no-kami had informed him that since the Dutch were loyal and obedient to the Japanese empire, no other orders were to be issued as had happened last year. Therefore the landlord and our interpreter Magobei could go the castle on my behalf to receive the Shogun's reciprocal gift and our dispatch.

- 50 They returned an hour later with thirty silk gowns, which Izu-no-kami had handed to them on the Shogun's behalf in the presence of Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe. Izu-no-kami had said that the Dutch are fortunate that they can come here every

year and behold the Shogun's countenance. The captain has been given his leave. Because they have been found to be loyal and obedient to this empire, he can continue trading peacefully on Deshima as in previous years. On my behalf, our procurator expressed my gratitude and also said that he was confident that we would continue [to be loyal and obedient]. But, Chikugo-no-kami continued, the captain is seeking honour and would have liked to have been received in audience personally. Izu-no-kami had replied that, because his subordinates went to collect the gift on his behalf, more honour was bestowed on the captain. For these were signs that the Dutchmen were well regarded and welcome in Japan. Conversely, should anything have been amiss, new orders would be issued and this would be executed by the commissioners to the captain in person. This was not the case now. Chikugo-no-kami had told the interpreter that he would send for me in two or three days, when we were ready to set off. He wanted to discuss some matters with me. Magobei thinks that it will be about the usual recommendations and the articles that His Honour would like to have for the Shogun and for himself. In the afternoon the wind suddenly dropped and a severe earthquake followed. It continued to rain. At the Shogun's behest, Magobei has also received five shogunal gowns. This is extraordinary and has never happened before. I have now learnt that Chikugo-no-kami has received the puffer or pocket pistol, which had remained in Arai on our way up.

28 Matsudaira Izu-no-kami, Sakai Uta-no-kami and Kutsuki Minbu-no-shō sent me a few gowns as protection against the cold, together with their congratulations on our success at Court and their thanks for the Company's gifts. As is customary, Sanuki-no-kami sent me 30 *schuiten* of silver. The Governors of Edo also sent me a reciprocal gift of two gowns each.

51 In spite of his unworthiness of being presented with any gifts from the Company on account of his great pomposity, we had to present our escort Boffij with a gift and the two Nagasaki city officials as well, this being the custom. We also presented cash gifts to the Japanese servants, both ours and theirs. In the

evening Magobei was summoned to the house of Chikugo-no-kami. He returned around ten o'clock with the message that our patron wished to travel to his domain. Therefore I should go to his house at dawn to receive his orders and to bid him farewell. I thought this an unexpected message. I asked Magobei how we could present our requests to Chikugo-no-kami. After all, three days ago we had decided that we would only do so with Yohyōe's approval. For a while Magobei sat silent sunk in thought. Then he gave me the following faulty reasoning, because his command of our language is very bad: he thought it unwise to request the export of timber because he expected that it would not be possible to obtain a large quantity without giving a reason for what purpose. I asked him if it would be sufficient to state that the timber would be used to build houses in Tayouan and elsewhere and to repair ships. The reply was that Tayouan was suspect to the Japanese because of its fortification and being so close to Japan; we should in no way follow that line. But the Nagasaki Governors would never refuse permission were it to be used to repair ships. It was impossible to obtain any quantity of heavy beams of one or two feet square, on the one hand because they were scarce and on the other hand because they were expensive. But ordinary boards of twenty-four or more feet long and one-and-a-half feet wide and *sugi* planks could be had if the order was not too large. I asked why, when we mentioned it in Nagasaki, they wasted so many words on bothering the governors about this. His reply was that he would tell me the real truth.

52 His mates' unwillingness was the cause. The one would not speak to the governors because of his age, the other because of pride and the other for a reason he did not know – but probably laziness, and gulled the captains now and then and they let anything that required the least effort just slide off their backs. He meant Kichibyōe, Sukezaemon and Denbyōe, all three of whom are not expected back in Edo, the first because of his age and the others because of their misbehaviour. I asked him about the matter of leaving the ships' hatches unsealed. Magobei said that this was not a shogunal order

and therefore we should not broach this matter with Chikugo-no-kami. When we said goodbye to Yohyōe, he would remind His Honour of this. He could almost assure me that they would be left unsealed in the next trading season. Using a simile, as is his wont, he told me that in order to achieve this goal, we had to climb up ten steps and he estimated that we had reached the seventh step, without elaborating on it. In passing he let slip that he had heard that the Dutchmen were being pitied for the high cost of the annual journey to the Court, for it was known that their masters were merchants and came to Japan for gain. It would be a great relief to them should they be allowed to send a captain once every three years to pay homage to His Majesty in acknowledgement of the freedom they enjoy in this empire above all other foreign nations. Time will tell if anything comes of this. Moreover, compared to the Chinese interpreters the Dutch interpreters received too little remuneration for their great efforts in coming to Edo every year. We have begun to draw up the account of Uneme-dono for the goods which he has taken, but he calculated everything so much to his advantage, that Magobei was embarrassed on his behalf to inform me. He would discuss it with him tomorrow and see what could be done about it.

March

1 In the morning Oetgens and I

53 went to Chikugo-no-kami to say farewell. When we arrived, we were led inside and the commissioner and Yohyōe came into the room where we were. He said that he was happy that we had been given an early dispatch by the Court. He seemed in a hurry and briefly stated the Shogun's and councillors' continuing bitterness towards Roman Catholicism and repeated the old lessons that we should beware of bringing anyone of that faith into the country. Furthermore, when we learnt of any hostile intentions of the Portuguese or other nations towards this empire, we should make this known as soon as possible so that we could continue our trade with Japan peacefully. I gave him the required promises. I also thanked him for the permission he granted us

last year to bury our dead on land. In passing, His Honour asked why England was at war with Holland and to whom they were related. I replied that they had killed their King¹¹ and were demanding the herring that was caught in an open sea between our two countries.¹² They were related to France, Denmark and Bohemia.¹³ He asked if Denmark was Roman Catholic and where it was situated. I replied that it lay behind Holland and shared the same religion as ours. He then said that he had given orders along the highway that the captain should travel in safety. He handed Magobei a Japanese document containing the Shogun's edict against the Roman Catholic faith. We spent just a quarter of an hour in his home and then said farewell and returned to the inn. Magobei remained behind and told me later that Yohyōe had given orders that I should go to his house early tomorrow morning to say farewell. We were not entertained at all because Yohyōe was present, the reason being that for fear of being caught out, the one would not have the other see that he offered the Dutch any hospitality for friendship's sake, although it was done in private.

54 This is the extent to which Christianity is hated here. In the afternoon, after Chikugo-no-kami had left, Guinemon came for the catty of raw amber. He said that it would be burnt to extract the oil. There was still no end to the fetching and returning of various goods by the niggardly Uneme-dono, who, as I have now been told, is an impoverished nobleman. Magobei went to his home to settle the account, for now that we are ready to leave, he no longer comes here. But it turned out to seem more like coercion than trade. He flew into a temper about a silver timepiece, which he claimed had been given to him. He sent a *koban* for a copper timepiece that

11 Charles I, executed on 30 January 1649 on a charge of high treason.

12 The Navigation Act passed by the English Parliament in 1651 reserved the importing of fish into England entirely to English ships.

13 Charles I was married to Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France; his mother was Anne of Denmark; his sister Elizabeth was married to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia.

had belonged to one of the subordinates and so on. For Chikugo-no-kami's sake and because his father, Genba-sama, is very favourably disposed towards the Company and as the occasion arises mediates on its behalf, we have to grin and bear it. Makino Sado-no-kami sent 10 *schuiten* of silver and Abe Bungo-no-kami sent a few gowns. They both wished me a happy and propitious journey back home.

2 After sunrise Oetgens and I went to Yohyōe. We had to wait for an hour. Then His Honour appeared with a smile on his face, which is unusual when he is in Nagasaki. First we exchanged the customary compliments: he was pleased about our early dispatch from the Court and that our gifts had been accepted. I reciprocated by expressing our gratitude for his assistance at Court and also for the permission granted last year to bury our dead on land. Then I proposed to him that every year the great inconvenience of sealing our ships' hatches in the Nagasaki roads caused us much disgrace and our masters a great loss, because while the ships are lying in the roadstead,

55 it is not possible to repair them and stow them properly during the loading. This puts them in grave danger when the weather turns severe out at sea resulting in many accidents at the Company's cost, like last year when three ships foundered off the northern coast. His Honour asked what remained in the holds after the merchandise had been unloaded from the ships and brought onto Deshima. I replied that these were just provisions and ships' necessities and for this reason the *bon-gioisen* had to go on board two or three times a week to unseal the hatches. Yohyōe then said 'My predecessor, Saburōzaemon, introduced this order and I have continued it, but as far as I have been aware the goods that remain on board may include ornaments relating to your religion or that of the Roman Catholics, which may get stolen or sold to a Japanese by the sailors if they were to have free access. This will lead to the gradual reintroduction of Christianity here and if this happens, I shall have to slit my belly. Secondly, the reason that your ships are closely guarded in the roadstead and you people on shore is not because of your nationality, but to

augment Portuguese aversion to Japan – because they will learn of the way in which you are treated here – and we hope that they will never again think of this country.' He then gave a long discourse. We replied that all our ships which sailed hither were given the strictest instructions in all places from whence they sailed that they should not carry any Roman Catholics or any ornaments connected with them. The ships were inspected when out at sea and when they were in the roadstead there was another inspection. Our religious books were stored in a vat and given into the custody of the *otona* of Deshima until our departure. Therefore we were very careful and fully complied with the Shogun's order. We were well aware that should we transgress it,

56 we would not be allowed to continue our residence here. Yohyōe, feigning ignorance, replied: 'I have never known this. If the Dutch are this careful, then the hatches can remain unsealed in future. I shall confer with Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and when I return to Nagasaki remind me to discuss it with Kiemon.' From this Magobei assumed that the matter is almost settled and he said that we have now reached the ninth step, as we mentioned two days ago. The weather being fair, I also asked him permission to export the timber ordered by Batavia or elsewhere. He replied that as this had been done last year, we could do so every year as long as the quantity was not too great. I thanked him politely as required by Japanese etiquette. On leaving, Yohyōe asked for some essential oils for the relief of smallpox. I sent him some later. When we were outside, his daughter, who is about 8–9 years old, accompanied us a short way with his secretary, Kanseimon-dono around the corner of his house where we stood awhile talking with each other, because I had been told that Yohyōe's wife would like to see the Dutchmen. She looked at us through some trelis work and we could also see her. Finally we said goodbye and we went to the house of Kiemon-dono. His son entertained us to tea and *sakana*. We thanked him for his father's favourable letter. He wished us well and we returned to the inn. I ordered the horses for the journey and gave orders to prepare everything for the journey to Osaka.

3 On the orders of Chikugo-no-kami, Guinemon-dono brought me a memorandum in Japanese, which his master had left behind before his departure. It was a list of the items which His Honour ordered for the Shogun and himself for next year. He wanted me to sign the memorandum as proof that I undertook to carry out the order.

- 57 I reminded Guinemon of the 100 taels which he borrowed from Van der Burgh three years ago. He apologized for being unable to repay it, but next year he would pay 50 taels and the rest later. I do not think that we shall ever see one stiver of it, unless we inform Chikugo-no-kami, but in that case he will probably be rendered fit to carry planks, if he is not made to bleed. I settled with our landlord for the food and the rent for the rooms and warehouse. I gave him, his mother and his wife their usual presents. But because our stay here has been short and he did not receive as much as last year, and furthermore because since Versteeghen's term eight years ago the captains had not been granted such an early dispatch – which is true – he complained to Magobei about all the trouble he had taken. At the strong insistence of the interpreter I had to enlarge his gift with three pieces of *taffachelas gingham* notwithstanding that he had increased our account for consumption with the expenses on the day of our departure, which is not customary.

Departure from Edo

On the highway from Edo to Osaka

- 4 Fine weather. Around nine o'clock our train left Edo. Magobei and the Japanese clerk remained behind to collect the outstanding debts owed by the nobles. Gen'emon, our landlord, the horse letters and the makers of the presentation trays accompanied us to Kawasaki. We arrived in Totsuka in the evening. Our interpreter and the clerk also arrived. Genzō-sama, Chikugo-no-kami's son-in-law,¹⁴ who had taken the coral branch, had not been at home. His private secretary would inform his master and see to it that the money be sent.

5 We lunched in Ōiso and reached Odawara in the evening. Genzō-sama sent a sealed paper parcel with silver as payment for the large coral branch. On it was written 33 taels, but when we opened it and weighed it,

- 58 we found that it contained just 23 taels. Magobei was very surprised about this unseemly deceit, especially when I told him that the coral had cost the Company 198 guilders.

6 Via Hakone we arrived in Mishima.

7 We passed Kanbara and reached Ejiri.

8 In pouring rain we passed Okabe and reached Kanaya.

9 Through Fukuroi to Hamamatsu.

10 We crossed over to Arai. In the afternoon we reached Futagawa and in the evening Akasaka.

11 Via Chiryū to Miya. There we had to stay because of the hard wind and because the tide had ebbed.

12 We crossed over to Kuwana, where we lunched. In the evening in Ishiyakushi.

13 In the morning we encountered the first *burge-meester*, Sakuemon-dono, who is travelling to Edo as deputy of the Nagasaki citizens. He gave me a letter from Junior Merchant Messteecker, dated 14 February, informing me that all was well on Deshima. Furthermore, that our letters to Batavia, Tayouan and Siam of 21 January had been sent and that twenty-one junks from China had arrived in the Nagasaki roadstead. We passed Sekinojizō and arrived in Minakuchi.

