

Personal Trade at the Dutch Factory in Japan: The Trade Society Organized by Chief Factor Meijlan (1826–1830)

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Introduction

It is a well-known fact that in late premodern Asia, smuggling was a frequent and widespread practice both inside and outside the Dutch East India Company (de Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie; hereafter VOC).

One of the most flagrant smuggling centers was none other than the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki, Japan, if we are to believe Frederik de Haan, who on the occasion of the 300th Anniversary of the incorporation of Batavia was asked by the local arts and sciences association (Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) to write his memoirs, in which he informs us of the following:

If our political leaders have not the least concern for the happiness and prosperity of their employees or the citizenry at large, why would they want to give priority to the interests of monopolies over those of individuals? In the Orient, everything is decided according to the whims of monopolists. It is from such whims that general empathy for and shamelessness regarding smuggling arise. One patent example of such a state of affairs is the picture drawn by the VOC's chief factor (*opperhoofd*) at Dejima in full smuggler regalia, a stroke of genius, if I may add, since he is not subject to search by Japanese port authorities. Although the factor does have an exquisite uniform, his smuggler regalia is stored away in the factory and worn whenever he boards ship. Imagine something like a diving bell or a sleeping bag, which he dons like a suit of clothes and which while descending the ship's boarding ramp has to be supported on each side by two of his sturdiest lads, leading him around the kowtowing Japanese cus-

tom agents who unwittingly allow loads of contraband to pass directly under their noses.¹⁾

Reliable source materials recording this type of smuggling so vividly described by de Haan are unfortunately few and far between. However, we do know that “personal trade,” which is very closely related to smuggling, was allowed to a certain extent by VOC in Japan from 1685 (Jyōkyō 貞享 2) and came to be called *wakini boeki* 脇荷貿易 (lit., “trade in goods on the side”) in Japanese.²⁾ Then, in 1820 (Bunsei 文政 3), as foreign trade became the object of stricter regulation and official trade limitations (*sadamedaka* 定高) were set at a maximum of 800 *kanme* 貫目 (1 *kanme* ≐ 3.75 kg of silver), *wakini* was limited to 100 *kanme*.³⁾

Six years later, in 1826 (Bunsei 9), the newly appointed Dutch chief factor, Germain Felix Meijlan would breathe new meaning into *wakini* personal trade activities and make plans to organize and control an association for the purpose. According to a report Meijlan submitted that same year:

Personal trade, known as the “cambang” [lit. auction] trade, is in itself almost insignificant; however, what I would like to draw your particular attention to is the importance of the events that have transpired from the time it began to the present day. I think it is no exaggeration to state that most, not all of course, but most of the strict regulations that have been imposed on the Dutch here in Japan stems from personal trade and its effects. The moats that surround Dejima, the gates and guard stations that have been installed here, as well as the mortifying body searches that the factory staff and sailors are subjected to in their comings and goings, only the factor being exempt, all of these measures cannot but stem from the practice.⁴⁾

In other words, Meijlan was convinced, even more than his superiors in Batavia, that if personal trade was not exerting such a great amount of influence on foreign trade in Japan, it would not have been so strictly regulated. The focus of this article is to examine the activities of the Society for Personal Trade in Japan (De Societeit van Particuliere Handel op Japan) between 1826 (Bunsei 9) and 1830 (Tenpo 天保 1) in order to clarify the importance of the little known *wakini* trade conducted by staff of the Dutch Factory on Dejima.

1. The Pre-1826 *Wakini* Trade

When the practice of *wakini* began in 1685 (Jyōkyō 2), the Japanese had just placed limits on Dutch trade to 50,000 taels of gold per annum. Since for the Dutch gold was seen in terms of silver at a rate of 1 tael = 68 *monme* 匁 (1 *monme* \doteq 3.75g = 0.001 *kanme*), bringing the total VOC company trade (*motokata* 本方) to 3,400 *kanme* of silver, which was divided up between 3,000 *kanme* of company trade and 400 *kanme* of *wakini* trade.⁵⁾ Although the sources give no explanation why *wakini* was officially recognized as a separate trade category, we do know that the rates of custom duties levied on each of the categories were somewhat different: 65% on individual items; 70% on lots.⁶⁾ Custom duties revenue stayed in Nagasaki as bureaucratic salaries and entitlement payments to the town,⁷⁾ probably because trade restrictions (fixed import quantities and prices) had impoverished local merchants who had lavishly profited from the former auction-style, unlimited trade goods system which gave them tremendous pricing advantages.

From the Dutch viewpoint, *wakini* as a form of personal trade subsidized the insufficient salaries paid to the Dejima Factory staff and also rewarded ships captains for putting in at Nagasaki. According to one letter addressed to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies on 28 December 1829:

As your Excellency is well aware, Dutch factors and ship captains are allowed to conduct personal trade in Japan to the tune of 4,000 taels per year. The proceeds from this commercial endeavor helps to improve their livelihoods and subsidize the ship expenses paid out of pocket by captains while anchored in Japan.⁸⁾

According to Engelbert Kaempfer, who resided in Japan between 1690 (Genroku 元 祿13) and 1692 (Genroku15), the yearly *wakini* allowance of 400 *kanme* was distributed among the Dutch in the following manner. The former head factor and the newly appointed chief factor were entitled to 70 *kanme* each, the deputy chief 60 *kanme*, and the remainder was distributed to captains, factors and clerks.⁹⁾ However, Kaempfer also mentions that such a system was not followed, even from its inception. Rather:

If any of these [*wakini* recipients] is on good terms with the Japanese

interpreters, by virtue of giving them gifts of foreign goods, there is a way of mixing a small amount of their personal items in with the company freight at the time of the initial *cambang* (鑑板 bidding). By doing so, one can make 55 to 70% more than personal sale due to the extraordinarily lower tariffs levied on company trade goods.¹⁰⁾

In addition, easily concealed items like red coral and amber were sold privately to local middlemen and town officials, and personal belongings brought in by the chief factors could find their way to Edo for ingratiating oneself with the shogun or Bakufu senior officials.¹¹⁾ Kaempfer himself gives a personal account of serving as much liquor as possible to the officials in charge of searching his belongings just before his departure from Japan.¹²⁾

Already by 1743, word had gotten out in the Netherlands that anyone who served at least two years as the chief factor in Nagasaki would be able upon his return home to live the rest of his life off the interest earned from his Japanese income.¹³⁾ Although concerted efforts were made by high level bureaucrats in Batavia to restrict personal trade, the Japanese authorities had their own ideas, actually promoting the practice and thwarting such efforts.¹⁴⁾ In spite of the fact that the directors of the VOC in the Netherlands had stipulated that no more than 6,500 piculs (1 picul = 60 kg) of copper could be carried aboard any Dutch ship sailing in the dangerous waters off Japan, while allowing much larger amounts to be carried on similar size ships bound for Sweden, the Dutch factors and ship captains active in Japan managed to hide an extra 2,000 piculs in their holds.¹⁵⁾ Needless to say, this kind of personal smuggling was rampant under the guise of the VOC's import-export business.

