

A DIARY OF WILLIAM CLEVELAND, CAPTAIN'S CLERK ON BOARD THE MASSACHUSETTS

BELOKA KANGE

MONOGRAPH No. 1

INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES 1 9 6 5

A DIARY

οf

WILLIAM

CLEVELAND

MONOGRAPH SERIES NO. 1, 1965

Josefa M. Saniel Issue Editor

Andres I. Fernandez Managing Editor Martha B. Seguerra In-Charge, Circulation

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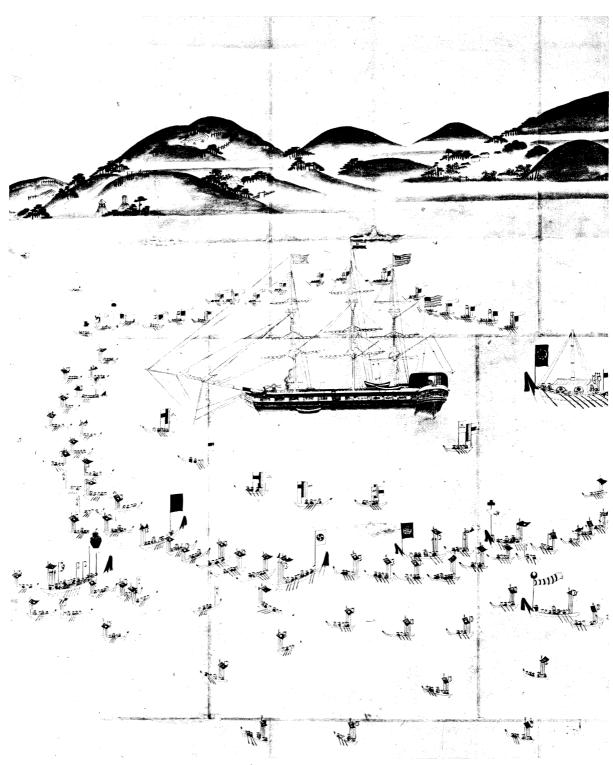
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Editor, Asian Studies Newsletter

Research Assistants: Rosalina A. Concepcion, Zenaida Borra, Vida P. Ventura,

Teresita Corcuera

^{*}On study leave abroad



Photograph No. 1

An unidentified American vessel hoisting the Dutch Color in Nagasaki Harbor. It is a detail of a hanging scroll without any title (color on paper) owned by Hr. Hideo Okada of Omiya, Saitama, Japan. This unique painting has never been introduced to the scholarly world. Though the name and the date are unknown, it undoubtedly represents one of the American vessels hired by the Dutch during the years, 1797-1807. (Courtesy of Mr. Hideo Okada)

PREFACE

The Institute of Asian Studies is fortunate in inaugurating its Monograph Series with a work which is in many ways meaningful both to the Philippines and the region. To begin with, its issuance manifests our desire to make available to students of Asia the fruits of research from every available source.

The work by Madoka Kanai adds a vital chapter to the continuing story of East-West relations; it is doubly significant because it examines the early relations, from the Japanese standpoint, between Japan and American visitors before Admiral Perry at a time when the country was closed to world contacts except with the Dutch at Deshima. Any contact was permitted only under the severest of limitations.

Mr. Kanai's <u>Introduction</u> of William Cleveland's diary is important for its historical and bibliographical data. His notes on, and annotations of, the diary-based as they were on Japanese, Dutch, and English sources—are contributions to knowledge about late Tokugawa Japanese foreign relations at Nagasaki, not only with American but also with Dutch traders.

The publication of this monograph was made possible with the kind cooperation of the Peabody Museum in Salem, which made available to Mr. Kanai the original of William Cleveland's diary and allowed him to publish his transcription of its part covering the stop-over in Japan (from July 16 to November 25, 1800) of the American merchant ship, the Massachusetts. We would also like to acknowledge the permission given Mr. Kanai by the Peabody Museum to publish the following facsimiles: the first page of the original manuscript of William Cleveland's "Japan Diary, 1800"; the General State Archives (The Hague), the first and twelfth pages of the original Charter Party signed by William V. Hutchings and Johamos Sieberg (Batavia, May 12, 1800), and Mr. Hideo Okada, the detail of a scroll -- an unidentified American vessel hoisting the Dutch color in Nagasaki Harbor.

R. SANTOS CUYUGAN Director

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INTRODUCTION*

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THE IDEA THAT THE FAMOUS 1853 EXPEDITION OF COMMODORE Matthew Calbraith Perry did not initiate relations between Japan and the United States has been widely accepted. Perhaps, the most balanced and factual description of the relations is that of Shunzo Sakamaki, Professor at the University of Hawaii, which was largely written on the basis of primary and secondary materials then available in the two countries (Japan and the United States). Mr. Sakamaki points out that the Perry expedition was preceded to Japan -- on at least twenty-five occasions -- by twenty-seven American vessels, including fifteen merchantmen, nine whalers, and three warships. An effort to enrich Sakamaki's chronicle in terms of the analysis of the means by which the United States made the intellectual acquaintance of Japan, has recently been done by Columbia University Professor Henry F. Graff, in his introduction to an unofficial diary of Perry's squadron. While these excellent works are concerned exclusively with the relations between the United States and Japan, Kiyoshi Tabohashi, Professor at Keijo (Seoul) University, has provided us with a factual study and interpretation of the wider aspects of Japanese relations with foreign countries during the century before 1854. In it is discussed the development of a common attempt among Western nations to open the door of this long-isolated country. 4 Truly, Japan's foreign relations as well as domestic develop-

^{*}The "Introduction" of the diary is published in <u>Asian Studies</u>, Vol. II, No. 3 (December, 1964). Mr. Kanai wishes to acknowledge the cooperation rendered him, while gathering microfilm materials, by Professor John Whitney Hall of Yale University, Mrs. Moyra L. Baker, former staff secretary at Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, and Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, Keeper of the General States Archives, The Hague. Credit and thanks are due to Mr. Dodge, Director of the Peabody Museum, for his kind permission to transcribe the diary of William Cleveland.

¹Since the pioneer work of Richard Hildreth's <u>Japan as it was and is</u> (Boston, 1855; 3rd enl. ed.) was entitled <u>Japan and the Japanese</u>, 1861; (Its Japanese editions in 1902 and 1904 restored the original title) was published, many scholars have referred to this fact both in the United States and Japan.

²Shunzo Sakamaki, "Japan and the United States, 1790-1853," <u>Transaction of Asiatic Society of Japan</u>, Sec. Ser. Vol. XVIII (Tokyo, 1939), 1.

³Henry F. Graff, <u>Blue Jackets with Perry in Japan: a Day-by-Day Account kept by Master's Mate John R.C. Lewis and Cabin Boy William B. Allen</u> (New York, 1952), 13.

⁴Tabohashi Kiyoshi, <u>Zōtei Kindai Nippon Gaikoku Kankeishi</u> (History of Foreign Relations of Modern Japan, enlarged) (Tokyo, 1943). Its first edition was published in 1930.

ments during the century, 1750-1850, consist of many important facts. ⁵ The present author, however, restricts here his interest in the facts pertinent to a single problem: the earliest American merchantmen which engaged in trading with Japan from 1797 to 1807, without any support of their own government and trading under the color of the Netherlands--the only Western nation authorized to continue commercial intercourse with the isolated "Empire of Japan."

Three factors seem to have enabled American vessels to come to Japan during the said decade. Since the War of Independence in 1776, the activities of American merchant seamen had vigorously expanded to the East Indies, with Salem in Massachusetts, as their home port; 6 American whalers now also revived their activities in the Pacific, with Nantucket and New Bedford as their bases. 7 In the East Indies, the Americans who mainly engaged in entrepot trade beyond Cape Town, achieved a remarkable profit from voyage to voyage, and brought home Oriental things and ideas. The French Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the Batavian Republic--under French influence--together with the French-Dutch alliance against the English forces, constrained the Dutch East India Company to attempt to secure their trade routes by chartering vessels of neutral countries. 8 In 1798, the management of the Company was transmitted to the Republic with the Governor-General in Batavia exercising trading functions until the Netherlands Trading Society was organized in 1824, though, for a while (1811-1816), the company came under English influence. 9 Thus, one can easily see how both the American and Dutch traders of the time found mutual cooperation mutually advantageous. But they nevertheless stipulated in their charter party an article concerning "unforeseen circumstances" or "unexpected circumstances," in which a ship would not be allowed to enter the port of destination. The Japanese authorities who had taken precautions against the

⁵See, for instance, John Whitney Hall, <u>Tanuma Okitsugu</u>, 1719-1788, <u>Forerunner of Modern Japan</u> (Cambridge, 1955); Thomas C. Smith, <u>The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan</u> (Stanford, 1959); and Donald Keene, <u>The Japanese Discovery of Europe: Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers</u>, 1720-1798 (London, 1952).

⁶Ralph D. Paine, <u>The Old Merchant Marine</u>; a <u>Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors</u>. The Chronicle of American Series, Vol. 36 (New Haven, 1921), 51 ff.

⁷W.S. Tower, <u>History of the American Whalefishery</u> (Philadelphia, 1907), 39 ff.

⁸Hildreth, op. cit., 446; Graff, op. cit., 17; and Sakamaki, op. cit., 5.

⁹W. M. F. Mansvelt, <u>A Brief History of the Netherlands Trading Society</u>,

1824-1924 (The Hague, 1924), 40-44.

approach of the Russians and other Westerners, however, eventually allowed American vessels to enter the harbor of Nagasaki, inasmuch as they bore the authentic Batavian charter party and Dutch officials on board. That the Americans had never been in contact with Japan under their own flag, nor bore any political or religious ambitions toward the country, was undoubtedly helpful in enabling them to broach the traditional policy of seclusion. It

Eight American vessels as well as one from Bremen and one from Denmark were chartered by the Dutch company during the above-mentioned decade, in order to fulfill the gaps of their own periodic voyages from Batavia to Nagasaki and from Nagasaki back. The years, names of the ships, and captains of these American vessels are as follows: 12

- 1797 (Kansei 139) Eliza (of New York), Capt. William Robert Stewart.
- 1798 (Kansei 10) Eliza, Capt. William Robert Stewart.
- 1799 (Kansei 11) Franklin (of Boston), Capt. James Devereux.
- 1800 (Kansei 12) Massachusetts (of Boston), Capt. William V. Hutchings.
- 1801 (Kyowa 1) Margaret (of Salem), Capt. Samuel Derby.
- 1802 (Kyowa 2) Samuel Smith, Capt. G. Stiles.
- 1803 (Kyowa 3) Rebecca (of Baltimore), Capt. James Deal.
- 1806 (Bunka 3) America, Capt. Henry Lelar.
- 1807 (Bunka 4) Mount Vernon, Capt. J. Davidson.

These American ship-masters under the Dutch flag, according to Ralph D. Paine, "were fortunate enough to be welcomed when the French. Russian and English were driven from the coast of Japan as foemen and 'barbarians. They were the first and last Americans to trade with the Japanese nation until after Perry had emphasized his friendly messages with the silent yet eloquent guns of the <u>Susquehanna</u>, <u>Mississippi</u>, <u>Saratoga</u> and <u>Plymouth</u>. 414

¹⁰ Hendrik Doeff, Junior, Herinnerungen uit Japan (faarlem, 1833), 61.

¹¹ Tabohashi, op. cit., 301-302.

¹²Besides these vessels, those bearing no Dutch contracts came to Nagasaki four times: The Emperor of Japan in 1800, the Nagasaki and the Frederic both in 1803, and the Eclipse chartered by the Russian-American Company, in 1806. Tabohashi, op. cit., 302-305. His list was compiled on the basis of J.H. Levyssohn, Chronologisch Overzigt der Nederlandsche Opperhoofden in Japan (Bladen over Japan, 24-26) and Doeff, op. cit., 61-63. Before this, two American merchantmen, Lady Washington and the Grace, approached in vain Kii Province, in 1791. American whalers appeared as late as 1820. See Sakamaki, op. cit., 174-190.

¹³This is the Japanese year period enacted by the Imperial Court at Kyoto and adopted throughout the country, even during the period of Tokugawa dominance. It does not correspond to the reigns of the Emperors (nor to those of the Shoguns) before 1868.

Hendrik Doeff, Junior, the Dutch director (opperhoofd) 1803-1817, later recollected the days he enjoyed the confidence and friendship shown him at Deshima, Nagasaki, by such masters as Devereux, Hutchings, Derby, Stiles, Deal and Lelar. 15

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To make clear how these vessels were hired, sailed and got in touch with Japan, is a very attractive historical research. This is because of the possibility of using the facts yielded by research in the study of international conditions at the turn of the nineteenth century, especially of the earliest commercial and cultural contacts between the ancient Land of the Rising Sun (Japan) and a new Western nation just organized (the United States of America). The possibility has already been partly, and someday will be fully, realized because many materials have already been located in the United States, Japan and the Netherlands.

A number of original accounts and papers are still preserved at Salem, Massachusetts, in the United States. When some of them were quoted by Paine in his encouraging work, written early in the present century, their locations were not given either in his footnotes or in his appendix. However, in a chapter on American merchantmen in Japanese waters, Graff-for the first time-- specified the titles and locations of his sources. As a matter of fact, it is not too much to say that the Peabody Museum and the Essex Institute (both in Salem) are depositories of the most important collections in this field. The former, the site of the East India Marine Society, preserves the journal and ledger of the ship Franklin, the journal of the ship Massachusetts, paintings of the Eliza and Deshima, and other mementoes of Japanese trade of old Salem; the latter, the Devereux papers as well as a diary kept on board the ship Margaret. Some extracts from these sources have been printed in modern works. 16

¹⁴Ralph D. Paine, <u>The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem, the Record of a Brilliant Era of American Achievement</u> (rev. ed.; Boston, 1923). See also Samuel Eliot Morison, <u>The Maritime History of Massachusetts</u>, 1783-1860 (Boston, 1941), 182-183.

¹⁵Doeff, <u>op. cit.</u>, 155.

¹⁶ Excerpts from the Devereux papers are in Paine, The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem (Boston, 1923), 221-225, and Arthur Edward Christy, ed., The American Legacy and American Life (New York, 1945), 260-261; those from the diary of George Cleveland, in J. F. Allen, "First Voyage to Japan," Historical Collections of the Essex Institute II (August, 1860), 166-169 cited in Sakamaki, op. cit., 7; also in Paine, op. cit., 224-231 and Christy, op. cit., 261-267. For excerpts from William Cleveland, see below note 22.

