

Dagregister of Opperhoofd Zacharias Wagenaer

2 November 1656–26 October 1657

1656

November

Departure of the *Avondster*

1 2 Yesterday my predecessor Johannes Boucheljon transferred the Company's effects to me and he said farewell to Governors Kemon and Yohyōe. This afternoon he left our small island of Tsukishima and I accompanied him to the *Avondster*. Because the two *opperbongioisen* hurriedly mustered the crew and pressed us that the ship should set sail, I could spend just an hour there. I went ashore and shortly after I saw the ship sail away in fine, warm and pleasant weather. She is carrying a cargo of silver, copper and grains worth 101,817 guilders. May the good Lord guide her and the other seven ships. In the evening, according to established custom, both secretaries of the governors came to my room, which is where the incoming *opperhoofden* usually stay. They impressed upon us that we should be careful with fire and light. We promised we would be. The secretaries refused to accept any refreshments and just sat for a moment. Then they stepped onto the gallery in front of the room and summoned all our people. After they had inspected and counted them, they found that there were sixteen Dutchmen and six black boys, altogether twenty-two heads.

2 I have handed 1000 taels of *schuitzilver* to Shirōemon, the merchant in Osaka and our usual landlord in that city when we travel to Edo, at his earnest request and on the advice of my fellow residents and the interpreters. The money was taken from the cash which my predecessor handed over to me yesterday with the remaining Company's effects, altogether worth 57,735 guilders. Shirōemon has given me a bond in which he promises that he will repay me as soon as we arrive in Osaka.

Governor Yohyōe sent Interpreter Sukezaemon with 100 gold *koban* to exchange them for silver, which he will use on his impending journey to Edo. But

when the silver was handed to him – a sum of 660 taels – the interpreter announced on behalf of the governor that it was Edo money, which is worth a little less here in Nagasaki, to wit, 2 mas and 5 candareens on each paper parcel or 50 ordinary taels. I shall have to agree to this strange deal for the time being and show gratitude for good payment.

3 I had just put some coolies to clean the island and the empty houses and warehouses, when Interpreter Hachizaemon came to announce that the eldest son of Yamashiro Nabeshima,¹ ruler of the surrounding domains of Hakata and Hizen, was about to visit the island. We hastened to clean the best room, which Boucheljon had vacated yesterday, before his arrival, but even before we were ready we saw the young lord, accompanied by two *opperbongioisen* and a large suite of nobles, approach.

3 Oetgens and I went to welcome him and we escorted him with the required ceremony to the aforesaid room. There we served him various kinds of *sakana* and tent wine, but he just accepted a cup of the wine and three or four old, rancid almonds. After having spent about half an hour looking at our strange clothes and arms, he asked to see the large cassowary. When he heard that the bird was walking around in the yard below, he stood up, expressing his gratitude for the hospitality and went downstairs to see it. After a short while, he said goodbye with a lot of bowing and he left with his suite. I heard that last night the *Avondster* had lain at anchor outside the bay off the Papenberg. But today, before daybreak, she had set sail and shortly afterwards she was out of sight.

1 Sic. The Lord of Hizen at this time was not Nabeshima Yamashiro-no-kami (Naohiro), but his father Nabeshima Shinano-no-kami (Katsushige). As Katsushige's eldest son had died, Naohiro, the second son, took the place of his deceased brother.

4 Around seven in the morning Governor Yohyōe left for Edo. The *otona*, or supervisor of this island and all the interpreters and other dependents accompanied him out of the city for about three miles. Most of them had to trot on foot behind him, so that it was late in the evening when they returned very tired to the city. Nothing else noteworthy happened. People are surprised that at this time of year we are still enjoying such pleasant and warm summer weather.

5 Continuing pleasant and warm weather. The wind is set fair for the *Avondster*.

6 In the afternoon, Kiemon, the incumbent governor, sent our interpreter Sukezaemon with

4 an *opperbongiois* and a certain shaven Japanese priest, called by us Fantano Gento – he is the uncle of Heizō, the Shogun's steward in this city. Because this gentleman has already acquired some knowledge of medicine or the art of healing, he requested that he be granted free entry to our senior surgeon's shop every day and be given further instruction in the mixing of our essential oils and herbs for this ailment or that and the preparation and application of plasters with which bad abscesses are cured. I immediately granted the governor's request, because it can easily be done at present, sent for the surgeon himself. I pointed the gentleman out to him and commended him to put his best foot forward. They were all pleased, stood up and said that they would report this to the governor.

7 Sukezaemon came to return three large, red coral beads, which Boucheljon had given him for the governor to inspect. He said that, at the governors' request, the largest of them, weighing just 8 mas, ordered before by Mito-sama, the Shogun's great-uncle, had been valued by Sakuemon, the first *burgemeester* of this city, and he had set the price at 100 gold *koban* or 660 taels of silver. And although sold in this way this would give us a good profit, we feel that, had we been allowed to deal with it to our liking, it could have raised 200 *koban* because of its purity. The interpreter also said that the two pieces of white Dutch plush and the telescope, for which Yohyōe had sent a few days ago for inspection, were

being taken to Edo. The plush would be given to Mino-no-kami, Lord of Odawara, at his request. He would pay us 20 taels a piece.

5 But for the telescope, which Commissioner Chikugonokami has ordered, he would pay us 15 taels. On the plush the Company would make a small loss, but the telescope would be well paid for and guilders would be turned into taels. Because we have discovered that during the last trading season many Japanese committed thefts on the island and have even damaged our only source of distraction, namely the billiard table – they cut off the blue cloth which had been nailed onto it all around and have stolen both balls, the iron pin and the brace –, I had the bare table covered with a piece of damaged red *stamet*, which Boucheljon had kept for this purpose and had the implements made, in order that, when Kiemon comes on the island and wishes to play on it, as he threatens he will do, everything will be ready for him.

8 The governor sent our *otona* and Sukezaemon to fetch 3–4 pieces of teak wood, which have been lying here for some years and serve no purpose and have been written off. They went to the warehouse and selected five of the smallest but best pieces. Since 2 October, when we had the last severe storm, we have had warm and pleasant summer weather. All the trees which had lost their green leaves and half-ripe fruit through the hard wind, are now sprouting young leaves, even coming to bloom, as we have been witnessing with amazement in our small garden here with some figs, peaches, apricots and other fruit-bearing trees in this winter time. The Japanese give good reasons for this.

6 They say that because all these trees have untimely lost their leaves and fruit, most of their natural juice and vigour, which the fruit that has fallen off would have received and would have needed till it had matured, had remained in the trunk and the roots of the trees. This warm weather has renewed and invigorated them and thus they have perforce sprouted new leaves and blossoms, but just for a short time. They have experienced and seen this before.

- 9 Last night there were downpours with lightning and heavy thunderclaps. But during the day the weather was pleasant and warm.
- 10 Continuing fine weather and a northerly wind. In the afternoon, a fairly large Chinese junk left for Quanzhou.
- 11 Pleasant summer weather and a clear sky. This morning several interpreters came to ask me when I intended to set off for Edo. I told them that it depended on Governor Kiemon and not on me, but I would busy myself with packing the goods that we have selected for gifts, so that everything would be ready. The interpreters replied that it would be well to have everything ready in time, but I should not be in too much of a hurry, no one would rush me, as long as I could be in Edo before their *Shōgatsu* or New Year.
- 7 12 At my request and with the governor's permission, the *otona* and the interpreters came to my room with all the lacquerers. In the presence of Oetgens, I had Sukezaemon ask them whether they had reconsidered their outrageous quote for some wares for Bengal, which they had presented in my presence a couple of days before Boucheljon's departure. It was beyond all reason. I hardly knew whether to offer a bid or to leave off, because they dared ask 7006 taels of silver for the following pieces to be lacquered black with *bariga* lacquer. [The objects are a *norimono*, a woman's palanquin, an elephant's house, 4 men's saddles, 178 shields, 25 betel boxes. Prices itemized.] Before they left, they offered to lower their quote by 500 taels. I could not decide on making a bid. But should they lower their quote by a substantial sum, I would consider it, but they remained unmoved. They said that they had already lowered it by 500 taels. Now it was our turn. I discussed it with Oetgens.
- 8 [Prices itemized. Total sum: 4378 taels.] They looked at each other and started to laugh. They said the difference was too great. We could not come to an agreement, but they would reconsider and return in a day or two, depending on the governor's permission, and give their lowest quote. They left. Sukezaemon also brought me a Japanese turner, for

whom I had asked. I want to replace the heavy copper pillars of the feet of the two large globes, which have been designated gifts for the Shogun, with eight round balusters turned from suitable light wood. But when the turner and I were inspecting the pillars to see what would be the best course of action, I saw that they were fastened with screws on top and at the bottom which could be unscrewed, so that the pillars could be removed and packed with the balls and taken to Edo on packhorses. Thus I thanked the clumsy turner, who has learnt this craft here from a Dutchman and who might easily have spoiled the work, with a glass of wine for his trouble.

- 9 Today we have also been busy with taking out several goods designated as gifts and rarities and airing them, including the large Surat *alcatief*, which was brought here by Sterthemius in 1650. It was laid out in the sun and inspected closely. We found that, although it had been sent back to Surat for repairs, it had many small holes, in particular lengthwise along both edges. But I shall take it with me to Edo and ask Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami's advice on whether we should present it as a gift or sell it.
- 13 In the morning the weather was fine and in the evening misty and rainy. Sakuemon, the first *burgemeester* of this city, sent Sukezaemon to me and requested that I oblige him with three chests of silver tomorrow. He would repay me when we arrived in Osaka. Because this favour has been extended before and he has never failed to pay and, furthermore, because we would otherwise have to carry so much cash with us and risk it at sea, I promised the *burgemeester* to hand him the silver against a bond.
- 14 Beautiful, warm weather. According to annual custom, I entertained the *otona*, our interpreters, the two oldest clerks and the owner of the large barge which will transport us to Osaka with their sons to a meal. Governor Kiemon got wind of this – so it seemed – and shortly before we sat down at the table, he sent Sukezaemon with a man from Hirado called Yosōemon, otherwise known as Brasman, who is fluent in Dutch.

- 10 The governor had me informed that he and his confrère, Yohyōe, had appointed this man as our interpreter. Thus he should be employed as such in future and I should also let him sit at the table in our fashion this afternoon and entertain him with the other guests. I complied with this request and all of us congratulated him on his appointment.
- 15 For the third time the *otona* and the interpreters brought the lacquerers. On behalf of all, one of them stated that they had considered my latest bid to have the models for Bengal lacquered. But they could not accept such a low price as I had offered them on the 12th. Thus they requested me to raise my bid and to put it in writing and then they would see if they could lower their quote and we could come to an agreement. Otherwise they intended to leave for Miyako, where most of them live, tomorrow, for they had no other business here. Although I left it to the last moment to react to their quote, pretending that I was not interested, I noticed that they themselves were not exactly eager for the work. They would have left, but the *otona* and the interpreters interceded and asked me to offer a bid.
- 11 I discussed it with Merchant Johan Oetgens and Junior Merchants Meijndert Jansz Messteecker, Ernst van Hogenhouck and Jan Pieterszoon Verschuiren² and then offered the following bid [itemized, total 4580 taels]. They still thought it too low and said that they would need to employ many new hands for this. Moreover, fine lacquer was very expensive at present and they would make little or nothing on this. After negotiating for two hours, we finally agreed to the following price [itemized, total 4820 taels]. According to annual custom when such work is contracted for, they gave me a document stating that they will deliver the objects for the agreed sum here in nine months' time, on condition that they are lacquered with fine *bariga* black lacquer and painted with curious gold foliage and flowers, without adding any animals or small birds.
- 12 They were handed the objects and they left together. In the evening, Sebe, a very old man and our bread supplier, came to ask for a loan of 300 taels. He could not live on the meagre profits he was making from working for us and he would be forced to stop baking and find another means of support. To lend him a helping hand and to avoid changes having to be made, I loaned him the money for a year without interest, for which he gave his house, which is valued at 700 taels, as security.
- 16 While we were having dinner, Interpreter Magobei came to notify me that Governor Kiemon intended to visit us for some diversion. We left the table and went to change and prepare some refreshments. After half an hour we were warned that he was on his way. We went to the land-gate and we saw His Honour approaching, accompanied by Shogunal Steward Heizō, an impudent hermit or priest and a large suite of servants. On the island, I welcomed him according to the custom of this nation, whereupon he nodded. He asked to see our garden and I escorted him there. He had a long look at the pall-mall and because none of them could play it, at his request I sent for two assistants, who, playing a game or two, provided him with some entertainment. Next he went to the smaller garden and we chased the large cassowary, which gave the governor much to wonder about, because of its clumsy jumps and because it dares to attack a human being, chase him and run him over.
- 13 Then he had a look at our repaired billiard table, the dovecote, some poultry and other things downstairs. Finally he came up to my room, where he sat a while and drank a cup of tent wine with the shogunal steward and the hermit, but he did not partake of the other *sakana*. He stood up and looked at my shaggy hat, which I had specially made against the cold on the impending court journey. He put it on his hat and looked in the mirror and began to laugh. Then he looked at my clothes, the arms and the bedding, asking strange questions about the use of this or that. We spent an hour doing this. He said goodbye looking pleased. I accompanied him to the land-gate. He turned around and had Magobei thank me for the hospitality. In the evening, I contracted

2 The text has Jan Verschuiren Pieterszoon, which must be an error. The patronymic should come before the family name.

with two Japanese *mandadoors*, or coolie-masters, to take our four sampans, which are used during the trading season to load and unload the ships, to the other side of the bay, beach them, bream them and cover them with straw.

17 Last night and in the morning the long-expected cold began to manifest itself, but during the day, when the sun shone, the weather was pleasantly warm. The governor sent Magobei to ask me if my small black boy, who had played with the cassowary yesterday in the governor's presence and had been tossed about and kicked badly by this heavy animal, had suffered any injury or bruises. I told him that he had not and he said 'that is fine, that is fine' and went straight back to report to his master.

14 18 *Burgemeester* Sakuemon sent his adopted son to fetch the three chests of money, mentioned on the 13th. In the presence of a few interpreters, I handed them over on the stipulated condition. This morning two Chinese junks left, the one for Quanzhou and the other for Amoy.

19 This morning the coolie-masters took the four sampans to the other side of the bay. Because the weather was fine, with the governor's permission, I also went there with Oetgens, the junior merchants and a few interpreters to check that they beached the sampans properly and to enjoy ourselves in the mountains covered with green. But as soon as we had gone ashore, it started to pour with rain and we looked for a farm nearby and sheltered there. We had some breakfast and the weather cleared. We wanted to visit the burial ground where our dead are buried, but the *bongiois* who accompanied us would not agree. He said that we needed to return and we had to comply. Around three o'clock in the afternoon we entered our Japanese Rozengain³ again.

20 This morning a Chinese junk left for Nanking. Nothing else happened. The whole day overcast, hazy and warm.

21 Today it rained hard, but it was warm and quiet.

15 22 Overcast and dark, misty weather.

23 The whole night and up to this afternoon it rained. Yesterday and today the Chinese have towed several junks, which had been taken to the east side of the city to be repaired and cleaned, to the west side to load them as quickly as possible and to prepare for departure. The governor has notified them that they should all have left by the end of their 10th month, called *Jūgatsu*, of which today it is the 9th day. Otherwise they will be subjected to severe corporal punishment.

24–25 Nasty, drizzly and very cold weather.

26 Clear weather and a biting northerly wind. Three large Chinese junks, mainly loaded with coarse cotton wadding, have left for Anhai. In the afternoon, the governor sent our interpreter Sukezaemon to me to ask if I could lend him my red fur cap for a day or two, the governor had seen it and fitted it when he was here. He would have one made and use it during the winter. I gave the interpreter the cap. Fifteen minutes later he was back and said that the governor also requested the red cloth, silver trimming and lining that was needed to make it. I could oblige the governor with the cloth and the lining, but the trimming had to be supplied by one of our subordinates, for which he was thanked in Japanese fashion.

27 Fine, clear weather and a fresh north-easterly wind.

16 Four junks, whose home port is Anhai in China, set sail with about 2000 packs of cotton. Because the large room in which the *opperhoofden* stay during the trading season is taken over by crowds of Japanese and the table at which the *opperhoofd* has to do his writing and other work is covered with test pieces of chopped bar-copper or samples and grains or merchandise brought by the sellers, so that he can barely use it or keep any papers on it, Boucheljon and I decided to look for a suitable place to make into a small office close to the house. We found it on the east side below the said room; a door needs to be broken through the clay wall. We measured it and it is a square of 1½ *ikje* or 1½ mats. Today I showed it to a certain carpenter and with the approval of the *otona*, who is the owner of this house, he will supply all the wood needed

3 One of the Banda Islands, used by the VOC as a place of exile.

and build it in six or seven days for 50 taels. I trust that this small room, with the additional expenses for the roof, the clay and the wages, will not cost the Company more than 70 taels.

28 This afternoon the weather was fine and two of Coxinga's junks left, the one for Anhai and the other for Tonkin. *Nachoda* Lipsien will follow in a few days with a much larger and sturdier junk, heading for Tonkin. I intend to send a letter to our residents there.

17 I hope to have another opportunity before my journey to Edo to send a note to our people in Tayouan and this can then be forwarded to Batavia. Today I had a list made of all the goods which have been designated gifts for the Shogun and the nobles in the presence of our *otona* and the interpreters, according to custom. They have been stored away properly. I shall see to it that the other goods, which consist of various rarities, most of which are breakable, will also be stored safely as soon as possible, so that they may arrive in Edo undamaged.

29 Clear, pleasant and quiet weather. In the afternoon, a large Anhai junk loaded with cotton and tin set sail, but in the evening the calm forced it to drop anchor around the bend of the bay.

30 Three Chinese junks have left for Anhai. Nothing noteworthy happened.

December

1 Fine, clear weather, but cold.

2 The governor put pressure on them to leave, thus in the morning four of Coxinga's junks left for Anhai with a large quantity of cotton and some tin and copper. The wind was westerly, thus they were forced to drop anchor in front of the bend of the bay within our sight. Our interpreters could tell me that rumour had it that the mandarin⁴ intended to send some of these junks to the Manilas with cotton from Anhai. Large profits are to be made there on cotton. But they added that should he carry out this plan and the governors here found out, they would hold this against him and they might forbid him to

export any cotton from here in future. In the afternoon, Heizō, the shogunal steward, sent Magobei for as much red French cloth and lining

18 as is needed for a cap, like the kind that we sent to the governor a few days ago. Notwithstanding that I knew that we would be paid in the same coin as we had received from the governor, I gave the interpreter the rest, which is more than what is needed.

3 Very cold and tempestuous weather, mingled with rain and hail. The westerly wind is blowing hard and the four Anhai junks, which left yesterday, are still anchored inside the bend of the bay, waiting for a favourable wind.

4 The cold weather has turned milder and the wind has veered northerly. The four junks set sail.

5 The wind was favourable and the weather pleasant. Five junks left for Anhai. They are all loaded with cotton, some *zeekatten* and other small stuff. Magobei told me for a fact that the cotton which the Chinese have exported this month is worth over 200,000 taels. But the citizens and the merchants here still have as much in stock and he cannot imagine that the remaining junks, of which a few are being repaired, will be able to carry it away. The square small house, which I mentioned on the 27th of last month, was set up yesterday and given a ceiling. Today the entrance was made by breaking through the wall made of straw and clay on the east side of the large room and putting in a small door frame so that tomorrow a closed tiled roof can be placed on it and it will be ready in three days.

19 6 Favourable wind and fine, dry travelling weather. This morning a small Chinese junk left and in the afternoon a large one, both sailing to Anhai, their ordinary *rendez-vous*, and they are loaded with cotton. The Chinese admiral Coxinga will dispatch them from there to other regions.

7 The whole day a warm, southerly wind and much rain. But in the evening it veered westerly and blew hard. In between the light and dark weather, I saw two Anhai junks loaded with cotton set sail, pressed by the governor to do so, but they both had to anchor. The governor sent a *bongiois* and Sukezaemon to request me to promote a most improper task on his behalf. One of his best hunting dogs, a large bitch,

4 Coxinga.

recently suffered a bad injury around her nether parts when she had a litter of two puppies. So far no cure for it had been found and because the governor is very fond of this animal, he would like to have it attended to. Thus he had me told expressly that our senior surgeon, who seems to have already refused to attend to this dog, should be ordered to attend to the bitch and do his utmost to cure it. I politely told the interpreter that our medicines had been made to help and cure our weak and invalid people and not dogs. Moreover, in our country it was a terrible disgrace if a master had to apply his knowledge of human medicine, for which he had studied many years at great cost, to such an unclean, stinking bitch.

20 He replied that such work was not considered a disgrace in this country. There were several of their own doctors who would have considered it a great honour had they been summoned to attend to it. To put a stop to the matter and in order not to cause offence, for they would take it as a formal refusal and it would have an adverse effect, in their presence I sent for the surgeon. I urged him earnestly to do his best and he promised to do so, albeit reluctantly. They stood up and left.

8 A cutting westerly wind, bringing much hail and cold, bleak weather. Seven Chinese junks, which had left one after the other, had to remain at the western exit of the bay.

9 Unchanged stiff westerly wind. The seven Chinese junks were still anchored at the same spot. A few *bongioisen*, who, according to custom, have to escort them, found the long wait in their small open barges tedious and yesterday they had gone ashore to a farmhouse for, so it seems, some distraction. But they consumed too much warm *sake* and they had began to argue about the use of their swords. To test it and settle the argument, they had slashed at each other and five of them had been badly wounded. According to the interpreters, one of them, half of whose back had been slashed open, was dying, but the instigator of this all had immediately, according to this country's cursed custom, slit his own belly in such a way that his intestines had dropped out and he fell down to the earth dead.

21 Shortly after lunch, on behalf of Sakuemon, the first *burgemeester*, Sukezaemon came to tell me that he intended to send mail to Edo tomorrow and he would also send the large, beautiful, red coral bead – which has been mentioned on 7 November – to Mito-sama, who has ordered it. He pretends that, although he has valued the red coral bead, weighing 8 mas, at 100 *koban* or 669 taels of silver at the requests of both governors here and he declares that it is indeed worth the money, he would appreciate it if we lowered the price. His request is based on the following considerations: Heizō, the shogunal steward here, has recently also bought two beautiful beads, the one weighing 7 mas and the other 5½ mas, from the Chinese *nachoda* Wansick – this is the liar who has caused us much annoyance with his complaint about the seizure of his junk off Malacca – for the same 100 *koban*. Heizō will also send them to Edo tomorrow. When this gentleman comes to compare them against ours and sees the difference, strange thoughts might enter his head and this would not be in our favour on certain occasions in that city. Therefore he gave me a friendly warning and requested that I accept a lower price. I promptly discussed the *burgemeester's* request with Merchant Johan Oetgens and asked him for his opinion. He also thought it strange at first, because not we, but Sakuemon had set the price and now he was asking for a reduction.

22 He agreed that we did make our biggest profits from these powerful nobles – whose favour and help we always needed – but that we also had to treat them with kid-gloves. Furthermore, our superiors have often urged us to avoid causing displeasure to these Edo authorities and Japanese demigods. Therefore, we decreased the price by twenty *koban*. Thus, when we are in Edo, this gentleman will have to pay us 80 *koban* instead of 100. But we still make a good profit on this bead. The interpreter stood up and went to report to the *burgemeester*.

10 Last night the seven junks put to sea on a north-easterly breeze. We have had fine, clear weather today, but in the evening we felt a stiff, piercing cold northerly wind.

11 Very quiet and pleasant sunny weather.

12 The pleasant dry weather continued. Around nine o'clock, one of the most famous Japanese doctors⁵ came upstairs to my room with a *bongiois*, the *otona* and all our interpreters. The doctor claimed that at his request he had received permission from the governor to go out into the city with our senior surgeon and to visit the druggist shops to look for some suitable herbs or medicines for Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami's gravel, which bothers him a lot. I sent for the surgeon and asked him to comply.

23 Around noon he went roaming through the city with the doctor and they spent three hours without finding anything suitable. The surgeon returned with two or three Dutchmen who had gone along, all famished.

13 Variable, windy, cold weather. The governor sent Yosōemon, the new interpreter, to me with a small monkey. He let me know that it had been his habit to sit with the animal near the fire and play with it. But the monkey often let its long tail hang in the fire and this gave off a terrible stench. Therefore, he would like our surgeon to cut off the tail close to its body and treat it till it was healed. This was done right away. It is all about a monkey's tail. Who ever heard of such strange cures! First a skinny bitch, now a monkey, after this it will probably be a cat or an owl. But we shall oblige this touchy big *cabessa* in every way, even if he were to send injured billy goats, buffaloes and pigs to us. In the evening, two junks set off for Anhai in China, loaded with cotton.

14 It has been very quiet, but in the evening a warm southerly wind rose and shortly after it poured with rain.

15 Before noon the wind was variable, but in the afternoon a stiff easterly wind rose and a Chinese junk left for Anhai. The time for my departure for Edo is nearing and I had the other rarities packed. I also had some barrels, jars and cellarets filled with the necessary provisions and set aside.

24 I want to be ready when the date is set without forewarning, but Governor Kiemon does not seem to be in a hurry and leaves it to me to set the date at my own discretion. Some of our interpreters are also of

the opinion that even should we leave at the end of this month or the beginning of the next, we shall arrive early enough, because their *Shōgatsu* or New Year falls late this year, namely on 13 February. But I had our old interpreter, Hachizaemon, whose turn it is to escort us this year, inquire of the governor which day His Honour would choose to nominate. I would prefer to depart on the 27th or the 28th of this month at the latest, so that I could be in Edo at the beginning of the *Shōgatsu* and present the gifts on this happy occasion. The interpreter will bring the governor's reply early tomorrow.