The outbreak of the French Revolution and its detrimental effects on Dutch national security¹⁶⁾ began to similarly affect the Japan trade from about the year 1795 on; but in 1817 a return to business as usual was marked by the appointment of Jan Cook Blomhoff as the Nagasaki chief factor.¹⁷⁾ Then, on 15 May of the following year, the 51 article list of stipulations concerning trade with Japan was issued by the commission-general Dutch Indies under the advisement of Hendrick Doeff, who had served as chief factor on Dejima for 19 years. Article XII dealt with personal commerce in the following way:

Trade with Japan is a government fiscal monopoly. However, Dutch employees stationed in Japan will be allowed to trade up to 40,000

gilders of goods not transported from the [Nagasaki] counting house [*geldkamer*] to the government or not ordered by the counting house. The proceeds were distributed as follows:

Post	Shares (gilders)
商館長 chief factor (Opperhoofd)	17,600
荷倉役 (=倉庫長) head warehouseman (Pakhuijsmeester)	6,600
筆者頭 secretary (Scriba)	4,000
醫師 physician	4,000
五人の事務官 five clerks	1,400 Total: 7,000
食糧調達係 cook	400
荷倉番 guard of warehouse	400
Total	40,000

Ship captains will be subsidized in accordance with a later article. All other commercial transactions with or product orders from Japan are strictly prohibited and all such goods will be confiscated and fines levied at a rate of three times their sales value.¹⁸⁾

Incidentally, Article XLIII stipulated Dutch factory employee salaries as follows, indicating how substantial proceeds from personal trade were in relative terms.

Post	Shares (gilders)
商館長 chief factor (Opperhoofd)	18,600
荷倉役 (=倉庫長) head warehouseman (Pakhuijsmeester)	4,800
筆者頭 secretary (Scriba)	2,400
醫師 physician	1,500
五人の事務官 clerk I (2)	1,200
clerk II (3)	1,080
食糧調達係 cook	400
荷倉番 guard of warehouse	400
Total	33,140

Of course, Article XII was by no means strictly adhered to, if the following letter from Meijlan to the Governor-General is any indication:

According to the stipulations [of 1818], captains of medium size ships with capacities of 500 lasts are entitled to carry personal trade goods worth up to 25,000 guilders. Together with the above-mentioned 40,000 guilders [for factory employees], the total [personal] trade capital comes to 65,000 guilders. Therefore, ship captains now enjoy 5/13ths of that trade, the greatest individual share. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the chief factor and ship captains do not always strictly abide by the limits imposed on them. That is why the 65,000 guilder limit has been greatly exceeded.¹⁹⁾

In 1823, Chief Factor Johna Willem de Sturler wrote to the governor-general:

During my residency here, Dejima has been nothing but a bustling marketplace dealing in contraband from dawn to dusk.²⁰⁾

Sturler also cites the 1818 stipulation on personal trade, but for the purpose of securing the amount promised him under those rules, not to correct the existing factory practices. Sturler's letter also contained a request that the *Hooge Regering te Batavia* recognize his monopoly over sandalwood, rattan and saffron, those items "not ordered by the clearing house" that were the most profitable in personal trade. Such actions on the part of Sturler met with dissatisfaction on the part of other employees on Dejima, the most boisterous of whom was J. F. van Overmeer Fisscher, head of the warehouse, who complained directly to Batavia. In 1826, after Sturler countered Fisscher with a complaint of his own, Meijlan was appointed chief factor and was directed to investigate Sturler's claims. In his report to the *Hooge Indiache Regering*, Meijlan recognized that Sturler had taken steps to crack down on excesses in personal trade, but he also reports that the cause of the dispute among the employees was that Sturler had no credibility in taking action because he himself was as deeply involved in personal trade as anyone else. Meijlan's report was deemed unsatisfactory to Batavia, and the anti-Sturler sentiment among the Dejima staff continued, prompting an official inquiry into the matter and an order to Meijlan to conduct another investigation. Meijlan responded by denying all ten of Sturler's charges

against Fisscher, including irregularities in personal trade dealings, smuggling, and submission of falsified bills of lading to Batavia, arguing that Fisscher's actions were normal for any Dejima employee at the time. Meijlin concluded that the problem stemmed from the question of personal trade, with Struler's attempts to make everyone play by the rules constituting an effort to protect his own personal interest, and show his hatred toward Fisscher. The committee of inquiry in Batavia concurred with the report and absolved Fisscher, who had returned to Java, of all charges.²¹⁾

2. The Formation of Meijlan's Personal Trade Association

In his report, Meijlin also discussed the meaning of personal trade at Dejima and admitted that the stipulations of 1818 were not being adhered to. Consequently, the Japanese market had become overrun with European goods which could no longer fetch a price greater than the cost of purchase in Batavia. On the other hand, there was a surplus of unsold Japanese goods in Batavia, resulting in serious commercial losses.²²⁾ Nevertheless, a complete prohibition on personal trade would anger not only the underpaid Dutch Factory employees, who needed their personal trade supplements to live, but also the Japanese Dutch interpreters who were profiting as well. So as a compromise plan Meijlan proposed that the factory employees form an association chartered by the governor-general to conduct personal trade, outside of which no commercial activities would be permitted.²³⁾

Entitling his proposal "Main Points of an Agreement Regarding the Founding of a Society for Conducting Personal Trade Back and Forth Between Batavia and Japan," Meijlan laid out thirty five articles, the most important of which may be summarized as follows:²⁴⁾

1. The Society will be recognized by the Government of Batavia and granted a monopoly over personal trade.
2. The goods traded will be limited to those other than trade goods claimed by the government.
3. Membership in the Society will be limited to the Dejima Factory staff and ship captains sailing to Japan from Batavia.
4. The amount of the Society's capital fund will be decided at an annual meeting of its members at Dejima; however, for the first three years the fund will amount to no more than 50,000 guilders, distrib-

uted among the members in the following shares (amounts in guilders).

商館長 chief factor (Opperhoofd)	9,000
荷倉役 head warehouseman (Pakhuismeester)	7,000
筆者頭 secretary (Scriba)	4,500
醫師 physician	4,500
五人の平館員 five clerks	2,500 (each)
二人の荷倉番 two guard of warehouse	300 (each)
船の船長合せて Ship Captains	12,000 (total)

5. Members do not have to register their shares.
6. Each member will pay his share in Batavia at an office of trade to be established for that purpose.
7. The Society will be managed by two commissioners, elected by a majority of the members for terms of one year, with the possibility of reelection.
8. The Dutch Chief Factor is not eligible to be elected commissioner or participate in any way in the management of the Society. He will, however, be accorded one vote like any other member.
9. The duties of the commissioner will be:
 - (1) Ordering goods from Batavia.
 - (2) Compiling bills of lading for goods sent to Batavia and their shipment.
 - (3) Control of cargo and its sale in Japan.
 - (4) Creating procedures and stipulations for Society agents in Batavia.
 - (5) Payment of shares to investors.
10. The duties of the Society office in Batavia will be:
 - (1) Receiving investment funds.
 - (2) Compiling freight lists for Japanese buyers.
 - (3) Reception and sale of goods returning from Japan.
 - (4) Paying concerned parties or their agents.