Japan is not so well provided with native sources covering this series of events. Perhaps, the official chronicle entitled <u>Tsūkō Itchiran</u> (1566-1825), ¹⁷ compiled at the Shogunate, should be consulted as source materials for the study of Japan's foreign intercourse of this period. This and other related Japanese sources have been quoted in English by Sakamaki, a Japanese American scholar, ¹⁸ and in Japanese by Tabohashi and Agu Saitō. Such scarcity of native sources encouraged Saitō-- the famous author of an elaborate study of Hendrik Doeff's role in Japan-- to consult the Dutch archives, almost all of which are written in Dutch, and even to publish a translation of the whole text of Doeff's <u>Herinnerungen uit Japan</u> (Recollections of Japan). ¹⁹

Dutch records concerning the chartering of American vessels and related facts are found among the Colonial Archives preserved in the General State Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief) in The Hague. Some two hundred volumes of the respective series of annual diaries, registers of resolutions, letters received and sent, and various business evidences covering the years from 1797 to 1807 are available from among its group of records called Archief Nederlandsch Factorij Japan (K.A. 11685-11856). 20 These documents are a part of the voluminous archives preserved at Deshima up to 1853, when they were withdrawn to Batavia and then to The Hague. They were not fully utilized even in the above-mentioned Recollections of Hendrik Doeff, because he left them behind and lost most of his private records and collections in a shipwreck on his way home, after nineteen years service in Japan. The entire Archief Nederlandsch Factorij Japan in microfilm has

^{17 &}lt;u>Tsūkō Ichiran</u>, compiled in the 1850's under the supervision of Hayashi Akira, <u>Daigaku-no-kami</u>. It was for the first time published in 7 volumes by the Kokusho Kankōkai, Tokyo, in 1913.

¹⁸Sakamaki, op. cit., 4-11, 174-184.

¹⁹Saitō Agu, Zūfu to Nippon (Hendrik Doeff and Japan) (Tokyo, 1912); ibid., tr., Zūfu Nippon Kaisōroku (Doeff's Herinnerungen uit Japan) (Tokyo, 1928 in Ikoku Sōsho, bound with a translation of Van Overmeer Visscher's book).

²⁰The specific volumes are as follows: Resolution, 1803-1807, 6 vols. (K. A. 11685), Dagregister, 1796-1808, 19 vols. (K. A. 11717-11719), Origineel Brieven Ontvangen van Japan, 1801-1808, 20 vols. (K. A. 11739-11740), Aankomende en Afgaande Brieven, 1798-1799, 6 vols. (K. A. 11748), Minuut Brieven Verzonden naar Japan, 1797-1807, 12 vols. (K. A. 11749), Minuut Secrete Brieven Verzonden naar Japan, 1797-1807, 5 vols. (K. A. 11751), Jaarlijkse Portefeuilles, 1800-1808, 95 vols. (K. A. 11776-11784), Verschillende Stukken, 1617-1820, 1 vol. (K. S. 11819) and Negotie Boeken en Journalen, 1797-1805, 18 vols. (K. A. 11841 & 11856).

become recently available in Tokyo. 21

The record of William Cleveland below which the present author has transcribed and annotated, is the latter half of a manuscript in America, which Graff once assessed as "probably more observant than any of the other early American visitors." It is the journal of the ship Massachusetts, now preserved in the Peabody Museum of Salem. The manuscript is composed of seventy-two pages inclusive of day-by-day accounts ranging from March 19 to June 29, 1799 (Calcutta to Cape Town), and from July 16 to November 25, 1800 (in Nagasaki, Japan), in an 18.2 x 15.5 centimeter unlined notebook. The part concerning Japan is found on pages 20-72. Some of its entries have been cited by both Paine and Graff, ²² but the entire section has never been annotated or previously printed.

References to the personal history of the writer of this diary are exceedingly scarce. When Paine referred to the Boston ship Massachusetts, which sailed for Nagasaki in 1800, he mentioned that "her captain's clerk, William Cleveland of Salem, kept a detailed journal of this unusual voyage." According to Graff, William was a brother of George Cleveland, the latter being twenty years old when he arrived in Nagasaki in 1801 on board the ship Margaret. Paine pointed out that George Cleveland was "of a famous family of Salem mariners"; that he sailed as a captain's clerk, 5 and that he was a brother of Richard Cleveland, master of the Enterprise and the well-known author of a narrative of his ship's voyage. Captain Richard Cleveland was, according to the same author, born in 1773 as "the eldest son of Captain Stephen Cleveland," a brave commander under the new American flag in 1776. Fortunately for historians, William in his journal entry for June 23, 1799, expressed his eagerness (as he was approaching Cape

²¹ Historical Documents Relating to Japan in Foreign Countries: an Inventory of Microfilm Acquisitions in the Library of the Historiographical Institute (Shiryo Hensanjo), the University of Tokyo. Vol. I & II. Netherlands, Parts I & II (1963-64). See Kanai Madoka, "Donkeru Kurutiusu no Mo Hitotsu no Koken" (Another Contribution of Donker Curtius) Nihon Rekishi, 186 (Nov. 1963), 57-66.

²²Graff, op. cit., 18-19. According to a footnote given by Prof. Graff, it once appeared in Paine, <u>The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem</u> (New York, 1908 [?]), 352-375, which the present author has not consulted.

²³Paine, <u>The Ships and Sailors</u>, op. cit., 218.

²⁴Graff, op. cit., 19.

²⁵ Paine, op. cit., 225.

²⁶Paine, <u>The Old Merchant Marine</u>, op. cit., 69.

Paine, The Ships and Sailors, op. cit., 297.

Town), to see his "brother Dick." Thus, one can easily reconstruct a triangle of the Cleveland family, with the father, Captain Steven, at its apex and three brothers named Richard, William and George at its base. Perhaps, William was a lad between nineteen and twenty-six years old in 1800 when he was in Japan-- ambitious, intelligent, and with technical skills cultivated since his youth which was in the old New England port of Salem.

As mentioned above, the journal or diary, has a gap between June 1799 and July 1800. Consequently, it does not tell us how Captain Hutchings went about letting his vessel, the <u>Massachusetts</u>, to the Dutch at Batavia. Although it is not particularly informative concerning day-to-day negotiations at this "Metropolis," the original bi-lingual charter party between Johannes Siberg, "ordinary Counsellor and Acting Director General of the Dutch Indies," and William V. Hutchings, "Captain of the American ship <u>Massachusetts</u>," dated Batavia, May 12, 1800, reveals some of the premises of the romantic voyage to Japan of William Cleveland. ²⁸ The merchantman in question, says the contract, was then lying in Batavia roads and was "of the burden of 600 tons." The charter was made pursuant to the resolution of the Batavian High Regency of May 11, 1800, and for, and in the name of the <u>Ge-octroijeerde Nederlandsche Oost-indische Compagnie</u>.

The contract, made in triplicate, contains twenty-five articles providing mutual obligations and restrictions of the freighter and the letter. The following is an abstract:

- 1. That the Captain lets to the Company the ship, requisite for a cargo of 750 tons English weight of 1850 Dutch pound each³⁰ both from Batavia to Japan and from Japan back, and for the sum of 150 Spanish dollars per ton for the voyage to and fro.
- 2-3. That the exports consist of tin, sappanwood, pepper, cloves, cotton yarn, powdered sugar and others, and that the letter undertake to convey copper, camphor, empty copper chests and stowage planks. (The quantity and price are briefly specified.)

²⁸ Cherte Partij. Batavia, den 12. Maij. 1800 in Japan Ingekomen Stukken 1800, doc. no. 3 (Archief Nederlandsch Factorij Japan. Jaarlijkse Protefeuilles no. 1, 1800, K.A. 11776).

²⁹This endorses Paine's description of the Boston ship based on her second officer Amasa Delano's narrative. Delano described her as the largest merchantman ever built up to that time in Boston, U.S.A., and destined and equipped for the Oriental trade, a vessel of six hundred tons and carrying a crew of eighty men. She was launched at Quincy in 1789, and her departure was a national event. Paine, op. cit., 257.

³⁰ The Dutch text reads: "Van vijfhondert en Seventig Tonnen Engels Gewigt 1850 lb. hollde, ieder Ton."

- 4-5. That the aforesaid freight money shall be paid to the letter, after the voyage has been performed, in products of coffee, pepper and sugar; and that if in case the letter does not wish to export these products, he is at liberty to sell them to other persons.
- 6. That the letter shall deliver the aforesaid ship at his own expense.
- 7. That the ship shall leave Batavia on June 15.
- 8. That the crew of the ship must consist of 55 men including the Captain, to which the Company will add 13 Javanese sailors and one more seaman at their expense.
- 9. That the Captain and the other officers shall perform the voyage according to the tenor of this Charter Party and the instructions to be given. 31
- 10-11. That the Captain shall immediately proceed to the harbour of his destination and the voyage back should be with all possible speed to this Metropolis, without anchoring at any port, and that the ship should not stay at Japan longer than at farthest to December 1, 1800.
- 12-14. That if in case the Company's servants at Japan were not able to supply sufficient goods, the Company nevertheless will pay the letter the full freight, that if in case through unexpected circumstances the Japanese would not permit the ship to come upon the roads of that place, and the Captain was obliged to return with his cargo back again, the letter shall be paid at his arrival the full freight as is fixed by Article 4, and that if in case the ship after her arrival back from Japan lost with her cargo by unexpected misfortunes of storm or fire, &c., the letter shall be likewise paid the freight.
- 15-16. That the Company shall be at liberty, when judged necessary, to send to Japan 4 or 5 civil servants of the Company having their lodge in the cabin free of charge except for the maintenance, and that the letter shall grant to the Chief and the other Company's servants both for the voyage to and from Japan, 10 tons of 1850 Dutch pounds each over and above the fixed 570 tons.

No copy of such instructions was to be found among the Dutch records mentioned above, but one on the ship <u>Franklin</u> is preserved among the Devereux Papers and has been quoted by both Paine and Christy. See footnote 16, <u>supra</u>.

- 17. That the Bill of Lading of the goods loaded on board at Batavia for Japan and at Japan for Batavia shall be signed by the Captain or his representative, Captain being obliged to deliver the number of chests, bales or casks in good condition without being responsible for their contents or weight.
- 18-20. That the Company shall deliver all goods free from and on board both here and at Japan and the letter shall not be responsible for the same, that the ship on her arrival at Japan shall be unloaded and loaded again with all possible dispatch, and that all charges respecting the loading and unloading shall be for the account of the Company, who will give thereto the necessary assistance of men.
- 21-23. That if in case the letter wants in necessaries, they will be furnished by the Company at the current prices and if he wishes to have any preparations at Japan, he will be assisted therein at his charge, that if in case there were any sick among his crew, they will be placed in the Hospital for the letter's account under condition that he shall take them on board at his departure, and that the Captain and the letter shall sign two accounts of charges for all these expenses.
- 24. That the ship shall be exempted from the anchorage money of Batavia and Japanese roads, which remain for the account of the Company.
- 25. That the day after the return of the ship at Batavia, unloading shall be begun and not continue longer than 24 days without respect to stormy weather, &c. If the work exceeds the expiration of the time, 300 rix-dollars for each day shall be paid to the letter.

In accord with Article 17 of this contract, a Bill of Lading was signed at Batavia on June 10, 1800, and was, upon arrival of the vessel, filed in the Deshima archives. ³² The breakdown of this document indicates the names, quantity and value of the goods delivered on board the <u>Massachusetts</u>, from eleven warehouses at Batavia harbor plus the gifts for the Shogun and the other great men of the Japanese Empire. The gifts for the Shogun consisted of an organ watch (<u>orgel horlogie</u>), a barrel organ, one table watch, a silver-gilt vase, one telescope, an "orang-outang," and some glass coronets and mirrors.

³² Cognossement Factuur. Batavia, den 6, Junij, 1800 in Japan Ingekomen Stukken 1800, doc. no. 13. (Arch. Ned. Fact. Japan. Jaarl. Portef, no. 1, 1800, K. A. 11776). Generaal Missive van P.G. Overstraten en Raad aan W. Wardenaar. Batavia, den 5. Junij, 1800 is filed in the same volume (doc. no. 1), telling how the war caused a deficiency of Dutch ships and the subsequent chartering of a neutral ship. Japanese authorities were to be so notified.

"The particularly hired American ship, the Massachusetts," reports in Dutch the honorable Dutch passenger Willem Wardenaar, newly appointed opperhoofd of the factory of Deshima, "had had a happy and successful trip and, without having seen an enemy ship, arrived here to this road on July 16 inst. making 30 days." 33

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The "servants" of the Dutch company on board the Massachusetts were Willem Wardenaar, the above-mentioned opperhoofd; Leendart Geenemans, adsistent; Hendrik Doeff, Junior, scriba; and Captain Ditmar Smit, supercargo and pilot. Among her crew were Captain William V. Hutchings, master; William Cleveland, captain's clerk; Adamson, Rogers, Sinclair, Joseph Foster, Ingersoll, Montgomery, Eben Hough, officers; Prince Grant, cabin steward; John Close; carpenter; Peter Guss, Negro cook; and many seamen. Leopold Willem Ras, pakhuismeester and acting director in place of the late opperhoofd Gijsbert Hemmij, Jan Pieter Pogedt and Jan Hendric Fischer, absolut adsistenten, Jacob Coenraad Horning, gardner, Herman Letzke, opperchirurgeijn, and Age Iges, boekhouder, were already at Deshima, and it was they who received the above-mentioned passengers and crew. In the harbor was another foreign vessel, a brig under the command of Captain William Robert Stewart, with a crew, which included Marten Bolam, upper steersman, Abraham Seaman, steersman, and about twenty ordinary seamen. Stewart had before this, twice visited this port on board the ship Eliza of New York but now was a privateer on board the brig named Emperor of Japan, which had been constructed at Manila, utilizing some of the equipment of the Eliza which had been shipwrecked off "Luconia" in November, 1799. William Cleveland's diary begins in such a setting, amid such personalities.

While Captain Hutchings and the Dutch supercargo, Captain Smit, passed most of the days at Nagasaki in a house on Deshima, the writer of the diary spent almost all of the time on board ship with other crew members. He went ashore only five times: on July 29 and 30, in order to oversee the weighing of copper at Deshima; on November 2-4, to purchase some private goods; and on November 17 and 21, to look around the countryside for his own amusement. Though limited for the most part to shipboard life, Cleveland's stay was "exciting and educational" ³⁴ because he could enjoy watching what occurred nearby-- on land and sea-- and talking with various persons who visited the ship: Americans, Dutch and Japanese. These experiences increased from day to day his knowledge and observa-

³³ Generaal advies van W. Wardenaar aan Gouverneur Generaal en Raad. Decima, den /28/ Nov., 1800 in Japansch Afgegane Brieven 1800, doc. no. 1 (Arch. Ned. Fact. Japan. Jaarl. Portef. No. 1, 1800, K. A. 11776)
34 Graff, op. cit., 19.