16 Lovely weather, but a cold north-westerly wind. In the afternoon, Hachizaemon came to my room and told me that he and all the other interpreters had gone to the governor to congratulate him on the first day of their 11th month, this is their custom. Because today is also the first anniversary of the death of the governor's mother, he did not entertain the interpreters, our *otona* and several others, thirty-five persons in all, to any meat or fish,

25 but just to some soup of radish, cabbage, and other vegetables. He said that they are accustomed to eat such a sober meal, which takes less than an hour, on the anniversary of the death of their nearest and dearest. And because Japanese customs do not permit one to request or propose anything on such an occasion, the interpreter dared not mention my journey to Edo. But he had spoken to *Burgemeester* Sakuemon and had asked his opinion. He said that the *burgemeester* advised me to depart in fifteen days, because – in their imagination – that day is an propitious day for travelling. However, he would ask to see the governor tomorrow and bring me his reply in the evening. If the governor conforms to the same unfounded sayings and false prophesies as Sakuemon, who is at home there, I shall have to depart on the last day of this month, which happens to be a Sunday, just like Happart had to set off on Christmas Day three years ago. But I hope that in that case I shall be allowed to either add or take off a day or two. In the afternoon, three servants of the Lord of Hirado, accompanied by a *bongiois*, our *otona* and four interpreters, came onto the island with the governor's permission to fetch 13 *gantang*

⁵ Mukai Genshō.

of tent wine for the lord, who is now in Edo. As is the custom, the tent wine was measured out downstairs in our warehouse in their presence. In the evening, after the men had left, the *otona* came to my room and had one of the interpreters tell me that he knew some men who were willing to dredge for the heavy anchor which the *Koning David* had lost in the bay during the last severe storm.

- 26 They would do so on condition that, should they find and retrieve it, I should pay them fairly for their work, otherwise they would have done all for nothing. I gratefully accepted this proposal and promised that I would do what was fair should they retrieve the anchor. He was pleased and said that they would try at the first spring tide.

17 This new moon promises to bring us great cold, because this morning the water had frozen to the thickness of more than a straw, but in the afternoon the sun had melted it again.

18 Fine, clear weather before noon, but then an easterly wind rose and shortly after heavy rain started to fall.

19 From midnight it has been raining heavily and it lasted all through the day. The wind veered to the south. It is said that this has not happened for many years during winter. We enjoyed the warm air it brought. In the afternoon, Magobei and Hachizaemon came to inform me that in eight or nine days two Chinese junks would leave, one directly for Siam and the other would also sail to Tonkin. If I wished to send any letters, I should have them ready by then. I told them that I would like to write a letter to the Governor-General in Batavia,

- 27 and send it to Siam in the hope that it could be forwarded this monsoon. But I should like to know now on which day I should leave for Edo, so that I could write to the Governor-General. Hachizaemon said that since the 16th he had not had an opportunity to mention it to the governor, but *Burgemeester* Sakuemon had said that I would not be leaving before the 20th of their month, which would be on 4 January. Three days ago he had let me know through the same interpreter that I could leave on the last day of this month because it was a lucky day for travelling. It is strange that these people cannot

come to a firm decision on such small matters, especially because our interpreters have told me often enough on behalf of the governor that I could set the day of my departure myself. Now that I have done so, these bear-baiters postpone it and keep changing it.

20 The northerly wind has been blowing hard and brought us its natural cold. Nothing noteworthy happened.

21 Cold and clear weather. Before noon all the interpreters came to my room with the *otona*. They said that they had just been to the governor and they had spoken to him about my impending court journey.

- 28 His reply had been that he left the date to my own discretion, but he was still of the opinion that I need not hurry. I would arrive in Edo in time if I left here in twenty-five to thirty days at the most. Anyway, I could not leave before the 25th of their 11th month, which is 9 January. I told Sukezaemon that in that case I would not arrive in Edo before their *Shōgatsu* or New Year, at which time we liked to see our annual gifts presented next to others. He said that it did not matter whether I arrived there before the New Year or after. The governor knew what was in our best interest. I replied that I did not doubt that, but why had he let me choose the day myself at least twenty-five times. Now I had to comply with another date so late in the year, which has never happened before. They began to laugh and said that these were Japanese compliments which I did not understand, but I would learn to understand them. I asked them if the date would be fixed. They said yes and there would be no change. They stood up and left. What the governor has in mind for us remains a mystery, it will always entail a special undertaking, but it must be seen as if I had made the choice myself.

22 Drizzly weather.

23 Last night and today hard westerly wind and steady rain.

- 29 The governor sent Shichibei, a young interpreter and fairly proficient in Dutch, who has been appointed to escort me to Edo, to inform me that he would be staying here and that Shinkichi would

replace him. He is also a young interpreter, who speaks Portuguese. This is not convenient for me, being only accustomed to speaking Batavia's broken Portuguese, especially when I have to respond to some important questions. This might become awkward for both sides. It seems that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon has brought about this change with the governor because Shinkichi is related to him by marriage and because his father, the feeble Kichibyōe, would love to see his son have the honour of escorting me as interpreter during his lifetime. I believe this to be true, but in this way the Company is not served properly by these fellows. Out of the four interpreters who speak Dutch and will be left idle here, one could have been chosen to escort me instead of Shinkichi. I think the governor might not even have been aware of this and because no change can be expected, I shall have to make do with this lot.

24 Very quiet and pleasantly warm summer weather.

25 Christmas Day. The weather was pleasant till noon, then it grew overcast and in the evening rain. A Chinese junk wanted to sail for Anhai with a load of cotton, but because of the northerly wind, it had to remain here.

26 Variable wind with an overcast sky. Two junks sailed into the bay. Hachizaemon said that

- 30 the one had left for Anhai a few days ago, but off the Gotō Islands it had met with a hard southerly wind and had lost its mainmast. It had to return for another one. The other one was a large junk and the first trading junk from Fuzhou. It came with a pass from Coxinga. Its cargo consists of [white and raw silk, *pelangs*, *pansies*, *gielams*, sugar, sappanwood, medicines and small stuff]. It will be noted in the separate specification that is kept every year. The Chinese brought the news that the war in their region had ended, the Tartars were holding on to where they were and were keeping quiet. Conversely, Coxinga was taking advantage of this lull and was busying himself with trade, sometimes sending two or three junks simultaneously to one place or as many more richly-laden ones to another place. He had sent this junk hither together with

two others. They had separated five days ago, but could arrive any hour now. There were other junks taking on cargo which would come next month. This will harm the Company's trade here. But I hope that his slumbering enemy will wake up again soon and force this fickle merchant to look for a piece of a rotten old pike again and take it up instead of an ell.

27 Very cold, nothing happened.

28 Same weather. A small trading junk from Anhai anchored in the bay. It brought 200 packs of medicinal herbs and other small stuff.

- 31 29 We had fine, dry weather and then very cold weather. Young Interpreter Shinkichi told me that two days ago letters and several people had arrived from Edo. They had said for a fact that a horrendous fire had struck the city recently, more than 5000 houses have been burnt to ashes and many important streets had been reduced to nothing. The house and the street where we usually stay when we are there have been spared.

30 The whole day cold and misty weather.

31 Same weather. Today I signed and sealed the letter which I have written to the authorities in Batavia about the state of affairs here and what has happened since Boucheljon's departure. *Nachoda* Rocquan will take it to Siam on a Chinese junk and I hope that it will be possible to forward it from there.

1657

January

1 Fine, pleasant weather. Sukezaemon sent us four large, live fish, a few beautiful pheasants, three barrels of *sake* and three trays with decorated curious flower stems as a New Year's gift. He told us with many compliments that yesterday his daughter had been given in marriage to Shichibei, the interpreter and the son of the *otona*. He would have liked to have invited us to the feast, but it was not allowed. Thus he could only offer us the small gifts and asked that we prepare it to our liking and enjoy it together. We had no objections and accepted them gratefully.

- 32 2 Today it was as warm as a day in mid-summer.
- 3 Warm and pleasant weather. In the evening, I gave Magobei the letter I had written to the Governor-General. He will show it to the governor and then it will be handed to the *nachoda*.
- 4 The same fine weather. In the afternoon, on the governor's orders, our senior surgeon went to the city with the Japanese doctor and all our interpreters and accompanied by a *bongiois*, to help look for more herbs and medicines.
- 5 Pleasant weather. When we left the table, we found the doctor waiting for us in the front room with a *bongiois*, the *otona* and all our interpreters. Like yesterday, they were going to look for herbs among the druggists with our surgeon. The *bongiois* said that the governor had given permission for some of our subordinates to go as well for some enjoyment. Thus Oetgens, two junior merchants and I went along, although none of us was looking forward to creeping in and out of those barns. But we went because it is considered a special favour. At the end our polite escort took us to the northern side of the city to visit a beautiful temple and we returned home in the evening.
- 6 Overcast and rainy.
- 7 Hazy, warm weather with some rain. Magobei told me that our appointed day of departure to Edo, which should be the day after tomorrow, had been postponed by the governor. It will now be on the second of their 12th month, which is the 16th of this month. We shall wait and see.
- 33 8 Nasty, drizzly weather. In the afternoon, Magobei returned the letter which I had given him on the 3rd to be handed to the Chinese skipper who is sailing to Siam. He said that I needed to make an extract first for the governor of what I had written to the High Government in Batavia. This was the custom. He brought a clerk along for this purpose, together with the *otona* and all other interpreters. I told them what I deemed opportune. Our nine pests being present, the *otona* had the number and names of the Japanese servants who will travel with us to Edo noted. He also sent for the owner of the large barge and requested that I pay him his fee. The interpreters and the other servants should also be paid their

wages. I had this done promptly. They also told me that I should take care of everything that needed to be done as soon as possible. The gifts and provisions should be gathered because the barge would moor at the stairs of the island in two or three days. The governor, so they said, intended to have us set off on the 4th day of their 12th month, which is the 18th of this month and would not accept any delay, because that day was one of the luckiest day for travel according to their almanac. Although a later date of departure has never been heard of, I replied that we were pleased to hear this, not because we set any store by these false heathen predictions, but because we hope that on that day we can start on our journey.

- 34 9–11 Hazy, warm weather and variable winds. Nothing noteworthy happened.

12 While we were sitting down to dinner, the governor sent Interpreter Hachizaemon to inform me that the barge which would carry us to Osaka would moor at the stairs of the water-gate of our small island in the evening. A certain Keiemon-dono has been appointed as our *opperbongiois* or escort. He, the two *onderbongioisen* and all the servants who have been appointed to escort us on the journey are busy preparing for this. The governor would like us to take care of all our business, so that we could leave together on the 18th, the appointed lucky day. I had the governor thanked for this announcement and let him know that we were ready to embark, should we have to do so tomorrow.

13 Very early the skipper of the barge came to announce that he had moored it in front of the gate last night. He would like to have the new prince's flag to fly it at the back according to annual custom, so that everyone could see that this was the barge which would be carrying the Dutchmen to the Shogun. Shortly after we saw it flying with *schanskleden* draped around the barge. This is a sign that it is now earnest and we shall soon see the end of this sorry delay.

- 35 14 Shortly after lunch, the governor sent all our interpreters to us with a certain Japanese doctor, who has been mentioned several times before. They showed me two books, both containing [descriptions

of] the art of medicine in the European manner. On the orders of Chikugo-no-kami our senior surgeon has instructed him and he seems to have grasped the matter fairly well. With the help of our interpreters he has translated them. The governor would like me to take them to Edo and hand them over to the commissioner. But our surgeon should sign them first and I had to confirm it with my signature, that all the instructions he had given the doctor, based on the works of several authors, had been carried out sincerely and to the best of his knowledge. I thought this strange and would have liked to be excused, but it was to no avail and I had to oblige the governor. While we were sitting down and were busy with the doctor, on behalf of the governor a *bongiois* came to announce that he had been sent to take me to the barge to inspect it to see whether I would like any changes made. I went there with a few of the interpreters. The skipper told me that he had looked everywhere for a place where the cassowary could best be kept and out of the way, but he had found none. Therefore, he and the interpreters proposed to transport it on another barge and send it ahead. He pointed out a barge which would leave for Miyako in two days.

36 We went to the barge and found a suitable dry place for the bird. The skipper was very willing to transport it, yea, he was honoured that his barge was chosen to transport a shogunal gift.

15 Fine, pleasant weather. The cassowary was taken to the barge in the afternoon. A Japanese servant will look after it. The barge will leave for Hirado early tomorrow morning. The men are very honoured with the charge of transporting the animal and asked for a piece of an old silk flag. I would have preferred to take the bird along in our own barge to avoid the extra expenses, but it seems that our fellow travellers, the *bongioisen* and the interpreters, are wary of any stench and devised the excuse that there was no suitable place for the bird on board our barge. This is not the first trick they have played on us and it will not be the last. In the evening, while we were having dinner, the governor sent for a red coral of three mas' weight. Yesterday he asked for a piece of Dutch plush. Both had already been

packed in the canasters, but we sent them anyway with Sukezaemon.

16 Clear, fine weather with an easterly wind. Nothing noteworthy happened. Two *burgemeesters* sent several packages to take along at the Company's expense.

37 17 Last night we had pouring rain. Then a cold, stiff north-westerly wind blew. Although the skipper of the barge, who is a true Japanese weathervane, assured us that this adverse wind would continue to blow for another five days and would hinder us on our journey, the governor paid no heed to this and had a *bongiois* open the water-gate in the afternoon. He announced that it was now time and it was dry, so we could load our goods. Everything was loaded within an hour. Only the contrary wind will hinder us. When the goods were being loaded, we found many strange packages and canasters, enough for 4–5 pack-horses. I was told aside that most of them had been sent by *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, under the pretext that they were destined for two of the principal councillors in Edo. But I think that our escort the *opperbongiois*, who is the secretary of the governor here, has been ordered by his master to take them along and deliver them on the Company's expense. Even should we be certain of this, there is nothing we could do about it.

Court journey

18 I awoke at dawn and when I left my room I noticed to my surprise that my two travelling trunks, in which my new bedding, best clothes and linen had been packed, had been opened and set far apart. The contents were scattered on the mats as in a pawnshop. It made me suspect that a Japanese thief, who might have hidden on the island and had been looking for money, had been busy last night.

38 After I had picked up my things and had inspected my fine travelling outfit, I found that only a stitched Bengal blanket was missing. Half an hour later one of the servants found it on top of the fence behind the kitchen. Our interpreters declared that such a brazen act had never before been perpetrated here and they thought that it was not a Japanese who had committed this theft, but one of our own

people. It is always their habit to accuse one of us when something like this happens and exonerate their own. Around eight o'clock, the governor sent Hachizaemon with the medicine book, the description of which has occupied our surgeons for a long time. It has been sealed and he earnestly advised me to keep it in my cabinet and hand it over to Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami when I arrived in Edo. The book is designated as a New Year's gift for the Shogun. Today is the day on which we shall begin our outward journey. At ten o'clock I went with Oetgens and Hogenhouck and all our interpreters to the governor to take my leave. After a short wait we appeared before His Honour and I thanked him for his assistance in the promotion of this journey and for choosing such an auspicious day. He replied that we should not worry about setting off so late this year contrary to custom, we would arrive in time and safely, for today was the most auspicious day of the year for travel and this meant a good start. Furthermore, the weather was fine and pleasant and the wind fairly favourable. He did not doubt that we would arrive safely in Edo shortly after their New Year's day and that we would obtain a speedy audience with His Majesty with the help of Yohyōe. He gave us a letter of recommendation for him.

- 39 I thanked him again with much blandiloquence, as is required on such occasions, for this favour and the offer of assistance and commended the remaining residents to his fatherly care and protection. He promised to look after them. Then we took our leave. Back at home, I found that it was far past noon and I ordered the table to be set hastily so that we could have a meal together before the *bongioisen* called us for our departure. But the steward, who is in charge of the silver table service which belongs to the factory and is used every day, came upstairs looking surprised. He told me that when he wanted to take the silver from its case to hand to the servant, he found that four large dishes and one beaker were missing. He thought that they must have been stolen from the case, which could not be closed properly, during the night and taken from the island. This act would not have surprised us if it

had been committed during the trading season, but at this time, when it is quiet, it did so all the more. Apart from our own people, no one comes here but a few interpreters. Without a doubt the thief came from outside and last night he must have looked in vain for the silver in my canasters and having searched further found it in the case. This theft is unacceptable and I commended Oetgens to do his best to recover the objects through a thorough but discreet investigation, first among our own people and afterwards, with the advice of the *otona* and the interpreters, among the Japanese. The culprit should be found and receive appropriate punishment to set an example.

- 40 After we had finished our meal, I handed Oetgens a written memorandum with instructions on the running of the Company's affairs here and also several documents. I also handed him the remaining cash and goods, the first to pay for expenses and the second to be used properly. But while we were busy, Keiemon-dono, our *opperbongiois* and the senior escort appointed to us, came with the two *onderbongioisen* and a crowd of servants to my room to get acquainted. After they had sat down, I offered them a cup of tent wine. Before he set it to his lips, Keiemon-dono said that he trusted that I was fully aware of the Shogun's orders and how we should act on them. If we complied with them without any arguments, this would add to our honour and well-being and would prevent many discomforts. I replied in the appropriate manner. Next he turned to both *onderbongioisen* and told them that they should be careful not to address any of us sharply during the journey or treat us ill on account of any small matter which might rise. Then he accepted the cup of wine. After having taken two or three sips, he rose and politely said that he would proceed to the barge with his men. I could follow when it suited me. Because I wished to avoid any discourtesy by dallying, I promptly sent away all the people who had come to see us off as they do every year with trays of food and fruit and small gifts and gave them some small counter gifts. I commended the subordinates who are staying behind to do their duty and handed the supervision of all to Oetgens.

Then, around half past three, I passed through the water-gate and boarded a small vessel together with Oetgens and Junior Merchant Messteecker.

- 41 It took us to the barge, where we found the sons, brothers-in-law and nephews of the *otona* and the interpreters and the other escorts and well-wishers crowding our rooms with their *jūbako* and grasshoppers so that there was hardly a place for us to sit. Our people returned to shore early, but the Japanese remained sitting and accompanied us to the bend of the bay singing all the way and it was dark when they returned on their small vessels. It was very calm and we had to row to the small village of Fukuda, where we dropped anchor.

19 In the morning, we weighed anchor and sailed on a north-easterly wind. Around four o'clock in the afternoon we reached Hirado and dropped anchor in front of the Company's old lodge. The next day we proceeded on our journey and we dropped anchor in several bays and harbours. On the 26th we reached Shimonoseki, where we took on supplies of water and fresh food. On the 28th we sailed through the narrows of Kaminoseki to the southern sea and after having passed between many islands we arrived safely.

In Osaka

30 in Osaka. Shirōemon, our landlord of old, had been notified over land from Hyōgo of our arrival and he came to welcome us. We transferred onto two covered pleasure boats and sailed up river to the city passing many high bridges. When evening fell we reached his house, our ordinary lodging. We spent the night there.

31 The interpreters went to both governors with our landlord to announce our arrival and to ask them when it would suit them for me to greet them with our gifts. Our gifts, the provisions and other luggage were brought ashore and stored in a fire-proof warehouse. Around ten o'clock the interpreters returned and said that the governors were very pleased with our arrival.

- 42 They would be at home late in the afternoon and would expect us then. After dinner we sent the gifts ahead and two hours later we followed. The first

governor, Tanba-no-kami, was said to be suffering from ill health and had not left his room for three months. His secretary apologized on his behalf, but he accepted the gifts and wished us a propitious journey. The other governor, Matsudaira Hayato-sama, had us appear before him. He first had my name and those of the interpreters, which had been given to him in writing, called out and then he also wished us a happy journey. After much bowing and scraping the interpreter gave us a signal and we rose. We took another way home across a large square close to the castle, which is an extremely high and sturdy building.

February

1 Upon the presentation of the bond which Sakuemon, the first *burgemeester*, took out for the benefit of the Company on 3 November, our landlord Shirōemon handed me the 3000 taels which the *burgemeester* owes in gold *koban* and *bu*. The 1000 taels which Shirōemon himself owes the Company will be paid on our return from Edo. I had all the packs and canisters checked and counted to see what could be carried by men and what should be carried by horses. We spent half a day sorting and weighing everything to make the packs of equal weight. We shall need eighty-five coolies or bearers and forty-six horses. Thus I sent for the horse-owners and in the presence of our interpreters and the landlord we settled the price for each coolie and horse for the journey from here to Edo in the following manner:

- 43 For seventy-five ordinary bearers 5 taels each, 375 taels; for ten *norimono* bearers 5.5 taels each, 55 taels; for forty-six riding horses and pack-horses 11.8.5 taels each, 545.1 taels.

2 I contracted for some litters and poles for the large *alcatief* and the cellarets and other breakable goods which cannot be carried safely on horses to be finished this evening. I intend to set off for Miyako one hour before dawn tomorrow. In the afternoon, the Nagasaki Governor's factor came to visit me with several young noblemen. I entertained them as best as I could in Japanese fashion. After their departure, several important merchants

visited me in my room, including two brothers who are citizens of Sakai. The younger one offered me a present of two pheasants. He told me that he intended to send some vessels with bar-copper to Nagasaki in three months which he would deliver to the Company, without asking whether we would accept it and at what price. I just told him that he was free to do so, but that he should not expect the Company to pay such a high price per picul as last year. He said nothing but laughed. Shortly after, our landlord's father also came to offer me 500 piculs of copper without mentioning the price. He said that he would accept the price that we paid to the others. I have no doubts that the Company will be able to obtain a large batch of this profitable ballast this year. In the evening, our *opperbongiois* had Hachizaemon inform me that tomorrow is the anniversary of the death of this Shogun's father.

44 This event is commemorated by everyone throughout the entire empire with mourning and fasting. Thus he would like to stay here for the day. The *onderbongioisen* and the interpreters shared the same sentiment. Although we are ready to travel, I acquiesced.

3 Today we had nothing else to do but help the Japanese fast till the evening, after we had eaten and drunk heartily in the afternoon, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Shogun's death.

In Miyako

4 Half an hour before sunrise we left Osaka. In fine warm weather we arrived in Hirakata in the afternoon, where we enjoyed some refreshments. Around five o'clock we arrived in Miyako at the inn of a certain citizen named Saburōemon. Hachizaemon went with him to the *Grootrechter*, Makino Sado-no-kami, to announce our arrival and to ask at what time we could appear before him tomorrow to present our gifts. Very late in the evening, the interpreter returned and said that after a long wait the secretary had finally told him that we should be at the court of the official at eight o'clock. Immediately we prepared a substantial gift, almost as large as those which are normally presented to the councillors in Edo, following the recommendations of Boucheljon

before he departed. The presentation trays were ordered to be finished during the night.

5 At the appointed time we went there and we were shown to a waiting room where we sat down. We waited for an hour, our teeth chattering from the cold. Then we saw the gifts being brought inside and we were signalled to follow. When we entered a beautiful long hall, we were shown that we had to drop down near the first sliding doors, which we did. We saw this grand official sitting at least 25 paces behind us.

45 This meant that when this oracle spoke, both interpreters, who were lying on their faces like us, had to listen sharply to hear what he said. The few words that he uttered were translated to me as follows: 'His Honour is pleased with your safe arrival and wishes you a happy journey to Edo. He could not accept such a large gift and it should be decreased in future, as he had commended the captain last year.' I thanked him for his good wishes and promised to comply in future. The song was thus ended and we raised our heads. We returned straight home, but Hachizaemon stayed behind to wait for the pass, which is given to us every year for our journey to Edo. While we were busy at home preparing for our departure, on behalf of the *Grootrechter*, one of his noblemen came to request three pieces of *taffachelas*, which were handed to him. He said that we would be paid on our return from Edo. A short while later, Hachizaemon came with the pass and after we had finished our breakfast, we mounted our horses and left Miyako around eleven o'clock in fine weather. Outside the city, we had to cross the mountains along a slippery narrow and difficult road to reach Ōtsu. We paused there. From there to Kusatsu, which we reached in the evening and where we found a good inn; the road was fair. Shortly before we went to bed, we saw a man throwing handfuls of roasted beans against the ceiling of the whole house while screaming his head off to drive away the devil from the house.⁶ It should be made clear that we saw the exorcist but not the devil himself.

6 *Setsubun*.

On the highway

6 Before dawn we left and in the afternoon we reached the hamlet of Minakuchi, where we spent an hour for refreshments. Then we travelled further and we reached Sekinojizō, where we spent the night.

46 7 We left before dawn and reached Ishiyakushi in a drizzle. We had a meal and in dense rain we travelled to Kuwana, where we arrived around four o'clock. But because of the low tide, we could not proceed to Miya.

8 At seven o'clock we split up in two covered barges which lay ready behind the house and we sailed to Miya across a large bay of the southern sea. We arrived in the afternoon, enjoyed a meal and climbed on our horses. We spent the night in Chiryū.

9 At dawn we left and travelled to Okazaki, where we enjoyed refreshments. We spent the night in Akasaka.

10 We lunched in Arai but dined and slept in Hamamatsu.

11 Early in the morning, in cold and windy weather, we went on and at noon we gave our bodies the necessary rest in Fukuroi and at night we had a good rest in Kanaya.

12 Early in the day we proceeded on our way and crossed the swift running Ōi-gawa at great peril. We had refreshments in Okabe and spent the night in a clean, large house in Ejiri.