Meijlan concludes with rules for holding the members' meeting and

a request that after the government accepts the agreement, it be made legally binding for three years.

One very striking feature of Meijlan's proposal is the placing of strict limitations on the rights of the chief factor within the Society.

A comparison with the stipulations of 1818 reveals a 50% reduction in the chief factor's share of personal trade and its reapportionment to other members, indicating an attempt to reform the traditional seniority-based VOC pay scale into a more equitable system, in order to prevent "the moral corruption of younger [junior] staff members."²⁵⁾ Excluding the chief factor from election as a Society commissioner was probably to prevent him from controlling every phase of life on Dejima and possibly abusing that power as a result. This may have been a gesture to learn from the disputes that had arisen between the former chief factor Sturler and his staff and promote harmony at the Factory by making the Society democratic, thus separating Company business from personal trade, at least with respect to value and type of goods.

It was on 23 October 1826 that Meijlan invited the ten-member Dejima staff to a meeting. He had already circulated the Society proposal, so the meeting involved only some minor revisions before it was passed. Then two warehousemen Fisscher and Verkerk Pistorius were elected commissioners and Manuel was made keeper of the minutes.²⁶⁾ It was also decided that the Society's representative in Batavia would be the firm of Ten Brink en Reijnst and that the amount of the first year's investment would be 44,000 guilders, to be paid in three equal installments in mid-February, mid-March and 1 June.²⁷⁾ However, at the Society meeting of 11 November, it was decided to reduce the investment amount to 33,000 guilders and the members applied for investment as shown in Table 1. The commissioners then presented the goods to be ordered for the first year, which was passed unanimously.²⁸⁾

Meanwhile, in Batavia, due to fiscal difficulties encountered from the beginning of 1827, it was proposed that the Japan trade be transferred to the Netherlands Trading Company (De Nederlands Handel-Maatschappij; hereafter NTC), and on 25 April a contract was concluded to that effect between the VOC government and the NTC Factory in Batavia. The contract put Meijlan's proposal concerning personal trade under the supervision of NTC and designated another Batavia-based concern as the purchasing and selling agent for the Society's venture.²⁹⁾ The NTC contract was then presented before the Council of the Indies (Raad van Indië) on 25 May along with Meijlan's proposal and both

Table 1 Investment and Distribution of the Personal Trade Association

Stock Holder	1827 (a)			1828 (b)			1829 (c)			
	the size of investment	the size of distribution	the rate of distribution	the size of investment	the size of distribution	the rate of distribution	the size of investment	the size of first distribution	the size of second distribution	the rate of distribution
G. F. Meijlan (chief factor)	f. 3000	f. 6085: 73	202%	f. 6000	f. 14040: 20	234%	f. 6840	f. 11945: 67	f. 386: 50	180%
J. F. van O. Fisscher (heard warehousemen)	4200	8519: 96	202%	4900	11466: 20	234%	800	1397: 15	315: 64	180%
von Outeren (secretary)	2700	5477: 23	202%	3200	7488: —	234%	3480	6077: 62	206: 13	180%
P.F.B.von Siebold (Doctor)	2000	4057: 39	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	1920	3353: 17	115: 95	180%
Depmer (clerk)	1500	3042: 96	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	1920	3353: 17	115: 95	180%
H. Gozeman (clerk)	1500	3042: 96	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	1920	3353: 17	115: 95	180%
Manuel (clerk)	1500	3042: 96	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	1920	3353: 17	115: 95	180%
V. Pistorius (clerk)	1500	3042: 96	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	1920	3353: 17	115: 95	180%
Willenewe (clerk)	1500	3042: 96	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	1920	3353: 17	115: 95	180%
Burger (clerk)	1500	3042: 96	202%	1800	4212: 10	234%	2700	4715: 39	115: 95	180%
Gronovius (clerk)							1920	3353: 17	—	—
Zudbeek (heard warehousemen)	200	405: 98	202%	250	585: —	234%	300	523: 94	16: 13	180%
Willers (ship captain)	3600	7303: 19	202%							
de Fries (ship captain)	3600	7303: 19	202%	4000	9360: 10	234%	3600	6287: 19	257: 66	180%
de Jong (ship captain)							3600	6287: 19		174%
Grim (ship captain)										
Zweep (ship captain)							30920	54000: —	1761: 81	
Total	28300	57410: 43		27350	64000: —					

(a) Journaal der Particuliere Handel Societeit te Japan begonnen te Nagasaki den 1e Augustus 1827. (Archief Japan No. 1599.)

(b) Uitdeeling en afrekening over eene som van f 64000 ten behoeve der belanghebbende in den Particuliere Handel Societeit te Japan over het handeljaar 1828. (Archief Japan No. 1595.)

(c) Eerste afdeeling der Particuliere Handel Societeit te Japan 1829 over een somme van f 54000 (Archief Japan No. 1596.)
Tweede uitdeeling der Particuliere Handel Societeit te Japan over 1828. (Archief Japan No. 1596.)

were accepted to be in conformance with the wishes of the East Indian government.³⁰⁾

In a letter addressed to Meijlan on 30 June,³¹⁾ Messrs. Vres and Meyer of NTC praised the chief factor's personal trade plan, stating that not only was it profitable for the participants, but was also praised by the Japanese authorities as an effective step in regulating trade with the Dutch. They also lauded Meijlan's proposal to lengthen the sailing time to Japan from six and a half months to seven, thus avoiding the storm winds of December and January and reducing the 5.5% maritime insurance cost.³²⁾ As to the Society's commercial agent in Batavia, Ten Brink en Reijnst, NTC at first had reservations about also managing the personal trade to Japan; but upon the wishes of the government and a promise from the NTC Batavia Factory chief that all losses would be insured, NTC decided to cooperate as closely as possible with the Society.³³⁾

The 1827 the Society capital fund was carried by Commissioner Fisscher from Dejima to Batavia and handed over with the Society's order to NTC, which purchased some of goods directly and the rest under the advice of the highly experienced Fisscher.³⁴⁾ According the freight bill dated 30 June,³⁵⁾ the total purchase price of 28,910 guilders 94 cents was accompanied by export taxes of 647 guilders 77 cents, wages (*coelij*) of 123 guilders, dinghy rental of 120 guilders, maritime insurance of 1,725 guilders 60 cents, a total cost of 31,512 guilders 42 cents (see Tables 2, 3, 4).

