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# English summary of the inventory of the archives of the Dutch factory in Japan, 1609-1860

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This finding aid is in Dutch.

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### FONDS SPECIFICATIONS

### Title:

Archives of the Dutch factory in Japan

### Period:

1609-1860 (1862)

### **Fonds code:**

170

### **Extent:**

39.9 metres

### Language:

Dutch, to a lesser extent Japanese and English

### **Repository:**

National Archives, The Hague

### **Origination:**

Dutch factory at Hirado and, from 1641 onward, Deshima

#### **Abstract:**

Contains records dating from the period 1609-1842: originating from the opperhoofd (chief-factor) and council (proceedings, diaries, correspondence, legal records), from the warehouse custodian annex bookkeeper annex scribe (notarial deeds, estate papers), from the Society of private trade (proceedings, correspondence, accounts), manuscripts of G.F. Meylan concerning Japan; and from the period 1842-1860: originating from the opperhoofd and council, from the warehouse custodian annex bookkeeper annex scribe and from J.H. Donker Curtius, envoy to the court in Edo.

### **CONTEXT**

#### **CUSTODIAL HISTORY**

1. THE TRANSFER OF THE FIRST PART OF THE ARCHIVE (1609-1842) TO BATAVIA (1852, 1860) AND TO THE NETHERLANDS (1862/3. THE TRANSFER OF THE SECOND PART (1843-1860) TO THE NETHERLANDS (1909).

By regulation of 17 may 1852 of the Governor-General at Batavia, the Opperhoofd Mr. J.H. Donker Curtis was ordened to send the archive of the factory to Batavia, ".....and this, for the time being, including such a period, as seems to him, After consultation of his predecessor in office, the former Opperhoofd F.C. Rose, proper to be missed on Deshima. Rose thought that this was the case with the documents anterior to 1800. So this part was sent to the General Secretiat at Batavia, on which consignment Donker Curtis remarks in a covering letter, that the documents written in Japanese (the acts of safe-conduct and others) must be examined first by the Nagasaki officials. These Japanese documents were sent to Batavia in september 1860 by the Consul-General of the Netherlands in Japan, together with the lacquered panel with the names of the Opperhoofden and with the archive of 1800-1842.

At Batavia the archive was preserved on the top floors of the Grain- and Iron-warehouses, together with documents, produced by others Outposts or by the "Hooge Regeering Batavia" (High Government at Batavia; hencefort indicated as: H.R.B.). Probably in this period the mixing of the Deshima documents with the last named archive has taken place (Cf. par.11). In 1862 and 1863 a part of thes collections was sent to the General State Archive at The Hague, after a brief sorting. The ambassador of the Netherlands at Tokyo finally sent the archive of 1843-1860 to the Ministery of Foreign Affairs, (despatch, of 24 june 1909), whence it was received at the General State Archives in oktober 1909.

### 2. THE ORIGINAL ORDER OF THE ARCHIVE. THE DISCRIPTIONS BY MR. J.E. HEERES AND DR. J. DE HULLU.

When the archive covering the period 1609-1799 was transferred to Batavia in 1852, the existing order almost remained unimpaired, wich appears from the inscriptions and numbers on the covers of several volumes and from summary list of the old archive, produced in 1852. (Inv.nr. 1938). In this list the volumes, quires, bound documents and folders were describe invariably as "bundels" (bundles), arranged in comprehensive series 'resolutions', 'daily records', incoming and outgoing letters, 'trade books and journals' etc. The documents written in Japanese characters were arranged seperately in chronological order. The same was done with the papers of the years 1800-1842, wich remained at the factory for the time being.

Mr. J.E. Heeres has left these arrangements unaltered for the most part in his discription of the archive of 1888/1889. He split up the big series 'incoming and outgoining letters' in incoming and drafts("minuten") of outgoing letters, "letters of the High Government to various out-posts", etc. according to the principle of provenance, while he described the mixed-up documents from the archive of the High Government of Batavia as: "incoming drafts of letters" ("ingekomen minuutbrieven") or: "duplicates of letters received from Japan" The sequence of papers from 1800 till 1842 has been left intact by Heeres, just as was the case with the group of documents written in Japanese, the account of the factory, etc.

The second part of the archive, (1843-1860), received at the General State Archives in 1909, was described by Dr. J. de Hullu in 1910. He made a division into the archive of the

Opperhoofd, the secret archive, etc., and removed the account books, - formely arranged as annexes to the drafts of outgoining despatches - to separate series concerning trade. This classification has not been done very consistently, the accounts being dispersed through-out the inventory.

### 3. THE PRESENT ORDER OF THE ARCHIVE. DEVIATIONS FROM THE PRINCIPLE OF PROVONANCE. THE STATE OF PRESERVATION.

The present classification and description has been built on the work of Heeres and de Hullu, with due observance of the principle of provonance. The arrangement of resolutions, daily records and other closed series as those of journals and ledgers was not altered fundamentally. The incoming and outgoing letters lent themselves to a more detailed classification in correspondence with several out-posts or with the Governor-General and his Council, while the letters from or to Japanese authorities were kept apart as far as possible.

A peculair group is formed by the approved and confirmed drafts ("minuten") of incoming letters and the engrossed copies ("expedities") of outgoing letters from or to Governor-General and Council. These proceed from the archive of the High Government at Batavia, wich is proved by inscriptions on the covers of the volumes. To place these items in the H.R.B. - archive, in accordance with the principle of provenance, did not seem disirable, on the one hand because there exists only a fragment of the said archive in the repository of the General State Archives (cf.par.9), on the other hand because these letters fill some gaps in the regular series of Deshima - documents. Inversely, a small number of volume, belonging to the Deshima - archive, got among the H.R.B. - archive. These are mentioned in part F of the inventory, together with the documents that by various causes got among other collections. Of the items, described in Ch. VIII, first period (Incoming documents to the information of the factory) something may also proceed from the H.R.B. - archive, but this cannot be established with certianty.