14 We had to stay there till noon because of the rain. In the evening Kusatsu.

Arrival in Miyako

15 In the afternoon in Ōtsu and late in the day we arrived in Miyako at the inn of our landlord, Saburōemon.

16 Around noon a group of lacquerers came to show me the model, or one of the *norimono* that has to be made for Bengal. It was just the wooden carcass. We checked to see if it accorded with the measurements. It did. We were shown several pieces of gilt Japanese cloth with which it would be lined. We selected three pieces with the smallest and most curious foliage, because they said that there was no

14 Sic. His grandson.

red velvet available in the whole city. Should some red velvet become available, we advised them to line one of the *norimono* with this and they should make them curiously and beautifully of the best raised lacquerware, just as we had agreed upon,

59 so that they would be worth the high price that we have to pay for them. They promised they would do so and would deliver the objects to Deshima in time. Several prominent merchants came to congratulate us on our success at Court. The three heads of the cities of Miyako, Osaka and Sakai were among them. They have been deputized to go to Edo to complain about the *pancado* of the Chinese white raw silk, of which around 1400–1500 piculs had arrived from various places in China after our departure from Nagasaki. The Chinese have been taking them in for several years in a row. They say that during the trading season the Chinese bring little silk to obtain a high price and when they are pleased with the price, they later import large quantities, as they have done now, with the intention of selling them at the *pancado* price, which is valid till the last day of the 4th Japanese month. The heads intend to obtain permission from the Court to set a different price for the newly-imported silk and to have the *pancado* abolished or at least have it last till their new year or thereabouts. They complained that they had already suffered a great loss this year. Time will tell what they will achieve. After lunch we paid the landlord for our board and lodging. As usual we also offered him a proper gift. We set off and walked to the Maruyama or Round Mountain, where we viewed several beautiful temples. They were decorated with all kinds of knickknacks and idols and some had copper basins similar to gongs hanging high up in the beams at the front, from which a thick rope dangled. When these heathens come to perform their idol worship, as we have witnessed several times, they first wash their hands in a stone basin and then hit the rope against the gong three times – we think to wake the idol in case he is asleep – and then they throw two or three copper cash into the enclosure where he sits.

60 They fall down on their knees and mumble a few words with their hands clasped. Further along the

way we viewed the *Daijutsu* or large idol and then we went to another temple where we counted 1000 wooden gilt statues, life-size. Each statue carried three small statuettes a finger long, the 1000 large statues had 40,000 arms. In this way they want to express the craftsmanship flourishing in Japan at some time or other. There were also thirty huge fellows or guardians standing there and a statue of a large and ordinary elephant. The skull of a fellow who had fought with his followers against the ruler several centuries ago also hung here. He had been conquered after a fierce fight and his skull is kept here in memory of this. After we had viewed all this, we continued our journey. The landlord saw us off, treating us to *sakana*. In the evening we reached Fushimi, where we had to spend the night.

17 Fine weather. We sailed down the river on five barges and at four in the afternoon we arrived in Osaka.

In Osaka

18 As in Miyako, several merchants came to congratulate us on our success at Court. Magobei asked the landlord whether the merchants who on our outward journey had promised us a sample of the sheet-copper were in the city. He said they were and expected to see them tomorrow with the sample. I had everything prepared for our journey by sea in the hope of leaving the day after tomorrow.

19 Rainy weather. At sunset several copper merchants came to our lodging. They brought two samples of sheet-copper. It was too late and we decided to inspect the two sheets tomorrow.

61 20 Four merchants came to settle with us on the price of the copper. When we compared it to bar-copper, we found that there was a substantial difference in the quality. We expected that there would be a commensurate difference in the price, but we were disappointed. Their quote was 1 tael less than the price for bar-copper would be in the next trading season. They did not seem eager to produce and deliver it, because they would have to make fresh preparations to produce it as it had not been in demand for several years. We considered

that in 1646 and 1647 we had paid 1 tael less for the sheet-copper than for the bar-copper, but at the time we had bought the bar-copper for 9 taels. This is a great difference from the present time. We also know the quality. But in order to show them that we were not joking but in earnest, on the basis of the samples we offered them 3 taels less than next season's price for the bar-copper. We based this on last year's samples and price of 10.5 taels. They laughed at our offer. After some discussion it was obvious that at present they would stick to their price of 1 tael less and I told them to confer and write to us in Nagasaki stating what their final quote would be. I would take the samples with me. They agreed to my proposal and promised to let me know in time should they be able to drop their price. If they did not, they would discuss it once more with me when they came to Nagasaki during the trading season. These are signs that they are not eager to change their production for a small batch of 500–600 piculs. It has turned out differently from what we had expected and what Batavia had written. We had thought to negotiate on the sheet-copper here in Osaka,

- 62 but the poor alloy, according to the opinion of the experts, has stood in the way of a high price. We have to be patient and see what they will decide in future. The luggage and the provisions have been loaded onto the barge. We paid our landlord, gave him the customary gift and also to his father – with whom we went to the bath twice. We said goodbye and boarded the barge which lay anchored at the entrance of the river.

In the barge

- 21 Fine weather in the morning. We set sail and dropped anchor off Hyōgo in the evening.
 22 We set sail around midnight. We passed Akashi and anchored off Muro, where we had to stay because of the rain.
 23 We weighed anchor in the evening and we continued our journey in the light of a clear moon.
 24 The adverse wind and counter-current impeded our progress and we anchored off the round mountain.

25 Quiet, but the current was favourable. We rowed on and reached Bingo-no-Tomo, where the Japanese wished to refresh themselves, even though none of them was suffering from scurvy.

26 We set sail on an easterly breeze. In the evening we dropped anchor off Yokoshima.

27 Last night when the moon rose we set sail again. Wind and current were not in our favour and we dropped anchor off Kamuro at sunset.

28 We passed Kaminoseki on an easterly breeze. It veered at midday and we had to drop anchor off Mukōshima.

29 In the morning an easterly wind. We arrived in Shimonoseki.

63 30 There was a headwind and we had to stay here.

31 We passed the small channel and dropped anchor just outside near a small island to wait for a fair wind.

April

1 Around eight o'clock in the morning we rowed away and in the afternoon we were forced to drop anchor off Ashiya, a hamlet situated in the domain of Saigoku, where no Dutchman has ever been before.

2 A strong southerly and south-westerly wind. Because we have run out of Japanese *sakana* and we are afraid of having to wait here long because we need an easterly or north-easterly wind to proceed and also because we did not wish to offend our *bongiois* who has politely offered us the possibility of travelling over land to Nagasaki, especially because the offer of travelling over land from Shimonoseki in case of contrary wind has been made to my predecessors many times in Edo, I decided to try this out. Thus Magobei and an *onderbongiois* went ashore to investigate. On their return an hour and a half later they reported that there were enough horses and everything would be ready by tomorrow. But it would take four days to travel to Nagasaki and the road would be almost impassable in rainy weather. But we agreed to have preparations made. But as soon as we had decided on this, the wind veered and began to blow from the east and we changed our minds. We saw many barges from Shimonoseki sail

past. We could not get out of this harbour because it was only fifty feet wide and there was not enough water. The sailors had also gone to fetch water with the boat. Thus we sadly had to watch the barges sail past and wait for the boat to return. Then we weighed anchor and rowed on and finally we managed to get out.

64 We travelled four miles and dropped anchor off Jinoshima.

3 Before sunrise we left on a stiff north-westerly breeze. We passed Hirado in the afternoon and at ten o'clock at night we reached Seto. Today we covered a distance which took us twelve days on our outward journey.

Arrival in Nagasaki

4 We set sail and in the afternoon we arrived in the roadstead of Nagasaki. We went ashore and were back on Deshima. We found all well and everything in order. During our presence at the Court or elsewhere in this empire, no mention has been made to date of an ambassador who should come to congratulate His Majesty on his new government. We hope that they will keep quiet about this and that the Company will be excused from this excessive expenditure. The most important events that happened here during my absence as noted down by Junior Merchant Messteecker are the following:

At various times seventeen junks arrived from Anhai and five from Fuzhou. Their cargoes have been noted at the end. One of the junks had foundered off the Gotō Islands and another one off Satsuma. The crew and the goods have been brought to Nagasaki on Japanese barges. Eleven of the aforesaid junks have departed.

65 [Destinations: Siam, Cambodia, Quinam, Patani, Nanking, Fuzhou, Zhangzhou, Tonkin] As far as we can ascertain, their cargoes consist of just some knickknacks. The Tonkinese Rocquan, a servant of Gicoquan, brother of the late one-eyed Chinese, sailed with them on a junk built here. It is said that he will continue his master's trade, as he has taken around 70 chests of silver with him. Several of the Chinese who have arrived have brought the news that the Governor of Tayouan had sent six

Dutchmen on a junk on a mission to Coxinga, but they did not know what he wished to achieve. They also said that he would no longer permit any junks to trade with Formosa. Kiemon-dono had summoned the junior surgeon and two assistants to his house. They should first dress properly. On arrival, the surgeon was taken to the governor, whose leg was somewhat inflamed by the shin-guards. He asked for a cure. The surgeon said that he would prepare something, which pleased His Honour. He led the three men to a birdcage, in which they saw a strange bird with other birds. The governor said that it was a male bird and he asked them whether it would be possible to find a female for it. Our men were not acquainted with this bird and told him that it would not be possible. They were given leave and returned home. On their return they discovered that the great Chinese priest, who was mentioned on 14 November, was on the island. The interpreters told them, and we believe this, that he was curious to see the Dutchmen.

66 Twice the governor had sent warnings to be careful with fire and light. The Lord of Hakata had come to visit and had asked to see some rarities. There were none at hand. The 1300 bales of rice, which had been divided over two warehouses, had been stored in one warehouse on the south side of the island to prevent them from being spoiled by the northerly winds. Furthermore, for the past thirty to forty years there had not been such heavy snowfall in Nagasaki as this winter. The *otona*, the interpreters and their sons had been invited to dinner on one occasion to promote their good feelings towards us. The dove-cote, whose construction had been ordered, was ready, but the work had not been carried out as sturdily as required. I intend to have it fixed. Several landlords had begun work on the necessary repairs. A few have already finished, others are still busy. According to the interpreters, Governor Kiemon has gone hawking and is not expected back soon. They will find out tomorrow when I can go and visit His Honour.

5 Rainy weather. Magobei went to Kiemon-dono and I have received permission to appear before His Honour tomorrow.

- 6 In the morning I went to Kiemon-dono's house. He welcomed me. I thanked him for his recommendation, which had not only promoted that I had been granted an early audience, but also that Yohyōe had almost as good as promised me on my departure from Edo that we would be allowed the export of timber and that the ships' hatches would be left unsealed in future. He would discuss it with His Honour when he returned to Nagasaki.
- 67 I also thanked him for the hospitality his son had shown us at his house in Edo, for having given us an agreeable escort and for his fatherly care of the Company servants remaining behind on Deshima. He responded with a few Japanese pleasantries. He congratulated me on having beheld His Majesty's countenance. He would discuss the matter of leaving the ships' hatches unsealed with Yohyōe at the appropriate time. We left and returned home.
- 7–8 Fine weather. On behalf of the governor, our *otona*, Sukezaemon and Kichibyōe's son came to urge me to be very careful with fire and light. The same order had been issued throughout the city, because the governor would be travelling to Amakusa for a few days. I promised to be careful and thanked the governor for his care.
- 9 Nothing noteworthy happened. Today is the 3rd day of the 3rd Japanese month. On this day women are allowed to go out and enjoy themselves and look for shells on the beach. This happens twice a year: on the 3rd day of their 1st month and today.
- 10–13 Variable weather. Nothing noteworthy happened.
- 14 The purveyor of poultry has complained several times during my absence and on my return that he cannot continue to supply us with poultry as he has done for the past two years at the price set by the *otona* of 1 mas each – although this had been 12 candareens previously.
- 68 I discussed this with the *otona* a few days ago and told him that he should see to it that we be given another purveyor if this one could not supply us. The *otona* replied that the delivery of livestock to Deshima was divided over twelve wards in Nagasaki, which rotated every year. Therefore no change was possible. This discussion had gone on for a few days and today the *otona*, Hachizaemon and Sukezaemon brought the purveyors on the island. They again stated that they were losing 5 candareens on every chicken on account of the large numbers of Chinese present here and the scarcity of poultry after the severe winter. They would not countenance any counter argument. We then took into consideration that poultry is the cheapest source of meat and we decided to pay them $1\frac{1}{5}$ mas until the arrival of the ships, on condition that they supply us with well-fed poultry and not bring us cocks past their prime and skinny chickens. They promised to live up to the condition, although they claimed that they would still suffer a loss. However, they hoped to recuperate their losses when large numbers of poultry were brought here during the trading season and they could make substantial sales. In that case we could pay 1 mas as before.
- 15 The fence on the eastern side of the island, which had been set up and kept on the Shogun's account, has completely dilapidated and the landlords have renewed it.
- 16–17 Heavy rain and southerly winds.
- 18 Sunshine and a cold northerly wind. Nothing happened.
- 19 Pleasant weather with a southerly wind. Kiemon-dono has returned from Amakusa. As is the custom in Japan, I sent Hachizaemon and Magobei to welcome him. I gave ten pieces of sealing wax, which Chikugo-no-kami had asked for in Edo, to Magobei.
- 69 20 Hachizaemon reported that the governor had been very pleased with the good wishes I had sent him and returned the compliments. He let me know that on account of the fine weather and in view of our confinement on Deshima, we were allowed to go into the city and up the mountains for some recreation for a day or two. I told Hachizaemon to thank the governor on my behalf at a suitable opportunity, for the governor had gone hawking. Fine summer weather. I went for a walk around the island with the *otona* and Sukezaemon. I noticed that some of the buildings were in need of repair and urged the *otona* to admonish those owners, who had not yet

started on the repairs, to fix them. He promised that all would be fixed at the appropriate time.