3. The Society's Activities

The Dutch trade that was conducted on Dejima in two ways, according to who owned the goods. VOC-owned goods (*motokata* [main] *nimotsu* 本方荷物 in Japanese; *compagnies goederen* in Dutch) were traded at fixed prices (*negumi* 値組) decided by the Town Council (*Kaisho* 會所) in charge of administrative and fiscal affairs in Nagasaki, while personal goods brought off the ship (*waki* [side] *nimotsu* 脇荷物 in Japanese; *cambang goederen* in Dutch) were traded via auction bidding,³⁶⁾ and taxed at a rate of 35%, which was figured into the selling price by the bidders.³⁷⁾ According to Society Commissioner Fisscher:

The Town Council received the money [for personal goods sales] from the merchants and credited the amount to us, but at a discount of 35%. This is how our special trade is subjected to taxation.³⁸⁾

Table 2 Import Commodities of the Personal Trade Association

1827 (d)		
Commodity	Amount	Price
(tea set)	2 sets and 20 cups	f. 340
Delftware		1294
Krayanware		1500
(cristal server)		16
(liqueur set)		22
(cristal sugarpot and milk server)		20
(cristal pot for soysause)	3 sets	17
(cristal mastard container)	5	11
(cristal oil container)	120	130
(cristal container for bonbon)	24	6
(cristal container for l'ean de Cologue)	3	10
(cristal knife rests)	64	4
drinkbeker/drinkkoppjes	4425	527
glasen	1090	470
likeurglassje		2481
komport [bowl]		1483
(champagne glass)	5 dozen	8
schenkbakje/shenkblaadje		217
(window glass)		427
(sntruif dozen)	14	21
goud draad	3 ponds	88
goud en zilver ballen	14	302
spiegel	32 sheets	831
vergulde bereide vellen	490 sheets	1147: 25
horloge	3	260
(pocket watch)	106	600
horlogeketting	22	20
(gilded chain)	4	10
(candle holder)		42: 50
(pistle)	5	37
eau de cologne	12 cases	36
(gilded leather)		1285
popengoed		1293
zeildock		200
sijde stoffen/zijdstoffen	57 are	114
coraal		367
rottangh		4925: 80
Total		20562: 55

(d) Factuur van goederen ingekocht voor rekening van de Handel Societeit in Japan in derwaards afgescheept met de Nederlandsche schepen Handel Maatschappij kapitein P. H. Willers en Rotterdam kapitein P. W. J. de Vries door de Factorij der Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij. (Archief Japan No. 1594.)

1828 (e)		
Commodity	Amount	Price
Delfts theeservies		f. 40
(suger and milk container with golden rimes)		95
(serving set)	3sets (35 cups in one set)	480
(glass plates)		135: 58
(panch bowl)		32
kaasbord/kaasstolp		9: 50
drinkbeker/drinkkoppjes		212: 58
(liquer glass)		294
(bottles with lids)		423: 70
karaf		147: 60
glaswerken		254: 40
vergulde bereide vellen		2272: 50
horloge	7	154
zilver horloge	3	39
verrenkijker	24	360
gout draad		252: 18
blik		592
zeep		209: 84
rottangh		1562: 50
calamback		50
Total		7616:38

1829 (f)		
Commodity	Amount	Price
porcelijn		f. 1800
glaswerken		76
champen glass		40:25
glasen		63: 75
drinkbeker/drinkkoppjes		290: —
likeur		37
kompote [bowl]		20
karaf		80:5
(cups with lids)		22
(salt and papper container)		25:5
(mastard container)		10:05
flesijs met medicijnen		0.09375
(container for vineger and oil)		7:05
(glass fruit bowl)		1
(window glass)		268
schenkbakje		11:50
melkkan		31:25
(flowe vase, pot)		46: 75

(glass bell)		10:05
lantaarn		4:05
(candle holder)		58
(astral lamp)		106
(bird singing box)		708
(surgical instrmants)		35
(sniff box)		280
(pocket knife)	5 dozen	20
(opera glass)	3	15
lens	6	3
(coach onaments)		34:5
horloge	2	50
(gold watch for women)	1	11
(silver watch)		95:29
blikke gieters		45
vergulde bereide vellen		5145
(persian leather)		46:35
zeep		1955: 92
rottangh		7375
zilver draad		57
textile		109:7
(merinos shawl)	2	40
(taffachelas)		100
zeildoeken		85: 75
(sarong)		33:25
(aloes wood)		29
sandelhout		2880
Total		39761: 69

(e)(f) Grootboek 1827-1829. (Archief Japan No. 1600.)

The accounting for company and personal goods was strictly separated. Payments involved in the former included export-use copper and camphor in payment for goods, expenses for the repair of Dejima storage facilities, credit to hired labor, and the cost of wrapping for the copper, while the latter involved payments of goods besides copper and camphor and payments for the daily necessities of Factory staff and ship captains and crews. Due to the fact that the Dutch were not allowed to purchase goods with cash while in Japan, the accounts of personal trade were kept in a ledger called *kanban-bo* 看板簿 in the name of the chief factor, with transactions by individuals being recorded on receipts sent to the ledger, which was balanced at the end of every year.³⁹⁾ On the Dutch side, in order to balance revenues and expenses for personal trade, when the Society was formed in 1827, the East Indies government decided that

Table 3 Imported Medicines by the Personal Trade Association

1827 (g)		1828 (h)		1829 (i)	
saffraan	f. 5433	bloed coraal	f. 500	(kina powder)	f. 63
Kajoepoeth olij 3	18	balsam copaiva	140:43	oud medicijnen	3:30
heliotroop	145	barnsteen olie	25	(1 kist) medicijne vergift	3:50
berlijn blauw	561:12	klappus olij	2642	garternae	2:50
kina	300	cremes tartare	20	medicinale cruiden	35:50
olijfolie	140	braakwijnsteen	60	gom arabicum	33
kreeft oogen	695	koe galblaas	56	girdies	109
ipecacuanha	313	roove ceroelipitast	16	mokken	14
bloed coraal	328	magnesium	43	zalf	2
theriak	75	antimoon	30	saffraan	899:59
(ammoniac chloride)	15	yam	60	bloed coraal	654
barnsteen olie	283:50	(Icelandic moss)	53	ipecacuanha	230
balsam copaiva	396	duijversdrek	31:32	garoodhout	268:10
rood kina	140	mummie	76	kina	625
witte olie	144	saffraan	8184:7	(oiled paper)	1773
klappus olij	743:28	kreeft oogen	536:50	kreeft oogen	100
aloe	532	heliotroop	170	tamarinde	166
Total	10261:90	ipecacuanha	237:50	Ijslandisch mos	100
		berlijn blauw	174	kist met medicijnen	300
		aloe	1489	flesijs met medicijnen	63:75
		Total	14518:82	allerlei medicijnen	434
				gibben	35
				Total	5914:24

(g) see (d)

(h)(i) see (e)(f)

half of the salaries of Dejima Factory employees would be covered by the proceeds from personal trade.⁴⁰⁾ Meijlan's statement that six taels of company trade was equivalent to 5 taels of personal trade⁴¹⁾ is incorrect; rather during that time under conditions of special [separate] transactions, 5 taels of company trade was equivalent to 10 taels of personal trade. It was for this reason that chief factors from Meijlan on often requested that expenses for repairs, hired help, and wrapping supplies be covered like in company trade, but such requests were never granted. Meijlan thought that the reason for refusing such a request was probably related to the transaction practice called "ligting."⁴²⁾ Ligting (*nozoki-mono* 除き物; lit. "thing set aside or excluded") was the right granted to Nagasaki two officials and interpreters to purchasing a certain amount of the best quality items available at prices fetched by the worst, and keeping the price range between best and worst secret from foreigners.⁴³⁾