The items covering the period 1843-1860 were again dealt with separately in the present description. As was remarked in par. 7, the character of the factory was changed during the 1840's which change is shown in the archive by the existence of subdivisions containing secret documents, the papers of Donker Curtius acting as an official envoy, and cash-books, partly relating to the Vice-Consulate on Deshima after februari 1860. Therefor it seemed proper to maintain the division of the archive in two periods, connected none the less by a consecutive numeration and a classification that corresponds as much as possible.

The archive, wich covers a shelflengt of 30 metres, has been preserved on the whole in a good state. A few of the older volumes (resolutions, daily records, registers with letters) have suffered from moisture or insects. The documents of the second period have been damaged more, in proportion to their quantity. Those of 1843 are heavenly waterstained or riddled with wormholes, those of 1848 are nearly all missing.

The amount of loose documents is comparatively small; volumes, quires, and sets of bound documents form the greatest part. The bindings of the volumes in the series of correspondence with Governor-General and Council are are often broken, but not the less the volumes are discernible as such.

### 4. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRADE BOOKS IN CONNECTION WITH THE BOOK-KEEPING.

The outposts of the United Company had an account current with the "Comptior-Genereal" (i.e. the Head Office) at Batavia. The starting point of the book-keeping at the factory was the list of cash money and goods in store, called "Effecten" (Stocks), "Restanten" (Remnants) or "Capitael" (Capital), or - as was the case on Deshima - "Transport van 'sCompanies negotie" (Amount carried of the Company's trade). The account current with Deshima, kept at the Head Office in Batavia, was debited with the amount of this "Capital", just as for the worth of the cargoes to Deshima and for the profits made. On the credit-side were booked the outgoing cargoes, losses, and expenses of the factory. The counter-account at the factory (i.e. the account called "Comptoir-Generaal" on the first folio of the ledger) was credited or debited with these amount, proceeding from the balances of the diverse ledger-accounts. At the end end of the trade-season, the account "Comptior-Generael" was balanced with the "Capital", wich sum appears at ht e head of the credit-side in the factory's ledger of the following season.

In accordance with this procedure the various series of trade books are classified. First the general and yearly reports on trade and on the book-keeping of Deshima are described. (Nrs. 659-716). Nrs. 717-1120 contain the account-books proper. (Documents concerning cash amounts, stocks and cargoes; journals and ledgers). The item numbered 1121-1354 are annexes to, or extracts from the journals and ledgers (account of profit-and-loss, expence accounts), whereas nrs. 1355-1422 concern next year's trade. (Lists of goods in demand and estimates of goods to be imported).

Several of these series end about 1795. This is probably due to careless personnel and disorderly book-keeping rather than to loss of the documents. Matters became still worse by the death of the Opperhoofd Gijsbert Hemmy during the journey to Edo in 1798. The warehouse custodian Leopold Willem Ras, who served as a provisional Chief in the next two years, turned out to be unfit for his task. In 1800, the new Opperhoofd Willem Wardenaar straightened the affairs. Several new types of account and reports were introduced, others were disposed of, combined or continued with alterations.

As has been said in par. 10, the archive covering the years 1800-1842 was arranged chronologicallyin 1852, the documents of each year being put together in one portfolio. After the removal of resolutions, daily records, reports on trade, incoming and outgoing letters, etc., a number of pieces concerning the book-keeping remained, which were not suited to a classification in series. This is the case particularly with the papers from 1800 to 1830. It may be said to be partly a result of Wardenaar's doings. Therefor the chronological arrangement was maintained, a descriptive list being made of the contents of each unit. (Inv.nrs. 1423-1463).

The classification of the trade books from 1843 to 1860 has been done in accordance with the principles explained in the first part of this paragraph. The so-called "rekening-courant" (the term appears in 1818) is not an account current with Batavia, but must be called a cash-balance (kas-rekening).

### 5. ENTRIES AND EXPEDIENTS FOR THE USE OF THE ARCHIVE.

In a number of cases, tables of contents ('tafels'), post-books ('agenda's') and indexes ('indices'; 'klappers') are extant in the volumes of resolutions, daily records, letters and reports, wich is mentioned ia a note to the item concerned. Inv. nrs. 356-425 and 503-528 contain lists of incoming and outgoing letters and annexes, often not in accordance with the actual contents of the volumes. Inv. nr. 52 is a loose reportory ('repertorium') with an index ('klapper') on orders from Gentlemen Seventeen and Goverenor-General and Council. Such repertories, pratly proceeding from the Deshima-archive, are to be found in the archive-H.R.B. (Cf. Part F). Inv.nr. 1572 contains a very concise and inaccurate summary of the documents presented at Deshima in 1826, with some notes about the volumes then missing. Inv.nr. 1938 gives a complete summary of the documents , transferred from Deshima in 1852, wereas inv. nr. 1688 is a detailed inventory of the secret archive.

The article by T. Itazawa includes a name-list of the Opperhoofden, with the dates of the daily records produced during their term in office, covering the period 1631-1860. M. Kanai in his contribution on Donker Curtis not only deals with the transfer of the Deshima archive to the Netherlands but gives also a survey of Dutch archival sources relating to Japan, and of Dutch archival management and institutions.

At the Historiographical Institute (Shiryo Hensan-jo) of the University of Tokyo a series of volumes about historical documents relating to Japan in foreign countries is in the course of production; five volumes wil be dedicated to the documents about Japan, Formosa and China, reposing is the General State Archives. Volume I, part I of these five has appeard already in 1963. This volume contains a detailed survey of the Deshima-archive as far as it was transferred to Batavia in 1852. (1614-1800, with the daily records extending to 1831). The items were mentioned in the order, adopted by Heeres in his ms.-inventory, (Cf. par. 10), with a discriptive list of each item added. The survey is partly in Dutch (caption titles being copied from the documents), partly in English. The portfolio-numbers of 'Heeres' inventory are mentioned also. Therefor to facilitate the use of the present inventory together with the survey, a concordance of inventory-numbers and portfolio-numbers has been given here-after. The former numeration of the docoments from 1843-1860 (inventory by Dr. J. de Hullu) is placed between brackets.