13 Today is the Japanese *Shōgatsu* or New Year's day. We left at daybreak and lunched in Yoshiwara. In the evening, we dropped down in Mishima and spent the night there.

14 On a clear day and with fine fresh weather, we started to climb the high mountains of Hakone with the help of fresh bearers and horses. Around ten o'clock we reached the top. We had breakfast in the city of Hakone and after an hour we travelled down the other half and in the plain below we reached the city of Odawara.

47 15 We climbed on our horses and rode to Ōiso, where we lunched. In the evening, we reached Totsuka and spent the night.

Arrival in Edo

16 We proceeded on our journey and had something to eat in Kawasaki. In the afternoon, around four o'clock – Thank God –, we arrived safely in the large shogunal city of Edo. While entering the city, we noticed a thick, black smoke from afar, signifying that there was a fire on the eastern side. The citizens, mainly shopkeepers, were climbing on top of the roofs of their houses to see which way the wind was blowing the flames and if the fire was coming their way. But when they saw that they were out of danger because of the great distance, they climbed down again, not seeming to care at all for the loss of their neighbours. When we went further into the city, we also noticed to our amazement that the 5000 houses which had burnt down in November of last year had been rebuilt neatly and curiously in this short space of time. After an hour's ride, attracting much attention, we finally reached our customary inn. Hachizaemon went with Gen'emon, our landlord, to announce our safe arrival to Shogunal Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami and to the second governor of Nagasaki, Yohyōe. The interpreter returned late in the evening with the news that Yohyōe had not been at home, but he had spoken to the commissioner himself. He was very pleased at our arrival and had said that we would be very tired from the journey and should rest tonight and tomorrow. But we should notify him in writing early tomorrow what gifts we had brought for His Majesty and for him in fulfilment of his demand.

17 Early in the morning we went to work and selected the gifts for His Majesty, the councillors and other nobles.

48 But because our interpreter and the landlord could not imagine that Chikugo-no-kami would accept the large *alcatief*, which is riddled with holes, as a gift for His Majesty, they thought that we should increase the amount of Dutch cloth and did so, usually acting as they think fit instead of paying heed to our discretion, without being able or willing to believe that these textiles are very expensive. The same procedure was followed when selecting the gifts for the first three councillors, especially

because, according to them, Sakai Sanuki-no-kami would not accept any gift from us or anyone else because of his advanced age. After we had made up a list of the rarities which we have brought for Chikugo-no-kami and several other nobles and the clerk, Niemon, had written it all down and translated it into Japanese, we sent Hachizaemon to hand it over to Chikugo-no-kami. I told him to greet the commissioner on our behalf and to request his assistance to achieve a short stay at the Court and a speedy dispatch from here. In the meantime, all our packs, cases and canasters were opened for inspection of the goods. They were all dry and in good condition. While we were busy taking them upstairs to sort them and check them against the list, three noblemen from the court of the King of Mito came to visit me and bid me welcome. Shortly after, the two younger sons⁷ of Chikugo-no-kami also came. When they were all seated, I entertained them all and stayed with them. Meanwhile, we proceeded with sorting the goods. But we had to do this in their presence and within their view, which caused us many problems, because they turned everything inside out and rummaged through all the fabrics, inspecting it closely. They requested that we keep aside of the remaining gift-goods this for the one and that for the other. Four of the noblemen stood up and left after having thanked me for the hospitality.

- 49 A certain Uneme-dono, who is said to be related to Chikugo-no-kami, remained seated and remained in our way for the entire day. He pretended that his master, Mito-sama, had given him orders to select some goods for him to be shown to him. I had to oblige this impudent fellow. In the afternoon, Hachizaemon returned from Chikugo-no-kami and reported that His Honour had inspected the list of gifts for His Majesty and the councillors and had given his approval. The only change he had made was to replace the Dutch sword with an inferior one and to add a couple of pistols, of the seven which Boucheljon left here last year, to the gifts for His

Majesty. This means that this year the gifts for His Majesty and the councillors will be substantially greater than in previous years. His Honour also had me informed that I should divide the gifts and send them to him in canasters the sooner the better, because he was of the opinion that they would be better preserved against fire in his warehouse than in ours. With regard to our request for a speedy audience at Court, he had said that it was likely that I would behold His Majesty's countenance on the 27th of this month, which is the 15th of their *Shōgatsu*. He did not know of any impediment. Our old patron was delighted with the many and various rarities from the fatherland and the Indies which we had brought for him at his request. While he was talking to the interpreter, he sent for the two large beautiful mirrors and most of the other stuff. The interpreter had also gone to the house of Governor Yohyōe. This time he had found him at home and had spoken to him. He informed him of our arrival and made the same request as to Chikugo-no-kami.

- 50 He had been pleased and had said that we had arrived at a suitable time. He would assist us in any way he could. On the orders of Chikugo-no-kami I sent tent wine and butter to several people. Several nobles also sent for some fabrics, spyglasses, spectacles and such, which they wished to see. We had no shortage of visitors. Thus the entire day our hands and feet were busy with coming and going, handing out and receiving. Around nine in the evening, just when we had retired to bed, we heard that another fierce fire had broken out on the northern side of the city. Our landlord climbed on top of his house and seemingly did so without any fear. He called out to us that we could lie down again and sleep without fear, because the fire was more than 1½ miles from our quarter. We were not in any danger.

18 Hachizaemon came to my room very early and told me that last night after ten Chikugo-no-kami had sent one of his servants to ask him why I had not packed the gifts for the Shogun and the councillors yesterday and sent them to him for safe-keeping. He had offered me his fireproof warehouse. Did I not fear for fire or could I not imagine that the fire

7 Actually his grandsons. See 21 February.

which I might have witnessed with my own eyes last night could also hit us and consume the gifts for His Majesty? I replied by asking him if he had not seen with his own eyes that yesterday my attention had been diverted from the intended task in hundreds of ways. Had I been able to set a foot out of my room, when all day long visitors were there looking at things, coming and going, fetching and bringing, let alone had I been given a chance to apportion the gifts?

- 51 It had not been because of my carelessness or negligence, but because of the callers who had been in the way. Chikugo-no-kami's own sons⁸ had even been the most bothersome. The interpreter admitted that this was true, but he said that it was best if I did not mention this, because should Chikugo-no-kami hear of it, he would be very annoyed and would severely punish his sons, who often come to bother us without him knowing of it. In order not to delay the division of the gifts this morning, I asked the *opperbongiois* downstairs not to let anyone come upstairs. We could do with no interruption for two or three hours. He agreed and we went to work. Around ten we were finished and I sent for some coolies and dispatched them to Chikugo-no-kami with the canasters packed with the piece-goods. The large *alcatief*, both globes and other rarities were sent later with the interpreter. The goods had hardly left the house but our *opperbongiois* brought the son of his master, our second governor Kiemon, to my room. He sat down for an hour and tasted a cup of tent wine. Then he saw that the table in the front room was being set and he asked what it was about. The *bongiois* told him that we wished to eat and he politely said goodbye and went downstairs. He said that he would go and look at the cassowary and would return later. Around two o'clock in the afternoon, the interpreter returned and said that he had delivered the gifts to the house of Chikugo-no-kami. His Honour had spent half an hour looking at both globes. Then he had them stored away with the other goods. He had said that he was now assured that the gifts for His Majesty were safe. He

also wanted to know if both large mirrors had been brought as gifts for His Majesty.

- 52 Or had they been sent for Chikugo-no-kami himself in fulfilment of his order of last year? I replied that these mirrors had been sent from Batavia as gifts for His Majesty. The mirrors which His Honour ordered last year will be sent next year. But because they had not been listed with the other gifts for His Majesty, it had been left so, in order that the mirrors could be used as replacements, should His Honour wish to remove something of the list or make any changes. He said that Chikugo-no-kami might keep them for himself and would pay the Company for them. Later he would present them to His Majesty, but he would keep quiet about it and hide them from others.

- 19 Chikugo-no-kami sent for the remaining rarities. He also wanted to have all the goods we had brought for various nobles in fulfilment of their orders of last year. He would see to it that each would receive what was meant for him. Hachizaemon had been summoned by the commissioner very early and he returned around nine. He told me that His Honour wished to warn me that when the King of Owari sent for the large cellaret with 15 stone bottles and the crystal glasses and ventoses,⁹ I should hand them over. Therefore he would send them to our lodgings later. Shortly after lunch, Governor Yohyōe's son, a proud young fellow about 14–15 years old, visited me. On account of his father, I offered him some pastries and tent wine, but at first he would not taste any. There was a big brat with him – who, so it seemed, was playing the buffoon in a Japanese way – who enjoyed it all the more. Our *opperbongiois*, who had brought them upstairs and who all the time was lying face down like a bloodhound in front of this young fellow, invited him groaning to accept the cup and to taste it. Finally he did, but he let the elderly nobleman crawl over to him to pour the wine in the glass. I think this is a strange and despicable manner compared to our European customs.
- 53 After we had all appeared before him at his request and each had also stated his age and name in writing, he and his suite went downstairs to look at the

8 See 21 February.

9 Cupping glasses.

cassowary. About an hour after the young fellow had left, the aforementioned impudent Uneme-dono, a relative of Chikugo-no-kami and a nobleman belonging to the court of Mito-sama, came with three of his mates. They went up to the best room and sat down. Without anyone's knowledge, he sent his servant to fetch some freshly baked bread and butter from our cook. He sent for me and told me that he had brought these noblemen along to teach them to eat butter and cheese, just like he had learnt to do five or six years ago. He enjoyed these foods as much as any Dutchman. To show his companions that he liked it, he spread an extraordinarily thick layer of butter – although it was very stale and rancid – on the bread and then set his teeth in it like a hungry wolf which had not eaten for three days. He then demanded all kinds of drink to go with it. Out of consideration for the friendship with Chikugo-no-kami, we obliged him. Finally I had to show my clothes and my bedding. After they had inspected them, dragging and throwing them all over the dirty mats, they cast them back at me. There is nothing we can do or say about this rudeness. None of our *bongioisen* or interpreters dare look sourly at him, let alone reproach him for it. In the evening, Owari-no-kami sent his secretary to fetch some woollen and silk fabrics and some reading glasses, spyglasses and spectacles for him to see. He wanted to know the price of each. It took us till nine o'clock before we were finished. The secretary also asked for the large cellaret which Chikugo-no-kami had sent back this morning. I also handed it to him to show to his master.

20 In the afternoon, the Lord of Yodo came to my quarters with a large suite of noblemen and servants.

- 54 According to custom I offered him some almonds, some confectionery and some tent wine, but he did not touch any of it. He only wished to see some rare things, mainly my sword, the straps and all our best clothes. They were all laid out before him. He looked at them with wonder. After about half an hour he rose and politely said goodbye. He said that he would also like to see the large bird downstairs – he meant the cassowary. I accompanied

him downstairs and took him to the place where the bird was. Nothing else worth mentioning happened today, except that on his master's orders, Guinemon, Chikugo-no-kami's interpreter, prepared some medicine together with our surgeon. In the evening, they made some fox fat or oil, which emitted such a foul stench and fumes that we could barely stay indoors.

21 In the morning Genba-dono, the father of the aforesaid wicked Uneme-dono, came to visit me with three other noblemen. One of them, a nobleman belonging to the court of Kinokuni, claimed that he had heard that I would be given audience by His Majesty on the 27th of this month. All of them congratulated me and drank to this good news. They spent two hours and left very pleased. In the afternoon, the two sons of Chikugo-no-kami again visited me. They asked to see some strings of amber. Four or five were shown to them. The younger one, whose name is Genzō-dono,¹⁰ removed one of the largest and finest beads, notwithstanding my telling him that his father had ordered me to keep them for His Majesty. He heeded me not, put it in his purse and left.

22 In the morning our senior surgeon was instructed to go to Chikugo-no-kami's house after lunch. He went there with Junior Merchant Hogenhouck and Interpreter Hachizaemon.

- 55 They returned almost immediately, because just before they arrived there, His Honour had been summoned to the Court. We are almost running out of our Dutch provisions, in particular olive oil and butter, because every day many lords are sending for some on the orders of Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe. On the advice of Chikugo-no-kami we have stored some away so that we shall have some left for our return journey. The whole afternoon many important persons have been coming and going. Most of them use the pretence of coming to see the cassowary to come up to my room for some refreshments.

10 Sic. They were Chikugo-no-kami's two grandsons. See 13 February 1655.

23 Around ten o'clock our *opperbongiois* informed me that the brother of the Lord of Yodo, who visited us on the 20th, was downstairs in his room and would like to speak to me. I invited His Honour upstairs. He came with a large retinue. He detached himself from the others and sat against a sliding door. He said that he was very curious to see my sword and other strange things which we had brought. We showed him all the things that we thought would interest him, including three dried¹¹ beautiful birds of paradise, one of which seemed to please him greatly. I offered it to him. He expressed his gratitude profusely and asked me to keep it with the others until I had been in His Majesty's presence, then he would send for it. He hoped to see me again in the Shogun's palace on the day of the audience, which he thought would be on the 15th of their *Shōgatsu* or the 27th of this month.

56 If we should leave Edo after him, we should visit him in his castle at Yodo, which lies between Osaka and Miyako close to the river and has a beautiful pleasure garden and he would show us around his domain. I thanked him for this honour and the invitation with the proper expressions of gratitude. Then he rose and left with his suite. In the afternoon, our interpreters brought four or five young imps upstairs. They said that they were the children of some of the most important men in the city. Thus I treated them to sweets, fruit and wine. They enjoyed these with relish and stashed what remained into their sleeves. Then they rose and said that now they also wanted to see the cassowary downstairs. This is the usual pretext for most of the visits and annoyances: to view me or the cassowary like two strange monsters.

24 Uneme-dono came again to ask for some red coral, amber and other trifles for his lord, Mito-sama. I let him select a few things from what remained. Then he saw my diamond ring and pulled it off my finger. He bit into it as hard as he could, then he took a knife and began to cut and file it. I could not stand it any longer and took it from him. I told him that it might easily break. He replied:

'How can that be possible. I cut Captain Happart's stone longer and it did not break.' Later, when I had to leave him for half an hour, he opened both my canasters, a cellaret and some cases. He threw out all that they contained and rummaged through them like a pig. He also removed two birds of paradise from under the table, which had been hidden there from him on purpose. Because of his rough handling of them, the head of one of them was pulled off. I returned shortly after and saw the mess he had made. I started to show him my displeasure, but he paid no heed. He said that he would take the bottle of sweet wine which he had found in my cellaret and he would send me a wild goose, which he had shot himself, in the evening.

57 I noticed that I had to deal with a madman and let him keep it. In the evening, he did not send me a goose, but a fine fat swan, which I had salted and which made me forget the annoyances. Today nothing else happened apart from the requests of some gentlemen to see some trifles such as spyglasses, spectacles, most of which were returned as undesirable.

25 Early in the morning Interpreter Hachizaemon was summoned to Chikugo-no-kami's house. He returned with the wished for news that last night His Honour had received written orders from Councillor Izu-no-kami that we should prepare ourselves to go to the castle the day after tomorrow to be received in audience by His Majesty. We should go to his house together tomorrow at eight. He wanted to see us and instruct us how to behave when performing our duties at the Court. I urged the Japanese from whom we have ordered the presentation trays to have them ready by tomorrow evening. When the interpreter left, His Honour asked him why the fire hose had not been sent this year. He told him why and said that it would certainly come next year. In the evening, Chikugo-no-kami sent one of his servants to fetch all the strings of amber, the spyglasses and twenty pairs of spectacles. He wanted to select the best and the clearest and add them to some other gifts.

26 Today it was very cold. At eight o'clock we went to Chikugo-no-kami on foot accompanied by both

11 Stuffed?

interpreters and Gen'emon, our landlord. There we were taken to a small hall where we had to wait.

- 58 Fifteen minutes later Chikugo-no-kami joined us. He is a tall, stout man over 70 years old, but still very quick on his feet. He sat down eight to ten paces right in front of us. The first thing he asked was my name and age. Next he said that he was pleased that our journey from Nagasaki had been so successful, we had been very lucky and now we were even luckier that we would be appearing in His Majesty's presence so soon. We should prepare ourselves and be at the castle at nine o'clock. He would join us around ten and instruct us properly on how to act. I replied that we would follow his orders promptly and I added as many compliments and expressions of gratitude for his help and fatherly care as I could express. He exchanged some words with our senior surgeon, whom he had met before, about the use of some medicines. Then we took our leave and returned home. In the afternoon, I had the two barrels of tent wine and Spanish wine, which are gifts for His Majesty, covered with fine mats and tied with blue straps. I also ordered coolies for tomorrow to take the gifts from Chikugo-no-kami's house to the Court. Also horses on which we shall ride to the castle. The cassowary, which is still in good health, has been cleaned and his cage as well. I had it decked out with finery. A new collar with large bells was hung around its neck and a pair of yellow silk garters were tied above its [damaged by worms] so that tomorrow it will also appear well-groomed. At the urgent request of our landlord and the interpreters, who insist that this is obligatory, we went to the *furo* or bath. We washed and cleansed ourselves thoroughly and when dusk was falling we returned to the inn.

Audience

- 59 27 Clear but very cold weather. I sent the cassowary on ahead to the castle and around nine o'clock we arrived there. We passed through the first gate of the outer castle and had to pass a long street, with beautiful buildings on both sides. But when we had almost reached the end, someone called out from behind us to stop. When we did so we learnt that,

because it was still early, Councillor Kawachi-no-kami, who is a good friend of Chikugo-no-kami, invited us to wait in his house till Chikugo-no-kami sent for us. We retraced our steps and were taken to a large costly house, where we sat for almost an hour. After we had drunk a cup of warm tea, Chikugo-no-kami let us know that it was now time to proceed to the shogunal palace. We went on foot across a beautiful bridge, through another gate and reached the second castle. There, in a large square, at least 400 *norimono* and some fine horses were lined up neatly. On both sides of the bridge in front of the third castle we also saw a large group of men dressed uniformly, each carrying a large stick standing about a rod apart. It seemed that they were the guards of the crowd of servants, *norimono* bearers and grooms. We crossed the bridge and went through an iron gate into the third castle. When passing the large shogunal guard, we bared our heads as a mark of respect. We turned left and passed through the fourth gate, a metal one, of the shogunal palace. When we entered the first waiting hall, we saw on the left side a bodyguard of about 500 men, sitting neatly in rows under the bare sky, each holding his sword in his hand, which was a magnificent sight. We were now inside and were led along a gallery into the ordinary waiting hall, which was decorated all around with carved and gilded foliage. We were told to sit there next to each other. Several lords, noblemen, priests, *bōzu* or His Majesty's attendants, and other courtiers came to look at us. Some of them asked us our names and age, others looked at our clothes.

- 60 A certain lord put my hat on his head, another hung my belt around his body and put on my glove, to make each other laugh. During this buffoonery, now and again a signal was given to be silent, because the Shogun's great-uncles or other great lords were passing. During one such silence, we saw the King of Owari approaching. When he noticed us, he stood still for a moment and then went on. Yohyōe, the Nagasaki Governor who is similar in posture, voice and facial appearance to the Batavian citizen Jaques du Mon, came to see us, but he left without saying a word. Finally our advocate Chikugo-no-kami

appeared. He had our viewing public, who were sitting in front of us, move aside and make room for us. He called Interpreter Hachizaemon and ordered him to sit opposite us against a sliding door of the large hall until he gave him a signal to warn me. A few minutes later he gave me the signal and told me that I alone should get up and enter the hall. I did so and when I entered the long hall, I saw our governor standing there. He indicated that he would lead the way. About thirty paces further into the hall, Chikugo-no-kami joined us and indicated to me that I should go down a stairs on the left, past a large building projecting crossways on both sides along a narrow outer gallery with the interpreter, which we did. But Yohyōe, who followed us far behind, joined us around the corner of the building and told us to wait there till Chikugo-no-kami called us. He had barely said so, when our old patron approached from the other side of the building beckoning us. Yohyōe, who was now friendliness personified, took my hand and pulled me along till we reached the large hall, which was filled with great lords. Chikugo-no-kami turned and motioned to me that I should follow him closely and I did so, but he walked at such a fast pace that the three of us had difficulty keeping up with him.

- 61 When we reached him, we had to kneel down and Chikugo-no-kami lay down four or five paces ahead of me around a corner and apparently kept peering to see when His Majesty would appear. He thought the time had come and beckoned me to stand up and approach, but before I could do so, he signalled that I should drop down again. This made me suspect that our good patron had made a mistake because of his failing eyesight. However, shortly after, I received a second signal and I wanted to rise and go closer to Chikugo-no-kami, but Yohyōe – who was lying close behind me – thought that he might have made another mistake and held on to my coat. Chikugo-no-kami noticed this and seemed to get upset about it. He came creeping towards me on hands and knees and pulled me towards him rather forcefully out of Yohyōe's grip by the other slip of my coat. Thus I was being tugged on both sides and I was at my wits' end. Dumbfounded, fear started to

take hold of me. But then, at the third signal, I fell down on my face and I heard someone call out in a loud voice 'Oranda Kapitan'. This was the end of this song and the end of the ceremony and I had not even seen the shadow of the Shogun, let alone the person himself. Because I wanted to know whether I had lain down on my face for such a long time for a human being or an owl or a monkey, I decided while I had to lie there for a while longer, that when rising, I would look around freely for the reason that I had appeared here. And indeed, when I was ordered to rise and leave, I did so unabashedly and I discerned a fine fellow, who looked more like a woman than a man to me, standing at some distance in a dark spot. This having been done, Hachizaemon and I returned along the same gallery to the hall where our people were waiting. Shortly after, Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe came to congratulate me on having beheld the person of His Imperial Majesty, especially because this honour had been bestowed so soon after our arrival here and on such a fine day as today.

- 62 I expressed my gratitude profusely, not only for their good wishes, but also for their help during our stay here. After having flattered them some more, I respectfully took my leave and we went on our way. Outside the second castle, we mounted our horses and shortly after midday we arrived back home. We were met with so many well-wishers, or rather gift-seekers, that we could hardly make our way through them. After lunch we went out again to thank Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe again – this seems to be the custom. But when we arrived at the house of Chikugo-no-kami, we were told that His Honour had not yet returned from the Court. On our way to Yohyōe's house, one of his servants met us and told us that he was also out, thus we turned back and went to visit the sons of Kiemon, the incumbent governor of Nagasaki. They invited us in and treated us to tea and other Japanese refreshments. We spent about an hour there. We thanked them for their hospitality and returned home. After half an hour, Hachizaemon came to tell us that Yohyōe would like us to go there this evening. We complied, but because our rental horses had

already been returned, we had to go on foot. When we arrived, His Honour asked us to go upstairs to a beautiful room, where we were entertained the same way as at Kiemon's sons' house. Each of us was given a few cups of warm *sake*. After half an hour we were asked to rise and approach him.

63 He sat down with us, holding his small daughter. He started to speak about the great honour that had been bestowed upon me by being allowed to see the Shogun. Then he began to boast amiably about how much I liked this city and what I thought of the buildings. Then he offered his help if needed. I gave the requisite response and thanked him for his hospitality. We took our leave and returned to the inn.

28 In the afternoon, I went out to present the gifts to the councillors and other lords both inside and outside the castle. But wherever we went, Brother Nobody was at home and their secretaries or major-domos accepted the gifts. They displayed much gratitude, but they knew well how to make excuses for their masters' inbred arrogance, who will never show themselves to us. The one would pretend that his master had been summoned to appear before His Majesty just before we arrived, the other would say that he was poorly, the third that he had left for his domain, but we can easily shrug it all off. We spent the afternoon crossing the city and when dusk fell we returned to our inn. After dinner I sent for Hachizaemon. I told him that now that we had presented our gifts to the Shogun, the councillors and other lords and they had all been accepted by everyone and Governor Yohyōe having promised to help us if need be – he had heard him say so himself yesterday – would this not be a suitable opportunity to request the governor – as he had promised to do in Nagasaki and on the way here – namely

64 that in future the holds of our ships be left unsealed before and after the trading season, or, should this be refused, to request him to allow us every year to stay a few days longer before the last ship departed, so that we would be better able to finish our business than we have done so far. The interpreter said that he was beholden to do so, but he added that two requests on one occasion was one too many. He would consult some friends and do his best. It was

very late when Chikugo-no-kami let me know that, considering that people are sending for tent wine and Spanish wine every day, we should keep at least 5 *gantang* in reserve, so that when Mito-sama or Owari-sama sent for some, we could oblige them at least with this much.

March

1 In the afternoon, I went alone and without any gift to visit our old Nagasaki Governor, Saburōzaemon. He was not at home and it was no use waiting for him, so I left a message with one of his servants and went back the mile I had traversed in vain. When I arrived back home, I found a large gathering of visitors, including Genba-dono, the father of the aforesaid impudent Uneme-dono, who was passing the time by making a shameful exhibition of himself dressing in our clothes, just like his son, and a few *bongioisen* and the children of some lords. They all said that they had come to congratulate me on the honour I enjoyed yesterday at the Court. My companions, who had remained at home, had entertained them properly. The older members of the group stood up, thanked us for the hospitality and left, but the children stayed for a long while. Around four o'clock the first reciprocal gift, five silk gowns, arrived. They were sent on behalf of Andō Ukyō-sama, whom we generally call the announcer, because he has to announce each person who wishes to prostrate himself before His Majesty.