Table 4 Imported Books by the Personal Trade Association

1827 (j)	
Woorden Boeken. (11 vols.)	f. 25
Woorden Boeken van Halma & Marins. (4 sets)	48
Hubner historisch & taalkundig Woorden Boeken	
Hoogstraten Woorden Boek	
Weiland Taalkundig Woorden Boek	
Zewel Dictionaire	
Halma's Woorden Boek. (2 vols.)	
De Verkorting van Shomel Woorden Boek. (4 vols.)	
Zinrijk Woorden Boek. (3 vols.)	
Johnson's Dictionaire	150
Winkelmans Woorden Boek. (2 sets)	
Tuinman Spreekwoorden	
Meidinger Spraakkunst	
Marin Dictionaires. (2 sets)	
Plenk Henus ziekte.	
Spelling van Siegenberk.	
Eeing Boekjes van geen waarde. (2 books)	35
Total	258
1828 (k)	
geneeskunde boek 21	f. 70
1829 (l)	
(rare books) (1 pack)	f. 9
Carl Aug. Sicherer, <i>Hoogduitsch-Nederlandsch en Nederlandsh-Hoogduitsch Woordenboek.</i> (10)	25
Serrurier, Peasant. (2 sets)	4
Florijn. (2)	4
Directions for the use of Hadley's quadrant. (scientific discription of the animals)	1 2
W. J. Knoop, <i>Qatre-Bras en Waterloo?: krijgskundige beschouwingen</i> (Dutch school text books) 40	7:50 58:50
Encyclopaedia (1 set)	4
geneeskunde boek. (5 vols.)	6
Total	121

(i) Specificatie van boeken (Archief Japan No. 1594)

(k) Groot-boek 1827-1829. (Archief Japan No. 1600.)

(l) Factuur van Negotie goederen, ingekocht voor ondergetekenden voor rekening van de Particuliere Handel Societeit te Japan en verzonden met de schepen Helena en Java aan de kommissarissen der societeit voormeld te Japan. (Archief Japan No. 1595.)

Philipp Franz von Siebold states:

Senior town officials [burgermeester] have the right to select a certain amount of imported goods and pay the cheapest prices for them. Both [Nagasaki and Edo] functionaries exercise this right, which everyone on Dejima is aware of and calls *ligting*.⁴⁴⁾

On the Japanese side, the new precedent set in 1715 (Syōtoku 正徳 5) to reform the Nagasaki trade states:

In recent years, there has been an increasing number of officials purchasing items at the price of the surtax, claiming [the right of] “*nozokimono*.”⁴⁵⁾

The precedent goes on to determine “local *nozokimono*” rights based on existing precedents, like 30 kannme of silver for senior town officials alternating on a yearly basis (Nenban-machitoshiyori 年番町年寄), ten kannme for five permanent senior town officials (Machitoshiyori) and twenty kannme for senior officials while residing in Edo (Edoyuki 江戸行-machitoshiyori). In addition:

Nozokimono holders are ordered not to chose only the best quality goods and not to collude with merchants to handle goods of both good and poor quality.⁴⁶⁾

Since the new precedent (*Syōtoku Shinrei* 正徳新例) was promulgated about 100 years before Meijlan was appointed chief Dutch factor, it is almost assuredly true that both the number of holders of *nozokimono* rights and the amount of goods allowed had appreciably increased over that time. In addition, Meijlan supposes that since *ligting* was entered in the VOC accounts, outlays corresponding to it should be paid by the company like repairs, etc.⁴⁷⁾ Meijlan also states that one tael of personal trade was calculated in Batavia as the equivalent of 48 old stivers (1/20th of a guilder) or 32 new stivers.⁴⁸⁾

15 August 1827 decision made at the Dejima Factory can be summarized as follows:

The amount of personal trade conducted by the Society for the present year will be 30,000 taels. The dividend to be paid to the Society

members on Dejima will be determined after expenses are deducted from total sales revenue. The balance of 15,000 taels calculated by the commissioners will be used to order goods for shipping from Japan to be sold in Batavia. The commissioners will determine types of goods to be purchased.⁴⁹⁾

Also determined was what portion of the goods would be sold to the Dutch interpreters as *ligting* and what steps would be taken if payment was not made. The commissioners would hand over goods to the highest bidder in exchange for a bill bearing the signature of the chief factor and the seal of the Dutch translators, and if payment was not made, all Society members would bear the loss equally. Here it becomes clear that the practice of *ligting* (*nozokimono*) was conducted in both company and personal trade and that payment was not always forthcoming. Several personal trade auctions were held during the fall of 1827, earning revenue of 35,825 taels for auctioned items and 17,316 taels from *ligting* payments.⁵⁰⁾ A sum of 36,423 taels 76 cents was then appropriated to buy goods for sale in Batavia, which included linen (ex. *Hachijyo* 八丈), bamboo (Hakone) baskets, silk thread, embroidering thread, Japanese-style umbrellas, rain umbrellas, soy sauce, screens, stuffed cotton bedding, earthenware bottles and sumac wax.⁵¹⁾ The proceeds from the sale of these exports in Batavia was divided among the Society members according to the shares shown in Table 1.

Commenting on the Society's first year in a letter to the governor-general addressed 24 December 1827, Meijlan stated that the complete elimination of personal trade could not be considered without raising salaries; and since such a step is impossible, the next best policy of personal trade was successfully adopted.⁵²⁾ After reporting an attempt by Captain of the *Handel Maatschappij* to smuggle saffron, Meijlan says that on 2 November, the Dejima staff and ship captain circulated an order 1) that goods to be shipped under personal accounts be reported to the Society with respect to whether they were purchased or bartered for and their number and quality, and 2) that the Society commissioners were prohibited from sending items for personal sale to any other destination than the NTC Factory in Batavia.⁵³⁾ Judging from this letter, it seems that Meijlan was unable to accomplish his plan for not only importing and exporting, but also for controlling smuggling.