### 6. PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE.

In the works of van Dam, Valentijn, Montanus, Kaempfer, Nachod, Feenstra Kuiper etc. a great number of documents relating to the Dutch in japan have been printed, the provenance of wich cannot be established with centianty, at least not in the case of the older works mentioned. The editors of the Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum have used copies of documents from the Deshima-archive, which copies repose in other archives and collections. (With one exception: inv.nr. 646). Veenhoven in his thesis edited parts of inv.nrs. 275, 430, 435. 437/8, 533, 548, 542/5 as annexes.

The publication of inv.nrs. 50, 276, 646, 660, 1470, and 1602/3 in mentioned in the notes of the items concerned.

A survey of Japanese activity in this field naturally can be only cursory. N. Murakami edited abstracts of the daily records of the period 1641 june 25 - 1645 november 29 and 1650 october 25 - 1654 october 31 in a Japanese translation; the edition of the 'Japans Dagh Register' by "Nichi-ran Koshoshi Kenkyukai" is mentioned in the list of quoted sources and

literature and in a note to the daily records in the present inventory. The monumental series of publications by the Historiographical Institute mentioned above, may contain some Deshima-documents in a Japanese translation. (E.g. the "Dai Nippon Shiryo": Chronological Source-books of Japanese History from the 9th Century to the 19th Century).

### BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY (SKETCH OF THE RECORD CREATOR)

### 1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH FACTORY IN JAPAN.

On july 6th, 1609, two ships of the United East Indies Company, "De Griffioen" and "De Rode (vereenigde) Leeuw met pijlen" anchored off Hirado. Among the crews were the Chief merchants Abraham van den Broeck and Nicolaas Puyck and the under-merchant Jaques Specx. They undertook the journey to the Shogunal Court, on wich mission Melchior van Zantvoort acted as an interpreter. The last named came with the Dutch ship "De Liefde" in Japan in 1600, and established himself as a merchant in Nagasaki. The Shogun granted the Dutch the access to all ports in Japan, and confirmed this in an act of safe-conduct, stamped with his red seal. (Inv.nr.1a.). In september 1609 the ship's Council decided to hire a house on Hirado island (west of the southern main island Kiushu). Jacques Specx became the first "Opperhoofd" (Chief) of the new Company's factory.

### 2. THE DUTCH FACTORY ON HIRADO (1609-1641) AND THE REMOVAL TO DESHIMA (JUNE 1641).

The Dutch trade on Hirado (also called Firando) was not very profitable during the first years, because the quantity of goods imported was too small. In 1613 the English also established a factory on the island, wich would remain in being till 1623. In accordance with the Dutch-Englisch treaty of june 2nd, 1619, coöperation existed between the two factories, wich is manifested in the archive by resolutions of the combined ship's Councils and both chiefs. (Inv.nr.3.). Although the Shogun in 1617 restricted the overseas trade to the harbours of Nagisaki and Hirado, the Dutch received a new act of safe-conduct on their journy to the Shogunal Court of that year, wich passport guaranteed them free entrance in all Japanese ports. (Inv.nr.1b.).

The efforts of both the English and the Dutch to capture the richly-laden Portuguese carracks and the Chinese junks, sailing from and to Nagisaki, led to a sharp reprimand of the Japanese Government in 1621. The Shogunal Government, on the other hand, became more and more opposed to the Portuguese, because of their missionary activity. The Shogun believed that the existing order in Japan was endangered by the expanding Christian religion. After the revolt of Japanese Christians on the promontory of Shimabara (east of Nagasaki) in 1637 and 1638 the Portuguese were duly expelled from the Empire (1639), the Dutch had to demolish their newly-built warehouse on Hirado (1640) and in 1641 the removal of the factory to Deshima was ordered. The Portuguese had been confined on this artificially constructed islet in the harbour of Nagisaki from 1636 to 1639. It was built in 1634 and 1635 through the contributions of 25 local merchants. The Dutch factory remained here until the closing-down in 1860. From 1639 to 1854 the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter japan. The Spanish had been expelled already in 1624: the English abandoned their factory voluntarily in 1623 and were not admitted again until 1854, although they tried several times to reopen the trade. Together with the Chinese, the Dutch provided for the overseas trade of Japan, because in 1636 the Shogun finally forbade the Japanese to go abroad, after a series of restricting measure in the years 1633-1636.

The removal to Deshima took place in june 1641. A short time after the establishment, in august 1641, the Chief of the factory received a letter from the governor of Nagisaki, in which were promulgated a number of very onerous regulations en restrictions concerning the residence of the Dutch on the island. These and others regulations remained in force practionally unaltered until the closing-down of the facory.

### 3. THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

At the end of the sixteenth century the daimyo of Japan were involved in a struggle for power, from which in 1600 Ieyasu, of the house of Tokugawa, emered victorious after the battle of Sekigahara. He recieved the title 'Shogun' from the Emperor and made Edo (Dutch: "Jedo"; the later Tokyo) his capital. The Emperor ('Mikado'; 'Tenno') remained in Miako (the later Kyoto). He did not have any governing power but must be seen as a symbol of the continuity of the Shinto-religion. The relation between the Emperor and the Shogun can be compared more or less with that between the Merovingian King and his Majordomus. A number of important provinces and cities, among which the five big cities Edo, Miako, Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki, stood under direct control of the so-called 'Bakufu'. The most imported government council was the Go Roju or council of five elders (Dutch; "Ordinaire Rijksraad"), with 4 or 5 members. The other cities and the rest of the country were governed by officials, arising from the daimyo class. In the course of years these functions became hereditary. The daimyo-vassals of the Shogun- were obliged to military service, the yielding of gifts and the yearly alternating recidence in Edo. A number of 'metsuke' (secret police; "dwarskijckers" in the language of the company) controlled both the fedural lords and the officials. This rigid system of government could be maintained for centuries because the closed-country police repelled all foreigh influences

## 4. THE GOVERNMENT OF NAGISAKI. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AUTHORITIES AND THE DUTCH ON DESHIMA.