Fran Alation My Ondergeter Kond We the under figure Sthammes Sibery , Protinary Coundeller and acting Direc, Cohannis diburg, rand ordinais for General of the Dutok Indies wathe, in Woornament Descluir General Vin Sec ished in the lattnamed Capacity by the Sigh Porlands India in Last segmelle qualities geney of this Country Sir Swant to their Dow the horge tegering deader Landen, inge, Ve Solidion of the 13 th maij 1800. to enter into linge horget der Selver bestrict Van den 13: and pass these promsents for and in the mail 1800: lot het aang un unpasperen Ver, Same of the Seiveledged Ditel East for, Sor quanthoridert, voor en in Mame det dea Company as freighter on the gevotrojecide Suantandsole vostjudiste for, pagnie, als Berragter ter uner. One part. " " " Mutchings, laplain Vanhit Mm J. Hulchings Cantain of the alter to theede leggend Amerikaans Ship american Ship Masfachasells laying Massachusetts als Verragter Van of gredent in these Tout, at the Letter of gunillen Borden groot 600: Tounen, ter Said They of the burton of bot. Time on the anderen Sijas Other Part . flore we fielefy multially about the Tirklaaren en ferte ficuren, bres en Mides, judghting of the afondard Shire to have Sifts Ombund de Berrayling Fan het Vronthe spring at we it by these wastends be len Sha, le meda gencerrante in Overinge hees Then, gety K. my by Check Me Klauren to Conte flare to forestion the recomme sounts Similar, the volgende Princton Samuelligh 1: Can Swam Suchmans, are prostate the trees I' The Second Signer as Captain of the miller Butom, Shal and De forige in haur afiresaid Ship, Letts to the Company all, net trongmille Silip ban His Sec that Said Ship, or as much toom in Let raijente in het cher, als tot an Inding, the Same, at it teginiste for a forgo, of In Viftondert in Seventing Joune ligels five hand ted and fiventy June light ? Gerrigt a 1800 Thollo under Jon, ban norden is mig of 1800 Dutch Soulat cach -

Photograph No. 2

The first page of the original Charter Party signed by William V. Hutchings and Johamos Sieberg (Batavia, May 12, 1800). The document is preserved at the General States Archives, The Hague, Netherlands. (Courtesy of the General States Archives, The Hague)

longer than 24 daijs - the bad and tor Dogen orgerecked nogthans het outtienes mi mathy and unaver ble Days ne, mede inde onvaar baare Dagen in Welk For thelef in the bezeckined - in which fontraise Good aan den Viroracler na Intrais Co to the hundred riged lines operationande beparte Cijo, vor elder for each Day, Shall be veil and granted Day Dre Hondert Site Baldens Tal to the Letter after the operation of that worken togelegd. limited Sime . Forthe Serformance of the above mil Cor Markooming tunket borderes In me for form these Sectulo with our Nine betragtion my Deeden met onde Coursmon Signatures, and Seals and gerrome Signaturen in Eight, in nobins have made here if three fortractiof her van general , Orice en Muighend. jordraeter van deeden Juhond? This fame Jiner . Sutavia den 12 Maig A 1800, Batana the 12' of May 1800:-

Photograph No. 3

The twelfth page of the original Charter Party. Please see photograph No. 3. (Courtesy of the General States Archives, The Hague)

Japan, Widnesday, July 16 1800. our felves at binohor in Kangafracky Harbour Island of Citito, & Empire of Jupan, relieve from much anxiety, as we have been feveral days land lock of & doubtful, whether we were in the Bay which leads to our destin's fort, & harofs with contrary wind Calms, Ruins, & Having Oblain's a good Observation yesterday Capt I mith & Hutchings, judged the Boint which
fore about MNM fus to be the point Vonteury which forms,
The Cartion & Southern Cape of the Bray of Vangafsacky.

My Genniman & Duff in lifter that we were this in Vangefold to ay & pointed out feveral openings which they fail
woute lead directly to the Town of Vangafetry, but the a fine breeze from the IM we can out clear of the Foint & government Boat came along fide which inform ous that the boint brefor mentioned was Nortoury which we Joon cleared & stool up the May of Nangaschy. We faw; a great number of Fishing Boats standing in but none of them dare come along fide as it is possitively for bid by the Japanese government, undally to Inwest any for as the I am told the government are calrendly friet) The Little paffengen tele Capt Hutchings, that it would be reflatory to cot leet the Books from the people & depople them in a roce, ready to be delivere is the faponese, & likewife to have all the Coth on board the whip to be collected by tumbels or Male ready to be fint to the Greafury as all the Gush fourie in peffighen of the reople sounds be fired. The Land appears very rough & mountanous on approaching it, but we have form anhigh

Photograph No. 4

The first page of the original manuscript of William Cleveland's "Japan Diary, 1800". The Diary is preserved at the Peabody Museum of Salem, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum)

tions of things Japanese. A lad who carelessly mistook the island of Kyushu for "Cikoko" at his arrival, and who had crammed into his head stereotyped prejudices about Japan, soon came to understand how "many of the Japanese are assiduous in their endeavores" and to learn with astonishment "what a low opinion the Japanders have of America." William Cleveland furthermore began to contemplate things Japanese -- boats, music, costumes, products (especially tea and copper), cities, religions, the Throne, even brothels -- in comparison with those of the Western world. It seemed to him "easier for an American to make them [the Japanese] understand than to be understood by a Dutchman or Malay." Having come through the South Seas -- then often dangerous even for a neutral vessel-- Cleveland discovered here a land of people in whose countenances "good nature" seemed to be depicted. While other people of the ship had passed their leisure time writing, ciphering, "navigation," fiddling, drumming, dancing, or playing cards, Cleveland endeavored more and more to observe, hear and think of the exotic environment in which he found himself, and to write the essence of his ideas in his notebook just as his father and brother Richard had done before him, and as his brother George was to do later.

One of the characteristics of this journal consists of the process of how this unique observer gradually became acquainted with a remote Far Eastern land. On the other hand, his experiences were so restricted that he could not detect the extent to which the privateer Captain Stewart had been inconveniencing the Dutch residents for months, why the assistant Geenemans "was at variance with the other Agents here," or the sad financial state in which the company accounts was left by the late opperhoofd Hemmij. Nothing appeared in the journal about the recent unpleasant incident involving the Lord of Satsuma and Hemmij and for which two Japanese (an interpreter and Hemmij's servant) were punished with death. Instead, Cleveland -- ignorant of the facts -- included a romantic version of the incident. According to him, a daimyo, enamored by things Dutch, came in disguise to see and converse with a Dutch "upper hough" [opperhoofd] when the latter was on his way to "Jeddo." There are sometimes recorded in William Cleveland's diary, obviously erroneous items. These, however, are important because they reveal the true amount of the writer's knowledge of Japan. In fine, Cleveland was not placed in a position to discuss problems of real significance or, at least, to write intentionally about such subjects. Nevertheless, his accounts are enriched with picturesque descriptions of manners and customs of the town of Nagasaki. Furthermore, Cleveland's accounts describe the practices and transactions, then carried on by Japanese authorities, of which the Japanese and Dutch sources are largely devoid because such things had become, by and large, routine. This is another characteristic of the diary of William Cleveland which deserves further scholarly attention.

II

A DIARY OF WILLIAM CLEVELAND, CAPTAIN'S CLERK ON BOARD THE MASSACHUSETTS

Japan, July 16 To November 25, 1800

Wednesday, July 16th, 1800. 35 After a passage of one Month from Batavia, we find ourselves at Anchor in NangaSsacky³⁶ Harbour, Island of Cikoko, 37 & Empire of Japan, relieved from much anxiety, as we have been several days land-lock'd & doubtful, whether we were in the Bay which leads to our destin'd Port, & harass'd with contrary winds, Calms, Rains, &c. Having Obtain'd a good Observation Yesterday, Capts. Smith, 38 & Hutchings, ³⁹ judg'd the Point which bore about W.N.W. of us to be the point Nonbourg⁴⁰ which forms the Eastern & Southern Cape of the Bay of NangaSsacky. Messrs. Ginniman⁴¹ & Duff⁴² insisted that we were then in Nangasacky-Bay & pointed out several openings which, they said, would lead directly to the Town of Nangasacky, but having a fine breeze from the S.W. we ran out clear of the Point, & a government Boat came along side which informed us that the Point before-mentioned was Nonbourg, which we soon cleared & stood up the Bay of Nangasacky. We saw a great number of Fishing Boats standing, in, but none of them dare come along side as it is possitively [sic] forbid [sic] by the Japanese government (probably to prevent any smuggling as I am told the government are extremely strict). passengers told Capt. Hutchings, that it would be necessary to collect the books from the people & deposit them in a Box, ready to be delivered to the Japanese, & likewise to have all the Cash on board the ship to be collected by himself or Mate ready to be sent to Treasury as all the Cash found in possession of the people would be seized. The land appears very rough &

 $^{^{35}\}mathrm{The}$ 25th day of the fifth month (Gogatsu), the 12th year of Kansei, in Japanese lunar calendar.

³⁶Present Nagasaki, formerly spelled variously by foreigners, for instance, Nangasackij, Nangazakkij, Langasaque, etc.

³⁷Shikoku, to be corrected as Kyushu.

³⁸Ditmar Smit, captain at sea of the Dutch East India Company, who was on board the <u>Massachusetts</u>, as Dutch supercargo.

³⁹William V. Hutchings, American shipper and captain, then on board the <u>Massachusetts</u>, as the "letter" of the ship to the Dutch Company.

⁴⁰ Nomo Misaki, a point on the Nomo Peninsula to the South of Nagasaki.

⁴¹ Leendart Geenemans, assistant to the Dutch director.

⁴²Hendrik Doeff, Junior (1777-1835) of Amsterdam, and scribner to the Dutch director at Nagasaki. The author of <u>Herinnerungen uit Japan</u>, he was on his second trip to Japan.

mountaneous [sic] on approaching it, but we have form'd an high [(20)]⁴³ opinion of the country from the description of the Dutch⁴⁴ tho' we are taught to believe the Japanese to be an haughty & reserved people. In sailing up the Bay we passed several small Islands, two or three Government Boats join'd and accompanied us up towards the harbour. On passing an Island with the Dutch Flag flying we fired a salute of 9 guns & at the same instant displayed twenty different colours at our mastheards [<u>sic</u>] & Yard-arms; a second salute of 7 guns was fired at Papenburg; ⁴⁵ a third & fourth at the Emperor's Watch Tower & two or three in the Harbour. On passing the Island with the Flag, a most beautiful & picturesque scene open'd several fine Islands lofty & highly cultivated, with now & then a small Village, & a vast crow'd of small Boats which came out to welcome us & assist us by towing in case of a Calm. We made preparations for receiving the representatives of the Governor by placing two large Coops aft, & spreading a carpet for his seat. On his coming on board he went immediately & seated himself on his heels without noticing any body, other persons whose dress & appearance was the same whent aft [sic] & made their obedience by a very low bow, after they had all paid the compliment they look'd about the ship, some Dutch gentlemen, with Capt. Stewart*46 & his 2 mate likewise came on board. We were

⁴³Number 20 and the following numbers which are within parenthesis and brackets, indicate the number of the pages of the original diary.

⁴⁴ The name of Carl Peter Thunberg could be suggested for one of the books then available in the United States. See Graff, op. cit., 15-16.

⁴⁵The Dutch spelled it as Papenberg. One of the islands off Nagasaki, named Takaboko-jima, which is a neighbor of Iwō-jima, another landmark then known as Cavalles.

⁴⁶ This asterisk is given by the writer of this diary to refer the reader to another within the following passages. William Robert Stewart, then captain of the brig Emperor of Japan which had been constructed at Manila from some parts of the ship Eliza. On her way back from Nagasaki as the second chartered vessel in 1798, the Eliza was submerged and refloated. She suffered from another damage when she left Nagasaki the next year. When she finally left Japan, the Eliza encountered her third accident at sea and eventually arrived at Bigom of Luconia [Luzon] on November 29, 1799. The crew was summoned by the Governor of Manila a week later. Captain Stewart and the volunteer seamen stayed there until April 1800. Relaas van W. R. Stewart. Nansackij, den 25. Junij, 1800 and Relaas van Marten Bolam, enz. Nangasackij, den 6. Aug., 1800 in Origineele Secrete Brieven en Bijlagen Ontvagen van Japan in 1800-1, doc. no. 30 & 31 (Arch. Ned. Fact. Japan, K. A. 11752).

astonis'd to see the ease of the Japanders & no less so to see Capts. Smith & Stewart, Messrs. Duff, Ginniman, &c. so familier [sic] with them. After anchoring Mr. Wadner⁴⁷ (the Dutch Upper Hoff ⁴⁸ who came with us) with his suite went on shore, after paying their [(21)] Compliments to the person on the Carpet. Their things were all search'd before they were put into the Boat, & every person, even the sailors that rowed the Boat, were search'd before they were suffer'd to go into the Boat. 49 When Mr. Wadner was paying his Compliments we supposed him to be renouncing the Christian Religion, as he was a long time in a stooping posture, but we were afterwards assured that it was only a Compliment. Capt. Stewart & the other gentlemen with all their servants were search'd by a person who stood in the Gangway for that purpose. The Japander signified their desire that our Boats might be hoisted up, & took our Powder with them on shore. A great number of Boats were continually coming from the town to view the crowded with Men, Women & children, but none came on board except those that had business or belong'd to government. Towards night, the Japanders left the ship for the shore, every one going first to pay his respects to the person on the Carpet who was the last that left the ship. A guard Boat was stationed at a little distance from the ship, this is always the Custom. There are five Chinese junks & a brig in the harbour. *Capt. Stewart has been here twice before & was supposed (at Batavia) to be lost his ship 50 foundered last season on his passage from this place to Batavia, himself officer, & ten or twelve lascars⁵¹ saved themselves by taking to the Pinnaee & got in to some place not far from Manila where they soon got to, & purchased the before-mentioned Brig, & came out to Japan again. The other persons belonging to the ship were supposed to be lost; they were about 30 in number. [(22)]

⁴⁷ Willem Wardenaar, of Leiden, <u>provisioneel opperkoopman</u> and newly appointed <u>opperhoofd</u> of Deshima. He arrived at Deshima at 5:30 p.m. of this day and, from the very day on, he wondered how another American vessel was in the port. He began to keep two separate records: <u>Secrete Verslag van den Jaar 1800</u> and <u>Secrete Resolution anno 1800</u> (Arch. Ned. Fact. Japan. Jaarl. Portef, no. 1. 1800, K. A. 11776).

⁴⁸Opperhoofd (Dutch). The writer of this diary uses another phonetic expression Upper Hough below.