21 Magobei told me that Kiemon-dono, who has a reputation of being a kind-hearted man, had [the head of] one of his servants – in fact the man who prepared his tea – chopped off. The reason for this was that this man had been slow to respond to the command of a bugger boy and for this the latter had discredited him with his master.

22 Fine weather with a northerly breeze. Nothing happened.

23 Two *bongioisen*, one of Kiemon-dono and the other of the Lord of Hirado, brought two noble children to enjoy themselves on the billiard table and in the garden. They were properly entertained. Afterwards I learnt that they were the children of Hirado's wife and brother.

24 In the afternoon it rained with a south-easterly breeze. Nothing happened.

25 Hachizaemon reminded me of the 50 tael which I had promised him, as has been mentioned on 20 November. He wants to spend a few days at the hot baths in Arima to improve his health.

70 I handed him the money. He expressed his gratitude and said that never before had such a thing happened. This was the first time that the interpreters had received something out of the ordinary. He reminded me of the governor's offer of the 20th of going out for a walk. He advised me to make use of the offer at the first opportunity to show that we appreciated the gesture of good will. I promised I would do so. The interpreter kept repeating that this favour had never been requested but the governor had granted it freely because of his beneficent feelings towards us. This shows how these interpreters have worked against my predecessors on other occasions in the past and I trust that they are still doing so now daily.

26–27 Nothing happened.

28 Sukezaemon told me that construction of the seven batteries, which have been mentioned several times before, has been finished by the Lord of Hirado yesterday. Today they were handed over to Governor Kiemon on behalf of the Shogun. Four batteries are situated level on the eastern side of the

bay and three on the western side. It is said that the Lord of Hirado has paid around ten chests of silver for the work, in spite of labour being cheap. When required, the cannon will be placed on top of them. 29–30 Cold, inclement weather. Nothing happened.

May

1 Last night, without my knowledge, the subordinates erected a couple of maypoles outside my window. This has been done several times in the past. When the governor saw them, he sent the *otona*, Denbyōe and Sukezaemon to ask for the meaning of this.

71 Were they signs of Christianity, in particular the Portuguese? I told them that such poles were erected by my countrymen around this time of year for two or three days to signal that summer had arrived and that the leaves were growing. Such maypoles are also erected when something good had to be celebrated. It was more of a temporal superstition than a religious one, if it could be called such. Should the governor wish to have them removed, we would do so without fail. They went to report to the governor and on their return they said that the governor had replied that if this was their signification, the poles could remain. But in future we should inform the governor before doing anything out of the ordinary. This clearly shows how bitterly they remain opposed to anything Christian.

2–3 Warm, summer weather with southerly winds. Nothing happened.

4 Today the maypoles were removed. We let them stand this long on the advice of the interpreters to avoid arousing the governor's suspicion that they were a religious superstition by removing them hurriedly.

5–8 Fine weather with southerly winds. Nothing happened. The repairs to the warehouses are progressing smoothly.

9 Hachizaemon returned from his trip to Arima last night. He had gone to greet Governor Kiemon and he told me that there were still discussions going on in Edo about the *pancado* of the Chinese white raw silk. The Nagasaki *burgemeester* Sakuemon, who

had seen the Shogun's countenance, was waiting for the decision.

72 Several Chinese, who have sold their piece-goods and are incurring great expenses every day, had requested the governor leave to return to China with their junks, which are lying ready to sail in the bay, because the northern monsoon has passed and the southerly winds have begun to blow. They are willing to leave the raw silk in the hands of those who are remaining behind. In this way they want to reduce the excessive expenses which are consuming their profits. But the governor had refused and has kept them back, saying that a decision from the Court on the silk was expected any day now. They should be patient. The governor had asked him whether we were expecting many ships this year with large cargoes. The interpreter had replied that as far as he knew we were expecting the usual number, but considering the fact that the Chinese are being held back here a larger quantity than in previous years might be brought from Tayouan, because he expected that the Chinese would carry their silk there in the coming season. The governor also asked if we were expecting more silk than last year from Bengal and if the war with the English might be a hindrance. The interpreter had replied that our trade with Bengal was carried on in India and the war was waged in Europe, which were far apart. He expected that a goodly quantity would be brought from Bengal. At eight o'clock in the evening we felt an earthquake.

10 Today we went out for a walk under the guise of looking for herbs. This really does not amount to much, because we do not walk through the main streets of Nagasaki, which we can see from on top of the mountains, but along the worst part of the city up to the mountain, where we enjoy a meal in a temple. From there we are led straight back to Deshima. Our escorts are two common soldiers from the governor's guards, who are given the title of *onderbongioisen*, for whose sake, it is said,

73 and which is the worst part of it, our interpreters are embarrassed to be seen walking with us in public. Therefore I decided that Hachizaemon must have requested the governor for this favour, although

he denies it, and that the governor has not granted this to us out of benevolence, as mentioned on the 20th of last month. It think that such pleasures only contribute to the contempt for our people and should be excused, unless the governors are served by this, which I do not believe. I do believe that the governors think that they show us a great courtesy. During our walk we passed the temple in which the great Chinese priest is staying. We viewed the building and were treated to tea. We had a meal at the customary place and we returned home, where we find more enjoyment in one hour than we find during an entire day on an outing like this.

11–12 Heavy rain with strong southerly winds.

13 Fine weather with a north-westerly wind. I went on an inspection tour around the island to admonish those landlords who are found wanting to carry out the necessary repairs to the warehouses and living quarters.

14–16 Variable weather, nothing happened.

17 Sukezaemon told me that the governor has allowed several Chinese to leave. Five of Coxinga's junks are loading at present to be ready to sail to Fuzhou and Anhai at the first opportunity. I intend sending a letter to Tayouan in spite of Magobei's opinion that it will not be delivered but thrown overboard.

74 18 Fine summer weather.

19 Heavy rain with a south-easterly wind.

20 North-westerly wind, the weather more pleasant.

21 Three junks set sail to Fuzhou.

22 Another of Coxinga's junks set sail to Anhai. Like the other three junks it is loaded with cotton wadding, hemp cloth and knickknacks. I shall send a letter to Tayouan with the last junk, which is now loading and whose skipper is a civil man, according to Magobei. In the afternoon the interpreters and the *otona* came to Deshima on the orders of the governor to await his private secretary who was on his way to us. They did not know the reason. They told me that news had come from Edo that the Shogun had abolished the *pancado* of the Chinese white raw silk. He had done this after much deliberation on account of the complaints of the Japanese

merchants, as I mentioned on 16 March. They had requested to be allowed to pay less than last year's *pancado* for the 1300–1400 piculs of silk imported by the Chinese and Coxinga's junks in particular. They claimed that 200 chests of silver would not compensate them for the loss they would suffer. The Court had frowned at this request because this order had been issued fifty years ago by Ōgoshosama,¹⁵ the Shogun's great-grandfather, and had been enforced by Taitokuin-sama¹⁶ and Daiyūin-sama¹⁷ and the present Shogun¹⁸ to this day. The merchants had derived great profits from this measure and now that it happened that they might gain little or suffer some loss at worst they came to seek redress at Court without any reason or right. But measures would be taken to solve their problem. However, the Chinese, who had come here to sell their silk in the usual way in the *pancado*, should not be made to suffer on account of this.

- 75 Therefore, to prevent people from saying that both charity and justice had abandoned Edo, the Shogun had decided to accept the silk at last year's price, that is 460 taels per picul for the *cabessa*, 430 taels for the *bariga* and 400 taels for the *pee*, and to abolish the *pancado*. Five hundred to six hundred chests of silver from the Shogun's treasure in Osaka are expected here any day to pay for the silk. Governor Yohyōe had been given leave by the Court on the 4th instant and he will arrive here shortly to share office with his colleague. After our interpreters had been here for an hour, the governor's secretaries Goffij and Boffij came with three *burgemeesters* and a large suite. The errand on which they came was to convey Chikugo-no-kami's orders issued to Governor Kiemon to secure warehouses for the provisional storage of the Shogun's newly-purchased silk. Therefore, with many compliments, they requested that I point out one to them. I replied in the same vein and told them that they could select one or more. I had several godowns opened on the

eastern side of the island. They inspected several places and finally they selected the largest one, N° x, in which the Siamese leather is principally stored. I would have preferred that they had selected other warehouses where the silk would be better preserved and we would not be inconvenienced. There was nothing we could do about it, because it was for His Majesty. They said goodbye and left. In the evening, on behalf of Kiemon-dono, the *otona* came with three or four interpreters. Sukezaemon said they wanted to sound me out.

- 76 Did we feel badly incommoded considering we would be deprived of the use of two or three warehouses – for one was already taken up by the rigging – for the Shogun's goods? After all, we paid an annual rent of 5500 taels for the whole island and the Shogun should contribute a part. In that case the governor – so Sukezaemon claimed – would store the silk elsewhere, but this would result in disgrace instead of honour being showered upon us for storing the Shogun's goods. They would like my thoughts on this, so that they could report to the governor. We took into consideration that we were in a country where we have no say at all but where we have to yield to this nation's customs, especially because it is an order from Chikugo-no-kami. Furthermore, the warehouses are not always occupied. Indeed, those that are situated further away remain empty. Moreover, the silk will not be stored here for a long period but will be carried to Osaka. I replied that the courtesy that was required of us, to seek honour but with a loss, was of a princely kind and not the style of merchants. But in order to retain the goodwill of the Shogun and the lesser lords towards us, we could not demand any rent for the warehouse from the Shogun, who allows us to trade in his country from sheer benevolence. Yea, should one hair on my head have entertained any such thought, I would pull it out. However, I was concerned about the fact that the silk would not be protected against damage in the warehouse that had been selected, in view of the fact that it lay in the course of the southerly winds, which would cause the silk to suck up the dampness of the soil during the rainy season. There was also the danger of a hurricane like the one in

15 Tokugawa Ieyasu.

16 Tokugawa Hidetada.

17 Tokugawa Iemitsu.

18 Tokugawa Ietsuna.

1650 flooding the island. Moreover, the warehouses which lay further away were less in danger of fire
 77 than those which were situated near all the hustle and bustle. Should there be an accident of any sort – God forbid – this would heap disgrace upon our nation instead of honour. To prevent this – and also because we cannot spare warehouse N^o x – I offered them the use of two or three attics which were not being used, where the silk would be more secure than downstairs. They went to report to the governor.

23 At sunrise the same gentlemen came accompanied by the Shogun's intendant, Heizō. They inspected other attics for storage of the silk. They selected five. The interpreters told me that the governor had been very pleased when they relayed my concerns about His Majesty's silk to him last night. We can tell that this is true, seeing that yesterday the secretaries chose a warehouse in a grandiose manner without consulting us and now they have to select others instead. They left without wishing to partake of any refreshments. About an hour later the *otona* and Sukezaemon – who had been summoned by Kiemon-dono – came to inform me that the silk will be delivered to our auction house where it will be weighed. The Chinese will be given instructions not to venture beyond that place. We should also obey the Shogun's mandate not to have any intercourse with these people – which the difference in language already precludes. I sent for all the subordinates and in their presence I instructed them not to go anywhere near the auction house for whatever reason.

78 We do not wish to get into trouble with the Japanese, who are very sensitive, because of such trivialities. In the afternoon they began to weigh the silk and 84 piculs were delivered.

24 Fine weather with a southerly wind. 280 piculs of silk have been weighed.

25 345 piculs have been weighed.

26 380 piculs have been weighed. The governor has informed the Chinese that they have to leave as soon as the silk has been delivered and has been paid for. Should the southerly wind prevent them from sailing, they can anchor below the islands at the end of

the bay and wait there for a favourable wind. I had invited the three *burgemeesters*, who supervise the delivery of the silk, to some refreshments in our garden. They could not accept the invitation and I sent some wine and *sakana* to the auction house.

27 Around ten o'clock the governor came to have a look at the weighing of the silk. By the time I had been told and had gone downstairs to greet him, he had already left. In all, 1316 piculs of white raw silk have been delivered against 541,536 tael [specified prices for three grades]. In spite of the prices for the first and second grades each being 20 taels per picul higher than those the Company receives and for the third grade being 30 taels per picul higher, the Chinese are nonetheless unhappy because they had to give a bonus of 2 catties on each weighing and when it appeared that the silk was inferior in the eyes of the Japanese,

79 they had to give an additional bonus of 7 per cent. Because the silk is designated for His Majesty, they cannot complain. One can easily imagine the displeasure of the sellers. I would hope that this will make them give up Japan and that they will take their commodities to Tayouan to sell them there as in the past. This would be beneficial to the Company.

28 Last night there was a gale from the south with rain which lasted till midday. Then the storm abated. They began to sort and weigh the silk.

29 Fair weather with a southerly breeze. They continued to sort the silk. This is being done in the quarters of the incoming *opperhoofd*. Every day three Nagasaki *burgemeesters* and one each from Osaka and Miyako attend the proceedings, during which we treat them to wine and *sakana* to nourish their goodwill towards the Company.