The port of Nagisaki, were from 1641 on all foreign traffic was concentrated, stood, as has been said previously, under direct control of the Bakufu. The central government was represented by two governors, 'Bugyo', who resided alternately in the capital. The dutch called them "Gouverneurs", whilst they had various names for the subordinate officials: "Bongiozen" or "Banjozen" (derived from the word 'Bugyo'). There was also a council of town elders, 'Toshiyorishu', 'Machi-doshiyori', proceeding from the local landowners. (Dutch: "Stadsburgemeesters").

Every member in turn was at head of affairs during one year. (Jap.:'Nemban'; Dutch: "Opperburgemeester" or "Rapporteur Burgemeester"). The town of Nagisaki was divided into quarters, each quarter controlled by an 'Otona'. Deshima constituted a seperated quarter under the guidance of three Otona, who alternated every day at noon. The Interpreters were formed into a sort of guild or college ("het collegie" they call themselves for short in their translations) with a maximum strength of 150, seniors and apprentices together. "Though their positions dated from the Dutch factory at Hirado, their systematic ranks seen to have emarged in the Nagasaki-Deshima era....The interpreters combined the jobs of linguist, commercial agent and spy".

After 1695, seven senior interpreters under the leadership of a 'metsuke' formed a college of head interpreters. (Dutch: "Collegie van Oppertolken"). These eight persons signed and stamped the engrossments and translations of nearly all documents that where exchanged between the Dutch and the Japanese authorities. Apart from these "Gouverneurs, banjozen,"

burgemeesters, opper- en ondertolken, ottenaas, en de dwarskijckers" the Dutch had to deal with the purveyors of the victuals for the factory, the cooks, servants, fireguard, gate-keepers, coolies ect. All were paid or given gifts by the company, wich thus provided a living for an important part of the inhabitants of Nagisaki.

All contact with the Japanese officials must be maintained through the interpreters. The majority of the company's servants thus acquired only a scanty knowledge of Japanese language and writing, wich was further impeded on the part of the Opperhoofden by their yearly change in office. (Cf.par.5.). Moreover, the Bakufu generally thwarted the efforts of Dutch and Japanese alike to establish a closer contact outside the commercial sphere. Therefore the Governors-General at Batavia mostly took refuge to the Chinese language in their letters to the Shogun, the Imperial Council of Nagisaki Governors. (Cf.inv.nrs. 638, 639). In this way there was greater certainty that the contents would reachtheir destination in the original form and meaning, not being mistranslated by the interpreters.

In the 17th century the interpreters often had an insufficient commandof the Dutch language, wich caused much trouble and annoyance on both sides. Of course, the total absence of dictionaries ond other expendients made the task of the interpreters a difficult one. After about 1670, matters change for the better: on 1670 decmber 15 the interpreters are recorded to be exercising in Dutch writing and in 1671 the Governor orders the intruction of interpreters on Deshima. The daily record of 1673 november 9 contains the following passage: "The interpreters come to inform us that the Governor has decided and ordered that a certain Japanese boy, about ten or twelve years old, will come here daily on the island, in order to learn Dutch from one of the company's servants, as likewise to be taught how to read and write the same.

### 5. THE PERSONNEL OF THE FACTORY.

By a regulation of 1678 june 7, Governor-General and Council decidedthat the personnel of the factory should consist of a merchant, a second merchant, two to three undermerchants and fourteen to fifteen assistants. (A surgeon and his assistant included). The merchant bore the title of "Opperhoofd" (Chief); he held a seat in the Council of Justice at Batavia every period when he was out of office. In 1640 the Japanese demanded that a new Opperhoofd should beappointed every year. This gave raise to a system of rotation, by which every Opperhoofd held the highest post of the factory three to four times. In 1790 the Director-General of the trade, Johannes Siberg, succeeded in obtaining approval of a longer stay.

The council of the factory consisted of the Opperhoofd, the second merchants and the undermerchants. Since 1764 the scribe (at the same time bookkeeper and warehouse custodian) attended the meetings of the council and also signed the resolutions. The scribe had the power to pass notarial and secretarial instruments and to confirm sworn testimonies. Initially he had the rank of an assistant, later on - as warehouse custodian-book-keeper-scribe - of an undermerchant.

After the dissolution of the company in february 1796, no great changes occurred regarding the number, the task and the competence of the inhabitants of Dishima. Sometime between 1796 and 1816, the Council taking resolutions independently within the limits of their instructions from G.-G. and Council, dissapeared; after 1816, the Opperhoofd decides alone. The tiltle "Opperhoofd"changed into "Gouvernmentkommissaris voor Japan" (Government Commissioner for Japan) in 1855 and since 1859 the representative of the Netherlands was also Consul-General for Japan and Political Agent of the Netherlands in Japan. The last Opperhoofd, J.H. Jonker Curtius, who bore each of these titles in turn, signed the first treaty

between the Netherlands and Japan in 1856.