⁴⁹Such search was commenced in 1775 in order to avoid smuggling. Tsūkō Ichiran, Vol. VI, 174. For regulations for the entrance in general, see Paine, The Ships and Sailors, op. cit., 222-224 or Christy, op. cit., 260-261.

⁵⁰The Eliza of New York. See footnote 11, supra.

⁵¹East Indian sailors employed by foreign ships. Derived from <u>lashkar</u> (Hind.).

Thursday, July 17th, 1800. Nothing remarkable this day. Employed in mooring ship, Hoisting out the Long-Boat & some necessary jobs. Towards night the Japanese took away our Long-Boat. Capt. Smith mentioned last Evening, that if we want the Long Boat at any time, we must hoist a Dutch Flagg [sic] at the Foremast Head, or if we want Water, hoist a White Flag, which signals will be attended to, & our wants supplied as quick as possible. The harbour of Nangassacky is about ten or twelve miles from the sea, of easy access & very well covered from the sea, the ground, it is said, is exceeding good holding ground, & the ship's anchor at about a mile or half a mile's distance from the town in from three to seven fathoms Water. It is thought a Thousand sail of ships might ride here with safety. The Town is situated on the En. & Nn. side of the Harbour, in the form of a Crescent & makes a very handsome appearance; it contains between 30 & 40,000 inhabitants, the houses are built of Wood & have much the appearance of American buildings. The Town is back'd by some very fine cultivated Mountains, which forms almost a circle round the harbour, there appears to be several small White buildings back of the Town nearly to the summit of the Mountains. The Dutch who reside here are Coop'd up on a small Island (Disma)⁵² of made Land [?] & Separated from the town by a Bridge of only five paces, which however they are not permitted to pass without an order from the Governor, ⁵³ there is a wall all round it, [(23)] the gates of which are not opened only when the Banyo's 54 are on the island (the person on the Carpet before spoken of, was an Upper Banjo), at which time the Dutch colours are hoisted. The Dutch are permitted to go into town by sending to the Governor for a liberty, but it is so expensive to pay attendant & for provisions, &c., that they seldom avail themselves of the priviledge The Chinese are confin'd very much in the same way of the Dutch tho' their settlement⁵⁵ is much larger & their habits much more like the

⁵²Deshima or Dejima, which is now included in the city. Cleveland spells it Disma, while the Dutch had been using Decima or Desima, or in earlier days 'T schisima (Tsukishima). An artificial fan-shaped islet was constructed just off Nagasaki in 1634, to confine the Portuguese, who stayed only within the years 1634-40. The area was 3969 tsubo, or approximately 0.32 acres.

⁵³Gouverneur van Nangasackij as spelled by the Dutch. <u>Nagasaki Bugyō</u> was an agent of the Shogun in charge of civil administration and foreign trade at Nagasaki, then a demesne city of the Shogun.

^{54 &}lt;u>Banjoosten</u> (Derived from <u>bansho-shu?</u>) as spelled by the Dutch. Japanese contemporary equivalent was <u>Kenshi</u> (inspector) belonging to the Nagasaki Bugyō.

⁵⁵Tōjin Yashiki or Chinese settlement, located in and off Nagasaki.
Original quarter was placed in 1688 and a square island was annexed in 1698.

Japanese. Boats in great numbers are continually (all of which are skull'd instead of being rowed like other nations) passing, many of which are pleasure or passage Boats, which we distinguis'd by their having little open houses in them, the floors of them were cover'd with fine mats. Men, Women & Children came round the ship to view her & appear'd to be much pleased, the figurehead, (which is an Indian Warrior) particularly attracted their attention. The lights in the town & dispers'd among the Mountains, afforded a very fine Evening scenery. The deep tones of Bells which appeared to something like the tolling of Bells in America, with about half a minutes [sic] pause between the strokes rendered the scene solemn as well as beautiful. Oh! home how I Love Thee!

Friday, July 18th, 1800. We observ'd the Dutch Flag flying on the Island of Disma, which we knew to be in consequence of the Banyo being there. We made preparations for receiving them on board ship by placing Carpet as before. About [(24)] 9 o'clock the Banyo's came off the shore. The Colours were hoisted on the Banyo's coming on board. Upper Banyo's came son [sic] board first & placed themselves on the Carpet, then came several Under Banyo's then the Talks, 56 Cook, Counters, &c. The Under Banyo's & Talks repaired aft & paid the Compliments as before, after which all hands were called to muster the people passed round before the Upper Banyo's & were Counted by a person whose business it is. As some of the people were unwell & not able to come on Deck, the Banyo's & Talks went below to see that they were on board, & made report to Upper Banjo's. Every request, Report, or information to the Upper Banjo's, is made in a stooping posture. On their being satisfied of all hands being on board, we commenced business & sent ashore some adventures [sic] passengers stores, an Ourang Outang, 57 Sheep, Goats, Poultry, &c. A person from the ship was sent in every Prow to prevent the Boatmen & Cooleys [sic] from stealing, They were all searched before leaving the ship & on their return; also on shore before they were permitted to go inside of the gates & before they were suffer'd to go into the Boats again. On the Japanese going on shore, we were again called to Muster, after which they repaired on board their Boats after paying compliments to the Upper Banyo's, the servants, went first into the Boats, then the Talks, then the Banyo's

⁵⁶Tolk or tolken (pl.) in Dutch. <u>Tsūji nakama</u> (Board of Interpreters), <u>Tolken Collegie</u> was appointed by the <u>Nagasaki Bugyō</u>, and given credence by the Dutch <u>opperhoofd</u>. Their rapporteurs were called <u>nemban</u> (annual spell).

⁵⁷Orang-outang shōjō in Japanese. See above footnote 31, supra of the introduction. It died on August 12 before it was forwarded to Edo as a splendid gift for the Shogun. Dagh Register gehouden door Willem Wardenaar, 1800 (Arch. Ned. Fact. Japan. Jaarl. Portef. no. 1, 1800, K.A. 11776).

& then the Upper Banyo's, who are always the first on board the ship & the last out, probably to see the beginning & ending of all the business so as to prevent smuggling. The [(25)] Dress of the Japanders is neat, simple & not inelegant. They have a long loose gown of stripped Cotton, secure together by a sash, where they affix their swords, Over which they have a loose frock of thin silk open before, which comes down to their middles; their sleeves are very deep & serve for pocket. They have little rings of White with flowers & various figures, stamp'd on the Clothes which we understood to be their Coats of Arms, several of them wear skirts like the Women of Europe or America. Their shoes are made of straw, they have no Tops to them except a piece of Rattan to go across the Foot, with another piece from the first to the soul [sic], between the great & second Toe. Their heads are shav'd on Top & the remainder of their Hair is Comb'd upwards & ty'd on the Tops of Heads, they have an oil or some liquid which they dress their hair with the little nub on top, I supposed to be black polish'd horn at first sight but I soon found it was hair pasted up very hard. Their [sic] appears to be but little distinction in the dress of the Banyo's & Talks except the first wear two swords & the latter one only. It is said persons of the higher distinction dress in the same way with the Banyo's. They are taught to offend with one sword & defend with the other at the same time. Their swords are said to be the best in the world. I have been told that they will cut off a spike nail, without injury or making the least gap in the Blade; the sheaths are elegantly lacquered. Capt. Steward [sic] dined with us today, he [(26)] told us, that the Captain of one of the China Junks had been smuggling a few nights previous 58 & that 60 persons, concern'd with him, had been taken up, he delivered up one of his people. Capt. S. said they would all be beheaded, which is the most common Capital punishment here. The Crucifixtion [sic] is considered the most ignominious punishment. Capt. S. observ'd Japanese have such an aversion to Christianity that they have a figure of Jesus Christ which is placed in some public places & there stamp'd upon, 59 & some of them even will Cut their fingers & rub the Blood on the Image which they consider as the highest indignity.

Saturday July 19th, 1800. The Banyo's came on board this Morning with their Attendants. After going through the usual Ceremonies of Count-

⁵⁸The Chinese smuggling in question, was that of sugar and rhubarb; it was exposed on July 6, 1799, and reported to Deshima on July 13, 1799.

<u>Daghregister gehouden door Leopold Willem Ras, 1799-1800 (Arch. Ned. Fact. Japan. Jaarl. Portef. no. 1, 1800)</u>

 $^{^{59}}$ Fumi-e in Japanese, which was abolished in 1857.

ings, &c., we commenced hoisting out the Cargo all goods on private Account that were sent on shore, were mark'd with the word Cambang, 60 to distinguish them from the Company's Goods. Mynheer Egues 61 & Capt. Steward came on board to day & dined with us, the former takes Account of the Cargo as it comes out for the Company. Many of the Japanese assidious in their endeavours to learn the Dutch & American languages. Some of them speak very good Hollands [sic] & write tolerably well. They are of quick apprehension, & it is easier for an American to make them understand, than to be [(27)] understood by a Dutchman or Malay. Their manners are very respectful & engaging, and every person on board are much pleased with them, notwithstanding a strong prejudice against them, which was form'd long previous to coming in here, in consequence of the repeated (& we now think unnecessary) cautions of the Dutch passengers to guard against their pilfering, and which we now understand to be by the Coolies or lowest Cast [sic] in society, which is Common in all Countries, We were taught to look upon the Japanders as a Cruel people before coming in. Many stories we now think exaggered [sic] and some intirely [sic] unfounded. It is not easy to conjecture what motives of Policy the Dutch could have in endeavouring to blind us. The Japanders have little movable Cook-houses which they Boil their Tea & Rice in; they are very neat in their Cooking as well as their Persons. I observed a Boatman (who lay along side of the ship some time to day) put a little Wad just above the Calf of his leg, in a hole & set fire to it. This he did repeatedly in both legs, & seem'd to do it to form some cure; other persons in the Boat paid no more attention to it, than to any thing else that is common. B. Bacon, Thos. Norris, David Whitter, Wm. H. Mackay, & John Parker whent [sic] on shore to the Dutch Hospital to recruit. After Munstering, &c. the Banyo's whent [sic] on shore. The Upper Banyo's have a kind of Spontoon which is cover'd with lacquer, & which is always stuck up in the Boats which they come off in; after the Banyo's get on board the [(28)] ship, the Boat Moores off at a little distance & these Spontoons are left in them, when they are ashore, it is said, they are carried before them by some other person. One guard Boat 62 continually keeps near the ship & in the night, generally two, which pass round the ship occasionally to prevent smuggling. We often hear the deep tones of excellent Smooth sounding Bells at midnight sometimes several at a time in different parts of the City. Capt. Hutchings mentioned that we shall not be allowed to go out of the harbour till the fifth of November at which time, we shall be obliged to go even if it blows a gale of Wind.

⁶⁰For an adequate observation of "Cambang (kamban)" practice, see Jacobus Anne van der Chijs, Nêerlands Streven tot Openstelling van Japan voor Wereldhandel (Amsterdam 1867), 392-413. Also Sekiyama Naotarō, Kamban Bōeki Kō (A study of Kambang Trade) Keizaishi kenkyū, Vol. 13, no. 6, 1935.

⁶¹ Age Iges, of Dokkuin, <u>boekhouder</u>.
62 Bansen in Japanese.

Sunday, July 20th, 1800. The Banyo's did not come off to day, [sic] but we received some Fish & Bread from the compradore (or, contractor). The Guard Boat came along side with the Compradore's Boat. The Compradore has the executive priviledge [sic] of supplying the Dutch & ship with provision for which he charges three or four hundred pr. Ct. on the first Cost. We have seen some Boats pass up to a public landing place with the sails, with a large White firgure [sic] something in the shape of Trees, but Uniform, the Boatman were likewise in striped blue & White Uniform, they are, probably from the Emperor's Watch-houses below. Many Boats we have seen with sails half blue & half White. The Guards Boats wear a small Colour of White or Blue with [(29)] Japan Characters painted on them & in the Evening Lanthorns [sic] with Characters, which show at a great distance.

Monday, July 21st. The Banyo's came on board early this morning & we made preparations for receiving the Governor's Secretary, who, we understood, was coming to muster the ship's Company & for which purpose Messrs. Wadner, Ross, 65 Duff & the other gentlemen came on board. 66 At about 10 o'clock the Secretary came on board, at which time the ship was dress'd with Colours. The Ship's Company with the Dutch gentlemen were summon'd on the Quarter Deck to answer to their names, after which the orders & regulations of the place were read to us in Dutch & nail'd to the Mainmast, the purport of which was that there should be no private trade carried on with the Japanese, to defraud the government of their duties upon pain of Confiscation of property (35 pr. ct.) & that no insult should be offer'd to any Boats along side, &c. After Business, the Secretary look'd round the ship & appeared to be much pleased; & then, when on shore as did the Dutch gentlemen, Banyo's &c., Capt. Hutchings obtain'd leave to move his ship further inshore, & requested permission to hire some Coolies. A Great proportion of the Mountains back of the Town which appear'd to be Seats, gardens, &c. We now [(30)] understand to be the burying places of the Inhabitants of Nangasacky, & the buildings which we supposed to be seats we now find to be the inclosures & monuments of the dead; they make a handsome appearance from the ship & are crowded & extensive. Towards Eve-

⁶³ Kompura or urikominin in Japanese.

⁶⁴ This day a summon of Capt. Stewart was held at Deshima, <u>Secrete Verslag</u>, <u>op. cit</u>.

⁶⁵ Leopold Willem Ras, <u>koopman</u> and <u>pakhuismeester</u>, who had been the acting Director of Deshima since his master Gijsbert Hemmij's death on June 8, 1798.

⁶⁶Another purpose of Wardenaar's visit was to look for -- in vain -- someone to dicipher a Spanish letter brought by Capt. Stewart, <u>Secrete Verslag</u>, <u>op. cit</u>.

ning Boats generally come from the shore with Men & Women to see the ship in almost every Boat; they have a Musical instrument ⁶⁷ which they play an thrumbing [sic] with two pieces of Ivory which is affix'd to the thumb & forefinger of their right hand, their left at the same time holding the instrument & fingering the strings, they accompany it by singing & make the most simple & indifferent music I ever heard.