65 In the evening, our *opperbongiois* informed me that the eldest son of his master Kiemon wished to visit me with two other young noblemen, one of whom was the son of Councillor Izumo-no-kami, after dinner or when it was dark. The reason was that they did not want it to be known or to be seen visiting us during the day. Thus we sat down to dinner earlier than ordinary, but when we were almost finished, six or seven servants from Chikugo-no-kami's house came through the back way and up the stairs and joined us at the table. They pretended that they had come to see us eat, but they behaved in a quite unseemly fashion, demanding this and that, even taking things without restraint. But just as they had set themselves down on the chairs and were

carrying on, Hachizaemon came to warn us that the three young gentlemen were inside the room and were waiting for me. Those rude guests heard this, got up and packed themselves off as fast as possible. The gentlemen entered and I greeted them, bowing according to this country's custom and sat down with them. But they asked that the others join us. The first tune again was: what were our names and ages? Then they asked Junior Merchant Hogenhouck to show them how to write with a pen and ink on Dutch paper. Next they asked our surgeon to show them his case with instruments. He did so. One of the gentlemen seemed to like a lancet and he kept pressing the surgeon until the latter yielded and offered him one of the two he had. Then we had to show them all our best clothes and after they had cast them about on the mats and had dripped candle-grease on them, they asked me to put on my hat and hang my sword around me. They viewed me from the front and the back. Then Hogenhouck had to show himself dressed in his overcoat and in his coat. After they had looked at us for quite a while, had measured us and had engaged in other childish pranks, they wanted us to sing Dutch songs. But one of us, who preferred to go to bed rather than sing, it being past nine o'clock, replied that the Dutch could not sing unless they were drunk.

66 They had a good laugh at this. Shortly after, they rose and thanked us for the fine hospitality – but none of the three gentlemen had tasted anything of the refreshments we had offered them – and went downstairs to the *opperbongiois*' room. They sent Hachizaemon to ask me if they could borrow some of my clothes for two or three days. They wanted to have them copied, so that when the Shogun went hunting, they could ride towards him dressed as Dutchmen. Thus I handed him a satin suit, a red undergarment with silver trimmings, a nightcap, my best hat and other such things. It was already past ten o'clock.

2 Around seven in the morning Chikugo-no-kami summoned Hachizaemon. After two hours he returned. He reported that he had been asked if Mito-sama had sent for the 5 *gantang* of tent wine.

When he said that he had not, Chikugo-no-kami had told him that we should see to it that they were kept for him. Chikugo-no-kami had also ordered him to inform us that we should report to his house at two in the afternoon, without giving him the reason. I notified my companions and told them that horses should be ordered and they should dress and be ready at that time. I intended to leave the *norimono* at home and go on horseback like my companions, but these rental horses are usually very skinny and groomed very poorly. Thus I proposed to our *opperbongiois* if Uneme-dono, our pain in the neck whom I have mentioned many times before, would be willing to lend me his horse, which he has offered to me in the past. He replied that he would undoubtedly be willing to do so, but he lived too far out of the city to send for it. He had a better idea. He would send a note to the son of his master Kiemon, the one who had visited us last night and ask him for his. He did so promptly.

67 Shortly after noon, a fine, dapper and well-caparisoned horse was brought by three servants who would attend to it. At the appointed time, Junior Merchants Hogenhouck and Verschuiren, our senior surgeon and I mounted our horses and we rode out of our narrow street into a large wide street. But a hard, penetrating, northerly wind greeted us with so much dust and sand that we could barely see. Thus I wished that I had crept into my carrying basket or *norimono* instead of mounting this show horse. We pulled our hats across our faces and rode on. After a quarter of an hour we arrived at our destination well covered with dust. Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami was notified of our arrival and had his secretary take us to a beautiful room at the back. We sat down in front of a fine coal fire. After a short while His Honour appeared and sat down near a window six or seven paces away from us. He began to speak and told Hachizaemon that he was very pleased on our behalf because we had been given audience by His Majesty so early. Furthermore, he was very happy with the many beautiful rarities which we had brought this year in fulfilment of his previous orders. He requested that every year we look out for

fine, clear spectacles of various strengths and send them to him, so that he could present them to the councillors and other important lords, who kept asking for them every day. I promised to do my best to see that ample supplies be sent to him in future. Then he spoke with our surgeon about the preparation and the use of some European medicines. But while His Honour was thanking him for all the trouble he had taken giving instructions in Nagasaki last year, I heard a strange sound, like a large gong or bell being sounded.

- 68 Then a noise approached from afar. I quietly said to the junior merchants that this might signal a fire. A short while later the noise was also heard by Chikugo-no-kami and he slid the window, near which he was sitting, open and put his head out, but he pulled it back in and slid the window close, acting as if there was nothing the matter. This was either because he could not see the fire – which was indeed burning – or he did not want to alarm us. He continued his conversation with the surgeon and praised his work. Then he began to ask strange questions, but he was interrupted by the entry of a young man, who warned his master that something was amiss. He rose and went to his room, with a friendly face motioning to us to remain seated. We were now alone in the hall, which led out to his garden and we opened the windows at the back and stepped out onto the gallery. There we could tell from the black smoke rising high that a fierce fire was raging on the northern side of the city, which was being driven into the city by a strong northerly wind. The secretary entered the room and told us that his master had sent for us expressly to entertain us, but because of the accident he was forced to go out and carry out his duties. Thus he could not keep us company, but he had given orders to offer us the food that had been prepared for us. We thanked him for the honour, but said that now was not the time to enjoy it. We should go home to see if our lodgings would be spared from this fire. He appreciated this and let us go. We said goodbye, mounted our horses and hurried on, in spite of being told that the fire was more than 1½ miles away from our

neighbourhood. We were back home a little past four. We found that Assistant Cornelis Mulock and a Japanese servant, who was guarding my room, had packed all my papers and documents,

- 69 which I had left on my table, in canisters together with my clothes and bedding and had put them in our godown or fireproof warehouse. They were busy packing the remaining gifts, provisions, silverware and everything that they could carry in canisters and storing them in the godown. It was feared that this ferocious fire would soon reach our lodgings and burn it to the ground, but some people who were watching it on top of the roofs called out that there was no danger, the wind was veering and the fire was moving away from us. But I could not see it and hovered between fear and hope. I saw that everyone was taking his belongings into safety and I asked our *bongioisen* and interpreters what was the best course of action, should I trust our belongings in the warehouse or should I send them away. They and our landlord Gen'emon replied that they were nowhere safer than where they were stored, for, the landlord said, last year it withstood a similar fire and it had saved so many of his goods that he had been able to survive on them with his family. He advised me to store my cabinet with the Company's cash there too, but I could not resolve to do this. I told him that should we need to flee, I would keep it with me as long as I could. Then they proposed to send it to Yohyōe with my *norimono* bearers and two faithful servants, but I could not resolve to do this either. I had it brought down and tied with ropes. While we were thus deliberating downstairs, we saw more than a thousand people, mainly old people and children burdened with goods passing by. It was a pitiful sight. The master¹² jumped down and implored me to go upstairs and watch the fire myself. It was impossible that it would be spared by the fire. I went upstairs and with his help climbed onto the roof. With horror and dread I saw this immense city ablaze like once Troy was or any other place on earth, yea, the entire sun – which was

12 This is the surgeon, Hans Juriaen Hancko.

shining brightly – was covered and hidden by the black smoke and was invisible. And even though the fire was still a quarter of a mile away, we could feel its force and heat, even through the cold.

70 The more so, because the strong northerly wind was forcing on the horrific sea of flames, spread out diagonally from east to west at least a mile wide, blowing the sparks forward like a thick shower. The east side caught on before the west side and the houses, which are covered with shingles, were consumed. Our landlord saw that we could not remain in his house any longer and he sent his mother, his wife and children and all his servants ahead, ordering them to stay together and to find a safe place. The *bongioisen* and the servants of the interpreters also took their bags and one went this way and the other that way. At the last moment our *opperbongiois* sent my cabinet to Yohyōe, ordering the bearers to take good care of it. The windows and the doors of the godown were closed and were covered with loam on the outside. They broke down all sheds close to the warehouse, but they spent too much time doing this. In the meantime, in front of the house I saw that the fire was approaching us from the east and was a musket shot away. I warned the *bongiois*. Immediately he took his pike, collected all of us and around half past four we left together, abandoning our lodgings and all that was in and around it, leaving it to the mercy of this merciless force. Out on the street, our senior nobleman ordered his people to look after us on the way, we should not be separated. But we could barely pass through the street because of the multitude of terrified refugees, who are accustomed to pack their belongings in large chests carried on four wheels like a gun carriage in the event of a fire. No one wanted to be last and they were crowding the gates which are found at every crossing and through which the people have to pass. Two hundred or more people, carrying people and packages, had to wait before the gates. The later it became, the bigger the jostling crowds.

71 The ones without any load climbed over the chests and packages and looked for a way out. We did as well and in the end we were forced to climb over lean-tos and roofs or we would be in danger of the

flames catching up with us. Later it became clear that all those poor people who could not make any headway with their belongings were consumed by the fire. With the help of our *bongioisen* and interpreters, who at that time were more concerned for our safety than for their own, we obtained more space and we decided to go to Yohyōe, in the hope that we could find a safe haven there for the night. But we were lost and did not know which way to turn. At long last we saw a temple not far away and we went there. We thought we could cross the square or front yard, but the guards there stopped us, pointing their pikes at us. Fortunately a nobleman approached, whose servants all carried fire pikes. He seemed to know our *bongioisen* and he helped us to enter, but when he noticed that there was no way out for us at the back, all of his men ran over a large bamboo fence. We and all the poor people hiding there who did not know where to flee came onto a road and although it was as impassable as the first one because of the crowds, we pushed ourselves through forcibly and we came onto a dike which led to Yohyōe's house. We stopped a while on the dike and looked for each other and at first we missed Junior Merchant Verschuiren, but then we were all gathered and proceeded along the dike. We met the son of Yohyōe, accompanied by many servants. They said that he had been out playing and now they were taking him home. When they heard that we also intended to go there, they advised against it and told us that the house was already full. Thus we retraced our steps in the twilight and decided to go to the Lord of Hirado, whose house was nearby.

72 We hoped that he would take us in for the night on account of our old acquaintance. When we passed through the large gate of his house, we saw the lord and his children ready to leave, but he let us enter and had us taken to a small house at the back, where we could make do for the night. But shortly after he seemed to have changed his mind and let us know that we should look for shelter elsewhere because his place was not safe from the terrifying fire, but in particular because he did not wish to cause trouble for the governors and Chikugo-no-kami, who had to

look after us. Thus we, poor wretches, had to walk away in the fierce cold late in the evening, but the moon shone. Then we found ourselves outside the suburbs close to the Edo River amongst a crowd of riff-raff. There, in the end, after having been refused two or three times as if we were beggars, we were taken in by a poor man in a ramshackle hut, without any fire or light. We spent the night there shivering with cold, not having anything but our best clothes which we had worn to visit Chikugo-no-kami. Not being used to this kind of discomfort, we spent the night staying wide awake. Around ten o'clock we received the sad tidings that shortly after our departure our former lodgings and the warehouse had been reduced to ashes together with the entire neighbourhood.

3 At daybreak my cabinet containing all our cash was brought to me. I was delighted, because this had been one of my greatest worries. We saw that the southern part of the city was aflame like the northern part when we fled. Our *opperbongiois* sent a servant to Chikugo-no-kami to find out if there might be room for us at an inn. He himself also went to Yohyōe for the same reason. Both returned around noon and reported that both gentlemen had ordered that we should look out for one ourselves.

73 We should take care of ourselves as best as we could. Thus we went to look for an inn and found a fairly large, suitable house close-by. We presented the poor man with a fair remuneration for his hospitality and moved in. We found a fine coal fire burning and we warmed our half-frozen bodies. But there was no food or rice available. Thus we had to send Croijseijmon, the cook of the *bongioisen* and the interpreters, to buy food for us, which he had to pay for dearly. For rice for our party he spent 2 *bu* or 3 taels. This jump in the price was the cause of hunger and misery among the poor wretched people and the hunger took many lives. Our landlord's mother, wife and children spent the whole night wandering about, looking everywhere for us and in the afternoon they emerged in small groups. Two maids had been lost. Among our own people we found that three Japanese servants, including our cook Tsiobe, a good man who used to help us sometimes with

translations or other things, were missing. However, shortly after two servants appeared and reported that they had found the cook among the corpses of the people who had been forced to jump off a high wall and had been killed yesterday. I sent two other servants to fetch him and I had him buried near our house in front of a temple. In the evening, we saw this destructive and all-consuming fire climbing higher and higher and spreading itself even wider and wider, appearing more like the flames of hell. But we were too far away to see which noble houses, temples, or other precious buildings were being consumed. Our interpreters told me that they had heard from two noblemen, who came to visit our escort, that this ruinous fire had been driven back by the wind and this afternoon it had taken hold of the castle and the shogunal palace. The Shogun, the councillors, the principal noblemen and their wives had barely been able to save their lives.

74 Thus this true wonder of a castle, which can be compared to one of the largest walled cities in Europe, has been completely destroyed by this horrendous fire, which was now visible to us. About half past four I asked our *opperbongiois* to go with a few servants and have a look at the deserted seat of the fire to see if we could remove some of our silverware before thieves got their hands to it. He advised against this, because it was too early and too dangerous to go out. The heat and the smoke would be too much for anyone to go near. We should wait till tomorrow morning and he would send enough men and servants with me. I complied with his advice and stayed at home. Meanwhile, I sent for some coarse blankets, gowns and *katabira* so that we should be better protected against the cold tonight. But in the poor quarters where we were staying nothing could be had. Thus the interpreters and the servants, who had sent their goods ahead in time and had been able to save them, provided us with some old clothing, with which we have to make do for the time being. Notwithstanding that our escorts have given orders that guards be posted around this house to protect us during the night, we dare not trust them, but we were prepared to flee in case of fire or thieves, who usually show themselves in such

circumstances, to the river or any other safe place. But during the night we heard nothing but people who had lost their parents, children, wives and friends during the flight calling out for them and the pitiful moaning of many small children who were lying right in front of our door in the fierce cold under the naked sky.

4 Early in the morning there was no sign of fire, but we learnt that the great high tower in the castle, on top of which were two massive dolphins covered thickly with gold, had collapsed yesterday before noon

75 without any inducement either from fire, earthquake or any other movements. This has given cause to many explanations and predictions. All the other towers which stood at the corners of the two inner castles by the moats had exploded because of their own powder and had burnt down. Thus now the castles, the shogunal palace and all its surroundings have been totally ruined by the fire and have been reduced to a heap of ashes (Fig. 13). It is certain that all those who had been living in the first two castles and who had given the destructive flames too much time at the beginning, later had to pay for it when they found themselves enclosed by the flames, because when the fire had finally reached two of the main gates and these had collapsed, those people who were late had to turn back and face the fire or jump into the outer moats of the second and third castle in despair and drown. There were many distinguished women and children, who were being kept there from year to year like hostages for their husbands according to this country's strict laws, among them. In the midst of all this horrendous destruction and terrible loss, what surprises the Japanese the most is that of all His Majesty's fireproof warehouses, which have now been proved to have been unable to withstand fire and have been run over and become molehills, just two, which are said to have been covered inside and out with sheets of copper, have remained standing. His Majesty kept only calambac in the one but in the other he had kept an incredible treasure of gold coins, amber, pearls and other valuables. His Majesty's ancestors had stored them there. We have heard more laments about

the loss of this dirt than about the loss of so many thousands of human lives. Around eight in the morning I went with Verschuiren, an *onderbongiois*, Interpreter Shinkichi, our unfortunate landlord and about twenty servants to the aforesaid seat of the fire. On our way along the streets we saw houses still standing which had not been damaged

76 and on both sides the dead bodies of men and women were stretched out. It was thought that they had been overrun by horses in the jostling during the night or they might have died of the bitter cold, but as soon as we reached the first of the seats of the fire, passing through the streets, we saw to our horror and great surprise here and there 3, 4 or 5, then more and then heaps and finally innumerable burnt people, either completely or partly consumed, of which at least a third were small children, spread all over and lying dead on each other. Now before our eyes arose a great desolate area, which two days ago had been a fine city. It was just as we had been told, the shogunal stronghold had been deprived of all its eminent beautiful buildings and nothing remained but an outer wall and smoking ruins. When we reached our deserted lodging, we could not search on account of the smoking rubble, but we remained there till we were able to dip some water from the nearest well and could put out some of the smoke. Our servants then began to search but found nothing but ironware such as the hoops of our wine barrels, locks and door fittings. The *bongioisen* could not wait for this uncertain search and put all my *norimono* bearers to work and supervised them. He promised them fair payment whether they found any of the silver or not. In the meantime, we returned home. Passing through another street, we had to witness with distress how the living were looking for their loved ones among all those burnt dead people, which were lying everywhere, wherever one looked. One could barely walk ten or twelve paces without seeing one or two old people, children, or horses lying there stuck together. The Japanese who were with us, confessed that they had never heard of or witnessed a more horrifying fire with a greater loss of life. They imagined and tried to prove that this all-consuming fire had burnt,

suffocated and killed more than 100,000 people. I can neither add or subtract any from this number. I always think that if we had counted the number of dead lying in the streets and the yards through which we passed, the number would not have exceeded 3000.

- 77 Yea, we found outside and inside a certain walled square, built like a castle which could be closed off like an avenue to the city, more than 700–800 dead people, most of whom had fled there and had not been able to escape – after having become aware that the Shogun's prisoners had been brought there and the gates had been closed behind them – and they had been burnt and suffocated together with them. The others who had tried to escape from the fire had jumped from the top and had fallen to their death, including, it is said, our cook Tsiobe, who had been found among them. Shortly before noon, half faint on account of the jostling crowds, the horrible sight and the terrible stench of all those dead people, we returned to our lodgings. We could now confirm the extent of this great disaster, which we had found difficult to believe at first. The real cause of this unparalleled fire is unknown. Some say that it has been caused by carelessness, which is usually the cause here, others insist that it has been arson and that the fire had deliberately been started in several places. Whichever is the cause, we cannot thank the Lord enough for protecting us from this fire and guiding us here in good health and safety. For it might otherwise well have happened on that first day, had we not broken through the fence as mentioned, that we would have gone with the fleeing citizens straight to the aforesaid double gate, as we discovered later, and we would have been locked in and would have perished with those poor refugees. After lunch I sent for both interpreters and told them that because people have fled in all directions and everything is in disarray, there is little likelihood that we shall receive any silk gowns as reciprocal gifts, although they would be more than useful at present, much less could we ask for any payment for the goods we have sold. Moreover, we are still running a thousand risks and suffering great expenses. Therefore, I asked them whether it would

not be better to request Yohyōe for permission to leave at the first opportunity

- 78 for Odawara, which is the city closest-by, either on horseback or on foot and wait there till we could be supplied with some clothes and travel items. They liked the idea and agreed it was the best. The *bongioisen* also agreed and thus Hachizaemon went to the governor. Two hours later he returned with Yohyōe's reply that he approved of our temporary departure, but we should wait for three days and then he would let us know what would be the best way. Meanwhile, he would see to it that whatever reciprocal gifts were brought from the Shogun or other high official, were kept in his custody and delivered to us in Nagasaki. As a token of his care for our well-being, he sent us 2 bales of rice and a barrel of *miso* as a gift, which came in very useful at this time when the price of rice is high.

5 Early in the morning we noticed that it had rained and that it was not as cold as before. In the afternoon, I settled with Gen'emon, our landlord. I paid him more than was due for fifteen days' lodging, food and drink, the presentation trays, warehouse, rent for coolies and horses. But still our *bongioisen* and interpreters came begging on his behalf to give him 300–400 taels for he had lost everything he owned. This would enable him to rebuild and next year we would have a new suitable inn to stay in. I thought this request unfair at the moment and refused. For had we not followed his advice to store our goods in his warehouse, we might have saved some. According to our country's laws, we could take legal action against him and not only would we not owe him 1 candareen for the rent of the warehouse, we could legally demand restitution for all that we had lost in his godown.

- 79 He had given me assurances that the goods stored in his godown would be safe. But because I knew that at the moment he was destitute and had food nor clothes, I would provide him and his family with food as long as we were here. They were grateful for this offer and praised my charity, but they kept insisting on giving him some cash. I had to refuse and told them I would confer with my fellow Dutchmen. In the evening, Chikugo-no-kami sent

me a note. Both his beautiful houses, the one within and the other outside the city have burnt down. He expressed his sorrow about our loss but also his great happiness that we were all safe. He promised that tomorrow he would request the councillors permission for our departure. I sent a note to thank him and to let him know that it would give us great pleasure to hear that we could leave. Two hours later we received two more notes, one from Chikugo-no-kami and the other from Yohyōe. Chikugo-no-kami informed us that he had received permission from the councillors for our departure. We could do so in two or three days, but because the streets were filled with thieves and robbers, we had better wait a further eight to ten days. Apart from the customary reciprocal gift of gowns, His Majesty would provide us with enough rice and other provisions for fifty people because food was now very expensive and almost impossible to obtain. In the meantime we could find out which would be the safest way to leave. Our *bongioisen*, interpreters and servants considered this the most exceptional honour which could be bestowed upon someone, that His Majesty still bestowed such generosity upon us in these confused, distressed circumstances.

80 The second note from Yohyōe only stated that we could leave when we wished and we need not wait for the reciprocal gift. He would accept it on our behalf and take it to Nagasaki for us. He also asked that Hachizaemon go to him tomorrow for further instructions. I asked him to formulate a reply to both welcome notes with tons of gratitude in the most florid manner.

6 Around midnight we heard terrible screaming and shouting. We rose and saw people jostling in the streets and swarming like ants claiming that there was a fire in our neighbourhood, but when we looked out to see from which side it was approaching, we saw that it was the moon rising in all its fiery redness. We returned to bed and awaited the day. I sent both interpreters to Chikugo-no-kami and Yohyōe to thank them again for the good news. Meanwhile, we saw a case of charity which is rare among these unfeeling heathens: two men carrying a barrel with boiled warm rice were sharing it

out among the poor people who had been lying in the street in front of our house under the bare sky for four days and nights in rain and cold. We could barely keep our eyes dry, seeing how these famished people, especially the children gulped down whole mouthfuls. Late in the afternoon, our interpreters returned and told me that the house where Chikugo-no-kami is staying is three miles from our lodgings. He had not been home, but Hachizaemon had spoken to Yohyōe and he had been given instructions that we could leave when we so wished and he would keep whatever was sent for us. In pursuance of the Shogun's promise of yesterday, the interpreter brought us six bales of rice, which provided for everyone in this house, about eighty people in all. On his return from Chikugo-no-kami, the interpreter had been to see Genba-dono, one of Mito-sama's noblemen.

81 On behalf of his lord, he had handed the interpreter 80 *koban* for a large red coral weighing 8 mas – this had been sent to his lord by *Burgemeester* Sakuemon from Nagasaki –, which money should be handed to me. In the evening, about four o'clock, Yohyōe sent for Hachizaemon and the latter went there at once. Meanwhile, our Japanese servants brought some pieces of melted silver, copper, tin and iron which had been dug up all fused together. They have been busy for two or three days searching for it. I offered them a *koban* for their efforts. Shortly after five, Hachizaemon returned from Yohyōe. He reported that Yohyōe had told him that the roads were not as unsafe as he had previously thought, the sooner we could travel the better. Whatever we needed and could not obtain here we would surely find in the market places along the road. He advised us not to keep the cash we were carrying in cabinets or canisters, but to divide it among us and carry it on our bodies. We should not dress ostentatiously but as poorly as possible. He should know that the fire has robbed us from any opportunity for ostentation, but we appreciated his advice highly. However, we could not believe that the interpreter had been sent a second time for this reason, for he has already told us this three times and every time we had him thanked properly. But I think that our impoverished

landlord has been to see Yohyōe himself to implore him to intercede with us that we offer him some money to reimburse him for his grievous loss, for after Hachizaemon had told us the aforesaid, he elaborated on the great pity which Yohyōe felt for this man's great loss, because within three years he had been ruined twice. Thus he thought it only fair if the Company, which was still carrying on a profitable trade, were to present him with 300–400 taels to put him on his feet again, especially because it had been at our request that the house that had burnt down this time had been built much larger and had therefore been much more expensive. I asked Hachizaemon if he did not know that this was the exact reason why Boucheljon had given the landlord 200 taels as an extra gift last year. This year we had also lost all our goods and we should not be bothered again, especially because he himself was the cause.

- 82 He replied that if we said so, this would only make the poor man even sadder, he had given the best advice he could. Two years ago this warehouse had been proved to be safe in the middle of a fire. We should oblige him with 300 taels, for he had not saved anything but his life and that of his wife and children. Both governors Yohyōe and Kiemon and especially Chikugo-no-kami would consider it a noble act. Because we find that our *bongioisen* and everyone else will keep on soliciting on his behalf, we have decided by resolution to provide this needy Gen'emon with some aid in the shape of a piece of black *stamet* and a blue *heeresaii*. Both pieces had been at Chikugo-no-kami's on the 2nd, but Kiemon had sent them back as undesirable. Fortunately they had been stored in our senior escort's canasters and had been returned to us safely. We can do little with the cloth and also with the pieces of broken and melted copper, tin and silver which have been salvaged from the fire and are worth about 70–80 taels and we decided to give him all. After dinner in the presence of all, we presented it to him. He accepted it gratefully, but we could tell that he was barely pleased and he would have preferred clear ringing specie instead of that inconsiderable black mixture. We fear that this will not be the end of it,

but when we depart we shall be pressed for more. Apart from this, all day long we have been trying to deduce from the Japanese accounts which Niemon, our clerk, has managed to save which commodities and provisions we had left in our old burnt-down lodge and which have been sent for by this or that nobleman. After we had finished, we found that together with the items which we let Chikugo-no-kami have for very civil prices, disregarding the real value because he cannot accept any gifts from us, it comes to more than 3000 taels. Although they are good, reliable payers,

- 83 we fear that in these sad circumstances we shall be paid very little, especially because our departure is near and we have to find out the best and safest way to travel. But we shall see to it that our clerk, Niemon, who will have to stay behind, or another reliable person collects all payments after our departure.