Meanwhile, the decision to allow NTC to take over the Japan trade met with opposition in the Netherlands. The reason why stems from the

opinion that it was the government, not merchants, who should maintain relations with Japan, although no claim was made that those relations were unique in any way. In any case, the decision was made not to renew NTC's Japan trade contract. In a letter sent to Meijlan dated 6 June 1828, an NTC official reported that circumstances beyond the company's control prevented it from dispatching a ship to Japan that year, and that he had entrusted the letter to the Dejima staff members in Batavia.⁵⁴⁾

On 23 December 1828, the Personal Trade Society met on Dejima to discuss such issues as whom in Batavia to entrust the Society's business. It was decided that rather than chose a commercial agent there, the Society commissioners dispatched to Batavia would handle all the business transactions. Then Fisscher, Villneuve and Manuel were chosen for the task, and Fisscher put in charge.⁵⁵⁾

The dividends were paid to the Society's shareholders for 1828 as shown with Table 1. In his annual report to the governor-general for that year, Meijlan stated that everything was proceeding according to his proposal of 1826 and that he had no special requests, except that he hoped the provision specifying that half of the Dejima staff salaries be paid with silver earned from personal trade could be redevided, and if that was not possible, could his Excellency at least consider the plight of the four clerks who could not get by on monthly salaries of between 90 and 100 guilders,⁵⁶⁾ which incidentally were being subsidized by incomes 351 guilders per month from personal trade. As before, Meijlan continued to take the position that unless his staff was paid a living wage by the VOC, the harm wrought by personal trade could not be completely eliminated.

4. Society Exports and Customers

It was expected that Captain de Kock would be appointed captain of the *Sweve* bound for Japan in 1828. In a letter sent from Antwerp to Captain Bezemer, who had sailed the Vasco de Gama to Nagasaki in 1825, de Kock inquired of how a ship's captain might maximize profits from the sale of personal goods. Bezemer replied:

Although the Japan trade has both changed and decreased in scale in recent years, if the captain of the *Sweve* were to take with him the following items directly from home, he would always earn a profit.

French tea sets, gilt edged or blue porcelain (never white). Especially, pitchers and deep bowls.

Every kind of crystal and glass implement, both ordinary and top quality. Especially small frosted glass cups, with square bases and several indentations.

Liqueur sets consisting of carafes and glasses on round trays.

Leather ornamented with metal bossing. The kind used for wall hangings, but since the Japanese make tobacco pouches of it, a complete piece is not necessary.

Imitation jewelry like gold plated watches, chains, seals, keys (the last two made of colored stone). Gold plated broaches with stone inlays.

The following medicinal products:

Medium grade quinine (fetches the same price as higher grades)

Sal Ammoniac (ammonium chloride crystals)

Theriaca	}	They must be of best quality. Japanese know well value of these merchandise. If they are not best quality, they will be deficit.
Amber oil		
Oculi cancri		
Aloe		

Cough drops

Bloodstone

Red coral

Eau de cologne

Saffron

Palm oil	}	provided in Batavia
Rattan		

Books on medicine, chemistry, natural history, astronomy; dictionaries (Dutch, Dutch-French, French-Dutch, other languages)

Even if these items have to be purchased in Batavia, they will probably be profitable, although only half as profitable. You will profit more if you buy the items yourself at home and sell them on your own account. Even if the above items may not be in as much demand as they were in 1825, I still think they are your safest bet today.⁵⁷⁾

As will be shown below, the items suggested by Bezemer correlate perfectly with the type of import goods handled by the Personal Trade Society on Dejima. It should also be noted that all of the above items were products from Europe, with the exception of palm oil and rattan.

Turning to the goods handled by the Society listed in Table 2, the most important one was glassware, ranging in type from drinking glasses and carafes to many kinds of glass container, at amazing quantities of 4,425 tumblers and 1090 wine glasses. The popularity of glass is shown by Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄澤's *Ransetsu Benwaku* (『蘭説辨惑』), which devotes as many as ten pages of illustrations to glassware.⁵⁸⁾ Other items in the list, like dinner and tea sets (some made in Delft), clocks, pocket watches, candlesticks, bossed leather, pistols, opera glasses, soap, eau de cologne, surgical instruments and telescopes, would have tempted even the most persnickety among the Japanese students of Dutch learning or aficionados of Dutch and European culture.

Pharmaceutical products (Table 3), which occupied between 14,518 and 5,914 guilders worth of the Society's yearly personal trade, were described by Ōtsuki in his *Rangaku Kaitei* (『蘭學階梯』) as “a blessing to all mankind,” especially:

Saffron 泊夫藍, fossil unicorn ウニコウル, mummified tissue 木乃伊, theriaca 底野迦, penki (pitch) 番瀝青, eye drops ズボウト(ドロップ), oculi cancri ヲクリカンキリ, slangensteen (serpentine) スランガステイン.⁵⁹⁾

All of these pharmaceuticals seem to have been supplied through personal trade, as evidenced not only by Society invoices, but also the orders for medicine made through the Society by Siebolt⁶⁰⁾ and possibly other western-style physicians in Japan. According to Table 5, the only medicinal product supplied through company trade was the astringent, gambier, in addition to spices like clove, *psychotria rubra* (wild coffee) and pepper (see Table 5).

The import of Dutch books through personal trade is well documented,⁶¹⁾ the Society ordering their books from Batavia (see Table 4). The over 40 books ordered during 1827 included widely used dictionaries and medical books authored by Halma, P. Marin, P. Weiland and N. Chomel, while the order for 1829 included a set of encyclopedias and volumes on medicine, agriculture, zoology, astronomy and military science. Fisscher writes in his work on Japanese customs:

The Japanese mind is easily taken captive by any kind of exotic object, and will purchase anything it fancies. While it is not a rare occurrence that something we consider worthless will fetch a very high price, as soon as the novelty wears off, bidders will quote ridiculously low prices, often forcing us to take goods back.⁶²⁾

Here we see another unique aspect of personal trade stressing novelty and rarity as sources of profit-making due to restrictions on quantity. In sharp contrast, when compared to the goods that were imported in 1636,⁶³⁾ company trade goods appearing in Table 5, like wool and cotton textiles, sugar, sappan-wood and shark skin did not change much over 200 years, while the silk thread and textiles disappeared, and the eyeglasses and telescopes were now during the 1820s being sold via personal trade. That is to say, new European goods, with the exception of textiles, had all been placed under personal import trade and were quite profitable, while company trade was being conducted at fixed amounts and prices according to orders from the Nagasaki Town Council based on the performance during the previous year. As Meijlan himself admitted, the VOC was in no position to innovate, having become a mere intermediary for the Nagasaki Town Council.⁶⁴⁾ As shown in Table 5, there were only two or three import goods that were profitable for the VOC, who was suffering overall losses of from 30 to 80% in transactions involving the others.