Tuesday July 22d. 'Rose early & prepared for Removing the ship further inshore. At 7 A.M. Our Long Boat was sent off, & at 8 the Bamyo's came on board -- with a number of Cooleys [sic] to assist us in Weighing our Anchors, which we did without much difficulty & removed our ship at about a Cable's length further inshore. The Cooleys [sic] where stout, strong, fellows. The Japanese are extremely well built & tho' not so tall as Europeans they are stouter, & handsome, their complexions rather lighter than Chinese, & their features entirely different. Their hands & feet are Beautiful. It is [(31)] astonishing what a low opinion the Japanders have of America, some of them enquired to-day whether America was as large as Nangassacky & on being shown a Map of the World were astonished at the extent of America & the diminutive appearance of the Dutch dominions. Cliné! Cliné! 68 said one, who at the same time express'd a wish to go to America, but said it was impossible. The Dutch being the only foreigners, except the Chinese, that are permitted to trade here, have it in their power to prejudice the Japanders, against any foreign nation, of whom they may be jealous, but as the Americans hold no place in India, I cannot conceive of any motives of policy that can be offered for diminishing the importance of America unless it is to make the Japanese, think they possess the most extensive Country in the Western World. The English have been so successful in dislodging them from several places in India, 69 both by force and intrigue, that they have every reason to be jealous of them, & it is not to be wondered at if they use every means in their power to prejudice the inhabitants of this Country against them; it is thought by some, that should an English Vessel put in here, every soul would instantly be put to death. It is said that a few years since a Japan Barque 70 was blown off the Coast & were necessitated to go into

68 Klein (Dutch) means small or little. Men who knew such word were evidently Japanese interpreters.

^{67&}lt;u>Shamisen</u> or <u>samisen</u> in Japanese.

⁶⁹A treaty between England and the refugee Dutch sovereign <u>Stadhouder</u> Willem V enabled the former to rule the Dutch East Indies in 1795, though the <u>Governor-General</u> in Batavia refused it.

⁷⁰ The Jinshō-Maru owned and captained by Kōdayū arrived Amtchitka in 1783. He visited St. Petersburg in 1791 and was sent back in 1792 on board the Ekatherina, Captain Adam K. Laxman. Recent bibliographical studies in the USSR on this personality is worthy of note. See Takano Akira, "Sobieto ni okeru hyōryūmin shahon no kenkyū (A Survey of Studies on Manuscripts concerning Japanese Castaways in Soviet Russia)" Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Kiyō 5, 1963.

Russian Tatary [\underline{sic}], from which place they could not [(32)] return, as the Monsoon had chang'd, they however whent [\underline{sic}] by Land to Petersburg, & were sent home by the Government of Russia, & on their arrival in this their native Country, they were confin'd & not permitted to see even their Wives & Children; this precaution they think necessary to prevent all foreign influence. The Japan Barques, are awkward vessels & peculiar to the Country they are of various sizes under 100 tons. They have two Masts, the principal of which is very far aft [\underline{sic}], on which they have a long Square sail the other is a very small stooping Mast which serves either for Mast or Bowsprit, & on which they spread a square, also, their largest sail seems to be very unwieldy, they generally prefer towing or sculling their Vessels, to hoisting the sail unless they are going a considerable distance they have a sheet to every cloth in the sail, & an uncommon proportion of Bowlines [\underline{sic}].

Wednesday, July 23d, 1800. The Banyo's came on board & brought twelve Coolies with them to assist us in discharging our Cargo; they were placed at the Tackle fall for hoisting out Sugar, & work'd with great spirit in the forenoon but towards night they lagg'd considerably, & shew [sic] their hands to us which were considerably blistered, & the blistering was not a little encreas'd [sic] by wetting their hands, which they often to cool them [?]. They are very noisy in their work all [(33)] of sing out in time of working to keep regular strokes. Capt. Steward & Messrs. Egues & Ginniman dined with us to-day. As usual a different set of Banyo's & Talks were on board to-day.

Thursday, July 24th. The Banyo's came off to-day with Coolies, & we commenced discharging tolerably early, after Breakfast Capt. Hutchings whent [sic] on shore for the first time & staid [sic] 'till towards Evening. We made considerable progress in discharging this day. After the usual Ceremonies the Banyo's repair'd on whore [?] Capt. H. brought off some of the Tea of this Country which is said to be the finest in the World, tho' they do not unsterstand [sic] the method of curing it for keeping. Smoking is practised here by Men, Women, & children; Their Pipes, however, are exceedingly small, & they content themselves with two or three whiffs.

Friday, July 25th. The Banyo's came on board as usual, & we hoisted out a considerable part of our Cargo. In the Afternoon Capt. Hgs. went on shore. The Banyo's affix a small strip of Paper on our Mizer Mast, with some Japan Characters written on it, which, they inform us, is the number of Persons on board. They write on fine silk paper with a small hair Pencil & make use of India Ink. [(34)]

⁷¹ This day Wardenaar was notified by the Japanese that his assistant Geenemans had given a Batavian invoice secretly to the Japanese authority. This matter caused another disturbance at Deshima. Dagh Register, op. cit.

Saturday, July 26th. The Banyo's came off to-day, & after the usual ceremony of Counting, &c. The Elder Upper Banyo (a man of very respectable appearance) delivered a long Charge to one of the Talks, he received it in a humble, stooping posture, with now & then a reply of a monosylable [sic] only. This Talk, immediately after the Upper Banyo had done, communicated it to the Cooleys [sic], who fell on their knees & elbows with their faces to the ground & continued thus until he had done speaking when they arose & whent [sic] to Their work; at night a similar charge was given; this we understood to be in consequence of complaints from the Dutch of their not working fast enough. One of the Upper Banyo's appear'd to be but about 18 or 20 years old.

Sunday, July 27th. The Banyo's came on board this morning, as did Capts. Hgs. After Counting all hands, &c. Capt. H. informed them, that he could not discharge any more of the Cargo, until some of the Copper was sent off, to keep the ship on her legs. They told him they should not come on board the next day, & thank'd him for his Liquors, &c., after which they repair'd on shore. We Observe the small Fishing Boat's sails, instead are of coarse Matting, & instead of sowed, are laced together, the Cloths of which are some inches apart. [(35)]

Monday, July 28th. No Banyo's this day. Employed in Unreeving Rigging, Sending down Top Gt. Masts, & stocking the sheet Anchor, getting him over the Bow, &c. Received six Boat Loads of Water, which fill'd three of our 160 Gallon Casks. We often see lights in the burying places back of town probably they bury their dead in the Evening.

Tuesday, July 29th. This Morng. employed in unreeving Rigging, &c. Capt. H. received a Note from the Wall requesting the assistance of an Officer & some of the people, in Weighing Copper. 72 I was ordered on that duty with four men. We sat off, after Breakfast, they search'd us in the Boat, & again at the Landing where we met Messrs. Duff, Ross, & Capt. Stewart. Mr. Duff inform'd me that they wanted the people to watch the Coolies when weighing the Copper. They had commenced Weighing before we came on the Island. They were as exact in the Weight as if it had been Gold, making always an even scale. The Copper was emptied from a Box into the Scale, from which two bars were taken (previous to the adjustment of the Scale) one of which was given to one of our people appointed for that purpose & the other to a Japander, other scores were kept by both parties. After the Weight the Copper was put into other boxes, & sent off, the Coolies in Emptying the scale sung out as one some words in their [(36)] own Lang-

⁷² Capt. Hutchings once refused such service and Ras and Doeff was to render it. <u>Dagh Register</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, entry for July 28.

uage which I did not understand. I was invited to dine at the public Table, but having eaten considerable fruit in the Upper Hoof's Garden, I declin'd the invitation & partook of Bread & Cheese, with Capt. Smith, who has taken a house for himself & Capt. Hgs. Capt. Smith has been on shore some days & is confin'd to the house by a very bad leg. I called to see our people at the Hospital (a miserable Barn) some of them had gain'd flesh & were getting better but others remain'd pretty much as they were before. Towards Evening Came on board the ship, met Capt. H. on his way to the Wall with Capt. Stewart. They had received 500 Boxes of Copper, being the principal part of what was weigh'd to day. The Copper is in small bars ⁷³ of about 6 or 7 inches long, & an inch through some of them look'd like gold, others were Red, it is said to be the finest Copper in the World. ⁷⁴ [(37)]

Note: Part of page 37 of this diary and page 38 are left blank. Ed.

Wednesday, July 30th, 1800. This day the Banyo's came off [sic]. I whent [sic] on shore with men as Yesterday, & weigh'd 900 Boxes Copper. I return'd on Board with a hungry stomach & heartily sick of the Island of Disma! Eleven hundred Boxes of Copper was received on board today, some of which were Weighed Yesterday, also, 700 thin boards for stowing. Two of the people from the Hospital came off with us, viz., Thos. Norris, & John Parker. Lanch'd Fore & Main Top-Mast.

Thursday, July 31st. The Banyo's came on board this morning, with 10 Coolies. We received 100 Boxes Copper, & discharged a quantity of Sugar.

Friday, Augst. 1st. This day employed in Clearing out the Orlop Deck & Coiling the Cables anew. Now Banyo's on board. In the afternoon the Compradores boat came off with Fish & Greens, but it being too late, did not take them. We sometimes see a Considerable building illuminated, we don't know whether this is a place of Worship or not. We have heard that the first & fifthteenth [sic] day of the Months [sic] are kept as Sundays, but have seen no distinction between these & other days. It is said that there are 300 Temples in Nangassacky, what their modes of a Worship are or what they Worship I cannot learn, it is said they pull off their shoes when they Enter their Temples. I have endeavoured to learn what qualification is necessary to be made an Upper [(39)] banyo, but can get no other information than that they are of Noble families. Capt. Smith observ'd to me the other day that the Governor of Nangassacky intended to visit the ship before we leave

 $^{73\}underline{\text{Sao-do}}$ in Japanese. The present author looked at their samples at the Peabody Museum in Spring 1959.

⁷⁴This day, some retainers of the Shogun's ministers and Lord of Hirado visited Deshima and were entertained with some <u>liqueren</u> and <u>confituuren</u>. <u>Dagh Register</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>.

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this place ⁷⁵ & that even the Captain will not be allowed to stay in Cabin while he is there, except only, long enough to pay his respects, which he must do by falling on his face, at which time one of the Talks will repeat something. He told me likewise that the Governor lived in style & that probably his income 150 or 200,000 Tale (a tale is 75 cents).

Saturday, Aug. 2d. The Banyo's on board, with twenty Coolies. Employed in hoisting out Sugar & in getting in Copper. Fine pleasant weather.

Sunday, Augst. 3d. The Banyo's on board with fourteen Coolies. Employed in discharging Sugar & Block Tin & in taking in Copper. We expected to finish discharging our Cargo to-day, but as we were not ready to be search'd, a Talk advised the Captain to retain a small part for tomorrow, which would give us an opportunity to hide any thing we wish to conceal from the Japanese, such as Books, Small-Arms, &c.

Monday, Aug. 4th. Employed this morning in stowing things away in the Gun-Room, Light-house, &c. the Gangways of which we block'd up with sails, to make the Japanders think it was a [(40)] Sail-Room. The Banyo's came off at 8 o'clock with Coolies. We finished on Cargo and they search'd our ship with Lanthorns [lanterns] in the hold. They also search'd our Chests. They took nothing except a Chests [sic] of Small Arms & about 20 Boarding-Pikes, together with the Box of Books, which was put up for that purpose but which I think might have been kept, as I plac'd some Books on top in my Chest which were not taken notice off. This searching appears to be more a form than any thing else.

Tuesday, Augst. 5th. No Banyo's on board. Employed in stowing Copper. At 12 o'clock the compradore's Boats came off with 2 Fowls, some Fish & Bread. We have seen a number of lights for two nights past at a Temple on Top of a high hill back of the Town, & people going to & from the place, which we could tell by their Lanthorns [lanterns].

Wednesday, August 6th. Fine pleasant weather. All hands Employed in stowing Copper. Peter Guss and Jack Oakum sick.

Thursday, Augst. 7. The Banyo's on board today. Received 500 boards for stowing & 400 Boxes Copper. The greatest care is taken in stowing the Copper fine and level. About one third Empty Boxes, are stow'd to ease the ship. [(41)]

Friday, Aug. 8th. The Banyo's came off at 9 o'clock & Capts. Smith & Hutchings whent [sic] on shore to stay awhile. 76 Employed in overhauling

⁷⁵ Nagasaki Bugyō visits the ship on Sept. 29. See that entry. 76 These people discussed the quality of Japanese sample copper plate at Deshima. This day Wardenaar got the opinion of Capt. Ditmar Smit about the treatment of Capt. Stewart's brig. Dagh Register, op. cit.

the Gun Room, Orlop deck. Bending the Sheet Cable, & stowing the Copper.

Saturday, Augst. 9th. This day, Employed in finishing stowing the Copper on board & in clearing the ship.

Sunday, Augst. 10th. Fine pleasant weather. Nothing more Remarkable than that this day no work was done.

Monday, Augst. 11th. Pleasant weather; all hand employed in scrubbing Hammucks, Cloths, &c. Robert Bruce, Saml. Smith, & Benjn. Bacon, came on board to day from the <u>Disma Hospital</u>. In the afternoon try'd to lift the small Bower Anchor, to carry him [<u>sic</u>] further inshore, but the Buoy Rope parted, which rendered our attempt abortive, however got every thing ready for to morrow. 77

Tuesday, Augst. 12th. We weigh'd our small Bower & carried out the Cable to the better End, leaving only enough to clinch. This is for the conveniency of clearing hause [hawse] easy. Received 9 Wrds. Water. Sent down the Main Rigging, &c. [(42)]

Wednesday, Augst. 13th, 1800. This day pleasant Weather. All hands Employed in Overhauling Rigging sails, &c. Carpenter engaged in paying the Bends. (Paying means covering with pitch.)

Thursday, Augst, 14th. All hands Employed as yesterday. Pleasant Weather.

Friday, Augst. 15th. Pleasant Weather. All hands Employed in Stripping the Ship. Overhauling sails, &c.

Saturday, Augst. 16th. All hands Employed as before. The Captain sent off for the Carpenter & thre $[\underline{sic}]$ hands to go on shore. ⁷⁸

Sunday, Augst. 17th. All hands Employed in overhauling Rigging sails, &c., & in clearing decks.

Monday, Augst. 18th. All hands Employed as before. Received from the shore Eight knees for strengthening the ship.

Tuesday, Augst. 19th. All hands Employed in ship's duty. The carpenter & people came off today.

⁷⁷ This day, some retainers of the Lords of Yanagawa and Shimabara visited Deshima. <u>Dagh Register</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>

⁷⁸This day, there was a talk on the possibility of arresting Stewart, to change seamen between his brig and the ship, and to let Capt. Smit be on

Wednesday, Augst. 20th. All hands Employed in ship's duty, Overhauling, Rigging sails, &c. Commenced Painting to day.

Thursday, Augst. 21th. All hands Employed in scraping the Upper deck for paying. Painters Engaged in their line. [(43)]

Friday, Augst. 22d. Made a signal for the Long Boat to heat the stuff for paing [paying?] the Deck, Commensed [sic] paying but a shower of Rain prevented our finishing, this day, Turpentine & Oil. Boat taken away as usual.