30 As before.

31 Westerly wind, the weather clear. No silver has been brought as yet to pay for the silk bought by His Majesty. It is said that on the 22nd instant, the same day that the news arrived here about the abrogation of the *pancada*, *hayafune* or fast vessels had left Osaka with the silver. Orders have been issued all along the route that wherever these *hayafune* anchored, they should be given all the assistance they might need, on penalty of severe punishment.

Weather and wind permitting, the silver is expected here any day. As far as the Chinese are concerned, news had been dispatched to Edo about their stay or departure, while the monsoon is here. A reply is expected soon.

June

1 The Chinese are selling their piece-goods. Kichibyōe, the oldest interpreter, whom I had not seen since my trip to Edo because of his poor health, came today to congratulate me on my performance at Court, so he said.

80 2–3 Steady rain with southerly winds. Nothing happened.

4–5 Rather cold. Many people are saying that the duration of the cold has not been as long as this for many years.

6 In order to retain the governor's goodwill towards the Company, I treat the *burgemeesters*, who supervise the sorting of the Shogun's silk here on the island, apart from the first *burgemeester*, Sakuemon-dono, who has not yet returned from Edo, to wine and *sakana* every day. I also go there personally to greet them every other day, sometimes more often, for it is a fact that everything that goes on here during the day is reported to the governor in the evening. In confirmation of the abominable and lecherous nature of the Japanese, of which mention has been made before, I cannot refrain from relating what just happened. This morning I sent my servant or rather our table attendant to the *burgemeesters* with some brandy, Spanish wine and *sakana* in view of the cold, unpleasant and rainy weather. I also sent them my regards, for I had been to see them yesterday. Without any embarrassment and in a most shameful manner, which for decency's sake I find impossible to describe on paper, they tried to find out by pointing and questioning him, whether young buggers were kept in Holland and if this practice was carried out with impunity, as in Japan. This servant had replied – there was one among them who understood some Portuguese – that in our country such abomination was punished by burning at the stake. Whereupon these Japanese men smiled derisively and wondered how it was

possible that the Dutchmen could control their carnal desires without resorting to this practice, for they had not heard of any whores visiting Deshima.

81 Such is the conversation in which these fine *burgemeesters* usually engage, which they either utter in scorn of our nation, because they hate Christendom intensely, or because they do not know better, which I do not suspect is the case, because the old papers clearly describe the arrogant artifice of the Japanese. They think that they surpass the whole world in wisdom and we have to stand at attention with our hats in our hands to them and to the *bongioisen*.

7 Fine summer weather with southerly wind. Nothing happened.

8 The long expected silver, consisting of 550 chests of silver to pay for the silk which His Majesty has bought, has finally arrived here safely on two barges, escorted by nine *hayafune*, seven *kobaya* and some smaller vessels.

9 Today is the 5th day of the 5th Japanese month, *Gogatsu gonichi*, an age-old holiday commemorating a victory won against the Chinese, who had sought to conquer the country with a great army, but who had perished through divine intervention with thousands of junks between Hirado and Yobuko. It is also celebrated to commemorate the end of the Osaka War, which ended on this day with the Shogun victorious. And lest anyone forget, every house which has sons flies as many flags as there are sons. The Chinese have also been celebrating since the beginning of this month, that is for five days, with a multitude of vessels sailing in the sea. Some of the rowers are dressed in red, some in blue and others in white. The vessels are decorated with pennants and greenery and they keep shouting '*Pelope*',¹⁹ whose meaning is explained by the interpreters in various ways.

10–11 Three of the Shogun's confidants
82 in Osaka Castle, who have brought the Shogun's silver here, came to see the Dutchmen with Governor Kiemon. I entertained them to the best of my ability and after they had viewed everything, they left

19 '*Peiron, peiron*'. This is the Pelong Festival.

seemingly pleased. Governor Kiemon presented a fine example of how little a Japanese accepts any contradiction or how loath he is to correct his own mistake. With some Japanese compliments I offered him a crystal rummer in which the servant poured some Spanish wine. His Honour drank some and gave some to the Osaka *bongiois*, saying that it was a very fine tent wine. The *bongiois* had never tasted this before and accepted the governor's statement. A short while later I had some tent wine poured for His Honour and I had Magobei tell him that this was tent wine and what he had previously tasted was Spanish wine. His Honour tasted some and declared that this was delicious wine and so forth. Therefore the Spanish wine had to remain tent wine and this time the tent wine had to pass off as Spanish wine.

12 The baker has been making the bread that he bakes for the Company too light by one-sixth and sometimes even more. I have reproached him for this several times and today I sent for him. I told him that if he does not care to make the bread of the appropriate weight of 6.5 taels each and one hundred for 1 tael of silver, we would find someone else who would. He offered a feeble excuse, claiming that the price of wheat had been rather high for some time and he would pay better attention in future. In order to prevent any further occurrence of being sold short I ordered the dispenser in his presence that they both should weigh the bread when it was delivered every day and to make a note of the weight. He could bake the bread as light or as heavy as he wished, but we would pay him 1 tael of silver for $40^{5/8}$ catties of bread, according to contract. In this way the Company would not be cheated.

83 13 The *burgemeesters* who are still supervising the sorting of the Shogun's silk every other day let me know that they would like to taste some Dutch food some day. Yesterday and today I treated them to some kid meat. This has to be done so that we Dutchmen do not appear too loathsome in the eyes of the Japanese. Tiscking Oijschio, the senior priest in the province of Kaga and the seducer of the Shogun's sister's soul, came to visit us today with a large entourage. He spent an hour and left without partaking of any refreshments.

14 The Chinese who have been paid for their silk and who have been told to leave have remonstrated with Governor Kiemon that it is impossible. His reply was that it was the Shogun's order and they have to leave the city and the roadstead. They could remain at the end of the bay below the islands there and wait for favourable weather. They should be ready at the first spring tide.

15–17 Fine weather with southerly winds. We received news that the new *Dairi* has been inducted in his city on 18 May and orders have been issued throughout the empire to use his reign mark from now on. Magobei told me that several copper merchants had asked him whether the Company would be buying any copper this year. He had told them that he was not certain but he expected that it would be the same as last year. Magobei said that we could wait for a month before buying any copper or camphor because more and more of these commodities are arriving in the city every day. But there is no news about the sheet-copper, mentioned on 20 March, from which we conclude that they are not interested.

18–20 The sorting of the packs of silk has come to an end. 1362 packs of 50 catties each

84 have been loaded on four barges and they will be transported to Osaka shortly. There they will be kept as the last resort in case of shortages. The remaining 1361 packs have been stored here on Deshima in three attics till further orders from the Court. The doors have been sealed and the warehouses below, which we need when the ships arrive, have been locked by two of the governor's secretaries. It would have been decent had the *burgemeesters*, whom I have treated to food and drink from start to finish, come to my house to thank me for my courtesy, but it does not seem possible for them to do so. The *bongioisen* were also present. Therefore, if I wished to receive any thanks from them, I should go there myself. I respectfully told the *bongioisen*, which was my main aim, that we would need those lower warehouses in the trading season. Their reply was that they were locked to safeguard the silk. When our ships arrived and we needed them, we just had to inform the governor and he would not refuse the

use of them. There had been an overweight of 4531 catties, almost 3½ per cent, after they had weighed the silk. I could not find out from the interpreters whether the Shogun will enjoy this benefit or other self-interested people. It was a wonder to behold the crowds of people engaged in taking delivery, sorting and packing this silk swarming all over this small island since 23 May from dawn till dusk.

21 The barges transporting the silk have left for Osaka. Several junks have sailed to the roadstead.

85 Overcast. In the evening it rained after having been dry for some days.

22 The same.

23–24 Fine summer weather. Several junks have sailed to the roadstead where they are taking on their cargoes.

25 Veering winds. Our island supervisor, the interpreters and their sons have been invited to dinner. We treated them to kid meat.

26 Our guests came to thank me for yesterday's treat.

27–28 Fine weather. Nothing happened.

29 Governor Yohyōe has returned from Edo. He was welcomed in a very stately way in this country's manner by the Lord of Hirado and other noblemen, who arrived for this purpose two days ago, so it is said. It started to rain in the evening.

30 An easterly storm blew accompanied by rain. Nonetheless, Denbyōe and Sukezaemon, who were awaited by Hachizaemon and Magobei at the gate and by Kichibyōe at the governor's house, announced that they would go to Governor Yohyōe to welcome him on my behalf. They went as soon as the rain stopped. Shortly after, Hachizaemon and Magobei came to tell me that Yohyōe-dono had been pleased and had said that he would like to see the captain in three or four days. In the afternoon the weather cleared and the wind veered south-westerly. The Chinese have been remonstrating with Governor Kiemon that it is impossible for them to sail at this time of year, for the wind keeps blowing from the south. Even should they be able to sail in the morning when an offshore wind blows from the north for a couple of hours, when they were out at sea they would not be able to make any progress but they would be forced to sail back to Japan;

86 in case of a storm they would be in danger of losing life and goods. Some are even said to have claimed that they would prefer to be killed by the governor rather than sail under such conditions. The governor realized the truth of this and finally, with the help of a few Japanese merchants in Osaka and by pleading and begging, they managed to achieve that they are allowed to remain in Nagasaki until the 9th Japanese month. Thereupon they unloaded their junks, about twenty of them, and stored them away. I would have liked to send a letter to Tayouan to inform them of the abrogation of the *pancado* and about the Company's state of affairs here, but as no junks have sailed to the China Coast since we received that tiding, there is no one to take it.

July

1 Fine weather. Nothing happened.

2 The governor's secretaries came to inspect the Shogun's silk to see whether the rats had caused any damage. To prevent this, the attics where the silk is stored will be covered with fine, sturdy boards. Today they started on this work. This is a sign that the silk will not be removed in the near future.

3 Nothing happened.

4 A junk arrived from Nanking. This is the first vessel arriving here on the present southern monsoon. Its cargo consists of medicines and some knick-knacks. It has been unloaded and beached.

5–6 Fine summer weather. In the morning the wind blows from the north, but in the afternoon it veers southerly.

7 The Lord of Arima arrived in Nagasaki to welcome Governor Yohyōe. The interpreters went to ask his secretary whether we could also greet the governor personally. The reply was that it was not possible today, but tomorrow it would be convenient.

87 8 Around ten o'clock I went to the house of Yohyōe through the rain. After a short wait His Honour appeared. In Japanese fashion I told him that I was happy that I was able to see him again here in Nagasaki after I had seen him in Edo. He thanked me and said that he was pleased that we were all healthy and well. He continued that the ships should arrive soon and we should be able to begin trading soon after. I replied that His Honour

had promoted my early dispatch by the Shogun when I was in Edo and therefore I did not doubt that our business would also be carried out satisfactorily with his help. He replied that all would be well. Yesterday I discussed with the *otona* and Sukezaemon that should Yohyōe mention the ships of his own accord, we would remind His Honour of the promise made in Edo concerning the matter of leaving the ships' hatches unsealed. They raised many objections, but finally they agreed, although they said that it was not a Japanese custom to present any requests when one went to greet an official. I experienced confirmation of this. When Yohyōe spoke of the arrival of the ships and the trading season, I indicated to Magobei, who was translating instead of Sukezaemon, that he should now mention leaving the ships' hatches unsealed. He replied that that was impossible. The governor noticed that the interpreter and I were having words and asked what the captain said. Magobei said nothing, then he said that the captain was expressing his pleasure about having seen the governor. We rose and went to the house of his colleague Kiemon-sama.

88 I stated that the reason for my visit was to thank His Honour for the favour extended to us several weeks ago to go out into the city and up the mountains for a walk. But instead of this Magobei translated that the captain had personally been to welcome Yohyōe and he had come to greet His Honour on this occasion as well. The governor thanked me and we returned home through the rain. The reason that no mention was made of the ships' hatches at Yohyōe's was that Japanese etiquette does not allow one to present a request or a complaint when one goes to greet a high official – for it is considered such an occasion. One should do this on another occasion after one has received permission, for gentlemen of such rank, especially these governors, wish to know beforehand why anyone appears before them so that they can be ready and decisive in their responses. With regard to the wrong compliments being conveyed to Kiemon-sama, I have been told that the reason for this is that these two governors, who would rather see each other's back, are very envious of each other. Because the reason of our going out was to welcome Yohyōe-sama,

Japanese etiquette dictates that we could not on the same occasion thank Kiemon-sama for the favour he extended towards us. Should we wish to go to express our thanks, we should ask permission first. This is the way in which this nation keeps everyone in its place, foreigners in particular. When Magobei visited me in the afternoon, I asked him if he had conveyed my compliments to Kiemon-sama as I had asked him. He said that he had, but I asserted that he had not and had acted as mentioned above. He replied that this was true, but that he had also mentioned what I had asked in two or three words. He said that here in Japan the interpreters could not express everything that the captains wished them to say. From these examples of little import one can gauge how important matters are dealt with.