7 It poured with rain and there was a strong wind. We hired horses so that we can leave this ruin tomorrow, should the weather be fine. After looking and searching everywhere, we have finally been able to purchase some paper coats and five inferior quality silk gowns. This will provide us with somewhat better protection against the rain and the cold. We have heard many rumours today of more fires in Miyako, Osaka and elsewhere, which have been started by arsonists. It does not seem likely. Hachizaemon told us that yesterday a high-ranking person at the shogunal court had been imprisoned on account of treason and arson. A further 130 people have been locked up. The councillors are meeting every day till late at night and guards are posted at all avenues, especially because the Shogun cannot keep a close eye on the Lord of Satsuma, yea even on the powerful Lords of Mito, Owari and Kinokuni, his great-uncles, mainly because they are keeping guard with many men around the city at the three main roads. In the evening, the interpreters received a pass from Chikugo-no-kami, which would obtain us horses, lodgings or anything else on the roads, should we be refused them. His Honour had added a note that it would not be possible to collect payment for some of the goods sold, because

everything was still in disarray and most of the people had left the city. But for the items he and his people had received, he would draw up an account and pay us.

84 It was not necessary to leave Niemon behind.

8 Much rain in the early evening and shortly after such a violent wind that the whole house shook and we feared that it would collapse. This lasted till three hours before dawn and was then followed by a bitter, intense cold which brought more suffering and pain to those poor, naked wretches sleeping in the street in front of our door. It had been our firm intention to set off today and first drift down the river which is close to our house, because we had been told that most of the bridges in the city have been burnt and then leave the city on horseback. However, after we were told that it would be impossible to get through, we had to stay to give the owners of our horses time to find a suitable passage. In the evening, I gave our landlord 8 *koban* for six days' lodgings and to the cook of the *bongioisen*, who has looked after everything and did all the purchases, 80 taels for food and drink. I hope that we can leave early tomorrow morning without any further impediments.

Departure from Edo

9 Around seven o'clock in the morning we left in fair weather. We had to carry a sick servant. Our departure was a poor spectacle in contrast to our arrival when we had been dressed splendidly in honour of the Dutch nation and the General Company. We were led northwards through several burnt streets and finally, without being stopped by anyone, our *bongiois* took us through the first shogunal castle – the bridge in front of the gate had been burnt down, but it had been patched up again with bits and pieces – through which we rode for three-quarters of an hour before reaching the second gate through which we had to exit.

85 Along the way we saw to our astonishment that not only had the houses of all the councillors and other high officials been destroyed by this terrible fire, but this insatiable element had also burnt all those curious, beautiful, wooden bridges, which

had been decorated with large metal finials, down to the water. Moreover, it had partly burnt the square, beautiful powder towers which stood at the corners of the second and third castle with white painted wooden parapets and caused the remainder to collapse into the moats. We even found two gates – which had been thought to be immovable on account of their heavy weight, being covered all over with copper plates the thickness of one finger – which had been ripped from the walls with their heavy hinges and bars lying on the ground and partly burnt. While passing, I had a good look at the stones on both sides of such gates, including some corner stones which cannot be moved or lifted by sixty or more men. I saw some that had cracked and chipped in the walls. The beautiful tower on whose top two dolphins had been perched, which were said to have been covered with gold *koban*, located in the third castle behind the shogunal palace, could no longer be seen, a sign that it has collapsed without any movable cause – as they want us to believe – or through the force of the fire. In sum, this is a kind of destruction never heard of in Japan nor can [the city] be rebuilt or improved in the next twenty years. Our interpreters remain convinced that all this inexplicable destruction cannot have been caused by a natural fire, but that it must have been a supernatural fire that had descended from heaven upon Edo as punishment for the high officials. They call it *castigo de caelo*, or 'castigation from heaven'. We passed through the streets of the remains of the western part and finally, Thank God, in good health, we left this Sodom and dangerous bustling behind us and reached the real highway. But when we arrived at the dike which stretches along the sea, we came across so many farmers who had loaded straw mats, ropes, rafters, rush and bamboo on horses and oxen to sell in the city, that we could barely avoid one another. But we reached Kawasaki at noon and we lunched there. Then we proceeded and by the evening we reached Totsuka.

86 There we had a sober dinner, because everything was very expensive. But on the orders of Chikugonokami our inn was well guarded during the night and we could rest at ease.

On the highway

10 We left at dawn and late in the afternoon we arrived in Ōiso, where we enjoyed refreshments for about an hour. Then we travelled further and at six in the evening we arrived in Odawara, where we hired fresh horses and bearers to carry us across the Hakone Mountains early tomorrow. However, it poured with rain during the night and then it began to snow and it continued the day after, thus we had to spend two days here waiting for better weather.

12 When we woke up we found that a layer of snow half a foot thick had fallen and it had also frozen hard. But we left at seven o'clock and in the afternoon we crossed the first mountains and reached the city of Hakone. Then we descended the mountains with great difficulty across dirty roads, because the snow was melting. We arrived in Mishima and went to a new, fine inn. Before we sat down to dinner we went to view a beautiful temple there.

13 At dawn we set off. We crossed the Fuji-gawa and about an hour later we reached Kanbara, where we enjoyed some refreshments. We travelled past mountains stretching along the coast and at dusk we arrived in Ejiri, where we found a note with some butter and some *suikerbrood*¹³ waiting for us. Shirōemon, our landlord in Osaka, had heard of the great fire in Edo and the loss we have suffered and had sent them with a Japanese who was travelling to Edo.

14 We moved on and crossed two high mountains. We lunched in Okabe and four hours later we easily crossed the swiftly running Ōi-gawa. In the evening, we arrived in Kanaya where we found a fine inn.

15 We moved on. Lunched in Fukuroi, where the sick servant whom we had carried from Edo died.

87 He was buried in the nearest temple. In the afternoon, we crossed another great river and in the evening, we reached Hamamatsu.

16 Because we had to travel thirteen miles, we left before sunrise. Before noon we reached Arai, where we rested a while. We went on to Futagawa, where the skipper of the barge joined us with some friends from Osaka. They brought some brandy from our

landlord Shirōemon and also some butter and cheese. They told us that rumour had it that four of our people had been burnt. We had lunch and in the evening we reached Akasaka where we spent the night.

17 Because it poured with rain we had to spend the day in Akasaka.

18 We left in very windy and rough weather. We had some refreshments in Chiryū at a rich farmer's and around five we reached Miya. We enjoyed some food and in the dark we embarked and sailed seven miles across a large bay to the city of Kuwana. We arrived safe around midnight. We had a good rest.

19 We left in cold and windy weather, with some hail in between. We lunched in Ishiyakushi and in the evening we arrived at our usual inn in Seki.

20 It was very cold when we left Seki. We lunched in Minakuchi and reached Kusatsu, which is 13½ miles, where we spent the night.

Arrival in Miyako

21 At our departure, we found that the water had turned to ice everywhere, but the wind had slackened off. We left at seven and around ten o'clock we reached Ōtsu, where we enjoyed some refreshments. In the afternoon, we arrived at our lodgings in Miyako. We were welcomed by several friends. They were all happy that our lives had been spared in the Edo fire.

88 There had been rumours that three or four of us had died. I sent Hachizaemon to *Grootrechter* Sado-nokami to announce our safe arrival. But he was not available and Hachizaemon had given the message to his secretary. He promised to inform his lord the same evening and he would see to it that His Honour would pay for the five pieces of *taffachelas* which he had sent for before our departure to Edo. Furthermore, he would also send us a proper reciprocal gift. I also received a letter from Oetgens sent from Nagasaki on 21 February with *Burgemeester* Gotō Shōzaemon. He informed me of some matters, which I had urged him in writing to look after. The *burgemeester* came to visit us at the inn late in the evening and he congratulated us that we had escaped unharmed. The lacquerers and several

13 A kind of bread containing sugar.

merchants who are accustomed to trade with us in Nagasaki also congratulated us. They were all happy that the rumours proved to be false.

22 Fine, sunny weather. Sado-no-kami sent us payment for the three¹⁴ pieces of *taffachelas* and later five gowns and 10 *schuiten* of silver as a reciprocal gift. He also let us know that we should not be sad about the goods we lost in the fire in Edo, but we should rejoice that we were still alive. We prepared for our departure and shortly after midday we left Miyako. Our landlord took us to see some beautiful temples as is the custom every year. He also entertained us sumptuously for an hour in one of the heathen priests' houses, which was situated on a mountain outside the city. Then we mounted our horses and in the evening we arrived in Fushimi, which is three miles from Miyako. We got rid of the horses, for tomorrow we shall sail down the river to Osaka.

23 We sailed down the river in three barges.

Arrival in Osaka

89 When the skippers noticed on the way that the weather was fine, they attached all three barges to each other and only the middle one used its sail. We made such good progress that shortly after midday we arrived at our old lodgings in Osaka, where we were welcomed. Hachizaemon came to tell me that a citizen of Nagasaki was to leave over land this same evening and I hurriedly wrote a note to Oetgens and the other men on Tsukishima to notify them of our sad experiences.

24 Instead of the customary goods, which I could not give him on account of the fire in Edo, I had Hachizaemon present our senior escort their monetary value, namely 13 *koban*, as a gift. However, he returned them and let me know that it would be a great disgrace if he were to accept a gift from us at present, after we had lost everything. Nor would he be able to account for it to his master, the governor. But both *onderbongioisen*, to each of whom I sent 25 taels and a silk gown, accepted the gift eagerly and thanked me for it. We layed in a stock of food and drink and other necessities for the journey by

sea. We had planned to depart tomorrow afternoon, because we are all longing to be back in Nagasaki so that we can put on clean clothes, but we shall not be able to leave before the day after, because, we are told, we have to wait for two young noblemen who are expected from Sakai and who will travel with us to Nagasaki. We are held back once again.

25 Beautiful weather. Keiemon-dono, our *opperbongiois*, sent Hachizaemon to inform me that, as we had to wait for the two young men, we could go out freely and visit the temple of Tennōji, which is situated far outside the city. We accepted his offer and in the afternoon, escorted by an *onderbongiois*, we went together with

90 our landlord Shirōemon. We were taken through a street with theatres. When our landlord noticed that we would like to see one of these strange plays, he stopped in front of one of these houses and went inside. We followed and sat next to him. We were surprised that our *bongiois* and the interpreters not only allowed this – for this has never happened before – but they also entered and sat with us for an hour enjoying the strange puppet play – the puppets were operated with instruments inside. On our return Shirōemon took us to his father, where we cleansed ourselves in his bath for the last time on this journey. When we arrived home, we found that the two young men, who, it seems, will join the Nagasaki Governor Kiemon's entourage as pages, had arrived from Sakai.

26 Today I settled with our purveyors who have supplied us with food and drink. I have also paid our landlord for our board and have presented him with the goods which we had selected before we went to Edo. After lunch we said goodbye and left Osaka. Shirōemon and several other friends accompanied us to the barge which was waiting at the mouth of the river. We had to stay there because of a headwind.

27 The headwind kept us here, although it was pleasant summer weather.

28 Before dawn the wind was fair and we weighed anchor. We set sail with countless vessels and although it was calm, the current carried us past the old city of Hyōgo and in the moonlight on a stiff breeze we sailed into the Bay of Muro at midnight.

14 Sic. Five pieces.

91 29 We had to stay in the bay the whole day on account of the very strong wind.

30 The wind shifted westerly and around two hundred barges set sail for Osaka, but we had to wait till the evening for the wind to subside. We rowed out of the bay and set sail and on a fine breeze we arrived at Ushimado.

31 We weighed anchor and set sail on a northerly wind, the current favourable. But after a while the current turned and we dropped anchor in a small bay, where we waited for three hours. In the evening, we set sail again and the current turned in our favour. It carried us during the entire night and on a strong northerly wind we could make good progress.

April

1 Easter. The northerly wind carried us through the Strait of Kaminoseki, but then it subsided and the current turned. We had to spend the night in the Bay of Murozumi.

2 We left at sunset and had to row because it was very calm. At midday the wind started to blow and we could use the sail. We made good progress and in the evening we reached the Bay of Mitarai, where we remained anchored till midnight. We left on a gentle breeze.

3 We had to row on till the afternoon and then Shimonoseki came within our sights. We sailed past, but then the wind veered and we had to drop anchor near the small village of Isaki, where steady rain and a headwind forced us to wait.

5 We rowed through a strait to a fine bay right across Kokura.

92 We had to spend the night here.

6 The sky was overcast and the wind had shifted to a favourable direction. Outside the bay there was a biting wind but when we reached Kajime-no-Ōshima, it blew favourably and we reached Yobuko around eight in the evening.

Arrival in Nagasaki

7 Around four in the morning we left Yobuko and around ten we passed Hirado. On a north-westerly wind we reached the Bay of Nagasaki and we dropped anchor in front of our small island. We

went ashore at once and through the land-gate we arrived home, where our friends, who were all healthy and well, welcomed us.

8 Exceptionally fine and warm weather. Before noon we disembarked some provisions and other necessities which are usually stored on shore year after year. The barge will leave at the first opportunity and carry some timber to Edo. I have read the notes which Merchant Johan Oetgens has kept during my absence and I have inserted the most noteworthy ones here. Firstly, ten junks, which had been lying here empty during my presence here, have left at various times. Namely, on 19 January one left for Quinam; on the 20th, *Nachoda* Rocquan left for Batavia via Siam with a letter for Their Honours. On 4 February, the Chinese Wansick, who had first intended to sail to Batavia and would have taken a letter for us, sailed for Patani. He had to leave his receipt for 3000 reals, which had been given to him in Batavia, here as collateral for some debts. On the 5th, a junk sailed to Cambodia; on the 6th, a large junk sailed to Zhoushan in China.

93 On the 7th, one left with Rocquan for Tonkin with 60 chests of silver and 35 chests containing various merchandise. On the 10th four junks left for Anhai with cotton and various small goods. At various times five Chinese junks had arrived from Anhai and one from Fuzhou. They had brought a fair amount of white raw silk, *pelangs* and other fabrics and, furthermore, such commodities as have been noted on the separate memorandum. One of the junks from Anhai brought the longed for news that our envoys to the city of Canton had finally obtained full admission for free and unrestricted trade in that large empire from the Tartar ruler at the Peking Court. It seems that this ruler had travelled in person from the court-capital down country and had arrived in Canton on 26 January, where he had allocated a suitable place where to build a lodge to our people, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Coxinga's father, Iquan, to stop this by lies and machinations. May the good God grant that we learn the true results and the desired progress in the trade in due course. Shortly after our departure, Governor Kiemon had sent two prominent *opper-bongioisen* for the second time – which has never

happened before – to Oetgens to impress upon him that he should take care that every night all fires and lights were extinguished, as if he had smelled the smoke of the Edo fire down here. The Company's silverware, which had been stolen from the steward's case the night before my departure, had not yet been retrieved. Oetgens had carried out a proper investigation on the island and afterwards had consulted the *otona* and the interpreters several times.

94 When he became aware that whatever he did or proposed had no effect, he requested them to notify the governor. It had been delayed till my return. Meanwhile they had consulted a priest, soothsayer, or exorcist and, without our knowledge, they had bid him to point out the real thief to them. He had promised he would do so after three months. He also complained about the tardiness of the interpreters, in particular Magobei and Sukezaemon, in several matters. At first both had promised that the one would look out for camphor and the other for cowries, but when the time had come, the former had pretended that a gold mine had been opened in Satsuma – where the camphor is produced –, which had drawn many poor men and also most of the camphor burners to work there. They claim that they can earn more with that kind of work. Thus this year little or no camphor will be forthcoming. The latter had similar cold comfort for the delivery of some cowries, or small shells. He claimed that because the trade in this article had stagnated for more than twenty years and it had to be fetched from a too distant place, no one could be found who dared go there in an open vessel. However, he thought that some might be induced to do so in the approaching southern monsoon. On the other hand, both interpreters and their mates had given him good hope that we would receive an abundant supply of copper this year and at a lower price than last year. Because Oetgens shared their opinion, he had contracted for a supply of 500 money chests and 3000 copper chests of sturdy wood in time. As we do every year, he had also contracted for a batch of coarse cotton gowns, blankets and stockings for the garrison in Tayouan and he had kept on pressing

the owners of the houses on this island to repair some of the dilapidated buildings,

95 so that at present one can see them busy all over the place. The rest of his notes consist of a long description of the fire in Edo, which he had noted down on the basis of the daily rumours, the governor's information and what I had written him in my second letter from Osaka.

9 A junk left for Nanking in fine weather and a northerly wind.

10 A biting northerly wind with an overcast sky. Some of our interpreters told me that two days ago letters had arrived from Edo stating that the Shogun intends to open his treasury and not only share out 2000 chests of silver among all the ruined Edo citizens, but also reimburse us ten chests of money for the loss of our goods. This is good news, but we shall await the tangible results.

11 Early in the morning, the *otona* came with all the interpreters to tell me that today, which is the 28th of their month, is a suitable day to go and thank the governor for his letter of commendation to promote an early dispatch from the Edo Court and furthermore, for the trouble he had taken to deliver our letters and the good care he had taken of our residents here. Thus I dressed and went with Oetgens and Verschuiren to the governor. We had to wait for some minutes in the ante-room and were then invited inside. After a deep bow, I had Hachizaemon express our gratitude. He gave a long reply, saying that, as soon as he had heard the bad news, he had been worried about us and the loss of our goods. But now he saw that we had returned hale and hearty.

96 He congratulated us on our good fortune, saying that even though we had lost all our belongings, we should call ourselves fortunate, for not only had we beheld His Majesty's countenance so soon, but shortly after the fire we had also enjoyed the honour of having been cared for by His Majesty amidst this horrific turmoil and having his own rice bestowed on us. No other foreigners who had appeared at the Court had ever enjoyed this honour and other such praise. I responded with as much sincerity and as many humble compliments as I could shake out

of my half-frozen brain and utter on this occasion. Then we rose and after the requisite courtesies we left the room walking backwards. His Honour had ordered Hachizaemon that, should we wish to go out in the city or up the mountains for some recreation during the summer, even if it was for two or three days in a row, we should let him know the evening before and he would send us some people to take us wherever we would like to go. When we reached home after our visit to the governor, we saw the Nanking junk, which left two days ago, sail back into the bay.

12 Rainy weather during the day. *Burgemeester* Sakuemon lent us 1000 taels of silver for 5–6 months against an equal tael per cent interest a month, which will be used for our daily expenses here at the factory, because for reasons mentioned before we have not been able to bring any cash from Edo for the small things we sold.

13 Early in the morning I sent for the *otona* and the interpreters to consult them on some matters and to confer what course of action would be the best to obtain camphor and cowries this year, because time is passing quickly and we should know by now if we would receive any. But the messenger returned with the message that Magobei was ill in bed and the others were waiting for his recovery. Then they would all come.

97 14 Last night it poured with rain and a strong wind blew, continuing into the day and turning into a violent storm in the evening. It tore off all the young blossoms of the delicate plants and trees.

15 Fairly fine weather. Nothing noteworthy happened.

16 A Japanese holiday called *Sangatsu sannichi*. On this day all the women in the country are allowed to come out of their hiding places and enjoy themselves, sail out and look for shells along the sea shore when the tide is out. Little joy, for as soon as they return home, they have to creep back into their shells, hidden away from everybody.

17 The joint interpreters came to my room, but after having waited for an hour for the *otona*, they rose and left.

18–19 Much rain and veering winds.

20 A junk left for Anhai. In the evening the governor sent the *otona* and four interpreters to ask me whether our surgeon had lost his books on medicine in the fire in Edo, or if he had brought them back. He would like to have it explained again and written down in Japanese with the surgeon's help and that of a few Japanese doctors. But when they heard that all the books had been lost together with his medicine chest, they looked at each other and burst out laughing, as if to say that this relieved them of a lengthy, difficult and troublesome task. But they would report to His Honour this evening.

21 The governor had Magobei ask me how many pieces of Guinea-cloth we had left. I told him seven. He reported back and on his return he told me that he wanted five pieces to have something made for His Majesty. I handed them over, notwithstanding that we needed them ourselves for daily use.

98 22 Veering winds. Nothing noteworthy happened.

29 A junk left for Anhai.

30 Fine weather. We are starting to feel a sultry southerly wind, which not only brings us the first summer fruits, but also lots of mosquitoes, flies and other such creatures.

May

1 Early in the morning I noticed a high maypole with a large flag on top in front of my window. Last night the assistants had erected it without my knowledge. There had been many questions and research about what they wanted to depict and I was somewhat apprehensive about further questions about it, but no one mentioned a single word about it.

2 Rainy weather.

3 Overcast in the morning. Then the wind rose from the east, veering southerly and in the evening a terrible storm rose with intermittent pelting rain, which shook the houses violently, but at nine it abated.

4 Our *otona* and interpreters, whom I have already called three times, came to my room. In the presence of Oetgens and the junior merchants, I asked them

about the deliveries of camphor from Satsuma and the cowries which we should like as a trial from the Ryūkyū Islands. Magobei replied that this year little or no camphor would be brought from Satsuma, because the people there had quit making or burning this stuff on account of the small profits they made, which did not suffice to feed them. At present they were working in the mines. But he knew of some people who lived in the neighbourhood who would be willing to deliver about 300 piculs to the Company.

- 99 However, they wanted 10 taels a picul and not a candareen less, while he, Magobei, had previously given us hope that we would not have to pay more than 2–3 mas above 9 taels. I told them that I would not give more than 9 taels, unless Batavia gave us different orders this year. With regard to the cowries, Sukezaemon said that although no one could be found here who was willing to go and collect these shells on these islands and bring them here, a certain factor, who lived in Satsuma, had given him hope that there might be some people there, who would go there when the southerly winds started to blow and bring back a boat load as a trial. We told Sukezaemon that we left him in charge of this matter.

During my absence Oetgens had not been given any help to retrieve the stolen silverware in spite of the promises the interpreters had made, but it had been left till my return. They had said that if the silver was not found by then, they would inform the governor. Thus now I told them to their face that not only was this theft unacceptable, but it had been committed at night and constituted a formal break-in. Thus we could not keep quiet about it and I urged them to inform the governor, so that he could carry out an investigation and the thief could be caught and given his just punishment. They promised they would do so, but first they had to consult *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, without whose advice they could not present the matter to the governor. Finally, we asked the *otona*, who supervises our purveyors, cooks and other servants, why at present we have to pay such high prices for our daily provisions,

especially fish and vegetables and also firewood, coal, lamp oil and other such things. Our monthly consumption was now excessive.

100 He replied that he did not know that it was more than before. But in order to find out what lay at the bottom of it, he sent for both *compradoors*. They said that the high price for rice, wood and coal was caused by the Edo fire, that for vegetables by the bad weather and excess rain, but that we had to pay more than last year for the train or lamp oil was our own fault, because recently we had bought all that had been available and had sent it to Tayouan. Thus now the common people had to pay the same high price as we do. With regard to the other things they were not aware that we paid more than usual. The *otona* and the interpreters confirmed this. Thus for the time being we can do nothing about these men's greed.

5 A junk left for Anhai on an easterly breeze.

6 Very fine weather. The interpreters told us that Governor Kiemon intends to visit the island to enjoy himself in our garden in this pleasant weather and to have some sparrows and swallows caught – this place is teeming with them – as feed for his falcons.

7–8 Nothing noteworthy happened.

9 We saw three criminals being carried on horseback past the island to the place of execution. Two of them are said to have committed arson and they will be crucified. The third one has injured a citizen here with his sword and he will be beheaded.

10 The fine weather is continuing. This afternoon we entertained the *otona* and the interpreters with their sons in our garden beneath the green fig trees and grapevines. We treated them to a well-prepared, young, fat billy-goat, but some of our fussy guests did not care for it. They seemed to prefer their own bean soup and lean greens – which they had brought along – to our delicious food. We did not mind.

- 101 11 The weather changed and a fresh westerly wind started to blow. Of the ten people whom we entertained yesterday, only Interpreter Nihyōe's young son came to thank us properly. To our surprise, the other nine older ones – like the healed, ungrateful

nine lepers – did not show up contrary to their custom. We cannot imagine what is the cause of this, unless it be that they were offended that we served them a young goat yesterday. If this is true, I think these fussy men should be treated to a young roasted donkey, so that they would have better reason to refrain from such food in future and decline our friendly invitations. This would save us on expenses and much trouble, for it makes no difference whether we try to entertain them or not or in what way, they will not go one step out of their way to oblige us or serve us any better.

12–14 Nothing noteworthy happened.

15 A *bongiois* and an interpreter took our surgeon out into the city to attend to a distinguished elderly citizen and see if he could cure him of a certain old injury on his back.

16–20 Our surgeon went to this patient twice a day and he did all he could, but because the flesh all over his back had been consumed by cancer and had rotted away to the bone, the patient died this morning.

21 The Lord of Hirado has returned from Edo and arrived here last night. He sent for 5 *gantang* of tent wine. He had Sukezaemon apologize on his behalf that we should not hold it against him that, during his absence, his foolish servants had refused to help us when we went to his house seeking accommodation for the night during the Edo fire. If he had been at home, he would have invited us in. I replied in the required manner and thanked him, although it has come out that it is contrary to the truth.

102 22 Nothing happened.