Saturday, Augst. 23d. This day Begins with Showers, cleared off towards noons [sic]. Finish'd paying [sic] decks.

Sunday, Augst. 24th. All hands Employed below in ships duty.

Monday, Augst. 25th. Employed in ship's duty. Nothing Remarkable; the post has not arrived to-day. We observe many Boats going from town to the opposite side of the harbour with large parties of Men & Women, probably on pleasure as they all have music. The Women dress their hair on Top of their heads with five or six Tortoise shells Combs, some of which, it is said, Cost 20 or 30 Dolls. 79

<u>Tuesday</u>, <u>26th Augt</u>. [<u>sic</u>] All hands Employed as before. Pleasant Weather.

Wednesday, Aug. 27th. Begins pleasant Weather. All hands employed in ship's duty. Latter part showery. [(44)]

Thursday, Augst. 28. Pleasant Weather. All hands employed about ship.

<u>Friday</u>, <u>Augst. 29th.</u> Begins pleasant Weather. Up all Chests & Hammucks to clean the Gun-deck. Middle part, Rain fresh gale from the Nd. & Wd.

Saturday, Augst. 30th. Pleasant Weather. People Variously Employed.

board the brig to sail for Batavia. Secrete Verslag, op. cit.

⁷⁹ Japanese people enjoy the eve of the Star Feast (<u>tanabata</u>, the seventh night of the seventh month) one of the five annual folklorical functions of this country, which takes place on August 26. This day, Wardenaar for the first time went to town with his friends of the comptoir and the ship, and happened to have socialized with the Chinese captains. <u>Dagh Register</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>

Sunday, Augst. 31th. This day Pleasant weather. Capt. Hgs. with the Dutch Doctor came off to visit Robert Bruce, John Close, & George Commons. The Dr. prescribed Medicines for Robt. & John, & advised sending George to the Hospital.

Monday, Sept. 1, 1800. This day the Capt. sent off a Boat for Messrs. Adamson, Rogers, & George Commons, to go on shore, alson [\underline{sic}] Joseph Foster. Also Orders for a good look-out for two or three Nights, as there was to be a great illumination of the Burying grounds & fire Boats were to be set from the shore. ⁸¹ If any person wishes to go on shore when the Banyo's are not on board, he must send two days previous to the time as the Governor's permission is necessary, which is not obtain'd without a great deal of trouble. In the Eveng, there was [\underline{sic}] two or three places like Tombs that were illuminated, but if this all the much Talk'd off [\underline{sic}] illumination it is no great things. [(45)]

Tuesday, Sept. 2d. This day begins pleasant, latter part Rainy. Nothing more of illumination was seen last night, than we saw in the Eveng. All hands variously employed. We Observed many people about the burying grounds & soon after the Sun retired behind the hills, we discover'd an innumerable number of lights, which appear'd like Gold at first but as it grew darker the lights appear'd brighter. We counted upwards of twenty burying places, some in front, some on the sides & others half retired, behind the Mountains, there appear'd to be scarcely any space between the lights & we judg'd altogether, in sight, must have cover'd an extent of two or three miles. They were very bright, some persons judg'd there were a Million, others two, but they were innumerable; & when it is consider'd that this Country is very ancient & that a light is placed for every deceased person; it must be suppos'd they were vast. It is a religious ceremony perform'd by the friends & decendants of the deceased. The illumination decreased gradually 'till midnight, at which time there was scarcely a light to be seen. No fire ships were seen.

Wednesday, Sept. 3d. This day, All hands Employed in ship's duty. The Wind Southwdly. [sic] looks likely for Squalls. The illumination this night was great [(46)] as last night & the appearance Grand beyond description. Towards morning the Watch awaken'd us & inform'd us they believ'd the Japanders were about setting off the Fire-Boats. We went on deck & saw the shore before the Town lin'd with lanthorns [lanterns], & torches,

⁸⁰Herman Letzke, of Wezel, <u>opper-chirurgeijn</u>, who came to Batavia in 1793 by the <u>Phenecia</u>.

⁸¹The Feast of the Souls called <u>urabon</u> (Derived from Ullambana [Sansk.]) continues for four days beginning on the thirteenth day of the seventh month, which, in 1800, corresponded to Sept. 1.

⁸²A climax of Nagasaki's Feast of Souls, this function shoryo-nagashi (soul floating) is still observed on every Aug. 15.

which were in constant motion, a great shouting of the people, Yelping of Dogs & Jingling of Bells, Pans, &c., was unremitted. We Observ'd a number of Lights in motion on the Water some of which passed very near us. Mr. Ingersoll thought prudent to have the Jolly Boat lower'd down, for fear of any accident from their fire. The Lad in the Boat took one of these fire-Boats which he handed inboard, it was made of straw, about 2 or 3 feet long, was Rigg'd in the Japan fashion, & had several Paper Lanthorns [lanterns] hanging Pendant from the Rigging. The harbour was in a short time almost cover'd with them, some of which appear'd large.

Thursday, Sept. 4. This day frequent Rain squalls. The Straw Boats drifting about form'd a Novel & beautiful scene. Many were taken by the people from the ports. They were loaded with Rice, Melons, Pears & almost every eatable. One that was taken inboard had some Copper Money, others were dressed with flowers, lacquer'd Ware, &c. &c. There were many thousands from 2 to 3 feet. The storm of to-day, has wreck'd many of them, they are scattered about in the eddies of Tide in fleets & form really a picturesque appearance, not unlike our ideas of shipwreck. Several [(47)] people we saw in some of the largest of these Boats cruising about plundering them of their Treasures.

Friday, Sept. 5. This day begins Cloudy and fresh Squalls from N. & E. to E. b. N. & backing Round to N. W. with heavy showers of Rain. All hands to work below. A great number of the Fire-Boats were drifting about to day.

Saturday, Sept. 6. This day some showers, with the wind at S. E. to S. W. Messrs. Adamson, Rogers, & Joseph Foster came off to day, Accompanied by Capt. Steward & Messrs. Ginnimon & Boland who stopp'd & din'd with us. Two large Cover'd Boats ornamented with Silk Curtains passed by the ship to the Landing at the Upper Part of the Town in one of which sat a person of distinction on a kind of a Throne in the Boat, the throne on which he sat appear'd to be, made of lacquer'd Wood, enrich'd with gildings. The largest Boat had a number of People, & in the stern of her, was plac'd a number of things, which we took to be implements of War & Musical Instruments. There were a number of small Boats which appear'd to be attendants. This day the Carpenter went on shore to get some knees for strengthening the Cabin.

Sunday, Sept. 7th. This Day frequent showery. a [sic] Boat came off with four knees.

⁸³Marten Bolam, a mate of Capt. Stewart.

⁸⁴John Clove, according to the entry for Oct. 17.

Monday, Sept. 8th. This Day bigins [sic] pleasant. The carpenter came off. Latter part, showery.

<u>Tuesday</u>, <u>Sept. 9th</u>. All hands Employed in ship's duty. Engaged in drawing off & Bottling a Cask of Wine which was put on board by the Company as Dispence. [(48)]

Wednesday, Sept. 10th. All hands employed to the best advantage.

Thursday, Sept. 11th. All hands employed in ship's duty. There are many Public licen'd Brothels in the City of Nangassacky. This by all Accounts is not uncommon in most large Towns of the Old World, but when we consider one sex of the human species, considered of so little consequence that even a Parent will publicly sell his own Child, for the trifling sum of two or three dollars, & at one of these houses, for twenty years, to be exposed to desease [sic] & infamy, we cannot but pity the misfortunes of the Japan females & think with Affection of our own Country, & of the fond sisters of America who are so necessary to our happiness. It is said that the girls are frequently sold into these houses at the ages of 3, 4 & 5 years, where they are kept to wait on the Elder Girls 'till they are ten or twelve years Old. The Females of these houses are Confin'd in a particular part of the Town and are not even allow'd to go see their friends, except on particular Occassions. Their houses, it is said, have much the appearance of Prisons, the Windows haveing [sic] strong Iron gratings, &c. At the age of 25 they are consider'd as free after which it is not uncommon for them to get married.

Friday, Sept. 12th. All hands employed in ship's duty. Pleasant Weather. 85

Saturday. Sept. 13th. All hands employed. George Commons & Wm. H. Mackay came on board from the Hospital. Wm Austin, Peter Miller, & Jos. Day went on shore to overhaul the Rigging on the Flag staff. Sent half of the Dispense Wine on shore. [(49)]

Sunday, Sept. 14th. Fine pleasant Weather. Nothing Remarkable.

Monday, Sept. 15th. Pleasant Weather. All hands Variously employed in ship's duty, mending Cloths, &c.

<u>Tuesday</u>, <u>Sept. 16th.</u> Employed as Yesterday. In the Evening we generally amuse ourselves with Musick [<u>sic</u>]. The people amuse themselves

⁸⁵ This day Wardenaar was told the orang-outang died the night before. Dagh Register, op. cit.

variously, some in Writing, Cyphering, Navigation, &c. Other in Fiddling, Drumming & Dancing. Thus we contrive to pass the time away often thinking & sighing for home!

Wednesday, Sept. 17th. Pleasant Weather. Employed in ship's duty.

Thursday, Sept. 18th. Pleasant Weather. Employed in getting the new Courses, Topsails & Storm Stay-sails out of the sail-Rooms to overhaul & fix them for Bending. Also in stowing away the Old sails. Painters as usual engaged.

<u>Friday</u>, <u>Sept. 19th</u>. This day pleasant Weather. Employed in Breaking out Copper in the after hold to get at the Iron Ballast, which we hoisted on the Gun-deck for the Purpose of sending on shore. Nothing more remarkable. The China Junks haul'd off to-day.

Saturday, Sept. 20th. Begins Cludy [sic] with some Rain. Employed in Removing 7 twelve-pound Cannon in the after-hold against the Magazine. We saw some persons (suppose the Captains) go on board the Chinese Junks to-day with great parade they had a Yellow Umbrella, with Curtains [(50)] spread over their heads, which were plac'd on the Poop of the Junks; immediately on their going on board, Notice was giving [given?] by the dinging of their Gongs. The Banyo's were on board & they appear'd to be taking in goods. The Chinese perform a (suppos'd) religious ceremony on board their Junks, which is done by beating for a minute or two upon their Gongs with great force at the same time holding something like a lighted Candle over [?] the side, the fire of which is thrown into the Water immediately on the Cessation of the Gongs. This Ceremony is regularly perform'd by all the Junks.

Sunday, Sept. 21st. This day begins with Clear & Pleasant Weather. A Boat came off with Wm. Austin, Peter Miller & Joseph Day. The Captain sent for Prince Grant, Cabin steward, who went on shore by this opportunity.

Monday, Sept. 22d. Pleasant Weather, with a fresh breeze from the Northward. All hands employed in sawing Points into the New Courses, Rigging the Lower Yards, &c., &c. The Carpenter engaged in fitting knees on the Orlop Deck. This Eveng. entertained with Sky Rockets, which were thrown from a Boat at the Upper Part of the harbour. They were the most beautiful that I ever saw & afforded a variety of figures.

Tuesday, Sept. 23d. Pleasant Weather. All hands employed in ship's duty. Recd. from shore some Copper Hoops for the Powder Casks, Bolts for the knees, Lampblack, Flower, & Pumpkins. The Wind S.E. [(51)]

Wednesday, Sept. 24th. Pleasant Weather. All hands Employed in ship's duty.

Thursday, Sept. 25th. This, pleasant but Cloudy. All hands Engaged. The Wind Northwelly. [sic]. This Evening, entertained with a variety of beautiful Rockets. 86

Friday, Sept. 26th. Begins Cloudy. Made a Signal for the Long Boat which was bro't [?] off. Employed in scrubbing Cables & overhauling boarding nettings. The Carpenter, Bolting the knees on the orlop Deck. Wind Northwardly.

Saturday, Sept. 27th. Begins pleasant. All hands up Chists & Hammucks to clean the Gun-deck. At noon Prince came off with a letter from the Captain⁸⁷ informing of Copper's coming off to-morrow of the Japan Governor's intention of visiting the ship on Monday, also, sends Word that our shipmate David Whitter's life is despar'd off.

Sunday, Sept. 28th. Begins pleasant weather. At 9 o'clock, the Banyo's came off. Capt. Hgs. sent for the Carpenter & some of the people ashore, also sent Word that David Whitter departed this life Yesterday between 2 & 3 o'clock P.M. he caught a fever in Batavia; & Stewart with W. Boland dined on board. We received 800 boxes of Copper, & some things for ship's use. Towards night, the Carpenter & people re-turned [(52)] on board, they inform'd that they were not permitted to follow the corps of D. Whitter any further than the Bridge. The Coffin was open'd at the Bridge & search'd to prevent smuggling.

Monday, Sept. 29th. Fine pleasant Weather. Employed in Reeving Top-Ropes to get the Top-Masts on End, also in bending Colours to hoist for the Governor of Nangassacky, who we understand will come off with the Magnificence of a Prince. In the forenoon we observ'd two large Boats dress'd Colours, Curtains, &c., coming from the Upper part of Nangassacky, towards a temple on the opposite side of the River, attended with a great number of Small Boats. We suppos'd the Governor was there & hoisted our Colours as they passed us, as did Capt. Stewart & the Chinese Junks, we afterwards saw a great number of Persons coming over the hill towards the Boats, those we afterwards were told were the Governor & attendants. Towards noon Capt. Hutchings, Smith & Stewart came on board soon after the Boats sat off from the shore with the Governor & Retinue. The Governor was in the largest cover'd Boat & whent [sic] on board one of the Chinese Junks to pay a visit there first, the other dress'd Boat with some of the Attendants come on board us at the same time to make preparations for Receiving him, by spreding [sic] Carpets, setting the Table, &c. A ladder was brought

⁸⁶Board of policy at Deshima decided the final treatment of Capt. Stewart and his brig. <u>Sectre Verslag</u>, <u>op. cit</u>.

⁸⁷ Wardenaar, before this, was informed through opperrapporteur tolk Sakusaburo of this intention. The Governor resident was Hita Yoritsune, Bungo-no-kami. Dagh Register, op. cit.

from the shore, the foot of which was plac'd in the dress'd Boat before mention'd & the other was made fast to the ships-gun-wale. After it was [(53)] secure [D], a servant wip'd it down with a Cloth. The Carpets in the Cabin were of fine Cloth, elegantly flowered. The Table Linen Towels, &c. very fine. The Table was set with every dainty. Sweetmeats, Cakes, Liquors, &c. 88 Every utensil us'd was sent on board for the purpose; their vessels for drinking, Eating, &c. were of Silver. After he had spent a short time on board of the junk, he came to our ship. Before he came on board the Banyo plac'd themselves in a row to pay him homage as he pass'd; they also desir'd the captain to do the same as he pass'd them. They bow'd with almost touching the ship's deck with their faces. He went immediately into the Cabin, where Capts. Hutchgs. & Smith were sent for to pay him Compliments, after which Ceremony, they were obliged to return immediately. On his wishing to go round the ship, notice was given for the people to leave the Gundeck, which he went round first, attended by a great number of Banyo's, after which he came on the Upper deck, the people were order'd below. press'd a wish to see Peter Guss, our Cook, who is a very large Black man, who was order'd on deck; the Governor was pleas'd, probably he never saw an African before. After he had satisfied his curiosity he went into the Boat & as she shoo'd off we gave him three cheer's, which pleased the Japanders very mu[ch].