89 9 A junk from Anhai arrived. It brought news that the four junks which left here on 21–22 May had arrived safely and that it had come to Coxinga's notice that the heads of the five shogunal cities refused to accept the Chinese white raw silk at last year's *pancado*, for which reason those people had been kept back by the Governors of Nagasaki to wait for the decision from Edo and after they had left twenty-two junks were still waiting here. This news had enraged Coxinga and he had forbidden a single thread of white raw silk to be carried to Japan on penalty of death. He had dispatched seven junks hither, whose cargoes merely consist of white sugar, some silk piece-goods, a batch of drugs and medicines. We shall note it hereafter in due course. Coxinga is supposed to have sent 500 piculs of white raw Chinese silk to Tayouan for sale to the Dutch. May the Lord grant that this is true and that the Company has bought it and sent it hither. For if indeed the Chinese do not import any raw silk this year, the Company's imports will find an even better market. Many people think, and this is borne out by this news, that it turned out for the better that the letter that we wanted to send to Tayouan, mentioned on 17 and 22 May, was not sent, for considering the contents of that letter, which mentioned the sober state of the silk trade, the Governor of Tayouan might have taken into consideration the 1316 [sic] piculs of white raw silk being left unsold and he might have been reluctant to purchase any

silk and send it hither fearing that it would not make a profit. But things have turned out differently and I hope that through divine intervention this will have its effect in Tayouan. They did not know whether Batavia had sent a new mission to Canton or whether an envoy had been sent to Peking.

90 They did know that the war in China was continuing, that Coxinga himself had razed the castle at Zhangzhou to the ground to prevent his enemy from settling there and that rice was being sold for 15 rixdollars a picul on account of the shortage.

10–12 Summer weather. Four of Coxinga's junks have arrived in the roadstead. They did not bring any white raw silk.

13 The Shogun's silk has been temporarily stored in other godowns so that the walls of the attics can be covered with sound boards. A few of the Company servants went to the other side of the bay with the governors' permission to inspect the sampans which will be put to water at the next spring tide. The sampans had not been damaged, just some seams had opened in a few places through the heat of the sun. The carpenter will repair them.

14 It has been one year since I left Batavia to come here.

15 Fine summer weather with a southerly breeze. One of Coxinga's junks arrived in the roadstead. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon has finally returned from Edo. I learnt that the Chinese white raw silk is being sold at 530 taels a picul in Miyako.

16 Variable winds, overcast. Before my trip to Edo I had given the carpenter who ordinarily works for the Company on Deshima, 100 taels of silver on the recommendation of the island supervisor to purchase seasoned timber from which he should construct sturdy money and copper chests of one size. My intention was to prevent any thefts of the Company's silver by weighing the full chests of silver on the *daats* and shipping them off to the masters and the merchants. The carpenter had promised to supply the chests in time.

91 All are now ready, namely 2000 copper chests and 300 money chests. When we weighed each of the 300 money chests, we found that they were not of an equal weight as agreed, but varied between

7–9 catties. When I addressed the carpenter about this, he timidly replied that he had indeed received money from the captain, but he had not constructed a single one of the 2300 chests. They had been made by ten different carpenters who were in favour with the *otona* and the interpreters. This was the reason that the chests were not of an equal weight. However, he would remake the money chests so that they would weigh between 8–9 catties each. He requested me not to let on to the *otona* and the interpreters that he had told me this to avoid being punished by them.

17 A junk arrived from Anhai. We have learnt that the Shogun's silk had arrived in Osaka Castle. It had been stored in a newly-prepared warehouse.

18–20 Strong southerly and south-westerly winds. It is now high tide and the four sampans have been put to water. The warehouses have been cleaned. The interpreters told me that the Chinese are selling their sugar at 88 mas per picul.

21–22 Continuation of the southerly and westerly winds, with hazy skies. Showers. Nothing happened.

23 It is time to begin thinking of buying copper and camphor. Yesterday I sent for Magobei and he came today to discuss this. I urged him to attend to the purchase of both species. We had resolved to buy 2000 piculs of copper and 200 piculs of camphor at a fair price before the arrival of the ships, which we are expecting any day now.

92 He replied that the principal merchants had not yet arrived, but he expected them together with our Osaka landlord, Shirōemon, who will bring the one hundred silk gowns which we have ordered. But he was willing to send a note to Osaka to these merchants to remind them to bring the goods here in time. However, as several barges carrying copper had foundered on their way here, he claimed that the copper would not be available at last year's price, but would be more expensive. He had no knowledge of the camphor, for the former supplier had quit. I should leave the matter to Sukezaemon, who, he said could take care of it. I asked for the *otona* and the interpreters to come tomorrow to let them know our intentions. Magobei also told me that Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami was dissatisfied

with him, because this year several rarities had been taken to Edo for certain individuals without his knowledge. He and his two mates, Denbyōe and Sukezaemon, have been declared unreliable, but Hachizaemon was a sincere man. This makes me suspect that this is the reason why he has given up on procuring copper and camphor in order to avoid causing more displeasure. For should anyone wish to claim that he does not act in his own interests to the detriment of the Company, it is disproved by his mercantile manner, which does not behove an interpreter, and of which he gave an example in Edo recently when he bought several European goods which we had given away or sold, brought them back here and sold them to the Chinese. We heard this partly from his own mouth and also in confidence from others. Here I shall elaborate on this matter and not only mention those persons who are in disfavour at Court because of their inadequate service and circuitous ways

93 but also warn against him whom we regarded as trustworthy, so that it becomes clear how the captains are being led by the nose to the detriment of the Company. It appears that when Magobei travelled with us to Edo, he carried along various goods and rarities either on his own account or that of others, for he is a merchant at heart. He sold these items or gave them away. Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami did not find these items on the general list, which is usually handed to him on the captain's arrival. After our departure he must have investigated whence these items came, who had brought them and how these people came by them. As far as these people were aware, His Honour had been given a general list of all the items that our train had brought and he had chosen the items that he wanted. The rest could be sold off. They said that the items had been brought by the Dutch and the interpreter had sold these to them. Although Chikugo-no-kami had entertained some doubts about whether we had sold these items and others without his knowledge, he realized that we were unable to act without the interpreter. He considered that for the sake of self-interest Magobei must have stepped into the shoes of his disobedient mates

Denbyōe and Sukezaemon and had acted against the interests of His Majesty. For in 1650, when Denbyōe was in Edo with the pyrotechnist Juriaan Schedel, he privately wrote down how to make rockets against the orders of Chikugo-no-kami, which are the Shogun's orders. In 1653, when Sukezaemon was in Edo with Coyett he had taken a string of red coral to the house of the Lord of Odawara, where Mito-sama was present and also saw the string.

94 The string was returned to Sukezaemon. The next day Mito-sama summoned Sukezaemon and told him to bring any red coral that he might have. When Sukezaemon showed him the string, Mito-sama asked him whether anyone else had seen it. Sukezaemon was unaware that Mito-sama had seen it at the house of the Lord of Odawara and denied it. He claimed that His Honour was the first to see it. This lie infuriated Mito-sama to such a degree that Sukezaemon was in danger of getting his head chopped off. It is said that these are the main reasons why these men are out of favour at the Court. In the meantime, we hope that Chikugo-no-kami's displeasure will not affect the Company negatively but that it will be shown what great problems these transgressors cause us. Yesterday Denbyōe, who ran the risk of being deported, requested his dismissal from the governors in spite of being penniless and healthy. It would be welcome should the governors comprehend Chikugo-no-kami's letter and investigate these men thoroughly, so that this can serve as a rod, for as long as this is not disclosed, it will be impossible for the Company to remain here in peace without being defrauded.

24 The *otona* and the interpreters, with the exception of Denbyōe, came in the morning. I proposed to them, as I had done to Magobei yesterday, to purchase 2000 piculs of bar-copper and 200 piculs of camphor at a fair price before the ships arrive. They told me that a quantity of copper and one of the merchants, named Egunia Mangabe, were already in Nagasaki.

95 The other merchant, named Isummia Niemon, was still in Osaka or on his way hither. There would also be a supply of camphor. Sukezaemon promised to find out and to let me know tomorrow. The papers

which Chikugo-no-kami had handed me in Edo have been translated today. The one was the usual shogunal order against the popedom and the contents are as follows: The Dutch who have resided in Japan during the reigns of four Shoguns and who now live in Nagasaki, where they also trade, have been ordered not to be on friendly terms or ally themselves with any papists or Roman Catholics. Should they do so, this should be reported to the Governors of Nagasaki, in which case it will be taken well. However, should they fail to disclose this, then it will be taken amiss. Furthermore, should the Dutch in Batavia or elsewhere learn that the Portuguese, popish Christians or anyone else are planning any attacks on Japan, they should report this to the Nagasaki Governors. This will be regarded as an act of great courtesy towards the Japanese empire and will be to their honour. Edo, in the Year of the Goat, the 23rd day of the 1st month, which is 1 March 1655. The other paper concerned orders for beautiful things for Inaba Mino-sama, Lord of Odawara, Mizuno Bingo-no-kami, Andō Ukyō-sama and Chikugo-no-kami.

- 96 25 The *otona* and three interpreters announced that the Nagasaki Governors had granted Denbyōe's request and had dismissed him. Two young interpreters have been appointed, namely Nihiyōe, about 40 years old, a citizen of Nagasaki. He barely speaks Portuguese. He used to come to the island during the trading season to assist some of the subordinates in some matters or other. Therefore he is known to some of them and they think he is acceptable. His name is similar to that of Chikugo-no-kami's secretary²⁰ and he may not retain it, but will be called Nihiyōe in future. The other one is Shichibei, 23 years old and the son of the island supervisor. According to Japanese standards he speaks Dutch very well, he is a quiet man, sincere and devout. These two men may serve the Company well, unless they are poisoned by the old snake. They had come as well and I congratulated them. Chūjirō, who is suffering from consumption and has been reduced to a bag of

bones, has not shown himself on the island for several months. Should he recover his health, he will also become a young interpreter and be the third one. The governors had also said that every year one of these new interpreters will go to Edo together with one of the older ones to gain experience, for Sukezaemon and Magobei are growing old and new ones have to be trained. During the night one of Coxinga's junks arrived.

26 The Lord of Karatsu's goods have been aired and stored back in the warehouse. The Shogun's silk has also been returned to its former storage.

- 97 On behalf of Denbyōe, who is no longer allowed on the island, Kichibyōe came to greet me. He would come to say goodbye properly in the trading season when the island is open to everyone. Sukezaemon told me that no camphor had been brought to Nagasaki as yet. The copper merchants would come to negotiate on the price.

27–28 It is so hot and sultry that no one cares to go outside. No interpreters came.

29 Because the heads of the five shogunal cities, under whose supervision the Company's trade has always been conducted, will not come this year as the *pancado* has been abrogated, the *otona* and the interpreters are worried about who will be responsible for the proceedings. They asked us how we wished to trade so that we would not be made to suffer losses should any merchant refuse to accept the goods he had bought which would force us to auction them a second time. We replied that we had traded here in Nagasaki for fourteen years now under the supervision of the governors and it had always gone well. We relied on the governors to take care of it. They decided to confer and to put it to the governors in due time. Two piculs of Chinese white raw silk have been brought here in contravention of Coxinga's orders. Five hundred and twenty tael a picul have been offered for it, but it has not been sold yet. The Chinese man who took our letter to Tayouan last year has returned. He said that he had delivered it and that the Company has contracted for 200 piculs of raw silk for which it will pay with the first silver that arrives there from Japan, but he does not know the price.

20 Oeffioje.

98 30 Our interpreters have obtained permission from the governors to bring the copper merchants on the island. The governors have learnt that we wish to negotiate with several merchants and they will come tomorrow. Lipsien arrived in the roadstead. He left Anhai thirty days ago.

31 The *otona*, three old and two new interpreters came. They brought three copper merchants, of whom Egunia Mangobe is the most important. When we told them that we wished to purchase 2000 piculs of copper at a fair price before the ship's arrival, he began a long discourse on the low yield this year and that it could not be sold at last year's price. We replied that they could easily pull the wool over our eyes, for we are kept in prison here, but that did not matter. They wanted to sell something and should calculate at what price they wanted to sell and we would offer them a price at which we are willing to buy. They gave a quote of 13 taels per picul. We said that we could offer a bid of 7 taels, but bargaining in this way would be wasting precious time and this was not the Dutch way. They gave a quote of 12 taels. We replied that it was still too much and offered them 10 taels per picul, on the Company's *daats* and payable when the Company had money in its cash box. After some discussion they said that they would confer and would let us know their decision via the interpreters. A junk from Anhai has arrived.

August

99 1 Magobei told me that he had learnt from Lipsien, the Chinese, that all ships that left here last year had arrived in Tayouan safely. He confirmed that a large quantity of white raw silk had been carried to Tayouan and the Company was buying it up. The weather has been very hot with just a faint breeze. In the afternoon a fresh northerly wind rose.

2 Chūjirō has finally died of his wasting disease and the Company has been relieved of this future ballast.

3 A strong southerly wind bringing rain, for which the dry earth has been thirsting.

4 Our island supervisor and Sukezaemon came. I urged them to find out whether the copper

merchants had reached a decision. They promised they would so so.

5 One of Coxinga's junks arrived in the roadstead. At first we suspected that it hailed from Siam or Cambodia, because twice it fired twelve times, which is exceptional, but later we learnt that it sailed from Anhai twenty days ago, but on its way here it had been becalmed. This leads us to think that this is the reason that none of the Company's ships has appeared thus far.

6 The *otona* and the interpreters announced that they had spoken to the copper merchants but that they insisted on 12 taels a picul.

100 However, Magobei expects that they might be induced to accept 11.5 taels or less. This would be 1 tael more than last year. The Chinese have sent a deputy to Osaka in vain. They could not reach an agreement on 8.5 taels per picul for crude copper. We suspect that their eagerness – the price of 14.5 reals which they received in Batavia last year seems to have whetted their appetite – has contributed to the price rise. We shall have to pay 11.5 taels or thereabouts for the 2000 piculs to avoid setting the refiners against us. They have undertaken this work at the Company's request and we do not want them to quit or to complain to the governors.