23 In the morning, with the governor's permission, I went for a boat ride with the junior merchants and assistants. We were dropped off at the northern side of the bay and we went around the back of the city along the mountains past the place of execution to the eastern side of the city. Along the road we viewed several Chinese and Japanese temples and also various strange graves. After we had eaten some food in one of the priests' houses, we returned to our lodge in the evening.

24 It rained the whole day.

25–27 Nothing noteworthy happened.

28 A junk left for Anhai loaded with cotton and small stuff.

31 Nothing noteworthy happened.

June

1 I warned a few tardy *caserossen* that I shall notify the governor if they do not come within eight days to repair our houses and the warehouses.

2–3 Nothing noteworthy happened.

4 The Lord of Arima arrived in the bay with eight large *hayafune* and four average barges. They dropped anchor close to the city. The vessels had been decked out all around with red and white *schanskleden*, which was a fine sight. After the lord had spent two hours ashore with the governor, we saw him leave and continue his journey to Edo.

5 I have waited in vain for the governor's decision to carry out an investigation into our stolen silverware among the Japanese. Today I asked the *otona* and the interpreters why they had not kept their promise to take the matter to the governor so that an end can be put to the matter. They replied that *Burgemeester* Sakuemon thought it was now too late to request the governor's help.

103 Thus they state boldly that they cannot notify the governor of the theft. These is the fine service which we can expect from these timid men in such matters.

6–8 It rained day and night. This badly hinders the people who are at present harvesting their grain.

9 Sukezaemon told me that the governor has received news from Edo that on 5 *Shigatsu* or our 18 May, the bride-to-be of the young Shogun, a daughter of the *Dairi's* second-in-rank, left Miyako.¹⁵ His Majesty will marry her shortly. But as an expression of the sadness and grieving for the enormous suffering caused by the Edo fire, this time the ceremonies will not be performed with the customary great pomp and circumstance.

¹⁵ She was the daughter of Prince Fushimi-no-miya Shinnō Sadakiyo. He held the second rank of *nihon* of the title *Shinnō*.

10 While we were at table, four coolie-masters came upstairs and informed me that two of our sampans, which are kept on the west shore of the bay, have been badly damaged by worms. We shall have to take care of this as soon as possible.

11–15 Nothing noteworthy happened.

16 The great feast called *Gogatsu gonichi* has been celebrated. On this day, throughout the country, as many white flags as there are male heirs or sons are flown in front of each house in commemoration of a great victory which the Japanese gained over the Chinese here many years ago. Hachizaemon brought me 4 taels and 3 mas of silver sent by Councillor Izumo-no-kami's son from Edo for the pistol which Governor Yohyōe inadvertently broke into pieces when we were there.

17 Rain, with a hard south-easterly wind. Nonetheless, at noon the governor sent a certain great priest, 104 who had arrived from Tsushima yesterday and who is travelling to Miyako tomorrow, to us. According to custom, we entertained him and after he had satisfied his curiosity by looking at us and our clothes for half an hour, he stood up and left with expressions of gratitude.

18 The wind abated, but the rain continued.

19 The weather cleared in the afternoon, but in the evening the rain started to pour down again.

20–25 Downpours with an easterly wind.

26 Fairly fine weather with a northerly breeze. The governor sent our *otona* and the interpreters to inform me that a ship had been spotted off shore yesterday. The interpreters congratulated me, although this unexpected news appeared strange to me and I could hardly believe it, for our ships are not expected for another month. They assured me that it was true, for the ship had first been spotted off the coast of Arima and later off the island of Amakusa. The lord had sent a message to the governor. We assume that if it is not a ship which has been sent here from Canton or Cambodia, it might be one heading for Tayouan which has been driven away by bad weather or, like the yacht the *Arnemuiden* last year, had gone adrift off Tayouan. We are looking forward to further news. In the afternoon, the interpreters returned and told me that the governor would also like to ascertain the facts,

the sooner the better and therefore he would like to send a barge there. But it was already three o'clock and calm. They agreed with us that we should send the barge early tomorrow.

27 Early in the morning, Merchant Johan Oetgens, a *bongiois* and three interpreters sailed out to look for the ship, but on their return in the evening they reported that they had gone ashore in the afternoon and had climbed to the top of the highest mountain of Nomo, but had not seen a ship or anything like it.

28 After dinner the governor sent Sukezaemon to inform us that he had further news that the unknown ship had clearly been seen today about four miles behind Nomo. It carried two masts and white sails. Thus he would like us to send a barge out tomorrow.

Arrival of the *Rode Vos*

29 Oetgens went with two interpreters. Around three in the afternoon they returned and reported that the ship was the galliot the *Rode Vos*, which had been dispatched by President Frederik Coyett from Tayouan to Tanshui and Chilung with Merchant Daniel Six as commissioner and Merchant Pieter Boons. Boons would be authorized by Six as *opperhoofd* of those places and should carry out the written instructions he had received. After he had executed his commission, he left, but on the way he was struck by such terrible weather, that he felt he was looking death in the eye. It was impossible to sail back to Tayouan and he had been forced to sail hither. We saw the galliot approaching in the dark, but because the weather was calm, it had to remain in front of the bay.

30 It was very calm. The crew of the galliot, thirty-one heads in all, rowed the galliot into the roads. On the orders of the governor, I promptly went there to carry out the ordinary inspection and the mustering of the crew. I was told that it carried thirty *lasten* of coal and 356 Tanshui elk hides. At first the Japanese inspectors wished to unload them and bring them ashore to see if anything was hidden beneath, but they changed their minds and left them on board. They did seal the hatches according to custom, removed the rudder and had it brought ashore with all the munitions. In the evening Six

came ashore and showed me his commission, his instructions and other papers.

- 106 It showed that he had been sent there on 20 April to restore order in the careless administration and confused state of both aforesaid places, caused by the sudden deaths of the three recently posted successive *Oppeerhoofden* Pieter Elzevier, Pieter Mildert and Johannes van den Eijnden. On the 26th a violent storm overtook them and they were forced to return to Tayouan. On 1 May they sailed for the second time and on 6 May they reached Tanshui safely. He had carried out his commission and set sail on the 5th of this month. But when they had reached the island of Baboxin, another heavy south-westerly storm overtook them and the ship lost two anchors. On the 10th they were forced to return to Tanshui and when they again undertook the voyage home on the 16th, the strong currents and forcible south-westerly winds had driven them off course and the master and helmsmen thought it was impossible to return to Tanshui, much less reach Tayouan. They decided to head for the Japanese coast because they had just enough water for two months and dared not run the risk of running out of water or food. On the 23rd the Japanese coast came within their sight and they had reached the Bight of Arima and finally this bay. The unfortunate voyage of this vessel will cause great inconvenience in Tayouan this year when the ships have to be loaded and unloaded. To our great relief our compatriots also told us that last year all our ships had arrived safely in Tayouan and had been dispatched shortly after. In October there had been a great flood which had taken the lives of many people and cattle and had caused an enormous damage on shore. The force of the water had also deepened the canal of Tayouan 15–16 feet and it was now navigable. Ordinary flutes or yachts could now enter and load and unload below the castle. This is fine and will preserve many ships and save many lives. We also learnt of the deaths of the President's wife¹⁶ and Merchant Van Alphen; the fine prospects of the new Chinese trade; and other good news.

16 President Frederik Coyett's wife was Suzanne Boudaen. She was the older sister of Francois Caron's wife Constantia.

July

- 107 1 The governor sent the interpreters and Niemon to my room. They noted down precisely when the galliot had left Tayouan and had arrived in Tanshui, when it had sailed from there and why it had come here. The governor also wanted to see a certain Formosan girl, about 8 years old, who was on the galliot to be taken to Tayouan. She was disembarked at once and Sukezaemon took her to the governor. Shortly after our midday meal, a coolie-master came running as fast as he could to tell us that he had seen Governor Kiemon come down the large stone steps at the back on his way to our island. He approached shortly after without giving me time to tidy up my room. I went downstairs to welcome the governor in the street. None of the interpreters accompanied him, just a few servants. He beckoned to me to go back upstairs, laughing heartily, seemingly taking much pleasure in his surprise visit. He sat down in my room and had the small Formosan girl brought upstairs to have another look at her. Then he enjoyed himself with a young Bengali slave, who had to sing in Japanese. He spent half an hour in our garden and played on the billiard table. Then he left without caring to taste anything.
- 2 The governor sent the interpreters with a clerk to note down whether the fortress at Chilung had previously been occupied by the Spanish or the Portuguese; also in which year we had conquered it; how far from Tanshui it was situated; and its size. He also wanted to know how many men were occupying both places at present; which advantages we derived from there and other matters. We were told that the governor needed to know all the details for he had to write to Edo. We had also been told that there were some old damaged swords and muskets under the coal in the galliot. We informed the interpreters so that when the galliot was unloaded and the Japanese found these items they would not become suspicious and cause us any problems.
- 3 Nothing noteworthy happened.
- 108 4 I learnt that about 5000 piculs of refined bar-copper are said to have been brought here in May and June. I sent for our *otona* and the interpreters and told them that time was running short and they should bring some of the main copper suppliers to

us to see if we could agree on a price, so that the copper could be delivered, weighed, packed and stored at our ease. They replied that there were only three suppliers here at present. They would ask these men if the others had given them a mandate to settle the price with us. If they had, they would ask the governor for permission to bring them on the island in a day or two.

5–7 Unpleasant, rainy weather with an easterly wind.

8 Early in the morning we saw a large Chinese junk, which had dropped anchor close to the island during the night. It is the first of this southern monsoon. A little while later we were told that it came from Anhai and had a rich cargo of silk and silk piece-goods. These Chinese brought the news that other Chinese, who had arrived in Anhai from Cambodia shortly before their departure, had told them that our people in Cambodia were well and that by presenting the King with 50 chests of silver they had won themselves the sole right to buy and export all the hides which were available there. We find this hard to believe.

9 We have received 2000 copper chests. They were promptly marked with a branding iron and stored in a warehouse.

10 Our interpreters told us that the factors and servants of the copper suppliers had a mandate to settle the price of copper with us, but because two of their principal masters were expected shortly, they would prefer to wait for two or three days.

11 Another large junk arrived from Anhai, loaded with *cassia lignea* and sappanwood.¹⁷

109 12 Two more junks arrived from Anhai on a strong southerly wind.

13 Overcast with a stiff southerly wind. Another Chinese junk sailed into the bay.

14 Wind and rain. Another junk arrived from Cambodia last night. Our interpreters say that the Chinese on board had told them that five days ago they had been chased by one of our ships. After they had lowered their sail, our people had taken 7 piculs of wax from their junk. If this is true and

they complain about it, it will cause us problems here. Our four sampans which are kept on the west shore of the bay have been repaired. When I checked the account, I found a charge of 79 taels for labour costs. I thought this excessive and sent Oetgens and Messtecker to inspect them with the merchant and the master of the *Vos*. After an hour they returned and reported that more than forty new boards and a lot of other new timber had been used and the sampans had been properly repaired, thus the quote for the work was not exorbitant, as I first thought.

15 The stiff southerly wind and rainy weather continued. The interpreters brought five factors or servants of a few of the important Miyako and Osaka merchants to us for the first round. We asked them for the price of copper. They gave a quote of 13 taels a picul. We offered them 9.5 taels. They conferred and then rejected it, wanting 12 taels and 7 mas. We offered 10 taels. They considered this too low and we offered 10.5. They would not accept, claiming that copper was now very expensive on account of the Edo fire. We had expected them to make this claim. They would not deliver below 12 taels, we could bank on that. They stood up and left.

110 Because we have not received any payments for the goods we sold in Edo, we have been obliged to borrow 2000 taels from our interpreter Ishibashi Sukezaemon for three to four months against an interest of 1 tael per hundred per month.

16 The unsettled weather which has lasted for more than a month has begun to change. Magobei told me that he knew a merchant who might supply us with 400–500 piculs of camphor if we paid him 10 taels a picul. He would not give it for a candareen less. I told him that I could not go higher than 9 taels, as I have told him many times before. In that case he could bring the man to me.

17 Clear weather but exceptionally hot.

Arrival of the *Domburg*

18 Shortly after midday, I was told that a ship had been spotted. Oetgens went there with two interpreters. We saw the ship enter the bay in the evening. Our friends told us that it was the yacht

17 The original gives 'chiampanhout'. Probably an error.

the *Domburg*, which had left Tayouan on the 10th of this month. She brought a cargo of hides and sugar, worth 39,388 guilders and a letter dated the 8th from the President and the Council of Formosa. They were well and lived in hopes that the Chinese trade would pick up soon. We also received a copy of a letter from Batavia, dated 15 May, sent via Siam, informing us that all our ships which sailed from here last year, arrived safely. There was other good news, including the triumphant and long-wished for conquest of the city of Colombo on Ceylon.

111 Today three Chinese junks arrived from Cambodia, one from Quanzhou and one from Anhui.

20 According to custom, the ship was inspected and the crew was mustered. We started to unload and all the hides and a good batch of sugar were brought ashore. The Chinese who arrived here on a junk from Cambodia on the 14th claimed that on the way they had been assailed by a certain yacht and some wax had been taken from them. We now learnt that this action had been undertaken by the officers of the yacht the *Domburg* which arrived yesterday. At the request of the interpreters, who would like to know the true details before they inform the governor, we questioned the first mate of the yacht in their presence. For this very reason the officers who had come from Batavia had been removed from the ship by President [Coyett] and had been kept [on Tayouan] as a precaution. His answer was that they had caught up with the junk between the Paracel Islands and the coast of Quinam and had forced it to lower its sails to see if it was an unfree or hostile vessel or not. To this end the masters had been taken from on board and had been questioned on the yacht. But when it was found that it was one of Coxinga's junks, they had let it sail away the next day without doing it any harm. The wax, namely seven pieces or about 4–5 piculs. which they are supposed to have taken from the Chinese against their will had been presented to them voluntarily. When the interpreters heard this, they began to laugh and shake their heads. They said that this story did not tally at all with what the Chinese said, but we should not expect any trouble as long as it remained hidden from the governor.

112 In the afternoon two other fairly large Anhui junks, mainly loaded with medicinal drugs and various knickknacks, dropped anchor here.

21 It poured with rain today and we could not unload more goods from the *Domburg*.

22 The *bongioisen* came early to open the water-gate so that we could unload the yacht. But we had unloaded just twelve chests of sugar on the sampan when it began to pour again and this lasted till the afternoon, thus we had to stop.

23 Fine, dry and clear weather. We unloaded the *Domburg* except for twenty chests of sugar.

24 We brought the remaining sugar on shore and we unloaded 356 Tanshui elk hides from the *Rode Vos*. In the light of the moon a Chinese junk from Anhui sailed into the bay.

25 The weather has been hot and nothing noteworthy happened.

26 For the second time we tried to settle on the price with the copper merchants, but we could not reach an agreement, for they insisted on 12 taels a picul for a long time, then they finally went one mas lower. We, conversely, would not offer more than 11 taels and 2 mas. Thus we parted company on a difference of 7 mas. According to our interpreters they would come and go for another two or three times before they would come to an agreement. In the meantime, we regret that we have to let precious time pass, which we could easily have spent on taking delivery, weighing and packing this metal.

27 The governor sent Sukezaemon with eight white coral beads strung together to find out if any of our surgeons knew this material, for His Honour had been told that they had been turned from the rib or the bone of a mermaid. But after our surgeons had examined them thoroughly, they could only state that they thought it to be antler or some other spongy bone.

28 The copper merchants came for the third time to settle the price. We could not come to an agreement with these distressingly slow and irresolute people, even though we now offered 11.3 taels a picul, which is one mas less than we paid last year. Thus now we parted company on a difference of 5 mas.

29 Very hot and oppressive weather.

30 Two *opperbongioisen* came with *Burgemeester* Shirōbei to air some stuff consisting of *schanskleden* and other things for the barge which have been stored here for many years. It is said that they used to belong to the Lord of Karatsu and after his death they had been accepted by His Majesty.

31 After having received permission, both masters of the yacht the *Domburg* and the galliot the *Rode Vos* went out into the city with one of our interpreters to look for a cheek, some planks and other timber.

August

1 The weather continues to be unbearably hot.

2 Our interpreters told us that yesterday a servant of Shirōemon, our landlord in Osaka, arrived on a barge bringing a batch of new *sake*, room mats which we had ordered and the remade balances for the factory. They will be brought ashore tomorrow.

3 We have received the aforesaid goods. Nothing else happened.

4 We are almost melting from the overwhelming heat and stuffiness. There is no wind at all.

5 Our interpreters brought the copper merchants to my room for the fourth time. They have been reinforced with two of the oldest and most prominent merchants, who arrived from Osaka two days ago.

114 After many protestations that this year they could not let us have it for less than 11.5 taels a picul, because they had bought it at too high a price, we finally came to an agreement. They will deliver us fine, refined bar-copper at last year's price of 11 taels and 4 mas a picul. They promptly asked us to show them two or three warehouses today, so that they could begin delivering shortly and we could start weighing and taking delivery. We were happy to oblige and in the afternoon a batch was brought onto the island.

6 Yesterday and today a strong easterly wind blew, bringing some rain. This refreshed the barren soil and we enjoyed some pleasant coolness. We have weighed and packed the copper that was brought yesterday in four separate places. We made such

good progress that by the evening we had taken delivery of 1055 piculs and had them ready for shipment.

7 We have received 1196 piculs of copper from several persons and they have been packed and stored properly, so that we shall be able to load a good batch on the *Domburg* as soon as possible. We have had an overcast sky and a stiff southerly wind. We hope that it will blow forth the other ships which are expected and bring them here safely.

8 Notwithstanding the extremely hard winds with intermittent rain, we did not suffer any delay in the weighing of our copper and today we received over 1200 piculs.

9 The harsh, showery and windy weather continued today and it prevented us from loading any copper on the *Domburg*, but we did not let the *daatsen* on shore be idle and we weighed a good batch of this mineral in four special places.

115 In the evening a Chinese junk arrived from Anhai via Quinam. We learnt that these Chinese had seen a ship yesterday less than ten miles off shore, which, according to them, could easily be here by tomorrow.

Arrival of the *Erasmus*

10 Around half past seven we saw a dispatch boat approach very fast and moor in front of the steps of the governor's residence. This led us to think that it must be bringing further news of our ship, which the Chinese saw off shore yesterday. Indeed, a short while later the governor sent us confirmation with Sukezaemon. Oetgens went there with a *bongiois* and an interpreter. On his return in the afternoon, we learnt that it was the yacht the *Erasmus*, sailing from Cambodia with a cargo of hides, sappanwood and buffalo-horns, worth 40,412 guilders. It had run into a fierce north-easterly storm four days ago and they had been in no small danger of losing their mainmast and other spars. They had been badly damaged though and were useless. The master thought that they could be repaired for the time being with a couple of good cheeks. Around four in the afternoon, the yacht dropped anchor in front of the water-gate.

Arrival of the *Hercules*

11 I went on board to carry out the mustering. While we were doing so, I learnt that this morning another ship had been seen close to the shore. Thus I hurried back ashore and on the governor's wishes I promptly sent a barge with the usual letter of instruction. Meanwhile, we started to unload the yacht and by the evening we had brought a good batch of hides, buffalo-horns and sappanwood ashore. Our friends who had gone out this morning, returned at ten at night. They told me that the ship which had been spotted this morning was the *Hercules*, sailing from Siam, with an assorted cargo worth 68,951 guilders. The ship had also been loaded in Batavia – to spread the risk – with silk, worth 136,573 guilders, which was also received in good condition.

116 It had sailed a month ago from Siam in the company of the flute the *Ulysses* which was heading for Tayouan. The weather during the voyage had been fine and favourable. The ship had to anchor close-by because of the dark of the night, but she will come in on the sea wind tomorrow. Today two junks arrived, the one with a pass from Siam, which our *opperhoofd* there, Jan van Rijck, had issued to its *nachoda* together with a prince's flag and the second came from Quinam with various popular commodities.

12 At noon the ship came sailing in on a fine southerly breeze and dropped anchor next to the other ships. In the afternoon the *Erasmus* was discharged of its Cambodian cargo. We promptly sent copper as ballast in place of stone. Meanwhile I learnt that another ship had been seen off shore. Thus I sent two barges out at three o'clock, but the men returned at nine reporting that they had climbed on top a high mountain to look for the ship, but had seen nothing. Two junks have dropped anchor in front of the city, the one from Quinam and the other from Anhai.

13 Around six in the morning, Governor Kiemon sent the *otona* with all the interpreters to ask me why instead of the flutes, which usually sailed to Japan, this time such large yachts and square sterned ships had been sent, for last year His Honour had seen just one flute, namely the *Koning David*, among the

eight ships that were here. He had been told that this year no other flute was expected, but only such large war yachts as were here at present. I replied that the flutes which had been used for some years for the trade here, such as the *Witte Valk*, the *Witte Paard*, *Kampen*, *Hillegersberg*, the *Pelikaan*, *Koning David* and others, had been worn out and were dilapidated with age. The others which were still somewhat serviceable and could be used in calm waterways were only employed to carry stone and wood for the construction of Batavia.

117 Because apparently this year no new flutes had been sent from the Netherlands, the Governor-General had been forced to dispatch these yachts, which were still new and sturdy enough to survive a storm in this impetuous waterway. These tiresome people took my reply to the governor. About half an hour later, these proud messengers came striding up as pompously as they could and passed on to me the governor's words: 'Of old, it had been a strict shogunal order that, on their arrival here, the rudders of all our ships, whether flutes or yachts, had to be removed and brought on shore. During his administration here, the governor had observed this order and had enforced it only for our flutes and not for large ships and yachts, because beforehand our people had fooled him by claiming that the rudders of such square sterned ships could not be removed without cutting out a large hole behind the cabin. For this reason the rudders had been left in these ships and had been left undamaged. But now that he saw that our Governor-General, who had no say here in Japan, was sending such large yachts from Batavia every year, seeking to contravene this order, he could only think that the Governor-General was doing so for the exact purpose of avoiding the work and trouble that was involved. And because he could not allow this any longer, we were required now to cut out the rudders of both ships which arrived recently, the *Erasmus* and the *Hercules* and bring them ashore without delay.' I knew no better reply than to say that if this was His Honour's wish, it would be executed. But I told them that I knew and was sure that this had not been our government's intention at all, but that it had to employ

those ships which had been on hand at that time and had been considered suitable. But Sukezaemon said that he had been ordered to go on board and help the *bongioisen* who were there execute the governor's order. If the masters, when they were told to do so, did not object but showed themselves ready to do this and said '*Kashikomatta*', that is, 'It will be done', then of the seven ships which are expected here this year,

- 118 possibly no more than three or four rudders would be removed. But if they tried to oppose this by roaring and raving, we could be sure that all would be taken from us. Therefore, I asked the interpreter that one of us be sent on board ahead of him to give proper warning to the masters, who are new here and unfamiliar with Japanese customs. He replied that this was unnecessary, there would be no problem and he sailed to the *Erasmus*. He had barely left when the governor sent another interpreter, namely Shichibei, to announce that the ship which we had looked for in vain yesterday, could now be clearly seen not far from here. He would like us to send another vessel straightaway. We did so at nine o'clock. Meanwhile, we unloaded all the cargo and stone ballast from the *Erasmus*. For the time being we let her have 1300 piculs of copper. Among the Siamese commodities, we found some elephant's teeth which had some Japanese writing on them, stating that these should be delivered to certain persons. This raised the suspicion of our *bongioisen* and the interpreters. They even claimed that we might have seized them from the Chinese at sea and had brought them here to be sold. But because the Chinese are prohibited from trading in elephant's teeth, we think that the people who attempted to smuggle them into Japan had been apprehended and had the teeth taken from them. The Siamese had then sold them to our residents there and they have been brought here on our ships. Around six in the evening, our friends returned with the same news as those that went out yesterday. The Japanese have apparently mistaken one of the two junks, which arrived here in the afternoon from Siam and Anhai with white topsails, for a Dutch ship. In the meantime, it is not only burdensome but also

running up our expenses to rent and send out so many vessels after a false alarm. Each barge which we have to hire for this purpose costs the Company over 3 taels.

14 I went to the *Hercules* very early and mustered the crew. We began to unload at once.

- 119 Shortly after midday, the governor sent Sukezaemon with two passes and a prince's flag on which was written '*Vive l'Orange*'. He asked what the large letters contained and what was written on the flag. The one pass had been given by *Oppelhoofd* Jan van Rijck together with the flag in Siam on 5 June to the Chinese *nachoda* who arrived here yesterday. But the second pass had been issued by Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker and the late Collector Joan Verpoorten¹⁸ last year on 15 June to another Chinese *nachoda* for the route between Batavia and China. These men, who arrived from Anhai yesterday, apparently have tried to get as far as possible with it, in case one of our ships would try to attack them. Before Sukezaemon left with this explanation, I asked him what he and the *bongioisen* had done on the *Erasmus* yesterday with regard to the removal of the rudder. He said that the *bongioisen* had left the rudder on the *Erasmus* and had not even spoken to the master, but he had heard that the rudder of the *Hercules* would be removed and brought ashore.

15 A junk arrived on a stiff westerly wind from Siam via Anhai. It is loaded with buffalo-horns, cowhides, *namrak*, elephant's teeth and *boreh-boreh*. The Siamese cargo has been unloaded from the aforesaid ship.

16 The governor sent another pass with a prince's flag to me. It has been issued by Van Rijck in Siam to the *nachoda* Lacqua of the junk which arrived yesterday. Today is the Japanese *Shichiseki* or *Sterrefeest*, on which day these people celebrate the wedding of two stars, one male and one female. Apparently the governor and his *bongioisen* will attend the wedding. We could spend just half a day unloading and loading the *Hercules*.