The Boat in which the Governor sat was about 40 or 50 feet in length, in the forepart of which a kind of a throne was built of handsome Wood about four or five steps from the ceiling, which was spread with fine Mats a piece of Crim[son?][(54)] Silk was plac'd for the Governor to sit upon, his two Secretarys [sic] on the Bench with him & several Upper Banyo's underneath. The Colours of these Boats made a very pretty appearance being of Red & White silk, plac'd round a hoop & hoisted about half staff high, the staffs had each a Golden Ball on top. The Governor appear'd to be about 60 years of age, there was no difference in his dress from any of the Banyo's. A servant follow'd him round the ship with something cover'd up, which we understood to be a badge of distinction, some call'd it a sceptre. The person who pass'd up to town some time ago, with similar parade, Capt. Stewart inform'd me was a Prince. ⁸⁹ I understood, he went up to town to hear the News from Jeddo, ⁹⁰ the Capital of the Emperor of Japan.

⁸⁸Wardenaar had brought this day on board the <u>Massachusetts</u> for the reception all things necessary: "<u>vijff zoorten van gebak, enig Bangket</u>, <u>confituuren</u>, en liqueren," together with some silver wares. <u>Dagh Register</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>

⁸⁹ Who he was is not certain.

⁹⁰Edo, present Tokyo, the site of the Tokugawa Shogunate, 1603-1868. Shogun, or the Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo, had long been called by the foreigners the Emperor (Keijser), though the Mikado (Tenno) was retained as the sovereign of Japan throughout the Tokugawa period. See the entry for Oct. 13.

Tuesday, Sept. 30th. Pleasant Weather. Wind Northwardly. Sway'd up the Miz, Top Mast. After Breakfast the Banyo's came off. We received 550 Boxes Copper, some Boards & Empty Boxes. Two persons of distinction 1 came off to see the ship. They send for Mr. Ingersoll into the Cabin to pay their Compliments, they requested him to shew them a view of a ship which they heard he had been drawing. He shew them the ship & also a Chart of Nangassacky Bay & Harbour, at which, they were much pleased, they in return shew him the half of a ship which was drawn by a Japander, which was very correct, & requested his Judgment. [(55)]

Wednesday, Octr. 1. This day begins pleasant. The Banyo's came off, received 1000 Empty Boxes, 520 Boards & some Edg'd Tools for ship's use.

Thursday, Octr. 2. Begins Cloudy with some rain. The Banyo's came off at 8 o'clock, rather sooner than usual. Capt. Hutchings came off but made a short tarry. Received 450 Boxes Copper & Ten Boats Load of Water. The Banyo's requested permission to see us dine. They appeared to be much pleased at our method of Eating with Knives & Forks. We offer'd them some Pancakes which they eat, they also drank a Glass of Wine. The Diet of the Japanese is very simple, being mostly Rice & vegetables [sic], which they eat with two sticks; they drink Tea often. It is said they will eat Moat [meat?] when Cook'd by the Dutch or others, but they will not kill any creatures for their purpose.

<u>Friday</u>, <u>Octr. 3d</u>. The Banyo's came off this Morning. We received 700 boxes Copper. Mr. Boland, Mate of the Brig, came on board, he inform'd that one [of] their people was found dead this morning with a knife in his Body.

Saturday, Octr. 4th. This day begins with fresh breezes from the Sd. & Ed. Flying Clouds & Rain. Latter part, same.

Sunday, Octr. 5th. This day Pleasant Wr. Wind W.N.W. Received 500 Empty Boxes.

Monday, Octr. 6th. Pleasant. Observing the gates open on Disma, we prepar'd for Receiving Copper but we soon saw them carry goods another way probably some of our Cargo from Batavia. Sway'd up Mizen Topmast, & stow'd 160 Boxes Copper. [(56)]

⁹¹ They were the "<u>Eerste Commissaris der Vreemdelingen</u>" and "<u>eersten Dienaar van de Landsheer van Kornie</u> [?]" according to Wardenaar's diary, entry for Sept. 29. <u>Dagh Register</u>, op. cit.

Tuesday, Octr. 7th. Pleasant Wr. Employed in setting up the Main & Miz. Rigging. At 10 o'clock the Captain sent off the Long Boat for the Pigs of Iron. The Banyo's came off. Received some Potatoes, Pumpkins, &c. John King went on shore to the Disma Hospital.

Wednesday, Octr. 8th. This Day Clear & Pleasant Weather. Wind N. N. E. Employed in scraping & Washing the Orlop Deck, & other necessary jobs.

Thursday, Oct. 9th. Begins Clear & Pleasant. Received 1000 Empty Boxes, Broke out the forward tier of Copper & stow'd it, upon top of the other, to bring the ship by the stern. The Boatswain with a gang, Employed in making Rope for Top Gt. Stg. Sail Halyards.

<u>Friday</u>, <u>Octr. 10th.</u> Begins Pleasant. Up all Chests & Hammucks to clear the Gun-deck. Afternoon People Employed in cleaning the Gun-room, store-rooms and in mending sails.

Saturday, Octr. 11th. This day Begins Cloudy. Wind Varble [Variable?]. At 12, it cleared off and the shifted to the North. Cleared hause [hawse]. Employed in ship's duty. In the afternoon Mr. Ginniman with his servant & baggage came off to stay; we have long understood that he was at variance with the other Agents here. 92 Prince Grant came off also for some stires for Capt. Hgs.; the Boats shoo'd off without taking him in. [(57)]

Sunday, Octr. 12. Clear & Pleasant, the Wind blowing fresh from the Northward. The Banyo's came off for Prince, they brought us a hog, which was kill'd; also, some things Mr. Ginniman.

Monday, Octr. 13. Clear & Pleasant. The Wind Northwardly. Employed in ship's duty. The Japanders Employed in carrying goods from Disma. We learn from Mr. Ginniman that the Chinese Captain who was caught in smuggling goods is forbidden the Country; 93 this, it seems, is the punishment for a crime of this nature. The Japanese concern'd in the business, no doubt lost their heads, & if the Capt. before mention'd had been caught in smuggling off, swords or fire arms, he would have forfeited his head. We have heard much of the City of Jeddo, & in questioning, Mr. G., he inform'd us that Jeddo is situated in a bay of the same name, is sur-

⁹² After an interrogation at Deshima, assistant Geenemans conceded his own foul deed on Oct. 16. Nota van L. Geenemans aan W. Wardenaar, Decima, den 10. Oct. 1800 and Vraag en antwoord tusschen W. Wardenaar en L. Geenemans, Decima, den 10. Oct. 1800 in Japan Afgegane stukken, 1800, op. cit.

⁹³See the entry for Oct. 18.

rounded by water & is the seat of the Emperor; that it is of vast extent & is two or three times as big as London. Mr. G. observ'd this was not the largest city; that Meacco Miyako, the residence of the Great or Religious Emperor was vastly larger; he also observ'd that there were many larger cities & that no Country in the World was so rich with Inhabitants as the Island of Japan. The Dutch agents are oblig'd to visit Jeddo once in 4 years; 94 formerly they were allow'd the liberty of travelling about the Country to dispose of their Goods, but being repeatedly detected in disposing of goods without paying the customary duties [(58)] to government, they were restricted to their present humble place of abode on the Island of Disma. 95 Of the Banishment of the Portuguese from Japan we have often heard & it is not an easy matter to learn the particulars. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who came to Japan, they were permitted to traverse the Country without much restriction & were allow'd every indulgence; they were even permitted to build forts. The Religious zeal of the Portuguese at that day, induced them to send missionaries to Japan for the purpose of Converting the inhabitants to the Christian Religion; they were very successful, and made converts of great numbers & their success so elated them, that they refus'd to pay the Customary respect to the Princes of the Country, this was considered as the highest insult, & government began to be alarm'd at their influence of the Religion which was daily gaining ground. They therefore resolved to extirpate all who had embraced the Christian Religion, & to restrict the Portuguese to Nangassacky, for which purpose they built the Island of Disma (the present habitation of the Dutch) & invited the Dutch (who had engraved themselves into favour by an opposite conduct) to assist them, which was readily done. The Massacre of the Japan Christian, was immense if the Father of a family was a Christian, it was sufficient to condemn the whole. Some say that nearly one half of the Inhabitants of the Islands were cut off; this I cannot ascertain, but all agree that the Massacre was great. A few remaining [(59)] Portuguese were suffer'd to stay, but a short time in the little Island of Disma, when they were order'd off, & were shortly succeeded by the Dutch, who have since with the Chinese had the exclusive priviledge of trading here under great restrictions.

Tuesday, Octr. 14. Clear Pleasant Weather. Prince Grant came off with a letter from Capt. H. to Mr. Ingersoll. Employed in stowing Bread & other jobs about ship. Two of the Chinese Junks went down to Poppen-

⁹⁴ Regular annual visit to Edo (Edo sampu) of the Dutch opperhoofd was begun in 1633, but in 1790 the interval was broadened to four years.

⁹⁵Before 1616, when the Shogunate restricted the English and Dutch trading posts to Hirado and Nagasaki, they enjoyed such a liberty as mentioned here. See Seiichi Iwao, <u>Jan Joosten</u>. Tokyo, 1958. (<u>Bulletin of the Japan-Netherlands Society</u>, no. 1) and Okada Akio, <u>Miura Anjin</u> (William Adams) Tokyo, 1944 (Sogen Sensho). The Dutch had been confined to Deshima since 1641.

bourgh to-day, they each had 20 or 30 Tow-Boats. The Chinese frequently come round our ship with their Boats, & view her with apparent wonder, they came from the Eastern parts of China, 96 & it is probable that a ship is as great Curiosity to them as to the Japanese.

Wednesday, Octr. 15th. Pleasant Weather. Employed in setting up the lower Rigging, getting up the lower Yards, Reaving Running riggings, &c. The Japanders removing goods from Disma. Mr. G. says that the Japan laws allows the Father to kill his Children, supposing that no father would kill his own Child, without a sufficient reason for it; a Child may or kill its [sic] parents.

Thursday, Octr. 16th. Pleasant, with light breezes from the N. N. W. Employed in scrubbing Cables & other necessary jobs. P. Grant came off with a letter from Capt. H. to Mr. Ingersoll, the Carpenter fell into the hold & bruis'd himself much. There has been many [(60)] instances of the people's tumbling into the hold & without much injury. Two Chinese junks went down to Popperbourgh this day. 97

<u>Friday</u>, <u>Oct. 17th</u>. This day begins pleasant, the Wind Northwdly. All hands Employed in necessary jobs about ship. The Doctor came off to bleed Mr. Roger; he also bled the Carpenter John Close, & Mr. Sinclair. Mr. Ingersoll accompd. the Doctor on shore. The last Chinese Junk went down to Popperbourg to-day.

Saturday, Octr. 18. This day begins Cloudy with some Rain. Employed in Washing the Gun-deck.

Sunday, Octr. 19th. This day begins Cloudy. Wind N.N.W. Received Ten Boats Load of Water. The Dutch give 600 dollars pr. Ann. for Water for Disma & their ships. Latter part pleasant.

Monday, Oct. 20th. This day pleasant Weather. Employed in airing the new sails & in picking Oakum.

Tuesday, Octr. 21th. This day Cloudy, with fresh breeze. The Banyo's came off; Mr. Ingersoll came on board. Received 600 boxes Copper.

⁹⁶ Nanking, Ningpo, Amoy and Canton. See Yamawaki Teijirō, <u>Nagasaki</u> no Tōjin Bōeki (Chinese trade in Nagasaki) (Tokyo, 1964).

⁹⁷This day also three Chinese smugglers were discovered and seized at Papenberg. They were released on Oct. 22. <u>Dagh Register</u>, op. cit.

Wednesday, Oct. 22. This day Begins Cloudy with some Rain. The Banyo's came off & we receiv'd 1000 boxes of Copper. In the Course of the forenoon as Upper Banyo came off with an order from the Captain to see his Book of Charts, which Mr. Ingersoll shew him, also some loose Charts of the Track from Formosa to [(61)] Nangassacky Bay with the ships Track marck'd out; he pay'd much attention & ask'd many questions. This is the Banyo, who some time since deliver'd the Charge to the Cooleys [sic] & whom we always distinguish by allusion to that circumstance & his open benevolent Countenance. Good Nature seems to be depicted in the Countenances of the Japanders in general. The China Junks went to Sea to-day.

Thursday, Octr. 23. This Day begins with Cloudy Weather. Removed some Copper from Aft into the Fore-hold to bring the ship move by the head. The Copper Employed in shaking Water Casks. Killed a Pig.

Friday, Oct. 24th. This day begins with pleasant Weather. Received a piece of Plank from shore for dead doors to the Quarter Gallerys [sic].

Saturday, Octr. 25th. This day pleasant Weather. Employed in ship's duty. About 5 o'clock P.M. We discover'd a Considerable fire in a Village opposite the Upper part of the Town. We suppos'd that two or three houses were burnt as the fire appear'd to be large.

Sunday, Octr. 26th. This day Clear pleasant Weather. This, we understand, is a holiday 98 of considerable consequence among the Japanese. The Dutch, &c. are permitted to go into town, & we expected Capt. H. would have sent off for some of the Officers of the ship to go into town. The Japan Barques as [(62)] dress'd with Colours & Curtains, there are Ribbons also, on the heads of the barques, which are in the form of Bells. We hear Drums, Whistles & Jinglings in Tower.

Monday, Octr. 27th. This day Begins with clear & pleasant Weather. Variously employed. In the afternoon Received 160 Casks of Sacky⁹⁹ mark'd WVH. John King came off, bent the F.T. Sail.

Tuesday, Octr. 28. This day Cloudy with some Rain. All hands employed in ship's duty. This is a holiday. Caulkers engaged in the Cabin.

Wednesday, Octr. 29th. Showery all day. All hands employed in sucking Oakums. Caulkers to work as Yesterday.

⁹⁸Chōyō, the Feast of Chrysanthemum on the ninth day of the ninth month, was one of five functions in Japan. Many of the Japanese folklorical functions have been derived from China.