#### 6. THE JOURNEY TO THE SHOGUNAL COURT.

At their arrival in Japan the Dutch obtained the privilege to be received in audience by the Shogun every year. (This was never granted to the Chinese). On the occasion of the "hofreis" (journey to the (Shogunal) Court) the most important government authorities were honourd with gifts. The privilege became an onerous duty in the course of years, on account of the high expenditure and the burden-some journey, wich was relieved so far in 1790, that the journey only needed to be made every fourth year. The gifts, however, must be brought every year. When the Opperhoofd did not make the journey himself, these gifts were carried to Edo by a group of interpreters. In 1720 and 1783 no journey was made, because no ships arrivedfrom Batavia in the foregoing year and therefor no gifts could be made. The number of journeysfrom 1633 (the first year of wich a daily record of the factory is preserved) to 1850 amounts to 186. Until 1649 the scribe accompanied the Opperhoofd to the Edo Court; from that year on the surgeon of the factory always joined the travelling party. This was frequently consulted by the physicians of the court. The small party of Dutchmen was accompanied by a host of Japanese officials, interpreters, servants, outriders, porters of the Opperhoofd's 'norimon' (palaquin), etc. The Opperhoofd had the rank and status of a daimyoduring the whole journey (indispensable for a person recieved in audience by the Shogun) and was treated as such on his way to the capital. The expedition took 12 to 13 weeks in all during the first half of the 17th century from the beginning of december till the beginning of march, after about 1660 from the middle of february till the end of may. A few days after the arrival in Edo the Shogun granted an audience, followed by a more informal meeting and several visits to members of the Bakufu. After a sojourn of 2 or 3 weeks the visitors set out on the journey back, supplied with the traditional present made in return: thirty silk kimono's ("Keyserlijcke rokken"); Imperial Gowns. The expedition went partly by land (Nagasaki - Strait of Shimonoseki; - Osaka - Edo), partly by sea (Strait of Shimonoseki - Osaka). The total distance covered was over 2000 k.m.

### 7. THE MANAGING OF BUSINESS AT A FACTORY.

The yearly routine at the factory was determined by the arrival and the departure of the ships. At the end of june two or three ships left from Batavia and sailed with the south-western monsoon to Japan in four or five weeks. This was the case at least in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 17th century the ships often sailed via Siam, Tonking etc. to take on trade-goods here. With these ships the new Opperhoofd also came to Japan. Therefore two Opperhoofden were at the factory during the trade-season, from about 15 august till the end of oktober. At the end of oktober or the middle of november the accounts were closed, the resigning Opperhoofd instructed his successor and the ships left for Batavia with the north-eastern monsoon. With the Opperhoofd, the second merchant and some of the undermerchants and assistants also returned to Batavia, as they only were needed at the factory during the busy trade-season. During the voyage the report on trade since october of the past year was written or finished. Around new year one arrived at Batavia. The voyage back often took more time than the outward voyage, because one had to reckon not only with the monsoon but also with the Japanese prescriptions concerning the date of departure. On Deshima, in the maintime, preparations were made for the journey to Edo (nov.- febr.); during that trip (febr.- may) an undermerchant took the place of the Opperhoofd. From may to the middle of august the factory was put in readiness for the next trade-season; sometimes a remnantsale was held.

In the 1840,s the factory more or less changed from a trade-station into a sort of pre-diplomatic recidance. Trade was at time of minor importance, the more so when compared with that of the previous centuries. For the Netherlands, the factory became a means to procure the opening of Japan for foreign nations; for japan, it was - as it had been since 1639 - the only channel through which filtered the news from the western world. (Cf. e.g. inv.nrs.1749-1758). The letter of King William II to the Shogun, sent by way of H.M.S. "Palembang" in 1844, in wich the King gave the assurance that the opening of Japan would be beneficial for Japan and the other world alike, exemplifies the changed attitude on the part of the Dutch. (The answer of the Shogun accompanied by some costly presents, was cordial but negative; cf. inv.nrs. 1707-1716). In 1847 and after, the Opperhoofd played a mediating and infomative part in the negotiations between Japan and the foreign nations. (Cf. inv.nrs. 1688-1717, van Kleffens, p. 31-39 and van der Chijs, passim).

#### 8. THE DUTCH TRADE WITH JAPAN.

The different trade-systems, wich have been in use on Hirado and Deshima in the course of two and a half centuries, have been descripted in detail by Nachod, Feenstra Kuiper, Meylan, Lauts, van der Chijs and others. Therefor only some main characteristics, especially those with a bearingo the archive, will be mentioned here. Until 1628 the Japan trade of the Unided Companyhas not been hampered by any limitations from the side of the Japanese authorities. After a four-year period, during which trade practically came to a standstill - caused by the doings of the Governor of Formosa, Pieter Nuyts, in 1628 it was restricted more and more by Japanese prescriptions, such as export-embargoes, fixations of maximum amounts and prices, conditional sales, etc.

After 1725 the "Keizerlijke Geldkamer" (Imperial Money Chamber), acting as an exchangeand creditbank for the company, was charged with the total purchase. This Chamber placed orders with the Company and gave in return a certain amount of trade goods, of wich the most important were copper and camphor. It was privileged commercial corporation that farmed the overseas trade from the Imperial Treasury

Beside the trade of the United Company, the so called "Kompshandel", excisted the Kambang-trade or private trade, formally instituted in 1685. The "Heeren Zeventien" (Gentlemen Seventeen, the Board of Directors of the United Company) only grudgingly permitted their servants in Japan this elsewere forbidden practice. It was desired, however, by the government of Nagisaki because the petty merchants of this town, not being able to engage in bulk trade, thus found an opportunity to take part in the retailing of the rather small invoices in the Kambang-trade. Like the 'Kompshandel'it was exactly regulated by Dutch and Japanese alike. Every Dutch-man on Deshima, including the captains of the ships, had a fixed share in the total turnover allowed. The restriction to a certain maximum led to extensive smuggling; the Japanese caught in the act often were executed, the Dutchmen banished fron Japan.