- 120 17 The *Hercules* has been unloaded.

¹⁸ Verpoorten died in October.

18 While we were at table, news came that two ships had been spotted off shore. We think it might be Boucheljon, who has been commissioned to replace me and whom we are expecting from Batavia with two yachts. Merchants Oetgens and Six and the master of the *Domburg* promptly sailed out at the governor's request, but on their return in the afternoon, they were rather annoyed, having made a fruitless trip for the third time in a row. As soon as the outer guards on the high mountains see something, they try to outdo each other by being the first to report it and they must again have taken two junks, which arrived an hour after they had sailed out, for Dutch ships. One of the Chinese junks brought *Nachoda* Wansick, who last year accused us falsely of having taken his junk in the Malacca Straits and who left on 4 February for Patani. This time he brought various small goods and many rare live birds, worth around ten chests of money. In the evening the remainder of the copper was loaded on the *Hercules*. It has now 3000 piculs of copper as ballast. We hope that we can load a good batch of grains.

19 I was told that a sailor on the *Erasmus*, Pieter Huijbrechtsz, of Dordt, died last night. With the governor's consent he was taken in a coffin to the west side of the bay and buried properly in the presence of Junior Merchants Meijndert Messteecker and Jan Verschuiren.

Arrival of the *Bloemendaal* and the *Haas*

20 Very early a Chinese junk arrived from Tonkin. It brought a letter from Merchant Nicolaes de Vooght, dated 25 July, notifying us of the death of the old King

121 and his eldest son's succession. All the citizens of the great merchant city of Kecho have fled to the neighbouring village fearing for an insurrection and great bloodshed – which usually follows on such a change there. Thus he had been left stuck with the capital brought from Batavia. Nor did he see any opportunity to obtain any silk or silk piece-goods for this factory as long as the citizens did not return. He might be forced to send the yacht the *Koukerken* to Tayouan with a poor cargo and return to Batavia himself on the flute the *Wakende Boei*, which had

only arrived very late and after the previous letter had been sealed, with whatever goods he could obtain for the fatherland. Because it did not suit the governor today to send his *bongioisen* to the *Hercules* to get her crew to help lift the damaged mainmast from the *Erasmus*, we weighed copper and packed it in chests. At five in the afternoon the governor informed me that he had received a message with two dispatch boats that three ships and five junks were sailing hither. One ship was supposed to be near the Hen and Chicks. I sent Oetgens with three or four willing subordinates. At dusk they returned with the yachts the *Bloemendaal* and the *Haas*, bringing Johannes Boucheljon, my successor. The third ship was the flute the *Groene Molen*, which the authorities in Batavia had sent along empty to take over the expected silk from the Bengal ships which they were to meet underway and to bring it here. They had fortunately met them in the Banka Strait. As far as they could see, she had been behind them. With God's help she will arrive tomorrow.

Arrival of the *Groene Molen*

21 The *Bloemendaal* has been mustered and we began to unload. At noon, we saw the *Groene Molen* come sailing in.

122 She dropped anchor next to the other ships. With the three other ships from Batavia, an excellent capital of 626,458 guilders, made up of silk and other assorted fine Dutch merchandise, has been brought here this year. May God grant that this sum is doubled before we leave.

22 I sent Sukezaemon to the governor to ask if we could sell the lead, which the ships have loaded in Batavia as ballast, because previously we have not been permitted to sell it to anyone but the Shogun's factors. The reply was that he would inquire first whether His Majesty needed it and he would let us know his decision. Meanwhile, this will hinder us in having our copper loaded. The governor sent a message that another ship had been spotted. I sent a barge with Messteecker and Verschuiren. The *Bloemendaal* has been unloaded and we have stowed 500 piculs of copper next to the lead, which we cannot unload for the time being. Then we

carried out the inspection together with the *bon-gioisen*. The mainmast has been lifted from the *Erasmus* and brought onto the island. It will be repaired as soon as possible. It was past nine in the evening before our friends returned and reported that the ship which they had gone to meet was the galliot the *Urk*, which had left Batavia for Tayouan on 12 June in the company of the flute the *Breukelen*. They had not been there themselves, but had seen it far off and heard her fire three shots. On their way they had seen a vessel anchored below the Papenberg and had seen a Dutchman with a black hat on it. Thus they had sailed there and had spoken to the man. He had told them that the officers of the aforesaid flute had taken a Chinese junk off Siam and had handed over eleven Chinese to the officers of the galliot with the intention of taking them to Tayouan, but they had been separated off the coast of Formosa in severe weather.

- 123 After having endured many hazards and a shortage of water, they had stranded off the coast of Satsuma. One of the captured Chinese had jumped overboard and had swum to a vessel or to the shore and had informed the people of the matter. In consequence of this, the lord had removed this Dutchman from the ship and had sent him here on his vessel. All the other crew and the Chinese had been liberally supplied with fresh water, because they had not had a drop of fresh water for three days and some fowl and other stuff and sent them here. About an hour later, it was now late at night, Magobei came on behalf of the governor, who was very annoyed. Early tomorrow morning, we should send another barge to bring the galliot here, for His Honour feared that now that she had been supplied with fresh water, she might sail on. What this wicked act will bring on us, we shall find out tomorrow when she arrives.

Arrival of the *Urk*

23 Today is the Japanese *Bon* or Feast of the Dead. We could not proceed with the unloading and the mustering of the yacht the *Haas* or the flute the *Groene Molen*. Early in the morning, at the governor's insistence, another barge was sent out to help

bring in the galliot the *Urk*. Meanwhile, the governor sent for some of the rarities which Boucheljon has brought, namely the ostrich, some helmets, the Dutch saddle and bridle, some telescopes, spectacles, red coral and amber, which he would like to see. When the interpreters returned them in the afternoon, His Honour sent to ask and had it noted down, whether it was true that last year the war with Bantam had caused such an enormous famine in Batavia that a great number of people had died, as he had been told. Furthermore, how had the war started and how long had it been going on and might go on? Did we not attempt to make peace with the Bantam Javanese? What was the size of Jacatra, when had we obtained it and with what right and other such wholly unexpected, strange questions. I replied truthfully to as many questions as I could.

- 124 They left with the written replies. We understand that this sharp investigation has been caused by the Japanese Buzaemon, who lives in Batavia and who has written about this to one of his friends here without giving it a thought. This letter had later come into the possession of the governor and on the basis of this he has carried out this investigation. In the evening the *Urk* came sailing in and dropped anchor close to our small island of Tsukishima. A large *hayafune* has escorted her from Satsuma and she had to take some Japanese on board. The ship had hardly dropped anchor when we saw one of our sampans and several other vessels go there with many men. On behalf of the governor, Magobei came to announce that all the crew, twenty-seven men in all, would be brought on the island, but the eleven captured Chinese would be taken to the city. Therefore he wanted other men to take their places promptly. I sent a note to the master of the *Hercules* that he should send ten sailors under the command of a suitable, sober helmsman with the interpreter to guard the *Urk*. This was done and the sailors and their masters came on shore. The bookkeeper had been transferred to the captured junk. I had them lodged in an empty warehouse. Half an hour later two of the governor's most prominent *bon-gioisen* came onto the island and sent for me and

Boucheljon to join them downstairs in the street. In our presence, the crew was counted again. The number tallied with the roll, twenty-seven men. On behalf of the governor, they ordered us to guard the men closely and look after them. When he wished to have them, we could hand them over. Although we showed ourselves to be willing to do what they ordered, these brave commanders did not seem to be satisfied, but they wanted our pledge in writing. We did so in the following manner.

- 125 'We, the undersigned, promise that we shall faithfully guard the twenty-seven Dutchmen who have been removed from the flute the *Urk* by Governor Kiemon for reasons best known to him and who have been placed under our supervision here on Deshima and shall hand them over at any time that the governor orders us to do so. We have both signed this ourselves. In the Dutch factory on Deshima on 23 August, the 14th day of the 7th Japanese month *Shichigatsu*. Signed Zacharias Wagenaer, Johannes Boucheljon.' While we were busy writing this note, the *bongioisen* came upstairs and set themselves down in the front room with their suite. They sent for some of the *caserossen* or landlords, who also had to sign and stamp the paper, because they have been ordered to help guard the semi-captive sailors. After these men had conferred with our interpreters and had written down and translated I do not know whatever, in candlelight till past the hour of nine, they stood up and left. But shortly after Magobei was sent back with the order that early tomorrow I should question the master thoroughly about everything concerning the seizure of the Chinese junk and I should write it down. But because a while beforehand I had already questioned the master, named Gerbrant Pietersz Bock, alone in my room about this and had found that this man was rather muddle-headed and gave a different account from the one he had given me before, I said that everything could be better verified from his journal and his maps and positions which were still on board, if the governor would allow them to be fetched. Everything could then be noted precisely on the basis of this and His Honour would be given satisfaction. The interpreter left.

24 Hachizaemon came to tell me that permission had been granted for the master to go on board to fetch all his books and maps. Nonetheless, the governor would like me to interrogate the master and some other persons strictly about this matter, and put it in writing, so that he could check whether their account tallied with that of the Chinese, and find out what had driven them to do this. With the approval of our friends present, we wrote down some questions and in the afternoon, in my room, in the presence of our *otona* and all the interpreters, who had all come on purpose, we had the master, who now had his journal and his maps, and three of his ship's officers answer them. Questions put by Zacharias Wagenaer at the insistence of Governor Kiemon to Gerbrant Pietersz Bock, master, Cornelis Cornelisz, second mate and Jacob Roelofsz, constable, all serving on the *Urk*:

1. Question: On which date did they sail from Batavia on this vessel? Reply: On 12 June, or 1 *Gogatsu*.
2. With how many ships did they sail? With four ships: *Hergersom*, *Wachter*, *Breukelen* and *Urk*.
3. What was their destination? Directly to Tayouan.
4. Had they been given written sailing instructions? Yes.
5. Had these contained orders to attack and take Chinese junks? They stated no, but they could attack Portuguese, Bantamese and other hostile vessels, which sailed to or from hostile places, except for the constable who claimed not to have seen or read the instructions.
6. Had they put in anywhere along the route? Only the *Breukelen* put in at Pulau Lour.
7. Had they seen any junks during the journey? On 29 June or 18 *Gogatsu* they had chased one, but had not taken it.
8. When and where had the flute the *Breukelen* taken the Chinese junk? The day after, between the islands of Lour and Condor.
9. Where did these Chinese come from and what was their destination? They said they had come from Cochin and they were said to be heading for Quanzhou.

10. Why had they seized the junk, for had they not, like the persons questioned, been ordered not to do so? As they had understood, it was because they had not been able to show a pass and that there had been rumours that it had come from a Portuguese, Quinamese, or other hostile place.
11. How many Chinese and what goods had they found on it? About fifty heads and some Spanish money, the goods consisted of *lakenen*, tin, pepper, rattan and other small stuff.
12. What goods and how many Chinese had they, the persons questioned, taken over from the crew of the *Breukelen* from the captured junk? They said eleven Chinese, two metal pieces, eight swords, three pieces of red *laken* and 15 bundles of tin. The master declared that he had handed over a document so that on Tayouan these goods could be restored to the people to whom they belonged.
13. Had the persons questioned chased any other junks after they had taken on board the Chinese? They had chased three others, the first on 6 July or 25 *Gogatsu*, but had discovered on its capture that it came from Siam and possessed a proper pass and they had let it pass unmolested, the second on 14 July or 4 *Rokugatsu* and the third on 17 July, but they had not managed to capture them.
14. Where and why had they separated from the *Breukelen*? Off the islands of Macao on 17 July or 7 *Rokugatsu* on account of severe weather.
- 128 15. On which date did they catch sight of the coast of Formosa? On 28 July or 18 *Rokugatsu*, they arrived in the southern roads of Tayouan, but strong currents and fierce westerly winds had forced them back out to sea.
16. What had induced the persons questioned to come to Japan with the eleven Chinese? They said only a shortage of water, as noted in their resolution of 29 July. But later on, when they were half-way, they had encountered a stiff northerly wind and they had tried to return to Formosa. They had even had the southern cape in their sight, but strong southerly winds had hindered them from sailing further. Thus they had to follow their previous resolution and sail hither.
17. Were the Chinese pleased or not when they heard that they would be taken to Japan? They replied that they were very upset and had urgently requested to be set ashore an island.
18. How did they treat the Chinese on the voyage? They said that they had been treated like the common sailors, without causing them any trouble.
19. At which place in Japan had they first put in? They said that they had stranded off the Satsuma shore.
20. Why had the Chinese been locked in the fore-cabin when they arrived off Satsuma? They said that this had been done at their own request, from fear that when they were seen by the Japanese, they might be taken from on board and badly treated.
21. Why had one of the Chinese, under the pretext of wanting to relieve himself, jumped over board off Satsuma and had swum to a Japanese barge? They said that they did not know why.
- 129 22. Had they been treated well or badly in Satsuma and had they arrived there on the flute or on the boat? They said that they had been liberally supplied with water, rice, fowl and other provisions, but that they had not wanted to have them ashore. We, the undersigned, declare that we have given truthful answers to the aforesaid questions. We are willing to take an oath on this if necessary at all times in Tayouan or anywhere else. In the Dutch factory in Nagasaki, 24 August 1657. Signed Gerbrant Pietersz, Cornelis Cornelisz and Jacob Roelofsz. In our presence, signed, Johan Oetgens, Daniel Six. The interpreters and writers were busy till late in the evening translating this document into Japanese. We found that the interpreters had changed and improved upon some points which they thought might easily cause us more problems. They are well aware that their well-being depends on our good fortune in this country. Meanwhile, it is quite upsetting to hear common merchants and citizens here shamelessly say to our faces and scornfully reproach us that we connived to commit such piracy and let it pass, calling the flute the *Urk* nothing but a Dutch thieves' ship. Moreover, they now flatly state that the other ship that had drifted away, the galliot the

Rode Vos, had only been dispatched to rob and capture Chinese and other poor souls at sea and other such defamation.

25 We have mustered the yacht the *Haas* and promptly started to unload. We have also weighed more copper. Our interpreters have made two or three fair copies in Japanese of the interrogation.

130 Today they gave them to the governor, who will send them to Edo. We have not encountered any further problems in this matter, except that the sailors who have been placed under our supervision seem to have come within view of the *bongioisen* too often while walking about as they were accustomed and they had to be restricted and placed together in a warehouse.

26 Because the persons questioned had stated that the captured junk had sailed from Cochin on the coast of India¹⁹ and had not been heading for Japan but to another place on the coast of China, at the governor's request, I had various charts taken from the ships in the roadstead and had to point out to the interpreters Couthin or Cochin, which we rather believe to be Cochin China or Quinam and also Patani, Ligor, Siam and several other places. They will show them to the governor. In the afternoon the interpreters returned and questioned me about whether I would be willing to sign a promise before my departure from here for Tayouan, that the officers of the aforesaid flute the *Breukelen* would be sent to Japan next year to receive their appropriate punishment here for seizing the Chinese junk. I told them plainly that this was beyond my power, but if the aforesaid officers were found to have transgressed our country's laws in this matter, they would not escape their punishment there. The interpreters noticed that they would not achieve their goal and put some other questions to me on behalf of the governor. Boucheljon and I gave them the following replies:

Question: Did we think that, according to the declaration of the aforementioned crew members, the captured Chinese junk came from the Portuguese

city of Cochin on the coast of India or not? Reply: We could not believe this, because no Chinese junks went to trade in that faraway region,

131 but they probably misunderstood Cochin for Cochin China, which is Quinam.

Question: Was there more Malay country outside Malacca, or a region where the people spoke Malay?

Reply: Yes, such as Ligor, Johor, Sangora, Outjangh Salangh,²⁰ Patani and more such places.

Question: Were Spanish *matten* accepted currency in all these regions both among the Malay and the Portuguese? Reply: Everywhere.

Question: Would the Governor of Tayouan return the captured junk with the goods to the owners if it were found to be a free junk? Yes, should it indeed be found to be a free junk.

Question: What punishment did we mete out to those who attacked and seized innocent people at sea against orders? If they were found guilty, some were fired from service and driven to poverty, others were imprisoned and clamped in iron chains and others were put to death.

After they had translated this document, had changed it and apparently changed it in our favour and we both had signed it, they left in the evening. From all this it is clear that not only our interpreters, but even the governor here is on our side, for they keep trying to catch out and disprove the eleven Chinese men's claim that they had not come from a popish place and had not been heading for Japan. The Spanish coins and the tin that they were carrying and the fact that one of the Chinese had spoken some Malay have given them serious cause for this. Conversely, we have to suffer and endure much scorn from the common riff-raff, who come on the island every day to load and unload. Last night the coolies who work for us had no scruples about throwing dirt and stones at the windows upstairs where the sailors are kept in a large room and to shout at them 'You Dutch dogs and pirates, tomorrow you will be beheaded or crucified with

19 The Malabar Coast.

20 Phuket.

your arms stretched.' We can do nothing but keep quiet and be patient.

132 All that we did today in preparation of the impending trade is to unload the *Haas* and load 500 piculs of copper. The master of the *Erasmus* went to look with Magobei for a long piece of timber suitable for two cheeks for his damaged mainmast. On his return he reported that he had found a suitable piece, but that the unreasonable Japanese, who were aware that we are badly in need of it, asked 250 taels for it.

27 The crew of the *Groene Molen* has been mustered and we began to unload. In the afternoon, our interpreters came striding up again and returned both translated documents, mentioned on the 24th and the 26th instant. On behalf of the governor, they ordered that yesterday's document should be signed by me and Boucheljon. We did so promptly. But the older document, which was now two fathoms long because the names of the crew members had been added, should be signed by these crew members. Thus the men had to come upstairs one by one and sign the document. In the evening the interpreters returned and said that the governor wanted to know whether we had captured more junks and had taken them to Tayouan and had restituted them to their innocent owners. Neither Merchant Six, who has lived there more than seven years, nor I could think of an example. They further asked if something like this had not happened in Batavia recently, for the governor had been told for a fact that four or five years ago we had seized one of Coxinga's junks and had taken it to Batavia, but our Governor-General had to return it later. Furthermore, he had to pay double the price for the pepper and other goods which had been seized. We replied that we knew of this case and it was quite different. It was true that some goods had been taken from this junk, because it had come from Quinam and was therefore not free and our ships had taken the goods to Batavia, but our people had let the junk and the Chinese on it

133 sail unharmed to Anhai where they belonged. And because the next year Coxinga had sent a friendly letter with some gifts to ask for the goods seized, our

Governor-General had returned double the amount of these goods, which otherwise would have been confiscated according to our laws had the junk been brought in, of his own volition and not by force, as they wish to claim. To their question what punishment had been meted out to the people who had taken the goods from this junk, we said that they had not been punished, because they had not contravened any order, especially because the Chinese and their junk had been let go unmolested. They left with this response. At eight in the evening, these interpreters came to my room for the fifth time today, bringing the two written statements, which had been signed this afternoon. They had rewritten it, because our statement differed from that of the captured eleven Chinese by one day. Thus we and the sailors had to sign the new statements again.

28 Today we have not heard anything about this distressing problem. It will be left to rest until further orders come from Edo, whither the statements have been sent today. In the meantime, we have loaded copper on the *Groene Molen*, so that she now has 1000 piculs. When the copper was being dispatched, of every 10, 11 or 12 chests, at least one had to be broken open at the water-gate in the presence of the *bongioisen* who were on guard and the copper had to be thrown out in front of them. Beforehand, hardly one out of every 100 chests was broken open and inspected by them. Because the copper had to be packed again, work was progressing very slowly and we lost a lot of time. None of us know what new whims these are or what they intend with this close inspection. In the evening the governor sent Hachizaemon and Shichibei with good and welcome news.

134 Because the time of trading is drawing near, we were now free to select and display our commodities, without waiting for the ship which is still expected from Tayouan. The governor thought that we might hold our first sale in four or five days. We expressed our gratitude to the governor for this good news, which is quite unexpected after the aforesaid troubles. We promised that as soon as the *Domburg* had loaded copper and the coolies had left the island, we would start on it.

29 Copper has been loaded on the *Domburg*. Nothing else happened. The governor returned a pikeman's weapon, which he had sent for to view. He let me know that if Yohyōe, who is expected any day, wished to have it, we should let him have it.

30 The yacht received 2000 piculs of copper. Had the *bongioisen* been willing, the *Erasmus* would have received a further 700 piculs. Because the officers and sailors of the *Urk*, who are kept confined in a warehouse on the island, have humbly requested that they be allowed back on board, or at least be given some more room downstairs to walk about, we have allowed them out with restrictions as to where and how far they can go on the island.

31 We have shipped a further 700 piculs of copper to the *Erasmus*, so that the six ships in the roadstead have taken on a total of 9000 piculs. We still have 2095 piculs ashore, which have already been weighed and re-packed.

September

1 The governor sent Hachizaemon at nine in the evening to inform me that a ship had been spotted close to the shore. He had received three messages one after the other. He would like me to send a barge tomorrow for confirmation.

135 He also had us warned that today the crew on one of the ships lying in the roadstead had all been drunk and had carried on singing and ranting like madmen. He had seen with his own eyes that a sailor in a state of drunkenness had gone overboard for a swim and he would have drowned had the crew of the patrol barge behind the ship not offered help. Therefore he requested that I take measures to prevent any worse accidents happening. I had His Honour thanked for his warning and promised him that I would try to prevent such dissoluteness as much as possible.

Arrival of the *Koukerken* and the *Ulysses*

2 Around six o'clock I sent a barge to the ship which was supposed to be close to the shore. At around ten o'clock we saw the ship come sailing in, but before she dropped anchor in front of the city, our friends

who had been sent out returned to my room and told me that it was the yacht the *Koukerken*, carrying a meagre load of some silk and silk piece-goods from Tonkin via Tayouan. There she had received 200 chests of Formosan powdered sugar. The cargo is worth 109,687 guilders. About an hour later we learnt that the large flute the *Ulysses*, also hailing from Tayouan, was near. I sent another barge and in the afternoon it came with the ship into the bay. Praise the Lord that all the ships have arrived safely. They number, together with the two galliots that had been driven away, ten in all. The flute brought a good quantity of sugar and hides from Tayouan, worth 50,539 guilders and the remainder of the goods, namely 1800 cowhides and 305 piculs of sapanwood, that had been left in Siam on account of lack of space in the *Hercules*. From the letter from the Governor and the Council of Formosa, dated 22 August, we learnt among other things that the Chinese junk which the *Breukelen* had misguidedly taken off Pulau Capas had been taken to Tayouan very late and had foundered afterwards.

136 But so far they had not heard anything of the *Urk*, which had been near the aforesaid flute at the time, without making any mention of the consequences of this depressing act. This makes us believe that there is no one in Tayouan who has given it a thought that this stupid *Urk* would cause us such problems and vexations in this country.

3 I went to the *Koukerken* very early and mustered the crew. We started to unload and loaded some copper. We found two packs too many among the Tonkinese silk which was brought on shore. In the evening the governor had the master of the *Ulysses* explain to him how the Chinese junk came to founder off Tayouan and how many lives and what goods were lost. But the master declared that he did not know and could not give him the correct information. He pointed out two sailors on his ship who, he said, had been on the junk when it foundered. The sailors were promptly fetched from on board and brought ashore. On the governor's orders they were questioned in our presence, as follows:

Question: Had they both been on the captured junk when it foundered? Reply: Yes.

Question: On which day and whereabouts had it foundered? Reply: On 7 August behind the castle of Tayouan, not far from the Pinecones.

Question: How many people had perished or drowned? Reply: Seven, namely six Dutchmen and one Chinese.

Question: How many Dutchmen and how many Chinese had been on the junk altogether? Reply: Twenty-one Dutchmen and twenty-five Chinese.

Question: How did it come about that the junk foundered? Reply: Because of severe weather and because the anchor cable snapped, or it was said, cut by the Chinese.

137 Question: Had any goods been salvaged? Reply: Some tin and rattan had been brought ashore. They did not know what happened to the other goods.

Question: To whom had the junk belonged, where did it come from and where was it heading? Reply: They had heard that it was one of Coxinga's junks, which had come from Johor and was heading for Amoy.

Question: Would the Governor of Tayouan not pay Coxinga for the junk and the goods or otherwise compensate him? Reply: They had heard that he would and that Coxinga would receive ample compensation.

Question: Where were the person in charge – that is the master – of the *Breukelen* and his crew at present? Reply: In Tayouan, they were locked up in the castle and were not allowed out.

Question: What punishment would they suffer? Reply: They did not know.

The interpreters were busy till late at night translating this interrogation and making a fair copy. Nonetheless they went to him to show it to him.

4 At daybreak our interpreters came with the interrogation, to have me and Boucheljon sign it as is customary. Afterwards they produced some maps, on which we again had to point out Johor, Malacca and Amoy. Furthermore the place whereabouts the junk had been seized. This is very annoying at this time when we have to devote our attention to discharging, loading copper and doing more useful things. Around ten o'clock, Magobei and Sukezaemon returned from the governor and told

me that the document would be sent to Edo today. Thus we need not fear any more problems till a reply has come.

138 The *Koukerken* is now empty and we loaded 1600 piculs of copper. In the evening I went there and carried out the customary inspection.

5 This morning I mustered the crew of the large flute the *Ulysses* and we started to unload. The skins and more than 400 chests of sugar were brought ashore. The eleven Chinese who were brought here on the *Urk* and who have been lodged in the city have presented a petition to the governor – apparently at the instigation of several of our enemies –, in which they claim damages from our people here. The governor is said to have thrown the petition back at them, saying: 'I have been appointed governor and judge of this city, not of Chinese and Dutchmen. If you want to claim anything from them, you should address the government in China and not this one.' Those ill-advised, poor souls had to accept this decision and walk away.