⁹⁹Sake, Japanese rice spirit.

Thursday, Octr. 30. This day begins cloudy with some Rain & a strong breeze from the N. W. Latter part cleared off, bent the Fore sail & Jibb.

Friday, Octr. 31. This day Clear & pleasant weather with fresh breezes from the N.N.E. The Banyo's came on board. Received 350 Ballies of Camphor & 2 of Soy. Also a Prow load of small articles. Bent the Main Top Sails.

Saturday, Novr. 1. This day clear pleasant weather, with light breezes from the Northward. Unbent the sheet Cable, shifted him up the Fore Hatch & bent it again. The Banyo's came off. Rec'd some Camphire & 3 chests belonging to the Captain. Killed a pig. [(63)]

Sunday, Novr. 2. This day begins with clear pleasant Weather. The Banyo's came on board with Captain Stewart, Messrs. Duff, Eagis, Fisher, 100 & Seamore, by whom Mr. I. received a permission for himself, myself, & Eben Hough to go ashore to the Cram. 101 Accordingly we accompanied them on shore with our beds, &c.; we found Capt. Hutchings & Smith delivering goods. We walk'd into the Cram. with Mr. Seaman, where we saw a variety of lacquer'd Wares, pictures & Curiositys [sic], after which we called on the Upper Hough 102 to pay our Respects. Capt. Stewart spent the Evening with us & play'd cards with Capt. H. & Smith & Mr. I. I amused myself in reading the travels of a German Priest through some ports of England. Capt. H. had lost the day of week & was surpris'd when Mr. I told him it was Sunday. The Upper sent word to Capt. H. that a person of distinct[ion] intended visiting the ship to-morrow.

Monday, Novr. 3. This day pleasant weather, took an early walk into the Cram, but the shops were mo[stly] shut up. Mr. I & myself pick'd out some pieces of Silk at the Silk shop for a Muster to be sent to Capt. Smith whom we depend on to fix the price. Employed part of the forenoon in Weighing Pig Iron. Some goods were sent on board the ship & thirteen people came on shore to the Cram. Went several times into the Cram, found o[ut] difficult to make them understand, & the prices so high that I thought it prudent not to buy any thing with [out] first sending them to Capt. Smiths; who knowing the va[lue] [(64)] of the Articles could better judge than myself. I pick'd out a number of things at one of the lacquer stores & sent to the house as a Muster. With the assistance of Mr. Duff, I fix'd on the price, & engaged 200 boxes of Fans to be delivered to-morrow. We shall be obliged

¹⁰⁰ Eagis is identified with Egues in the entry for July 19. Jan Hendrik Fischer of Utrecht was an assistant, who arrived at Batavia in 1793 by the Christophorous Columbus.

¹⁰¹ Derived from Kraam (D. booth, stall or stand).

¹⁰²See footnote 13, supra.

to go on board to-morrow or next day as the ship is to go down to the Papenburgh on Wednesday, consequently I shall have but a short time to lay out my money; business is done with as much difficulty & vexation in this in this [sic] an in any that I ever heard of. Capt. Stewart, properly I understand, is seized for debt; however, the Upper Hough has given him permission to victual his vessel for Batavia & liberty to do the best he can with her. 103 He himself is order'd to go in the Massachusetts. Capts. Hgs [&] Smith proposed to Charter her for Manila & Batavia, the prospect is good & Mr. I & myself engaged to be concern'd.

Tuesday, Novr. 4. Engaged in examining goods at the Cram, the people pick'd out a number of Articles & sent them to the Capts. house for the purpose of setting the price. Capts. Smith & Hutchings devoted the forenoon to this business. One Hundred of the Fans I had spoken for were brought to day but Capt. H. wished me to let the people take as many as they wanted of them as there were no more at present in the Cram, consequently I have only 5 boxes left. I purchased about 18 or 20 pieces of Silk & several articles of lacquer'd Ware & afterwards carried them to confront the innumerable examinations, checks, &c. to prevent Smuggling, [which] are vexing beyond measure, I am heartily sick of Cram. [(65)]

Wednesday, Novr. 5th. Cloudy hempspher [sic], engaged in getting ready to embark, purchased two pieces of flowrd. gause. Carried our things before the Upper Banyo's w[h]ere they were overhaul'd, every little apartment in the Writing Desks were open'd, & every thing taken out separate to prevent Smuggling. We embar[k]'d about 12 o'clock with the people after dinner, unmoor'd ship & got in readyness for going down to-morrow. Latter part Rain. The Brig Emperor of Japan whent [sic] down to day. 104

Thursday, Novr. 6th. This day begins with fresh breezes from the N.N. E. & hard Rain. Sway'd up the Fore Top-Mast, Mid part cleared off. At 10, the Banyo's came off soon after which Capts. Hutchings, Smith Stewart, Messrs. Ross, Duff & the Doctor; on their entering fired a salute of 9 guns. After being Counted, we got under Weigh [sic] & saluted the Emperor's Watch Tower as we did in coming in. We came too at 2 P.M. & Moor'd with the two bowers, after which the Capt. & Company whent [sic] up to Disma accompanied by Messrs. Adamson, Rogers, Montgomery, & J. Foster fired a salute on their leaving the ship. 105 Lanch'd Fore Top-Mast.

¹⁰³ Captain Stewart declared absolutely the resolution of the Board of Policy at Deshima on Nov. 4. Secrete Verslag, op. cit.

¹⁰⁴Wardenaar wrote this day: "Wierd het brikje de Emperor of Japan gemonsteerde en vertrok vervolgs na de Papenberg." Dagh Register, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Wardenaar wrote this day: "Wierd het schip d'Massachusetts gemonsteerd en vertrok vervolgens na de Papenberg." Dagh Register, op. cit.

<u>Friday</u>, <u>Novr. 7th.</u> Begins fresh breezes from N. W. At 4 A. M. called all hands & sent down lower Yards. Ends fresh breezes. Employed in getting up the Camphire from the After hold, to clear the Guns for hoisting out. [(66)]

Saturday, Novr. 8. Begins pleasant. Employed in hoisting the guns from the After hold to the gun deck. Haul'd the Long -Boat on shore to greave. The Banyo's came down & 11 people whent [sic] on shore to Cram. Latter part Employed in breaking up Copper from the Fore Hold & removing it into the after hold, also in restowing the Camphires aft.

Sunday, Novr. 9. This Day clear pleasant weather. Carpenters to work on the Long Boat. Towards night whent $[\underline{sic}]$ on shore & launch'd her.

Monday, Novr. 10. Pleasant Weather. People variously employed.

<u>Tuesday</u>, <u>Novr. 11</u>. This Day clear, pleasant weather. The Officers & people came off with some Goods.

Wednesday, Novr. 12. Pleasant Weather. The Brig hauld along side & we put the guns on board her that was hoisted from our hold.

Thursday, Novr. 13. This Day Cloudy Weather with some Rain. Wind N. N. E. At 6 P. M. launch'd Miz. T. Mast and sent down Main Yd. Latter part strong gales.

Friday, Novr. 14th. This day strong Gales. Clear Cold Weather. Wind varying from NW. to NE.

<u>Saturday</u>, <u>Novr. 15th</u>. This day fresh breezes & pleasant weather. Received the Remainder of the Camphire. The last division of the people went on shore to the Cram this day. [(67)]

Sunday, Novr. 16. This Day clear, pleasant Weather. The Wind N. N. E. The Cook sick.

Monday, Novr. 17. Pleasant Weather. I accompanied Mr. Seaman on shore. We had a considerable range on the hills. We went into a cave which open'd neat to the sea, & which is dug out of a Rock there is [sic] many inscriptions in & about it, & a small monument inside which opens with folding door's all of stone, also a coarse Picture (in frame) of horses. The Banyo's came on board. The Doctor, came with them to visit the Cook, who is considerably better. He brought a letter to Mr. Ingersoll to weigh the Anchors & put buoys to them. We weigh'd the small Bower this afternoon.

ments during the century, 1750-1850, consist of many important facts. ⁵ The present author, however, restricts here his interest in the facts pertinent to a single problem: the earliest American merchantmen which engaged in trading with Japan from 1797 to 1807, without any support of their own government and trading under the color of the Netherlands--the only Western nation authorized to continue commercial intercourse with the isolated "Empire of Japan."

Three factors seem to have enabled American vessels to come to Japan during the said decade. Since the War of Independence in 1776, the activities of American merchant seamen had vigorously expanded to the East Indies, with Salem in Massachusetts, as their home port; 6 American whalers now also revived their activities in the Pacific, with Nantucket and New Bedford as their bases. 7 In the East Indies, the Americans who mainly engaged in entrepot trade beyond Cape Town, achieved a remarkable profit from voyage to voyage, and brought home Oriental things and ideas. The French Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the Batavian Republic--under French influence--together with the French-Dutch alliance against the English forces, constrained the Dutch East India Company to attempt to secure their trade routes by chartering vessels of neutral countries. 8 In 1798, the management of the Company was transmitted to the Republic with the Governor-General in Batavia exercising trading functions until the Netherlands Trading Society was organized in 1824, though, for a while (1811-1816), the company came under English influence. Thus, one can easily see how both the American and Dutch traders of the time found mutual cooperation mutually advantageous. But they nevertheless stipulated in their charter party an article concerning "unforeseen circumstances" or "unexpected circumstances," in which a ship would not be allowed to enter the port of destination. The Japanese authorities who had taken precautions against the

⁵See, for instance, John Whitney Hall, <u>Tanuma Okitsugu</u>, 1719-1788, <u>Forerunner of Modern Japan</u> (Cambridge, 1955); Thomas C. Smith, <u>The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan</u> (Stanford, 1959); and Donald Keene, <u>The Japanese Discovery of Europe</u>: Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers, 1720-1798 (London, 1952).

⁶Ralph D. Paine, <u>The Old Merchant Marine</u>; a <u>Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors</u>. The Chronicle of American Series, Vol. 36 (New Haven, 1921), 51 ff.

⁷W.S. Tower, <u>History of the American Whalefishery</u> (Philadelphia, 1907), 39 ff.

⁸Hildreth, op. cit., 446; Graff, op. cit., 17; and Sakamaki, op. cit., 5.

⁹W. M. F. Mansvelt, <u>A Brief History of the Netherlands Trading Society</u>,

1824-1924 (The Hague, 1924), 40-44.

Dutch Upper Hough as on his way to Jeddo, he came out of the city [(69)] in disguise to see & converse with him. The Diary is acknowledged as the first person of the Country, by the best information I can get. His power is something similar to that of the Pope of Rome formerly; his residence is at Meaco, a city of great extent & magnificence (it was consum'd by fire 109 a few years since). [] It is said the Sun never shone on the Diary. The handsomest girls of the Country are sent to the Diary and if he likes them they are immediately mark'd in the forehead for his use; after receiving the mark they are permitted to go at liberty, but it is death to any o[ne] that should presume to touch them. One Church [or] Temple in Meaco has 33,333 images in it.

Thursday, Novr. 20. Fine pleasant weather, no goods to-day.

Friday, Novr. 21. Pleasant Weather. Nothing from Town. Went ashore to a little Village abreast of the ship with Mr. Adamson & some people. Our first salute was Sattu, Sattu, (sugar) from Men, Women & Children who follow'd as about until we took our departure. This village is on the seashore & is the residence of Fisherman. The Paths between the Huts are Narrow, cr[ooked] & Dirty & their Huts & Persons are of a piece, Dirty beyond a[c]count. We saw two or three Images of Beasts in stone at a p[lace] where we supposed some persons were buried. There was [a] small Temple on the place which appear'd [(70)] be decaying some pictures, Images, &c. were left, most of which were beasts. We left the place, after having been [sic] what we could, to the great relief of the sense of smelling.

Saturday, Novr. 22. Fine pleasant Weather. Mr. Adamson, with 4 or 5 people & myself took the Jolly Boat to pay a visit to some of the small Islands below us. We landed at a Town called Foco-Foree, 10 where we were soon surrounded by Men, Women & Children, who followed us in great numbers through the Town, begging sattu. We passed through a number of streets; those occupied by the Fishermen were dirty, but those in the back part of the Town were cleanly swept. We visited a burying place where [there] was a number of stone images, monuments, &c., before all of which little stone troughts, cups, &c. were plac'd to put the victuals & drink in for the dead. We went into a Temple, which was composed of 3 or 4 small buildings, in which were a great number of coarse Paintings the most of which appear'd to be battles, some Wild Boars, horses, &c., we afterwards went into the Yard of another Temple, in one of the buildings, were some Priests, pro-

¹⁰⁹In 1778, the Imperial Palace and the city of Kyoto suffered from a fire. The following topics on girls and a church, in the diary, are misinformations.

¹¹⁰ Fukahori, a coastal village.

bably their residence; here we saw Gong of very neat workmanship. It is said that nearly one third of the inhabitants of the Country are Priests, superstition is carried to its highest Pitch in Japan. After visiting most parts of the Town, we went down to the Boat, we conjectur'd that about 200 persons were collected to see us on turning quick round, the children run as tho' pass'd by mad dogs screaming with fear. We embark'd & spent the remainder of the day in gunning. We obtain'd shaggs. [(71)]

Sunday, Novr. 23. Fine pleasant weather. Nothing remarkable.

Monday, Novr. 24. Fine pleasant weather. Received some goods from Town, for Ship & Brig.

Tuesday, Novr. 25. Pleasant. The Brig was brought along side to put some of her cargo on our Decks, while she restow'd which was Effected at Night & the Brig hauled to her morrings [moorings]. 111[(72)]

¹¹¹ Though this journal ends here, the ship and brig actually embarked for Batavia three days later, on November 28. Wardenaar concluded his letters to Batavia together with supplementary papers and sent them on that day on board the Massachusetts, wishing "een spoedig en behouden rheijse." Dagh Register, op. cit. The Massachusetts went back directly to Batavia and the Emperor of Japan via Manila. Doeff, op. cit., 80-82.

INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES STAFF

RUBEN SANTOS CUYUGAN, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology

JOSEFA M. SANIEL, Ph.D., Associate Professor in East Asian Studies

JUAN R. FRANCISCO, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Indology

HENRY G. SCHWARZ, Ph.D., Visiting Professor of Chinese Studies

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SILVINO V. EPISTOLA, Instructor in Japanese Language and Literature*

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GIDEON C.T. HSU, Professorial Lecturer in Chinese Studies

YUKIHIRO YAMADA, Colombo Plan Visiting Lecturer in Japanese Language

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Editor, Asian Studies Newsletter

Research Assistants: Rosalina A. Concepcion, Zenaida Borra, Vida P. Ventura,

Teresita Corcuera

^{*}On study leave abroad