From 1826 till 1831 the Kambang-trade was carried on by the "Societeit van Particuliere Handel op Japan" (Society for the Private Trade with Japan), a creation of the Opperhoofd G.F. Meylan. (C.f. inv.nrs. 1593-1601). The purpose was to cut the expenses by buying and selling on joint account. Only the officials on Deshima and the captains of the ships, tradingto japan, could participate. Unifortunately, Meylan's scheme did not come up to expectations, for various reasons. From 1835 till1855 the Kambang-trade was farmed out to a Batavia merchant, while the officials at Deshima got a compensation for the loss of extra income. After 1855 the Government of the Dutch Indies took charge of it. The "Kompshandel"was liquidatedformally in 1857, but was continued until 1860, as was the Kambang-trade.

The "Aparte of nieuw geschikte handel" (Seperate or newly established trade) dates from 1804. The Opperhoofd Hendrik Doeff in that year agreed with the Money Chamber that the Dutch government should import some articles in special demand, such as lead, mercury and Sapan-wood, in exchange for an extra amount of camphor. The credit money of the Dutch, the so called "toegift" (extra) was booked on the Kambang-account.

Under the name of "eis- en geschenkgoederen" (goods in demand and gifts) the Dutch imported various luxury articles, books, instruments etc., which were demanded separately by the Shogun and others Japanese authorities. The demand of the Shogun were paid for on the Company-account, the others on the Kambang-account. These "geschenkgoederen" ("gifts") ought not to be mistaken for the real gifts to the japanese, handed over on the occasion of the journey to the Shogunal Court.

The Dutch took due notice of the nature and amount of the Chinese trade of Nagasaki, the Chinese being their only competitors. (In 1685, two thirds of the total import amount were allotted to the Chinese. This distrubition roughly corresponded with the existing situation. Cf. Nachod, p. 389 seq.). With the help of the Japanese, lists with data about the Chinese import and / or export were compiled every year. These lists have been incoporated for the most part in the daily records of the factory.

Prices were put in teal's ("thaylen"; "teilen"), initially a Sino-Japanese measure of weight (37,565 grammes), later a standard of value (37.565 grammes of silver). In the trade with the Dutch the so-called "Compagniestaal" (Company's teal) was used as money of account. The value of this teal in the course of years declined from 70 'stuivers' Dutch money (in the 17th century) to 32 'stuivers' (around 1800). For the Kambang-trade a special teal was put into use, which held a higher value. In 1818 the 'Kompsteal' was fixed at 40 'stuivers' or 160 'duiten' Dutch Indies money, the Kambangteal at 192 'duiten'. The rate of exchange was accordingly: Dutch guilder: Dutch Indies guilder - 2: 3, Kompsteal: Dutch Indies guilder - 3: 4,8.

To close this paragraph, something must be said about the trade goods, imported in or exported from Japan by the Dutch. In the 17th century, raw or spun silk (from China, Siam or Bengal), deerskins, ray hides (from Siam), lead, mercury and sapan-wood were the most importants imports, which were traded against silver, gold, copper, camphor and (in lesser quantities) lacquerwork and porcelain. From the second half of the 17th century, cotton fabrics from india and divers textiles from the Netherlands are of growing importance for the Japanese market. After 1668, when the export of silver was forbidden, the most important Japanese products were copper and camphore. Dutch and Indian textiles, sugar, sapan-wood, lead and tin were the pricipal imports down to the middle of the 19th century.

The periods 1633-1640 and 1652-1672 were extra-ordinary profitable for the Dutch. In 1636, the profit on import alone amounted to 1,5 million guilders, in 1638 it nearly reached 2,5 million guilders. The importance of the Japanese trade gradually declined, but the United Company did not abandon the factory (although she threatened to do so several times during the 18th century) for fear that others nations would take her place. The monopoly position was very dear to the company and it was thought that in the course of time matters would change for the better. The importance of the factory after the dissolution of the United Company and the changed attitude towards Japan in the 1840's have been sketched already in par.7.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUBORDINATE COMPONENTS

### **FIRST PERIOD: 1609-1842**

### A ARCHIVE OF THE CHIEF FACTOR AND THE COUNCIL.

### I THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH FACTORY IN JAPAN.

**1a, b** Acts of safe-conduct, issued by the Shoguns Ieyasu and Hidetada in behalf of the Dutch; written in Japanese characters. 1609, 1617

Letter of four Edo Councillors to Matsura, lord of Hirado, containing a grant of free trade for the Dutch in Japan, on condition that thay will abstain from missionary activity; written in Japanese characters.

1620

### II DOCUMENTS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

- 3-30 Resolutions and sentences. 1617-1817
- 31-46 Instructions, orders, warrants, etc., issued by G.G. & Council or by the Chief factor and the Deshima Council, with annexes (reports, petitions, musterrolls, correspondence with with the Japanese, etc.).

  1647-1790
- 47-52 Instructions, regulations, etc. outside the foregoing series. 1770-1825
- Daily records of the factory on Hirado (Firando) and on Deshima. 1633-1833
- 250-259 Secret daily records of the factory on Deshima. 1782-1814
- **260-269** Daily records of the journeys to Edo. 1647-1830
- 270 Daily of Pieter Jansz. Muyser. 1628
- **271-274** Daily records, kept at Edo by Willem Jansz. van Amersfoort. 1631-1633
- Notes taken by the provisional Chief J. Cock Blomhoff about the affair on Deshima and about his mission to Batavia in 1813.

  1809-1815
- 276-349 Registers of incoming letters and of incoming and outgoing letters from and to G.G. & Council, various Outposts and Japanese authorities. 1614-1736

Mainly about foreign ships coming to Japan. Cf. Veenhoven and the (secret) resolutions of the years mentioned.

<sup>2.</sup> Cf. Intr. par. 8, note 26.

<sup>3.</sup> Willem Jansz. stayed Edo to clear up the Nuyts affair. Cf. Intr. par. 8.