Table 6 lists the export goods handled by the Personal Trade

Table 5 Imported Commodities of company trade (Motokata)

Commodity	1827 (m)			1828 (n)			1829 (o)			The Rate of Profit
	Amount	The Purchase Price	The Sales Price	Amount	The Purchase Price	The Sales Price	Amount	The Purchase Price	The Sales Price	
Laken	8600	f. 54918: 14	f. 32461	8523	f. 42956	f. 33629	9798	f. 53499	f. 39943	-25 1/3%
dubbelde laken	309	8230: 82	1904	307	4264	1691	466	7425	3243	-56 1/3
gefigureerde laken	322	3991: 79	1116							
sarassen	360	1261: 50	1205							
kazimieren	3091	13909: 34	6223	2937	9633	6364	4851	16111	10887	-32 3/8
polomieten	3513	8783: 26	7358	3729	8017	7295	6074	11935	12320	+3 1/8
moerte	1072	2144: 19	917							
trijpen	1732	5580	4021	1604	4394	3687	849	2281	1970	-13 5/8
laken rassen	40	8280: 74	4588	48	8095	5773	62	10571	7398	-30
perpetuanen	20	700	667	75	2730	2500	52	1526	1733	+13.5
taffachelasen										
armozijnen	2275	35576: 25	26052	2050	25831	26023	3000	36870	37859	+2 2/3
Europeche sitsen	100	2000	696	100	2000	733	100	2000	747	-62.5
patriossd sitsen	7950	55200	34621	200	4756	4109	200	4430	3891	-12 1/8
goute en zilvere sarassen	3000	10500	6098	1440	4435	2795	6036	24807	18108	-27
sappanhout	207	3297: 41	3189	755	9417	9033				
lood	281565	14078: 25	16071	169050	9410	11168	167680	8049	7768	-3.5
tin	18019	4324: 56	1962	6260	1325	681	10064	2116	1109	-47.5
garioeffel nagelen	75032	10012: 80	6814	49953	16385	13581	45030	14410	12417	-13 6/7
moernagelen	15712	18097: 92	25682	22845	25384	43534	16751	14740	23097	+56 5/7
suiker	452	446: 71	196	375	330	150	532	1064	233	-78
katjve	745734	83524: 45	54251	333999	50765	24200	937487	123748	71996	-41 5/6
olifantstanden	10079	2923: 05	1560	1062	2239	2009	4323	1956	762	-61
peper	3875	14531: 25	9856				2412	6871	5841	-15
haiveellen/ rochevellen	2702	1219: 40	2021	1120	529	191	298	334	493	+47 2/3
kwikzilver	2520	1000	339	4600	21450	13933	1449	293	205	-30
spreijen	14	2000	1055	3125	347	67	1040	1715	1147	-33 1/8
arene suiker				7070	22050	23423	500	2007	1197	-40 1/3
Dukatons							7000	22050	23443	+6 1/3
Bengaalseke sitsen							1200	4800	3778	-21.75
Patnaseke sitsen							391	1212		
Iberia poziseke? sitsen							881	2731	2526	-30
koehuiden							688	1147	706	-38.5
stuks europeseke sitsen							400	6114	5213	-14 3/4
Batksche sitsen							50	1528	993	-35
kaloneten							50	926	527	-43
		f. 366502	f. 250923		f. 278772	f. 237837		f. 389266	f. 301550	

(m) Verslag 1827. Bijlage La L. Winst en verlies rekening der aangebragte en omgezette ladingen in het jaar 1827. (Archief Japan No. 701.)

(n) Verslag 1828. Winst en verlies rekening der aangebragte en omgezette ladingen in het jaar 1828. (Archief Japan No. 702.)

(o) Verslag 1829. Bijlage La E. Winst en verlies rekening der aangebragte en omgezette ladingen in het jaar 1829. (Archief Japan No. 703.)

Table 6 Sales of exported commodities by the Personal Trade Association

1827—1828 (p)		
Commodity	Amount	Prise
soya	8balie	f. 154: 65
kannatyes	54	39: 50
pajongs	150 kisten	1337: 65
keizerl linnen	970 <i>tan</i>	4723: 18
grijs linnen	109	275: 65
fruitten (vruijten)	49	48: 15
krip	24 <i>tan</i>	507: 15
buikbanden	10	44: 72
schutzels	38	314: 20
monoyes soya	30	120: 45
bezems	499	210: 20
Gaas	20	208: 70
rare kikkast	2	63: 00
Total		8151: 60
1828-1829 (q)		
Commodity	Amount	Prise
Sakke	50 balie	} f. 3122
Soya	50 balie	
kistjes medicijnrijet ??	6	85: 77
mostaard	5 kisten	156
vruijten(fruitten)	20 nalie	182
boomwas (Japan wax)	339 pikel	13562: 44
keizerl linnen	1520 <i>tan</i>	6846: 9
grijs linnen	2219 <i>tan</i>	5824: 87
krip	50 <i>tan</i>	471: 98
<i>gunai</i> [a kind of textil]	32 <i>tan</i>	210: 42
blauw linnen	19	68: 85
maudwerk	120	2744
zijde	50	1250
zijde	3	95
Pajongs	67 kisten	2287: 75
Bezems	300	155: 57
heeren lessenaars	2	65
dames lessenaars	5	150
omber boxen	8	190
presenteer trommeltig	6 stel	84
vogelkooijen	4 kas	56
werk kisjes	21	309
knoop dozen	8	70
thee kisje	6	55
tab[ak]s dozen	41	248
struif dozen	21	101
verlakte kommetjes	20	36
lepel doosjes	10	61
Inkt kokers	16	82
breed bakjes	6	34
Vedere Waayers	65	274
speelgoed	17	153: 10
Total		39030: 64

*1 *tan* \doteq 7m

(p) Nota der ondervolgend Japansche goederen welk op de publieke veilingen verkocht zijn. (Archief Japan No. 1595.)

(q) Verkooprekening van goederen door de partikuliere Handelsocieteit te Japan over 1829 verzonden met de schepen Helena en Java, van de consignatie van Verkerk Pistorius en C. Depmer enz. (Archief Japan No. 1596.)

Table 7 Exported Commodity by the Company Trade

	Commodity	Ammount	Price	Total
1827 (r)	staafkoper	1460000 <i>kin</i> (876t)	12.35tale/60kg (216T/1t)	T. 180310
1828 (s)	staafkoper	700000 <i>kin</i> (420t)	12.35tale/60kg	86450
1829 (t)	staafkoper	1500000 <i>kin</i> (900t)	12.35tale/60kg	185250

* 1 *kin* (斤) =600g

(r) Japan Komps Rekening kourant 1827. (Archief Japan No. 1448. E)

(s) Komps Rekening kourantboek Anno 1828. (Archief Japan No. 1449. E)

(t) Komps Rekening courantboek 1829. (Archief Japan No. 1450. E)

Society. First, we notice an extremely varied mix of goods, with no dominating product. As before, the Dutch had been looking for more products that were equal to copper and camphor in profitability, but were still unsuccessful. On the other hand, as shown by Table 7, company export trade was limited to copper ingots. Despite a price of 28–30 taels per 1 picul on the domestic market, the price to be paid by Dutch buyers was fixed at 12 tael 35 per 1 picul.⁶⁵⁾ Therefore, the Town Council was freezing the price of copper, while not allowing any increases in the prices of VOC imports.