7 Two junks from Anhai arrived.

8 Nothing happened.

9 Shichibei, the young interpreter, informed me that Kiemon's secretary had told him that the governor had received tidings that a Dutch sail had been spotted but that it was still far out at sea. I would be told when the ship approached. I also heard that Shirōemon, our Osaka landlord, has arrived. In the evening the wind veered northerly, but according to the Japanese it was dead calm out at sea.

10 Two junks from Anhai arrived.

11 Two more junks arrived from Amoy. They had been underway for twenty days, but they had not seen any Dutch sails. Thus the tidings we received two days ago must have referred to these junks. Nonetheless, the Chinese claim that a Dutch ship from Batavia had arrived in Tayouan.

101 12 With the governors' permission the hundred silk gowns for the fatherland and some provisions

for this factory have been delivered onto the island by our Osaka landlord. On inspection we found that the gowns matched the samples.

13 Same weather. Nothing happened.

14 Last night at sunset it started to rain. In the afternoon it dried up and on a westerly wind one of Coxinga's junks arrived in the roadstead.

15 A dispatch boat arrived on a fresh westerly wind with the news that a white sail had been spotted at sea. But because the governors were not at home, we could not receive confirmation. The *otona* and the interpreters came to rejoice with us. They said that the people in the city were jubilant about the arrival of our ships. However, sadly our hope was dashed when instead of a ship one of Coxinga's junks carrying a top sail arrived in the roadstead.

16 Last night a junk from Patani arrived. Like the ones before it had been becalmed at sea, on account of which it had been underway forty-five days. The Chinese are spreading the rumour that three Dutch ships had taken five of Coxinga's junks and one junk from Cambodia. Nobody believes this. Today is the seventh Japanese full moon and the third day of their *Bon* Festival or Feast of the Dead. For three days these heathens, both men and women, go to the graves of their deceased in the evening to offer them water and rice. In order to see their graves better – we think – they place a candle or lamp in a paper lantern, which some of them let burn for 10–11 hours. This presents a marvellous sight, because the graves are situated up on the mountains.

102 17 The wind is still westerly, but at sunset it became dead quiet. Several Japanese priests came on the island with the governors' permission. They feasted their eyes and we treated them to a glass of tent wine.

18 Another of Coxinga's junks has arrived from Amoy.

19 Yesterday it was a year to the day that I arrived here from Batavia on the *Kalf* and found two ships, from Siam and Tayouan, in the roadstead. Every day junks arrive but none of the Company's ships. This is very distressing, especially because there are just two months left till the day of my departure.

May the good Lord grant that they arrive safely. The entire city of Nagasaki is upset about the late arrival of the ships. The governors have been asking the interpreters every day whether the captain has an explanation for this. This shows that they are very concerned, but so far they have not ordered the interpreters to put this question to me on their behalf. The interpreters cannot walk the streets without being stopped and questioned about the cause of this delay. The people wonder whether any Dutch ships will arrive this year. Our *otona* and the interpreters have even gone to their priests or sorcerers to ask why the Dutch ships are so late. These priests had said – so Sukezaemon told me –

103 that all was well and that they expected the ships in three or four days. May the Great Pilot and Ruler of all guide them and arm us with patience and endurance amidst this warped race. Today the wind blew from the west and there was some rain.

20 A junk from Quinam, with top sails and studing sails, arrived in the roadstead.

21 Another junk arrived from Quinam. I learnt that both junks belong to Coxinga. The governors sent three interpreters to show me a dried leaf, which had served as a mark on a package. Six to eight Moorish letters or characters had been written on it with ink. They asked if we could read it and what kind of writing it was. When we told them that we could not read it but thought that it was Moorish writing, it was all right. The governors had thought that it was Portuguese and had this indeed been the case, both the people and the goods on the junk on which it was found, would have been in dire straits and their mates would have to face insufferable problems.

22 Fine weather.

Arrival of the *Arnemuiden*

23 At eight o'clock in the morning the governors had the interpreters inform us that they had received tidings of a Dutch ship out at sea. We could send a barge. I promptly sent two Dutchmen with a letter of instruction not to contravene any of the Japanese orders. But the ship was still far out to sea and they only reached her in the evening. Around

midnight they were back in the lodge. They told me that it was the yacht the *Arnemuiden*, dispatched by Governor Cæsar from Tayouan or the Pescadores, where she took on her cargo.

104 The ship had been dispatched by Senior Merchant Van den Eijnden with a cargo worth 28,753 guilders consisting of white sugar and hides. Although it was past midnight, the interpreters noted down the cargo to report to the governors. Governor Cæsar's letters of the 3rd instant and the papers informed us that all ships which sailed from here last year had arrived safely in the roadstead of Tayouan below the northern reef, but four other ships, namely the *Vrede*, the *Utrecht*, the *Tayouan* and the *Lam* had perished. This is regrettable and we hope that the Lord will safeguard the Company from other disasters and give us an excellent trade to make up for these losses.

24 The interpreters came to note the following news for the governors who will send it to Edo, namely the peace between our nation and the English, the foundering of the flute the *Lam*, which had been sent here last year, and the *Vrede*. We had already received news of the loss of the other two ships last year. No white silk had been carried to Tayouan, therefore we cannot expect any from there or from Tonkin because of the low profits. Pernambuco in Brazil has been taken from us by the Portuguese. The *Arnemuiden* reached the roadstead in the afternoon in spite of a fresh sea wind blowing off the islands. I went on board and mustered the crew. The ordinance with the rules and regulations which everyone has to follow was read out and affixed. It is incredible how happy the Nagasaki population was with the arrival of this ship. The Japanese priests have hit the nail right on the head with their prediction mentioned on the 19th. This strengthens them even more in their heathen superstitions.

105 25 We have begun to unload the *Arnemuiden*. All the hides have been brought on shore as well as a batch of sugar. Because it is now time to remind the governors of the matter of leaving the ship's hatches unsealed, I sent for the interpreters. They promised to put the matter before the governors and now that the *pancado* has been abrogated and

the trading season is about to begin, they would also ask for the warehouses to be left unsealed as well. On their return a short while later they reported that the governors had been together and they had presented our requests. The governors' reply had been that it would be too great a problem for them to grant that the ships' hatches be left unsealed, but with regard to the warehouses on Deshima, considering that the period for trading would be very short, they could allow the *otona* and the landlords to seal the warehouses and not the *bongioisen*, so that the captain could go in and out as he pleased. They went to thank the governors for this favour. I was told that Magobei had reminded Yohyōe of his promise in Edo and that we were hoping that it would take effect. The governor had replied that last year we had been granted to bury our dead. This year only the warehouses in which the rayskins, calambac and rarities are kept will be chopped by the *bongiois*. It would be too much to grant leaving the ships' hatches unsealed.

106 After all the effort we have put into it and after all the fair promises made to us, this is all that we reap. It is true that even were it to be granted that the ships' hatches be left unsealed, as soon as any goods were brought on board, they would have to be sealed again. But it is indeed a great favour that we have free entry into the warehouses. Therefore, this unexpected favour is ample payment for our efforts to have the hatches left unsealed. In the evening one of Coxinga's junks arrived. The interpreters told us that the Chinese are now buying a good batch of crude copper. Last year they had paid 7.5 taels a picul, but now they are paying 8.5–9 taels a picul. Following Batavia's orders stated in their letter of 9 May, of which we received a copy from Tayouan via Siam, to make sure of purchasing copper, I told the interpreters that they should ask the merchants for their lowest price and I gave them permission to make a deal at last year's price of 10.5 taels, but I ordered them that they should do so without my foreknowledge on their own accord because a ship had already arrived. No camphor has been brought yet, but after the Company's ships arrive, it will be delivered from Satsuma any day.

26 Because we have not been able to obtain any copper so far and the *Arnemuiden* needs to be ballasted, we decided to load the 1300 bales of rice left over from last year. The governors gave permission to do so.

107 The ship has been fully unloaded. Even though the rice has lain here for a year, it is still in an excellent condition, almost as if it had been packed a few days ago. Magobei told me that he had spoken to the copper merchants last night and had offered them 10.5 taels per picul, acting as if he did this on his own accord. But those obstinate men would not yield and refused to go below 12 taels. He had told them that they should pay heed to the example of Tonkin, where the Company had abandoned its trade because it had suffered extortion. Should they follow the same route, the same might happen here. They promised to confer again and to let us know their final price, which Magobei suspects will be 11¼ taels per picul. In the evening we received a visit of a whole swarm of shaven Japanese *bōzu*, who had just arrived from Edo. After they had had a look at us, they left without partaking of any refreshments – which by the way were the governors' orders. Continuing fine summer weather, with a south-westerly breeze during the day, but at night it is dead calm.

27 Same weather, nothing happened.

28 Kichibyōe came to congratulate me that from now on the warehouses – with the exception of those in which the rayskins, the calambac and the rarities are kept – will no longer be chopped by the *bongioisen*. But to prevent any thefts by the Japanese, the *otona*, the landlords and the interpreters will lock them. We could enter whenever we wished. He had also heard that Yohyōe understood our reasons and motives presented to him on 2 March in Edo for leaving the ships' hatches unsealed and he agreed with us,

108 but the problems raised by this were the same as mentioned on 2 March. The whole day the wind blew westerly but no other ships appeared.

29 Wind and weather as yesterday, but dead calm during the night.

30 The *Arnemuiden* has brought me a copy of a letter of the Governor of Tayouan, the original of which he sent to me via China on 26 January. On the basis of this I have told Shirōemon, our Osaka landlord, that he should supply us with 400 *sugi* boards at a moderate price, which we would like to ship this season. Today he informed me that he had none in supply and it was too late to order any, because the Japanese do not use these boards, but they are sawn when the Company orders them. The interpreters promised to ask around. Every day several barges arrive from Osaka arrive here bringing copper, but the main merchants have not come yet. Magobei told me that this is the reason why we cannot reach a final price. Overcast with a faint northerly wind. More priests of Baal came to visit us. Like the previous ones they left satisfied without having wetted their lips.

31 The weather is changing. Veering winds with thunder and showers.

September

Arrival of the *Zoutelande*

1 Last night there were some showers, but during the day it was dry. A junk from Anhui arrived. Around ten o'clock the governors let us know that a Dutch ship had been spotted off Iōshima.

109 I sent a few subordinates with the letter of instruction to the ship. On their return they reported that it was the yacht the *Zoutelande*. The ship arrived in the roadstead. She had left Batavia on 6 July in the company of the yacht the *Anjelier* with a cargo worth 159,686 guilders. They had been separated by a storm off Hainan on 10 August. We informed the governors of the cargo of the yacht and then I went on board, mustered the crew and had the ordinance published. I urged Magobei to speak to the copper merchants even though the principal ones have not yet arrived. I want to have the price fixed, especially because two ships are here and our time is running out.

2 It has been raining since last night and there was a strong northerly wind, so that we could not begin unloading the *Zoutelande* until the afternoon.

In the morning Magobei told me that Isummia Niemon had arrived at last. He had spoken to the principal copper merchants last night, but they were as adamant as ever. Five merchants, among whom Isummia Niemon and Egunia Mangobe were the most important, came with the *otona* and the interpreters. In the presence of Merchants Oetgens and Thijmons we wasted a great many words. We raised our bid to 107 mas, but they would not go below 12 taels.

- 110 They claimed that the Chinese, who, they were aware, had carried the copper to Batavia last year where they had sold it to the Company, had already offered 11 taels. Thus we parted company without having achieved anything, because we could not commit to pay 12 taels or thereabouts, even though we are running out of time, of which they are well aware. Isummia seemed dissatisfied that this colleague Egunia had dropped the price to 12 taels in his absence, because copper from the mountains was in short supply and news had arrived from Miyako that the Shogun had ordered copper coins to be cast. Apparently next year new mines would be opened in Japan and he expected that it would again become cheaper. A certain Angaijia Croijemon, living in Sakai, who had also been refining copper, had given up this year because there was no expectation of any profits. However, Sukezaemon told me that the only reason for the price increase was the purchases of the Chinese. Should they continue like this, the price of copper would rise every year. Hachizaemon told me that a few days ago the Chinese informed the governors here that several of Coxinga's factors, who had taken care of his trade in silk and piece-goods in Peking, Canton and Nanking for several years without the Tartar emperor's knowledge, had been decapitated after this had been discovered. All their cash and goods had been confiscated. Coxinga has been deprived of the possibilities of obtaining such goods by blockades around the regions of Nanking, Fuzhou and Quanzhou and he has been forced out of this trade. This contradicts the news which they spread here on 9 July.

3 Last night two junks arrived from Anhui and one from Fuzhou. We have been unloading the *Zoutelande*. In the evening there was just a batch of spices left.

4 The yacht is now empty.

- 111 In the evening a junk from Anhui arrived in the roadstead.

5 A few days ago another priest like the one mentioned on 14 November arrived from China. Both these priests of Baal came to look at us with a large suite of their followers. The first one has been given permission to travel to Miyako. He will leave shortly. In the evening the copper merchants came. The interpreters and we thought that we could conclude a deal today. We offered them 111 mas, but they insisted on 114 mas. Thus we parted company without having reached an agreement. Magobei advised us to accept their price if we wanted to buy any copper. He is afraid that the large number of Chinese and their eagerness to buy will increasingly hinder us.