350-355	Incoming letters from various Outposts (Taiwan, Siam, Cambodja etc.). 1624-1690
356-425	Incoming letters from G.G. & Council. 1654-1807
426-463	Incoming letters from G.G. & Council or other government authorities at Batavia and from Japanese authorities. 1800-1841
464-473	Secret correspondence between G.G. & Council and the factory. 1673-1807
474-475	Extracts from incoming and outgoing letters. 1615-1737, 1735-1750
476-480	Extracts concerning Japan from General Despatches of Gentlemen XVII and G.G. & Council. 1656-1768
481	Letters from Baron Bengoro, commander of a Russian frigate in the waters of Japan. 1771
482-499	Outgoing letters to G.G. & Council, various Outposts and Japanese authorities. 1623-1786
500-502	Outgoing letters to the factories in Siam (1666) and Bengal (1725, 1729) and to Cornelis van Reijersen. (1623, copy of circa 1750)
503-528	Outgoing letters to the G.G. & Council. 1638-1809
529-570	Outgoing letters to the G.G. & Council or other government authorities at Batavia and to Japanese authorities. 1800-1842
571-590	Secret outgoing letters to G.G. & Council. 1695-1809
591-605	Extracts from and lists of letters, received at Batavia from the factory. 1768-1776, 1780-1806
606	Model for a letter to G.G. & Council. 1772
	III RELATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE AUTHORITIES.
607-618	Incoming documents from Japanese authorities, partly written in Chinese or Japanese characters. 1644-1787
619-624	Correspondence with Japanese authorities. 1741-1797

625-632	Outgoing documents to Japanese authorities. 1734-1794
633-642	Letters from Governors-General at Batavia to Japanese authorities, partly written in Chinese or Japanese characters. 1630-1779
643-647	Formal documents, issued bu or given to the Japanese, partly in Japanese characters. 1628-1783
648-650	Notes, memoranda tec., produced on Deshima in behalf of the Japanese. (circa 1690) - (circa 1695)
651-658	Documents written in Chinese or Japanese characters, undated or with an incomplete date. (circa 1650) - (circa 1780)
	IV TRADE AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.
659-664	Reports and memoranda on trade in Japan. 1743-1808
665-673	Yearly reports of the retiring Opperhoofden to G.G. & Council about trade during their period in office. 1663/4-1746/7, 1785/6-1791/2
674-682	Yearly reports on the book-keeping of the factory. 1730/1-1805/6
683-716	Yearly reports of the Opperhoofden to government authorities at Batavia about trade on Deshima. 1799/1800-1842
717-760	Lists of cash money and goods in store. 1620-1622, 1749-1800, 1764-1833, 1790-1796
761	Cancelled.
762-816	Invoices of incoming and outgoing cargoes. 1621-1795
817-822	Bills of lading. 1645-1795
823-828	Reports on cargoes. 1652-1775
829-974	Trade journals. 1620/1-1807/8
975-1120	Ledgers. 1624/5-1807/8
1121-1157	Price lists; accounts of profit-and-loss. 1686-1822

1158-1160 Sales-books. 1722-1747 1161-1305 Accounts of the money expended on the journey to Edo and on gifts for Japanese authorities. 1642/3-1818 1306-1347 Accounts of the money expended on victuals etc. 1752/3-1794/5 1348-1354 Various expense-accounts. 1759-1826 1355-1405 Lists of trade goods demanded by the factory from Batavia. 1750-1807 1406 Estimates of goods to be imported. 1769-1780 1407-1422 Lists of goods demanded by Japanese authorities. 1785, 1809-1829 1423-1463 Various documents concerning trade. 1800-1842 1464 Fragment of a trade-book with various notes and a translation of inv. nr. 635. (circa 1720) 1465 Documents concerning Japanese copper, with samples of copper and bamboo. (circa 1788) - (circa 1820) 1466 Documents concerning trade with the American ship "The Eliza of New York" under command of captain W.R. Stewart. 1797-1800 1466a. Incoming documents concerning the divingbell for the pearl-fishery that was presented to the Shogun in 1834. 1833-1834 V SHIPS. 1467-1474 Resolutions of ship's councils; logbooks, etc. 1639-1828 1475-1489 Ship's muster rolls. 1781-1794 VI PERSONAL. 1490-1525 Pay-rolls; memoranda on the salary. 1626-1823, 1801-1842

<sup>4.</sup> With drawings and samples of textile. The lists for 1830-1842 as annexes to inv. nrs. 704-716

<sup>5.</sup> Cf. Intr. par. 12.

<sup>6.</sup> With drawings.

### VII JURISDICTION.

Documents concerning the lawsuit on thefts from the warehouses "De Lelie" and "De Doorn".

1782

VIII INCOMING DOCUMENTS TO THE INFORMATION OF THE FACTORY.

1527-1543 Documents exchanged between G.G. & Council and the personnel of various Outposts or indigenous authorities.

1649-1696, 1689-1776

**1544-1558** Documents concerning various Outposts (Tonkin, Formosa, Kanton) to the information of the factory at Deshima. 1638- 1802

B ARCHIVE OF THE WAREHOUSE CUSTODIAN-BOOKKEEPER-SCRIBE.

Extract from a resolution of G.G. & Council concerning the oath of the scribe. With annexes.

1769

**1560-1589** Secretarial and notarial instruments and statements. 1707-1827, 1734-1790

**1590-1592** Documents concerning estates; accounts of the Fund for Widows and Orphans. 1821-1824

C ARCHIVE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRIVATE TRADE WITH JAPAN.

**1593-1601** Resolutions, correspondence, tradebooks. 1826-1830

### **D DEPOSITED DOCUMENTS.**

**1602-1603** Manuscripts of books about Japan, written by G.F. Meylan. 1827-1829

#### E MISCELLANEOUS.

Ground-plan of a warehouse on Hirado. circa 1640

<sup>7.</sup> The documents concerned were not adressed to the Opperhoofd. They were sent to Deshima by the first recipient because they held information of importance for the factory. See also Intr. par. 11.