6 We have been busy unloading the sugar from the large flute. Nothing else happened.

7 We have been busy all day unloading sugar from the large flute. Progress is slow.

8 The flute has been unloaded and inspected. We began to select some coarse goods for the first sale, hoping to put them on display in two days and to start trade the next day. The governor seems to agree.

9 On behalf of the governor, the interpreters noted down which coarse goods we have selected for the first sale, for His Honour, who had been pressing us for an early trade, was now of the opinion that we should wait for another five or six days till more merchants had arrived. But because this year we have to sail earlier than last year, we should start trading now. Thus I requested His Honour again to allow us to start in two days.

139 But we did not receive a reply.

10 Early in the morning the repaired mainmast of the *Erasmus* was put to water and towed to the *Hercules*, which will assist in stepping the mast. The governor sent two *bongioisen* to select the best rayskins from among the imported ones for His

Majesty, as is done every year. Last night and today it poured with rain. In the afternoon this was followed by squalls from the north. Three of our ships dragged their anchors, but within an hour we saw them return to their former position.

11 *Burgemeester* Sakuemon came on the island with several deputies to select 100 pieces of Guinea-cloth, some *taffachelas* and several other small things for His Majesty. It rained the entire day, in the evening it started to blow hard from the south-east. By nine o'clock the wind had gathered force and turned into a terrible storm, which lasted the whole night. It pounded the houses and the fences and several were damaged. The large fence surrounding the island has been blown to the ground in several places.

12 Early in the morning we learnt that last night's storm had also caused some damage to our ships, which had been too close together and had drifted past each other's bows. The *Bloemendaal* has suffered the most damage, caused by the *Urk* – which is a real pest – which hit her headknee and smashed it to pieces. Because we find that the time for our trade is passing fruitlessly while waiting for merchants to come from up country and, moreover, this year the last ship has to sail from here ten days earlier than last year, namely on 27 October, this morning we had our interpreters humbly request the governor, who at first pressed us and now wants us to postpone trade,

140 that we be allowed to sell some coarse wares, such as skins, sugar and sappanwood as soon as possible. In the meantime, the merchants, who may be detained by the rainy weather, might arrive, unless His Honour would grant us an extension of a few days after the set day of departure so that we can settle our affairs in a better way. And considering that we may have difficulties keeping the sailors of the *Urk* in check during the trading season, when everyone is allowed to bring strong drink on the island and sell it, I also had the governor requested to be relieved of them and that they be sent on board. A short while later we received the reply that we were free to trade in the goods requested when we liked, but he added that it might be to our

disadvantage considering the fact that no more than thirty merchants, including ten who had no money, were in Nagasaki at present. With regard to the sailors, His Honour had said that they had to remain in our custody on the island till further orders arrived from Edo. But our interpreters had not dared to mention the requested extension of our departure day. Thus now we do not know what is the best course of action in this matter.

13 We have weighed 345 piculs of copper that were brought onto the island a few days ago. The governor sent our interpreters to notify me that last night more merchants from Miyako had arrived over land. More will follow by sea. Thus he advised us to begin selling the coarse wares next Saturday. We had him thanked and made preparations to begin trade on that day.

14 At daybreak we started to remove various kinds of skins from the warehouses and display them on the street. After the sales notices had been affixed everywhere according to custom and the governor had given his consent to open the gate, in the afternoon a crowd of people,

141 half of which consisted of merchants without money, or rather petty thieves, came like a swarm of bees onto the island and spread all over the place gaping here and there. Shortly after the governor sent two *opperbongioisen* and they informed me that they would supervise and prevent rows and fights between us and the Japanese, as has happened before, as much as possible. Orders had been issued among the Japanese and two *burgemeesters* had been sent to help supervise proceedings. His Honour also announced that he could make no changes with regard to the sailors of the *Urk*, whom he had placed in our custody on the island, before orders had come from Edo. But because he could imagine that these men would be in our way, he would allow us to divide them among the ships in the roadstead and to keep them there till he ordered them from us. I had him thanked most heartily for this desired but unexpected courtesy. I promised that we would comply early tomorrow and we would see to it that this trade be carried out peacefully.

15 Early in the morning the sailors and the master of the *Urk*, except for two sick ones, were taken on one of our sampans to the ships *Hercules*, *Erasmus*, *Domburg* and *Bloemendaal*. At noon we went to the auction house and held the first sale of sugar, sappanwood, sandalwood, various kinds of hides, *namrak*, buffalo-horns, rayskins, putchuk, catechu, pepper and other coarse wares. The Formosan sugar, the Siamese cowhides, the sandalwood and the catechu fetched excellent prices, but the other goods, in particular the ones from Cambodia, did not yield much.

16 We delivered 15 lots of the goods we sold yesterday. We received a letter from Commissioner Chikugo-no-kami from Edo,

142 in which he orders various goods from the fatherland and other regions, to replace those which had been brought to fulfil his previous demand and which have also been lost in the fire. In the evening, after dinner, we planned which goods we would sell in the second, large sale. It includes much silk and Dutch piece-goods and those from the Coast. We trust that we can sell them next Wednesday or Thursday.

17 We have been busy all day sorting the Bengal and Tonkinese silks and displaying them in the warehouses. Meanwhile, we have delivered some sappanwood, *namrak*, cowhides and other goods which we sold in the first sale.

18 We have brought out the chests with the *lakenen* and other Dutch woollen goods. We had them opened and displayed. We have also delivered the goods which we sold last Saturday, except for the sugar, sappanwood and the Cambodian nuts.

19 At noon, when the merchants had come on the island to view the goods we laid out yesterday, it started to rain, first gently but later on heavily, so that everyone had to help carry the deerskins, which had been laid out on the street, back into the warehouses, before they had been viewed properly.

20 Last night and today it poured with rain and there was thunder and lightning. This has put us back another day in our deliveries of sugar and sappanwood. When the merchants were inspecting the Cambodian skins, which were displayed yesterday,

they found some from Manila. They objected to purchasing these, claiming that both we and the Chinese had been forbidden to import these into Japan, much less sell them to the Japanese. In order to prevent any problems arising in case more were found among the lot that they might buy, I notified the interpreters and they informed the governor. Rightaway he wanted to know how we came by those skins, had they been brought from Manila to Cambodia and had our people there bought them, or had they themselves fetched them from that city.

143 Furthermore, how many skins were there, since when had our factory returned to Cambodia, how many of our people were stationed there and other such questions. I replied to them all and apologized to the best of my ability for the ignorance of the *opperhoofd* there. They promptly wrote down everything and went to report to the governor. His reply was that we could not sell these deerskins today, for he would like to see them first and have the Manila skins removed. We complied and the sales notices were changed. We held our second sale shortly before noon. We found that the hoped for profits, which we had always been told that we would inevitably enjoy on our imported goods after the fire which consumed everything in Edo, especially on the Bengal and Tonkinese silk and other Dutch piece-goods, have been reduced to a considerable drop compared to the prices which those goods made last year, for instead of 355 taels a picul for which the Bengal *cabessa* silk had been sold and 225 taels for the *bariga*, 346 taels for the Tonkinese purchased silk and 280 taels for the King's silk, we obtained no more than 315 taels for the *cabessa* and 186 for the *bariga*, 280 for the best Tonkinese silk and 232 for the King's silk, which is a great difference. Similarly, the *lakenen*, *stametten*, *rassetten* and other woollen cloth also did not make last year's prices. But we hope that we shall be able to close our books with a profit of 50 per cent on the whole capital. After the sale, on the advice of our interpreters, we requested *Burgemeester* Sakuemon, who was still on the island with two other *burgemeesters*, to request the governor on our behalf that the large lot of Cambodian skins, which is said to include

some from Manila, could be left unsorted and be sold as they were tied up in bundles, for otherwise it would take us two or three days to sell them and we would suffer a great loss.

- 144 He promised he would do so. In the evening, he informed me that the governor could not deal with the matter by himself and he would wait for three or four days, when his confrère, Governor Yohyōe, would arrive. Meanwhile, the skins could remain in bundles in the warehouses.

21 It was dry and we delivered the Bengal *bariga* silk and most of the other goods sold. We discovered that sixteen pieces of the *taffachelas gingham*, which had been displayed in a well-secured upper warehouse together with some treated Spanish leather, had been stolen during the viewing yesterday, even though four Dutchmen had kept watch there all the time and two sailors standing at the door had frisked the viewers when they left. Thus we cannot imagine how this distressing theft has been committed. Moreover, I was also told in the evening that a hole had been made in one of the warehouses below, in which the cinnamon and the cloves were stored, but because the hole was just the size of a fist, we need not fear a great loss, but I had the cloves taken to another empty warehouse.

22 Notwithstanding that Governor Kiemon had informed us two days ago through *Burgemeester* Sakuemon that the Cambodian skins could remain in bundles till the arrival of Governor Yohyōe, he sent his people on the island today to open all the bundles to remove all the Manila deerskins. Because there are more than 40,000 skins, progress was slow. In the meantime, we weighed the Bengal *cabessa* and the Tonkinese silk amidst continuous arguing and delivered them with several other goods to the buyers, one of whom, who had bought 10,000 rayskins, wished to reject a large batch of them, because he was not pleased with them.

- 145 In the evening we learnt that the long expected Governor Yohyōe had arrived from Edo partly travelling over land. The *otona* and our interpreters went out to welcome him according to custom. They returned late at night and told me on his behalf that

I should go there tomorrow at eight and welcome him in person.

23 Around nine o'clock I went with Hachizaemon to the house of the governor. After half an hour's wait I was called in to appear before His Honour. I thanked him most heartily for the help he had recently given us after the fire in Edo by providing us with suitable lodgings and offering us his own food. I also requested his help and favour in future. He replied that we had suffered some losses in the fire, but we had fortunately come out of it alive and had returned to our people in Nagasaki. As he had promised us in Edo on our departure, he had brought the reciprocal gifts of the Shogun and the councillors, consisting of gowns and money. As soon as the barge had arrived from Shimonoseki, they would be delivered to me on the island. He did not mention one word about our outstanding debts in Edo. In the afternoon, the merchants came for the Bengal *cabessa* silk. Oetgens himself weighed it off and delivered it to them, but they kept insisting on a surplus weight and wanting more and more on each weighing to our disadvantage. Beyond the bounds of all fairness, they even wanted to force him to give it and he stopped and closed the warehouse. Later on, when he started to weigh the silk again, after much bickering, one of our young interpreters named Yosōemon, otherwise called Brasman, had appeared in the same warehouse and had asked Oetgens to be more generous with the weight, because he had no more than 3 piculs there, but Hachizaemon and his mates were among the group and maintained that there were at least 40 piculs.

- 146 It is also stated for a fact that Magobei has a large share in the copper delivered. If now our interpreters, their sons, cousins and friends are beginning to participate in such important commodities, it is not odd that when there are complaints and arguments about false measurement and weights – for one can hardly ever satisfy a Japanese when it comes to the right measure or weight – they always argue with us and we are put in the wrong. In the evening we heard that the sorters had finished inspecting the Cambodian skins and had rejected 600 skins from

Manila. They have been tied in bundles and stored in another warehouse, which has been sealed.

24 Last night we had terrible weather with thunder, lightning and downpours. The rain continued today and we could not sort and display the goods which we have selected for the third sale. At the insistence of the interpreters and at the request of *Burgemeester* Sakueemon, we have planned the gifts which we have to present here every year to both governors, Intendant Heizō and others. As soon as the weather improves, we shall go and present them.

25 Today was a fine, clear and fresh autumn day. We have taken more Bengal silk and other goods from the warehouses and put them out for viewing. We have also put the goods which we shall take to Edo this year as gifts in a separate place and placed Boucheljon in charge. We have also been busy till late in the evening taking out the gifts which we have planned for both governors of this city and dividing them properly. Tomorrow we shall distribute them to the recipients – of whom the governors have been given proper notice – according to annual custom. All the while, we have also been busy weighing and taking receipt of copper, which is now being brought in small lots now and again.

147 26 Because the weather was fair, apart from the goods which are displayed in the warehouses, we also put out the Cambodian deerskins on the street for viewing for the second time. There are four assortments and because they have been mixed up and badly repacked when the Manila skins were sorted out, I fear that they will fetch less at the sale tomorrow and the Company will not get the profits which they would otherwise yield. In the afternoon, I went with Boucheljon and all our interpreters to present the gifts to Governors Kiemon and Yohyōe, Shogunal Intendant Heizō and the four *burgemeesters* of the city.

27 From midnight till midday the rain fell steadily and the wind blew from the south-west. At two o'clock in the afternoon I went to the auction house, where we held our third sale. The Bengal silk and the Dutch piece-goods made a little more than at the last sale. The Cambodian deerskins and the

mountain goat skins sold for rather more than we had imagined, but the Siamese *jammama* or elk hides and the three kinds of deerskins remained unsold, on account of some misunderstandings and disputes about the bidding slips.

28 We have delivered the Bengal *cabessa* silk and most of the other goods we sold yesterday. In the evening the young Lord of Hakata came to visit us unexpectedly with a large entourage of noblemen and servants. He only asked to see some rarities. Thus we showed His Highness the fire hose, the ostrich, and various parrots and lory birds, and also some of the black boys. After he had looked at them for a while, he went back outside and he sailed to the *Bloemendaal* on his *hayafune* in the twilight. After dinner, I sent for the subordinates of this factory,

148 and together we decided by resolution the date of the departure of our ships, the amount of copper we would send and several other matters.

29 We weighed off the gifts of silk for our *otona*, interpreters and clerks and handed them over in the evening. According to yesterday's resolution, we announced at the same time that on 10 or 11 October we would like to dispatch four ships, namely two to Batavia and two to Tayouan. Therefore we requested they propose this to the governors tomorrow and request their consent. We intend to carry the eleven Chinese – who were brought here in captivity on the *Urk* – back to their fellow countrymen in Tayouan. We promised to treat them well and to provide them with food and clothes during the journey. Because the *Urk* and the *Rode Vos* cannot be loaded with anything and are of no use to us, we also asked them to request the governors that both ships may also sail with the others. The authorities in Batavia have ordered us to inquire whether it would be possible to obtain permission from the governors to export some gold and a goodly sum of money at a low interest. We informed the interpreters of this matter and asked them to request this as well.

30 Early in the morning, Governor Yohyōe sent for me. I went there and I found him sitting in the gallery in the company of Governor Kiemon. With great ceremonial, I was handed the Shogun's reciprocal

gift of thirty silk gowns and from the three councillors 20 *schuiten* of silver each, 60 *schuiten* in all. With regard to the councillors this is quite meagre, for previously they also used to give us some beautiful gowns worth more than 20 *schuiten* of silver, thus we have to help carry the damages of the Edo fire even in excess of our own sad losses.

October

- 1 We have been busy all day bringing out and inspecting the remainder of our commodities,
- 149 so that we can display them tomorrow for the fourth and final sale. In the afternoon, both governors and Shogunal Intendant Heizō came with a large suite and interrupted us in the midst of our work. They said that the sole reason of their visit was to see the fire hose, which had recently arrived from Batavia for Chikugo-no-kami, in operation. After the demonstration, they came to my room and they sent for all the black boys and a large *kaffir*, who could play a little on the violin. The boys entertained them for half an hour, singing and playing. Then they rose and thanked us for the *sakana*, although they had not tasted any and returned home. We were glad that we got rid of these finicky guests so quickly and returned to our tasks.
- 2 Drizzly weather all day. We could not display our goods. In the afternoon a junk from Anhai dropped anchor in the bay. It brought some trifles worth around two chests of money.
- 3 Fine and clear weather. We were able to display the last of our goods.
- 4 At last we received a reply from the governors to our requests of last Saturday. We were allowed to dispatch our ships as early as we could, but the *Urk* had to remain here till the final decision came from Edo. The eleven Chinese who had come here on the flute were given the choice whether they wished to return on our ships or on their own junks, which are also ready to leave. According to the interpreters, the Chinese would rather sail straight from here to Anhai with their own people than go first to Tayouan on our ships. With regard to the chests of silver which we would like to borrow on interest now and when we needed them from the

merchants and the citizens here, the governor could not give his consent, because two years ago it had been discussed with the councillors in Edo and up to now no final decision had been forthcoming whether they wished to allow or refuse it. Because in the past there had been many complaints and troubles when the Portuguese had borrowed money on interest, they had reason to be apprehensive that we might also be the cause of trouble. Neither the interpreters nor the *bongioisen*, who ordinarily have to present such requests to the governors, dare mention the gold which we would like to export every year, because it pertained to an old shogunal ban, which requires strict compliance. In the afternoon we held our final sale, which was rather large and consisted of many different Dutch assortments. The trade for this year has been concluded on faltering footsteps, but it still had a fine conclusion, because the goods, mainly remainders, sold better than on the previous three days. When we were about to go to the auction house, our interpreters showed us a request which Wansick, the Chinese *nachoda*, had presented to both governors, in which he requested that we restitute him the 3000 reals which he had paid into the Company's cash box in Batavia as security, for our ships had returned safely from Canton. The governors wanted to know if it were not better to pay this Chinese his money here than for him to go and ask for it in Batavia. We replied that it was the same to us. If he would send someone with our bond, we would pay him the money.

- 5 A citizen offered us 100 piculs of camphor at 11.5 taels a picul. But we could not reach an agreement on his first visit and we parted without having achieved anything, as is the custom here.
- 6 We were busy a long time negotiating the price with the aforesaid camphor seller. Finally we settled for 10 taels a picul for the 100 piculs.
- 151 Moreover, we made a contract that he should supply us with 400 piculs more at the same price next year.
- 7 Following our resolution of 28 September, our ships have to be dispatched to Batavia and Tayouan on the 11th instant and as that day is nearing, we

have requested the governors for permission to open the water-gate tomorrow morning so that the remaining copper and other commodities can be shipped off. They gave their consent.

8 We had the sampans brought in front of the water-gate very early and shipped a good batch of copper to the *Ulysses*. But because this flute does not have a porthole, the copper had to be lifted, which took a lot of time.

9 The flute has received the last of her copper. Of the 14,100 piculs which have been bought and received this year, she loaded 3500 piculs. In the evening the governors sent for the old shogunal orders. We sent them straightaway. We do not know their intentions.

10 After we had received permission for the second time, just sixty grain merchants came to negotiate on the price of wheat and rice for Batavia and Tayouan. For a bale of common wheat of 31 *gantang*, we settled for 8 mas and 5 candareens and for the largest bales of 40 *gantang*, 1 tael and 2 candareens. But we could not agree on the price of the rice for Tayouan.

11 Because five of our ships have to sail to Batavia and Tayouan tomorrow, this morning the governors gave us permission to load two yachts today, one sailing to Batavia and the other to Tayouan. There will be enough time tomorrow morning to load the other two flutes, one of which will sail to Batavia and the other to Tayouan. In the afternoon it started to pour with rain, which prevented us from loading wheat and other perishable goods.

Departure of the *Rode Vos*, *Haas*, *Groene Molen*, *Koukerken* and *Ulysses*

12 Around seven in the morning Interpreter Shichibei came hurrying into my room and told me that Boucheljon and I had been summoned by the governors.

152 We went there at once with Sukezaemon and Magobei. When we appeared before them, we were shown the written resolution from the Court which had arrived by mail a few days ago, concerning the attack and seizure of Chinese junks at sea. After a long introduction by both governors, who took

turns, our interpreters explained and translated it thus: 'Firstly, that the flute the *Urk* was free to leave, because when our most recent ships arrived from Tayouan it had become known and had been shown that, as we had claimed, the Chinese junk had been seized and taken to Tayouan by one of our other ships and not by the *Urk*. But the eleven Chinese who had been brought here would be sent back to Coxinga on another junk. Secondly, that the junk, which had been taken to Tayouan and had been broken to bits there, should be restored to its owner with the goods which had been lost or we should compensate him for his losses. Thirdly, if later on it is found out that our ships chase and seize such Chinese trade junks sailing to Japan, we shall be forbidden to trade any longer in Japan and shall be ordered to leave.' The governors advised us seriously to notify the Governor-General and the Governor of Tayouan with the ships that are departing today of these three main points, which our inadequate Dutch interpreters call great *kapitels*, so that they could act accordingly in future. But when we were back on our island, we were so busy with shipping off grain and 170 chests of silver, that we did not know which way to turn, especially because the *bongioisen* hovered around us the whole time, while pressing us to make haste with the dispatch. But because Boucheljon received permission to go alone to muster the crews of the departing ships in the meantime, the aforesaid tough case was mentioned briefly at the end of the letter to Batavia as a notification to the authorities.

153 When evening fell, most of our papers had to be packed and sent off without having been collated. In the dark evening, the ships *Koukerken* and *Ulysses* with destination Batavia and the *Haas*, the *Groene Molen* and the *Rode Vos* with destination Tayouan had to leave the roadstead.

13 We have been busy preparing the next dispatch to Tayouan with the yachts the *Hercules* and the *Erasmus*. To that end we have packed some tobacco and the coarse gowns that have been ordered for the garrison there.

14 Today the great feast has been celebrated. No Japanese has shown himself on the island, being

occupied with viewing the usual processions, dances and other displays of merriment.²¹

15 The sailors of the *Urk*, who had been divided over the ships, have been placed on their own ship with the governors' consent. The ten sailors of the *Hercules* who had been ordered to guard it, have returned to their own ship. But Junior Merchant Meijndert Jansz Messteecker, who was in charge of the exchange, reported that the aforesaid ten sailors had entered the hold and had had a go at two leaguers of Company wine which had been loaded for Tayouan and had committed other thefts. We shall investigate this and report our findings to the governor in Tayouan. In the afternoon, both governors went to the *Hercules* without wishing any of us to accompany them. They spent a quarter of an hour viewing her and then returned home.

16 Today was another holiday. This has hindered us in the loading of our other ships which are sailing to Tayouan. In the afternoon, on behalf of Governor Kiemon, who will be leaving for Edo and who, rumour has it, will not return here, Sukezaemon and Magobei came to ask if I could arrange it to leave two or three days before the set day of departure on the last ship. I replied that this was impossible,

154 because there were just six days remaining till the 20th instant. I needed more than double the time to close our books and make a proper transport and settle everything. They left with this reply, for even had we been able to finish in time, we should not acquiesce in order to avoid setting a precedent.

17 We have loaded 3000 bales of rice and 80 packs of tobacco on the *Hercules*.

18 On the orders of the governors, two of the Chinese interpreters and two of ours have inspected the *Urk*. They looked to see whether our sailors were hiding any other goods, apart from the three pieces of red *laken*, the sixteen packs of tin, some arms and other small things, which had been taken from the Chinese and had been returned to them. In the presence of Messteecker, they found the following things in the sailors' chests. [List, enumerated, cotton, tin, tea, Chinese gowns, calambac,

trousers, stockings, a cushion, belt, hair net, bird's nests, mats, sitting rug.] All of which the inspectors wrote down and took ashore and showed to the governors as an exceptional prize and was returned to the eleven Chinese amidst loud cheers and laughter. The *Erasmus* has received a further load of rice and tobacco today.

19 Around eight in the morning, when the weather was very calm and hazy, we felt a terrible earthquake, but it did not last more than 7–8 minutes. This is the first and only which I have experienced here so far.

Departure of the *Erasmus*, *Hercules* and *Urk*

20 Around noon a Chinese interpreter brought us a document, in which the eleven Chinese, who were brought here on the *Urk*, declare that they have received the aforesaid goods on the orders of the governors. All our papers which we shall send with this second dispatch to Tayouan have been properly listed and closed and shortly after midday I mustered the crew of the *Erasmus*, the *Hercules* and the *Urk*. They are sailing away with a cargo worth 419,579 guilders.

21 In the afternoon, both interpreters Sukezaemon and Magobei came again on behalf of the governors to ask whether I could pay *Nachoda* Wansick, who keeps insisting on restitution of the 3000 reals which he has paid as security in Batavia, before my departure or should he ask for it in Batavia. Because they brought a certain Kyūbei, a Chinese interpreter, with the bond issued by the cashier Mr Wijnant Rutgers, we kept our promise of the 4th instant and in the presence of Sukezaemon, Magobei and Hachizaemon, we handed the Chinese interpreter 2685 taels, which is the equivalent of 3000 reals at 51 stivers a piece. We were given a proper receipt signed by the *nachoda* on the back of the same bond, which I shall take to Batavia and have the debt cancelled.

22 Sukezaemon came for payment of a sum of 9 taels and 6 mas on behalf of some citizens of Satsuma, who had supplied the crew of the *Urk* with fowl, rice and vegetables. Because the crew have told us that they had been given a liberal supply

21 The *Kunchi* Festival.

of food in that domain, I gave him the money. In the evening I started to prepare for my departure and, in the presence of two junior merchants, I gave a proper transport of our provisions to Junior Merchant Cornelis Mulock, who will replace Junior Merchant Meijndert Jansz Messteecker, who will also be leaving, as steward.

156 23 I received permission from the governors to start loading our last two ships tomorrow. I had 60 chests of money packed and stored.

24 The water-gate was opened and we started to load rice on the *Domburg*. Meanwhile, I settled with

the interpreters who had fetched some small goods for both governors.

25 Rice has been loaded on the *Bloemendaal*. Both yachts are now ready to sail.

26 In the evening I closed our trade books and found that this year we made a profit of just 50 per cent. I transported the effects, worth 44,897 guilders to Boucheljon. Tomorrow I shall leave for Tayouan with both yachts. The diary ends with a summary of the commodities which forty-six Chinese junks imported into Nagasaki between 1 March and 22 August 1657.