6 Sukezaemon came to ask whether any of the other interpreters had come to me about the copper negotiations. I told him that Magobei had been to see me, but he had not mentioned the copper. Sukezaemon advised me to stick to my bid of 111 mas. He believes that they will give it for this price after two or three days. I intend to wait and see. Not a single catty of camphor has been brought here from Satsuma. The interpreters are expecting a good batch shortly.

7 Last night and today rain with a north-easterly offshore wind. Magobei told me that the lacquerers had arrived

- 112 from Osaka with the three *norimono*, but time will tell whether they will be allowed to bring them here before the opening of the trading season.

8 In the morning the governors let us know that the Lord of Hakata would go on board to view the ships. Afterwards he would come to Deshima. We should have the place cleaned. His Highness came around midday after he had viewed the *Arnemuiden* from the inside and out. First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon accompanied him. He had a quick look at my house,

the garden, the billiard table and the pall-mall. Without eating anything he left. Northerly wind with showers.

9 Dry and clear weather with a northerly wind. Nothing happened.

10 The same.

11 Sukezaemon told me that eight or ten days ago a Chinese junk had foundered off Hirado. The Japanese patrol barge had gone to find out whence it came and whither it sailed. They had said that they came from Nanking and were bound for Nagasaki. One of the Chinese merchants had to transfer to the barge as hostage and the junk would be guided here by the barge. Adverse winds drove the junk out to sea and they lost sight of it during the night. The merchant and the barge arrived here last night. In spite of just two ships having arrived so far, *Burgemeester* Sakuemon approved last night – Sukezemon told me this in confidence – that we should request the governors for permission to begin trading as there are just thirty-eight days left till the 20th day of the 9th Japanese month. Although the *burgemeester* expected our request to be refused with a Japanese compliment, because just two ships have arrived and three more are expected with the incoming captain,

113 it would be taken as a sign of our eagerness. Tomorrow we shall put this into effect.

12 The interpreters and the *otona* came and I proposed the aforementioned to them. They decided to confer with *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and they would communicate his opinion to me. Next they told me that they had urged the copper merchants to come to an agreement with me and end this dragged-out haggling. When the merchants came, we had some discussions, but finally they accepted our offer of 111 mas for a picul of refined bar-copper with the chests and weighed on the Company's *daats*. They will deliver 2000 piculs at first and subsequently as much as the Company needs or they have in store. Magobei went to the house of the governors to obtain permission for delivery. Yohyōe readily gave permission for this and also for delivery of the three *norimono* for Bengal. The *otona* and the other interpreters went to Sakuemon to ask his

advice about requesting permission to open trade. He told them that Yohyōe had informed him that we had reached an agreement with those stubborn copper merchants. To prevent the governors presuming that he had thought up this request, he thought it better to wait for three or four days before presenting it. Although he did not expect that the governors would be willing to open trade before the arrival of the new captain, it would be considered a Japanese compliment.

114 The continuous calm is thought to be the cause that no camphor barges have so far arrived from Satsuma. According to the Chinese twenty more junks are expected, some of which may be lying off Satsuma. There is no news of the *Anjelier*, the *Vlieland* and the *Trouw*. We hope that they will show up with the first southerly winds.

Arrival of the *Vlieland*

13 Shirōemon, our Osaka landlord, came to inform me that a few days ago he had sent orders there to have 500 *sugi* boards and 100 *hinoki* boards sawn, but he doubted whether they could be brought here in time to ship them away on these ships. Well into the day the governors sent a message that a Dutch ship had been spotted between the Gotō Islands and this shore. We could send a barge with two or three Dutchmen to get confirmation of this. The men returned in the evening and reported that it was the yacht the *Vlieland* which had sailed from the Pescadores on 19 August. She arrived a short while later. Her cargo consists of deerskins and elk hides, sugar and four cases of *lakenen*, worth 56,661 guilders. The interpreters noted down the contents and took it to the governors. In his letters of 14 August Governor Cæsar notified me that this was the last ship from Tayouan in this season. The Company had suffered more damage on account of the Tayouan channel through the loss of eight Dutchmen and a lot of commodities when two loading junks capsized. What a misery that this churning roadstead claims the lives of Christians every year.

115 Two junks arrived from Patani and Cambodia, one of which carried a prince's flag. In the night another junk arrived from Nanking.

14 In the morning I mustered the crew. The master and the other friends told me that they had encountered two storms during the voyage, but they had not lost anything. We began to unload. Just 400 bundles could be stored in their proper places. The rest had to be stowed here and there in the lower galleries, because the Shogun's silk has been stored in the attic of the warehouse designated for this and when it was locked by the *bongiois* at that time, he took away the wrong key. This caused us a lot of trouble. It was already late at night before they had smashed the lock and had replaced it. The *bongiois* also took this key away. We have been taking delivery of the bar-copper. We received more than 800 piculs of very fine copper. The wind has been blowing from the south all day and two junks from Patani and Quinam arrived in the roadstead.

15 Downpours since last night with gusts of wind from the west and the south-west. We could not unload the *Vlieland*. We hope that the Almighty will protect the *Anjelier* and the *Trouw*, especially because last night we were told that at sunset something white had been spotted on the horizon, which the Japanese guard guessed might be a sail. The heavy rain has caused some damage to the hides. We managed to store them on the upper galleries at a great deal of trouble and expense.

116 The *otona* opened the warehouses in which the Bengal silk and Coast textiles are kept for inspection. They were in good condition. The warehouse in which the rayskins are stored had been chopped by the *bongiois* and we could not get it opened before midday. When we inspected the skins, we found that more than a hundred had become wet. Notwithstanding the steady rain, the copper merchants came and we weighed 900 piculs of copper. When the moon rose the weather turned fine and there was a northerly breeze.

16 The *bongioisen* did not turn up till late in the day to open the water-gates. The hides have been stored in their proper place and we continued to unload the *Vlieland*. We brought a goodly batch of sugar on shore. A northerly wind during the day.

17 The *Vlieland* is empty. We loaded 1020 chests of copper. Yesterday and today we weighed 1100 piculs

of copper so that we have now received, inspected and weighed the 2000 piculs for which we have contracted. They have been packed in 2000 newly-constructed chests. The old chests, of which many were broken when they were opened, will be repaired and used for the copper which we shall receive later. On the instruction of First *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, the interpreters and the *otona* went to the governors in the evening to request permission to trade. On their return they reported that they had not spoken to the governors. In view of the fact that the new captain and the two remaining ships have not yet arrived, they had ordered their secretaries to ask us whether in former times trade had opened before the arrival of the new captain.

117 We said that this had indeed been the case in 1645 when Overtwater had been given permission on 21 September and trade had started on the 24th, while his successor Van Tzum arrived on the 29th. The interpreters wrote this down and went to the governor. We can expect their reply tomorrow morning. The wind continues to blow from the north. In the evening Sukezaemon came to tell us that they had taken the message to the governors, whose reply had been that they will give us a decision tomorrow after the munitions have been taken from the *Vlieland* and the ship has been inspected.

18 The *Vlieland* has been inspected. In the evening the interpreters and the *otona* brought us the governors' decision that we could start selling the imported goods. We thanked them for this favour.

19 Last night after dinner I decided with Oetgens and Thijmons to sell the commodities, worth 245,000 guilders, in two sales. We also decided which goods to sell in the first sale and today we had all these goods brought out and put on display. The wind is still northerly, but today it was dry.

20 Fine weather, the wind northerly. The island has been opened up to all and sundry. The Japanese merchants came to view the goods on display. The governors had instructed us to give the merchants ample time to view the goods, but after three hours all had left.

21 In order to prevent any private trade being conducted, particularly in copper, I had a placard read

out to the people and had it affixed at the appropriate places. I trust that this will somewhat curb the export of copper and other commodities.

118 In the morning five of Coxinga's junks left for the China Coast. According to custom, we held the first sale with closed bidding slips. The Bengal silk sold for an excellent price, namely 404 tael a picul for the *cabessa* and 283 tael for the *bariga*. This is 24 tael more than last year on the former and 6.3 tael for the latter. Had it been of as good a quality as last year's the price would have even been higher considering that this year no Chinese white raw silk has been imported. Cocoons at 54 tael a picul is a very good price, but considering the small quantity it is of little significance. The European goods raised on average as much as last year, with the exception of the English damask. The Tayouanese deerskins also rendered fair profits. Conversely the powdered 120 sugar made just a small profit, because it was rather brown and damp. The merchants said that, notwithstanding the Chinese having imported a sizeable quantity, it would have made the same price as last year had the quality been the same. [Some other goods and results.] The buyers of the seal skins, at 11 tael, and the buffalo-horns, at 9.1 tael per hundred, made off when their bidding slips were read out, thus the Company was left stuck with these two batches. When we were delivering some of the goods, we found some pieces had been stolen. When we complain to the *otona* and the interpreters, their only consolation is that it happens every year and it works against us should we complain to the governors. Thus we have to bear with these violations.

119 22 Last night there was some rain, but today the weather was fine. We have delivered various commodities. There were some arguments, as happens every year.

23 Yesterday the *Zoutelande* had been beached to be careened and today it returned to the roadstead. The *bongiois* unlocked the warehouse for rayskins and inspected the goods. They took twelve fine ones to show to the governors. Sugar and hides have been delivered to the buyers. Three of Coxinga's junks set sail to China, but had to remain at the

entrance of the bay because they were becalmed. For several days we have been receiving the news that from Nomo something white could be seen on the horizon far out at sea. Hachizaemon confirmed this today. We presume that they are the remaining ships which are plying the sea, unable to approach because of adverse winds.

24 We have delivered the last of the hides sold. We prepared to put the others on display. According to annual custom, the interpreters came to notify me of the wishes of several lords and gentlemen for goods which will be paid for at the current prices. Sakuemon advised us to set aside the gifts for the Shogun and the Nagasaki Governors before proceeding with the sale, notwithstanding that the new captain had not yet arrived, to avoid any embarrassment later,

120 for he did not know whether Boucheljon would arrive or not. This shows that even though the Company has imported few goods, we still have to present the annual gifts, especially here in Nagasaki.²¹ This has as much as been fixed, even should the ships not arrive. The interpreters have explained that the Shogun appoints his favourites to the Nagasaki government with little remuneration. Those who fill these posts amass their fortunes from the annual gifts of the citizens and the foreigners, among whom the Company is one of the principal members. Two of Coxinga's junks, which set sail this morning, returned in the afternoon because the wind started to blow from the south.

25 This continued till midday, when it veered northerly. No ships or junks have appeared. This shows that the news which we received two days ago was just idle talk with the aim of creating a slack market for the Company's goods which we have put on display today. We have come to an agreement with the copper refiners on [blank] picul of copper at 109 mas per picul with the chests. On the advice of one of our interpreters, we had waited until today in the hope of obtaining a lower price. We suspect that there are some among the interpreters who participate in this business and who keep dragging

21 *Hassaku*.

us along, so that we have to purchase it at a higher price than we would have liked.

121 26 Two junks have sailed to China. In the afternoon we held the second sale. [Goods and prices.] This second sale has been even better than the first.

27 We have delivered the goods. There were no arguments, except for the deerskins, because the buyer complained about a few of them which had got wet, in spite of the fact that we had specified this in the sales notice. However, the *otona* intervened and we delivered them. When we were taking delivery of the copper, which is carried out in three places, we found some debased copper among some chests of a supplier who had already delivered 120 chests and had but few to go. We stopped the weighing and forced him to take back all 120 chests. For should we accept the chests, this would happen every year. Now the disgrace which this supplier has brought upon himself will make the others more careful. Sukezaemon told me that the Bengal silk is being sold in the city at a profit of 24 taels. Fine weather, a southerly sea breeze.

Arrival of the *Anjelier*

28 Last night heavy rains. We could not display the hides.

122 Around three o'clock, the wind was blowing from the south-east, the governors sent me a message that a Dutch ship had been spotted from Nomo about seven Japanese miles out to sea. I sent three Dutchmen with the usual letter of instruction. About an hour after sundown they returned with the yacht the *Anjelier*. She had been underway for eighty-five days. This is unheard of. She brought my successor Johannes Boucheljon. We must thank the Lord. Her cargo is worth 437,916 guilders.

29 I mustered the crew in the morning and Boucheljon accompanied me on shore. We started to unload the ship in spite of some showers. Boucheljon informed me that when they were drifting off the Pescadores on 31 August, the galliot the *Zwarte Vos* had supplied them with 21 leaguers of water. This was very fortunate, because their rations had already dropped to six *mutsjes*. On 10 September they had come across the flute the *Trouw*, which

had just five leaguers of water left. They had given them six of those they had received. They sailed in convoy but on 14 September they had separated at 28 degrees north latitude. We have delivered all the goods sold, with the exception of the deerskins because of the rain. The interpreters told me that a camphor barge had arrived from Satsuma.

30 The large Surat *alcatief* which had been ordered for the Shogun some time ago and which had been brought here last year by the *Kalf*, but which the interpreters had neglected to report to the governors, has now been added to the list of the rarities which the *Anjelier* has brought, as if it has just arrived. The governors will decide what should be done with it.

123 Overcast and rainy weather. We have been making good progress with the unloading. The *bongioisen* have been busy till late in the evening inspecting the goods.