<sup>8.</sup> Cf. Intr. par. 5.

<sup>9.</sup> Cf. Intr. par. 8.

Map of a part of the Chinese factory in Nagasaki-harbour. Coloured drawing on paper, probably of Japanese origin. (circa 1780)

**1606-1612** Documents of which the connection with the archive cannot be established. 1676-1830

F DOCUMENTS BELONGING TO THE ARCHIVE OF THE FACTORY, FIRST PERIOD, WHICH REPOSE IN OTHER ARCHIVES.

### **SECOND PERIOD: 1843-1860**

### A ARCHIVE OF THE CHIEF FACTOR.

### I DOCUMENTS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

**1613-1624** Daily records of the factory on Deshima.

1843-1860

Daily records of the journey to Edo.

1850

Memorandum on the Opium War, drawn up by the Opperhoofd. With copies of

the treaties concluded in 1842 and 1843 between China and England.

1838-1844

**1627-1660** Incoming and drafts of outgoing documents.

1843-1860

**1661-1673** Post-books of incoming and outgoing documents.

1842-1843, 1855-1860

1674-1680 Indexes to the correspondence.

1855-1860

### II RELATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE AUTHORITIES.

**1681-1687** Incoming documents from Japanese authorities.

1852-1859

III SECRET ARCHIVE.

1688 Inventory of the secret archive, 1839-1854, drawn up.

circa 1854

**1689** Daily record. With annexes.

1853-1854

**1690-1702** Incoming and drafts of outgoing documents.

1839-1841, 1845-1854

**1703-1706** Foreign news, to be imparted to the Japanese authorities.

1850-1854

1707-1716 Documents concerning the mission of H.M.S. "Palembang".

1844-1847

1717 Documents concerning the Russian squadron under command of Admiral

Pontiantine at the roads of Nagasaki.

1853-1854

<sup>10.</sup> Cf. Intr. par. 7 and 9, note 36.

<sup>11.</sup> Cf. inv. nrs. 1749-1758.

IV TRADE.

a "KOMPSHANDEL" (GOVERNMENT TRADE) AND TRADE IN

GENERAL.

**1718-1737** Reports on trade.

1843-1860

1738-1748 Contracts, invoices, bills of lading.

1844-1855

**1749-1758** Foreign news, invoices, ship's musterrolls.

1844-1855

**1759-1770** Lists of imported textile in store.

1844-1857

1771-1782 Lists of various imports in store (sugar, sapan-wood, lead, etc.)

1844-1857

**1783-1797** Balanced accounts of imports in store.

1844-1858

1798 Lists of imported medicines in store.

1859

1800-1802

Cash-books of the factory.

1857-1860

Cash-books of the Vice-Consulate of the Netherlands at Nagasaki.

1860-1862

1803-1818

Cash-accounts of the Government trade.

1844-1858

Cash-accounts of the Seperate trade.

1844-1846

**1819-1831** Accounts of gifts to Japanese authorities and of the sale at Edo.

1844-1858

**1832-1841** Accounts of expenses on proas, coolies etc.

1844-1857

1842-1855

Lists of equipment and victuals of the factory.

1844-1846

Lists of goods demanded by Japanese authorities.

1844-1857

<sup>12.</sup> Cf. inv. nrs. 1703-1706, 1901-1902.

<sup>13.</sup> Cf. inv. nrs. 1926-1937.

Lists of goods demanded by the Imperial Money Chamber in behalf of the

lords of Hizen, Kaka and Toudo.

1858

b SEPARATE TRADE.

**1857-1866** Cash-accounts.

1847-1857

**1867-1870** Cash-accounts of the "New Separate trade".

1854-1857

c KAMBANG-TRADE.

1871 Cash-accounts with accounts of imports and exports.

1854, 1855

**1872-1877** Balanced accounts of goods in store.

1856-1860

**1878-1895** Cash-accounts.

1844-1860

**1896-1898** Balances of the Dutch Kambang-account at the Imperial Money Chamber.

1859-1860

1899 Lists of exports demanded in the Kambang-trade.

1856

1900 Creditor-account of Japanese purveyors in the Kambang-trade.

1856

V SHIPS.

**1901-1902** Ship's muster rolls.

18551856

VI PERSONNEL.

**1903-1904** Documents concerning the Registration Service on Deshima.

1829-1852

**1905-1925** Pay-rolls.

1843-1859

VII DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

1926-1937 Lists of equipment and victuals on Deshima.

1847-1860

<sup>14.</sup> Cf. inv. nrs. 1803-1805.

<sup>15.</sup> Cf. inv. nrs. 1749-1758.

<sup>16.</sup> Cf. inv. nrs. 1749-1758, 1902.

<sup>17.</sup> Cf. Inv. nrs. 1842-1844.

1938	Inventory of the old archive, drawn up circa 1852. 1852
1939	Bill from the firm de Lange at Batavia to the factory, on account of stationery delivered. 1855
	VIII INCOMING DOCUMENST TO THE INFORMATION OF THE FACTORY.
1940	"Correspondence" (etc.) See inventory. (Printed). 1859
	B ARCHIVE OF THE WAREHOUSE CUSTODIAN-BOOKKEEPER-SCRIBE.
1941-1942	Incoming and drafts of outgoing letters. (1847-) 1849-1854, 1847-1855
1943-1947	Srecretarial and notarial instruments and statements. 1828-1860
1948	Table of contents to inv. nrs. 1944-1947. 1857-1860
1949	Statements on auctions held at Deshima. 1858-1860
1950	Models for instruments. (circa 1850)
	C ARCHIVE OF J.H. DONKER CURTIUS AS AN ENVOY TO THE EDO COURT.

1951-1952 1859-1860,1860

Cf. Intr. par. 10. Intr. par. 5. 18.

<sup>19.</sup> 20. Cf. Intr. par. 7 and 11, inv. nr. 1674 and Kleffens p. 67-68.