October

1 The same weather. Two junks have left for China. We have unloaded the *Anjelier*.

2 Steady rain since last night. Fine weather after midday. The *bongioisen* went on board to remove the ammunition and some ballast from on board the *Anjelier*. We loaded 1000 chests of copper. In the evening the ship was inspected. Some of the ballast had to remain on board because of the late hour. Tomorrow it will be removed when water supplies are taken on board. Northerly wind. A rather large junk left for China. In the evening the interpreters and the *otona* advised me to bring out the goods for the third sale to avoid raising suspicions with the governors that we are trying to gain time. We should beware that the governors employ spies on the island and the 20th day of their 9th month is approaching fast. In order to avoid displeasing the governors and to show our eagerness, Boucheljon, the other merchants and I spent the night determining which goods to sell.

124 3 Yohyōe sent two interpreters to tell us that we should unpack the commodities today so that we could display them tomorrow, because Kiemon is already mentioning his trip to Edo. We told the

interpreters that we had worked through the night to determine which goods we would sell. Everything would be ready today. Yohyōe ordered Hachizaemon to instruct us to sell all the goods in one sale, so that we could be ready to depart on the 20th day of the 9th Japanese month, on which day Kiemon intends to travel to Edo. Hachizaemon was aware that this was impossible and he conferred with his colleagues. Without consulting us, they decided to point out to the governor that it was impossible. The governor's reply was that they should inform Kiemon-dono. They did so and his response was to have two sales, should one be impossible. We should work night and day, for time was running out for the Dutch. The interpreters told us all of this to show that the governors were exerting this pressure on us, not they. So far we have not been able to speak with the camphor producer, who is said to be a Chinese. We do not know the reason for this. It seems that it will not be possible to procure any camphor for the Company this year.

125 Very fine weather. Northerly wind. The goods chosen for the third sale have been put on display. Tomorrow the merchants will come to view them.

4 The Japanese merchants have viewed the goods. The remaining deerskins have all been delivered. At the urgent request of Egunia Mangobe, the copper refiner, we have accepted the chests of copper mentioned on the 27th of last month, on his assurance that the copper is pure and not debased. We would have let him keep these chests because the order from India is not as large. But, because the governors are aware of the matter and Mangobe will guard against it, we trust that the refiners will be more careful in future. The camphor producer has finally arrived. He has brought 200 barrels, but they were very expensive. When we asked him for the price, he said that he could not give them for less than 15 taels a picul. We could not offer a bid and we parted company. This man thinks – as do the copper merchants – that we badly need these commodities and this is the reason why he wants such a high price.

5 The merchants came for a second viewing and afterwards we held the third sale. [Results.]

126 We delivered some of the European and Coast goods late in the evening, partly because the governors urged us to get on with it and partly because tomorrow is a Japanese holiday and the buyers want to take advantage of this opportunity.²²

6 The Japanese merchants came in spite of their holiday to receive their goods. The interpreters told us that we should not expect any extension. When the interpreters and the *otona* showed up in the evening, we decided to devise the annual gifts for the governors. We showed them the list which we had drawn up. Even though we thought that the gifts were fair, they insisted that we enlarge them. They said that not only had the governors generously allowed us to leave the warehouses unsealed to accommodate us, but the Company would derive greater profits now that the *pancado* had been abrogated. We replied that we did not benefit from this but were more likely to suffer, because this had opened up an avenue for the Chinese via which they could sell their goods, especially silk, at greater profits than before. They would also make every effort to beat our ships to the market and bringing larger quantities than previously, this would adversely affect the Company's profits.

127 But it was in vain. Their will should be done and although the gifts amount to less than last year, as can be ascertained from the books, the value has indeed been increased when one calculates it according to the selling price. The interpreters have promised that they will not try to increase the gifts in future.

7 Only today were we told that a sailor on the *Anjelier*, Jacob Heijndricksen of Hoorn, 19 years of age, has been missing for two days. The interpreters were very concerned and went to report to the governors. On their return they asked from which country and city he originated; whether he had associated with the Portuguese; had he been in the Indies before; had he been in Japan before. The governors had also issued orders to fish for him tomorrow in case he had drowned. When we were delivering the Bengal *cabessa* silk, the subordinates

22 The *Kunchi* Festival.

caught a coolie who had stolen a few skeins. We wanted to find out what kind of punishment is meted out for such an offence when the perpetrator was caught. But the interpreters begged us not to inform the governors, for the coolie would lose his life. We said we would like to set an example to others by having him stand with a skein of silk around his neck during the trade. They said that this was impossible, because we would be laying down the law to the governors.

128 This was inadvisable and moreover, this kind of offence was only punishable by death, according to the laws of this country. Although setting this man free will make others bolder about committing the same offence, we acquiesced in the interpreters' recommendation. They appeased us by promising that this thief will never be allowed onto the island again.

8 To our great relief the aforementioned sailor came up floating near the *Anjelier*. I say relief, for should he not have been found, we would have been faced with grave problems, for today the governors had stated that it was the captain's responsibility and he should see to it that the body was found. For the first time since the governors granted us permission to bury our dead, we had the interpreters humbly request that it be put into practice. We asked to be appointed a place where we could bury the sailor according to our national custom. But today was a Japanese holiday and the interpreters could not speak to the governors. Because of the holiday it was quiet on the island. We collected the gifts for the governors and the *burgemeesters*. Notwithstanding that we had already increased the gifts for the governors, *Burgemeester* Sakuemon had the interpreters advise us to increase it even further to a value of 2658 tael at the selling prices.

129 He let us know that not only had it been a great favour that the warehouses on Deshima were not chopped by the *bongiois*, but the governors had allowed us to start trade when just three ships had arrived and two were still underway with the new captain. According to the *burgemeester* such courtesy should be rewarded with gifts, especially if we wished to be treated as generously on future

occasions. Thus we were forced to add to the gifts. Should this be just for this once, it would be a small matter, but we fear that we cannot give less in future. The Company will have to accept this, for it will be impossible to trade when the authorities are set against us. The wind is now westerly. It has been rumoured in the city that a white sail has been spotted far out at sea. The governors have not confirmed it. We are still waiting for the *Trouw* from Siam.

9 Today we not only received permission to bury the deceased, but two Dutchmen would be also allowed to attend. We did not bury the corpse as the Japanese do, that is stuff it in a barrel, but we laid him in a coffin. Junior Merchant Hogenhouck, the bookkeeper of the *Anjelier* and three shogunal *bongioisen* took it to the other side. On their return they reported that the body had been buried to the west of Deshima in a very lovely place called Inasa, which belongs to the intendant of the Nagasaki domains, among Chinese graves. The Japanese had covered the grave with turf and stones and in the centre they had planted a small cypress tree. I presented the bargeman and the other Japanese a *schuit* of silver because this is the first occasion on which a Dutchman has been buried here in Nagasaki. I had the governors thanked profusely, especially because this courtesy has helped to raise the reputation of the Company here in Japan. Boucheljon and I took the annual gifts for the governors, the intendant and the four *burgemeesters* of Nagasaki to their houses. They all accepted the gifts and treated us to food and drink. Governor Yohyōe said that the new captain had arrived very late and the 20th day of the 9th month, which is the day on which all foreigners must leave by order of the Shogun, is almost here. We should make haste. Should we wish to request anything, we could let the interpreters do so. We thanked him. We do not know whether the governor spoke with out of the goodness of his heart or just flattered us because the gifts have been increased.

10 The remaining silk has been delivered. We put the goods for the fourth sale on display. The Japanese merchants can view them tomorrow.

11 We had expected the Japanese merchants to come and view the goods, but the interpreters told

us that it was a holiday on which the governors visit the temples. The common man also celebrates this holiday.

131 We have to wait until tomorrow, even though time is running out. We have received permission to export grain and rice. The grain merchants have been deliberating about the price for some day and today they came to negotiate with us. We could not reach an agreement. The camphor producer still insists on 15 taels. In the evening we presented the annual gifts to the *burgemeester* of this island, the interpreters and the clerks. They were grateful. Rumours keep circulating that a Dutch ship has been spotted off the Nomo Bight. According to the fishermen she cannot approach because of the calm weather.

12 The Japanese merchants came to view the goods on display. The trouble we have had with the interpreters asking for, fetching, returning and exchanging European goods, fabrics from the Coast, silk fabrics and rarities for various lords and gentlemen has finally come to an end. These are vexations at this hectic time against which we have no recourse but which we have to bear with a pleasant face.

13 Steady rain with a faint northerly breeze. The fourth sale was as successful as the other sales. We hope to God that the *Trouw* appears soon. No doubt we would sell her cargo with excellent profits as well.

132 14 We have delivered the goods sold. The Japanese merchants took them away. Because Governor Cæsar has advised us in his letter of 14 August not to send the ships away separately but in a company of two or three, I sent the *otona* and the interpreters to the governors to request that only two ships be dispatched on the 20th day of their 9th month, which is five days from today. I would follow a few days later with the other two ships. On their return they reported that they had put my request to Yohyōe and that his reply had been that not only the two ships but the captain himself should depart with all four ships five days from now according to the Shogun's order. We remonstrated that it was impossible. The governors' reply was a repetition, although Yohyōe had said that he knew that we would not have finished our papers by then but that we would also not

have enough time to load the ships. He would see if he could grant the captain an extra day. The interpreters think it will be two or three days. We have reached an agreement with the rice merchants. The price is the same as last year's because the fresh crop has not come yet, namely 134 candareens for a bale of 34 *gantang* of Higo rice and 127 candareens for a bale of 33 *gantang* of Chikugo rice. We shall pay 9 mas a bale for wheat.

15 Fine weather with a northerly wind. We have begun to load the ships. We are also delivering the goods sold. There have been some thefts in spite of the close supervision.

133 16 Fine weather; the wind westerly. We are making good progress with the loading of the ships. The ammunition of the *Zoutelande* has been taken on board. This is a surprise, because usually it is taken on board on the day of departure. The Nagasaki Governors have generously granted me and the *Anjelier* an extension of three or four days. They have their *dwarstkijkers* on the island and in my room all the time and they are aware that we are doing all we can to make haste, but that it is impossible to be ready before that time. I had them thanked for this favour.

17 The ammunition of the *Vlieland* and the *Arnemuiden* has been taken on board. We are busy loading the ships.

18 Fine weather. The three yachts the *Vlieland*, *Arnemuiden* and *Zoutelande* have received their full cargoes and are ready to sail to Tayouan tomorrow.

Departure of the *Vlieland*, *Arnemuiden* and *Zoutelande*

19 After we had bought and taken delivery of the full quota of last year's rice, the *otona* and the interpreters came to tell me that a large quantity of this year's crop of Hizen and Chikugo rice had been brought onto the market, should we wish to buy a further quantity. These men know very well that the orders have been fulfilled, that the three ships are fully loaded and that we have the rice bales for the *Anjelier* in stock. We take it as a compliment but it might indicate that the Company would be allowed to export as much rice as it wished.

134 The *Vlieland*, *Arnemuiden* and *Zoutelande* have been loaded with rice, copper and 300 chests of cash. The last of the silver has been brought on board, the crews have been mustered by the Japanese. The papers have been closed and have been handed to the ships' officers. The three yachts set sail. Their cargoes are worth 985,662 guilders. The wind veered westerly and they could not reach the open sea, but had to wait at the entrance to the bay within sight of Deshima.

20 We have been told that the three yachts set sail at dawn. The governors had given orders that it should be quiet on the island and we seized the opportunity to work on the books and other papers. A northerly wind with some showers.

21 In spite of the rain we continued to load the *Anjelier*. The rice for Tayouan, the gowns for the fatherland and everything else that had to be shipped was on board by the evening, except for the silver. On the 14th instant we had reached an agreement with the rice merchants on 6700 bales of old rice. The last 2400 bales that they supplied, which were loaded on the *Anjelier* today, were of excellent rice of this year's crop. We could take this as a courtesy on their part if they were not short of old rice. We settled with the *Geldkamer*. All the accounts tallied.

135 Last night the interpreters had been to the governors to request a further extension of one or two days to settle my affairs properly. They replied that I had to leave on the 24th of their month, which is in two days, whether I was ready or not. I am under so much pressure that I do not know what to do first. Patience, may the good Lord arm us with patience here among this twisted race of people who want everything done their way.

22 Fine weather. One hundred and five chests of silver have been taken on board the *Anjelier*. I handed the effects of the Company over to my successor Johannes Boucheljon. They amount to 44,878 guilders. In the evening I authorized Boucheljon as the *opperhoofd* of the Company's factory in Japan and introduced him as such to the people. I prepared for my departure to Tayouan tomorrow after I had taken leave of the Nagasaki Governors.

Departure of the *Anjelier*

23 At sunrise the interpreters came to hurry me to go and bid farewell to the Nagasaki Governors. They wanted me to believe that the governors wished to visit a few temples. Kiemon-dono is also impatient, because he will set off as soon as I have left on the *Anjelier*, especially because there is a rumour buzzing around the city that the flute the *Trouw* has anchored off Satsuma. This is being kept quiet in order not to hinder Kiemon-dono, for should the *Trouw* arrive here or elsewhere before his departure, then he has to stay here till the ship's departure. May the Lord grant that this rumour is true.

136 Around half past nine Boucheljon and I went to the house of Governor Yohyōe, where his colleague Kiemon-dono was also present. I was given my leave. They advised us to have the ships arrive sooner and not to bring any Portuguese nor their ornaments into the country if we wished to continue a peaceful trade here. They did not mention the sending of an ambassador. We trust that this is the end of that song. At eleven o'clock I went on board the *Anjelier*, where the Japanese mustered the crew. We weighed anchor and set sail. The ship is carrying a cargo worth 349,829 guilders. May the Almighty guide us to safe harbour.