Consequently, while company trade was earning its profits on exports, personal trade was making money on imports. In order to correct such an irrational state of affairs, Meijlan called for a free trade policy under which company import trade would be conducted by auction in the same way as personal trade and copper would be purchased at existing Japanese prices from the Bakufu-operated mines.⁶⁶⁾

Next, let us look at the Personal Trade Society's accounts of 1828, which are the most detailed. The goods sold to Japanese merchants on 1 December of that year brought a gross income of 26,284 taels 39 maces (see Table 8) those sold to the Japanese interpreters in their capacity as agents for the shogun (*goyōharaikata* 御用扣方) came to 12,190 tael 43 maces (see Table 9), and goods put aside by the interpreters as *nozokimono* came to 2,294 tael 361 maces (see Table 10). In other words, total sales to the interpreters as agents, 14,848 tael 751 maces, came to 55% of gross sales, with the loss due to under-priced *nozokimono* being borne equally by the Society's shareholders, according the decision of 15 August 1827.⁶⁷⁾

On one ledger of accounts *shiwake-cho* 仕譯帳 there are listed 17 Japanese clients who held with purchasing accounts (see Table 11).⁶⁸⁾ They were all members of the interpreters staff and had purchased med-

Table 8 Transferred Commodities to Marchants of Nagasaki in 1 December 1828 (u)

Commodity	Amount	Price
vergulde bereide vellen	1373 sheets	T.4068: 64
drinkbeker	420	316: 64
karaffe	27	56: 45
kristalle geslepen dekselkommen in schotels (plats)	4 207	40: 93 180: 10
theeservies	46	14: 31
blik	2884 sheets	429: 17
balsam copaiva	78 <i>kin</i> 1316	248: 27
barnsteen olie	14 <i>kin</i> 14	10: 23
klappus olij (ammoniac chloride)	5339: 4 114: 11	2193: 38 194: 56
saffraan	100: 12	4267: 78
kreeft oogen	78: 46	488: 67
heliotroop	116: 168	253: 77
bitumen	1430: 188	2615: 14
zeep	232: 8	179: 83
Marseille zeep	352: 4	472: 78
ipecacuanha	267: 8	349: 98
rottangh/ rietje	25424: —	6046: 92
ledige flesch	2154	253: 27
vergulde bereide vellen	707	2430: 89
theriak	237	107: 83
bitumen	120 <i>kin</i> 10	184: 33
ipecacuanha	344: 23	468: 36
(portuguese oil)	200 bottles	339: 04
Total		T. 26284: 39

(u) Lijst der goederen, die aan koopman afgeleverd zijn. (Archief Japan No. 1593.)
Groot boek 1827-1829. (Archief Japan No. 1600.)

ical books, pharmaceuticals, timepieces, glassware, dinner sets, etc. in exchange for linen, silk, crepe, etc. Both sets of trade items consisted of profitable imports and exports. However, from such documents as a 30 December 1829 affidavit⁶⁹⁾ attached to the accounts ledger promising to pay eight bolts (*tan* 反) of high quality linen to the Society “next year,”⁷⁰⁾ there were probably many clients who had fallen into arrears. The largest buyer of Society goods was Hori Senjirō 堀千次郎, a trainee interpreter, who purchased 6,009 taels 2 maces worth of imports. Since we know from Siebolt that the salary of a trainee in 1830 was 300 taels,⁷¹⁾ we get some idea of the role that the Dutch trade played in supplementing the incomes of the interpreters:

Table 9 Transferred Commodities to the Agents of Shogun on 1 December 1828 (v)

Commodity	Amount	Price
vergulde bereide vellen	509 sheets	T.1678: 11
drinkbeker	714 pieces	567: 02
karaffe	105	219: 53
cristalle geslepen dekselkommen en schotels	2	26: 78
plats	207	303: 35
theeservies	42	15: 93
blik	459	66: 97
balsam copaiva	16 <i>kin</i> 5	51: 31
barnsteen olie	9:07	5: 20
klappus olij	2094 <i>kin</i>	860: 21
ledige flesch	900	105: 82
saffraan	136: 193	5819: 14
kreeft oogen	70 <i>kin</i>	426: 85
heliotroop	20 <i>kin</i>	45: 37
ipecacuanha	70 <i>kin</i>	97: 01
aloe	20 <i>kin</i>	36: 93
zeep	50 <i>kin</i>	66: 98
vergulde bereide vellen	304	1265: 13
theriak	300	136: 50
bitumen	50	76: 40
ipecacuanha	140	190: 19
portuaese oil	86 bottles	86: —
Total		T. 12190: 43

(v) Lijst der goederen, dewelke aan de zaakbezorger afgelevert zijn. (Archief Japan No. 1593.)

Groot boek 1827-1829. (Archief Japan No. 1600.)

The interpreters are not only expert linguists, but also merchants acting as middlemen, many of whom have no scruples or character whatsoever. As the closest Japanese contacts to the staffs of both factories, they help them find trading partners and housing. The lower echelons of the interpreters often engage in smuggling, which is far more risky than the smuggling conducted by foreigners.⁷²⁾

Concerning *goyōhikaekata*, which the Dutch called Keizerlijk zaakbezorger, it seems that these shoganal representatives alternated as interpreters on a yearly basis.⁷³⁾ It also seems that the goods purchased by these agents found themselves into the hands of such figures as the Nagasaki Functionary (governor), senior town officials (eldor) and other local bureaucrats. According to *Hikawa Seiwa* (『氷川清話』) by Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟, who was a friend of Takashima Shūhan 高島秋帆, a scion

Table10 Lighting Commodities by the Agents of Shogun and allotted charges for members of the Personal Trade Association

Commodity	Amount	Price	Stock Holder	Alloment
drinkbeker	114	T. 51987	Meijlan	T. 522
kan	2	4004	Fisscher	274
vergulde bereide vellen	965	1605: 3115	Zweep	274
kreeft oogen	5	34: 5475	Siebold	265
saffraan	10	590:02:00	Burger	206
rottangh/ rietje /	75	8: 311	Manuel	146
			Pistorius	146
			Depmer	146
			Villneuve	146
			Gronovius	146
			from the inheritance of Zoetbek	23
Total		2294: 361	Total	2294

(w) Lijst der goederen, de welk voor de zaakbezorger appart geligt zijn. (Archief Japan No. 1593.)

Groot boek 1827-1829. (Archief Japan No. 1600.)

of the Nagasaki Functionary's family, the Takashima's household budget was equivalent to the lord of a 40,000 *koku* (of rice: 1 *koku* \doteq 150 kg) fief and enjoyed such luxuries as a vacation home in the Maruyama gay quarter as large as feudal lord's.⁷⁴⁾ The source of this wealth was not only smuggling, but also whenever the feudal aristocracies were looking to purchase foreign goods, they would always have to go through senior officials in Nagasaki. The Personal Trade Society sold 55% of their goods to the shogun's agents and the interpreters purchased a large portion of the rest, meaning that local officials of all ranks were closely involved in the Society and no doubt waited anxiously for the yearly Dutch cargo ship to arrive.

5. The Failure of the Personal Trade Society Experiment

When Fisscher, Villeneuve and Manuel arrived in Batavia in 1829 to sell the goods they had bought from Japan and make their purchases for the trip back, a dispute broke out between them. In a complaint filed with Meijlan upon his return to Dejima, Villeneuve claimed that the Manuel and Pistorius had embezzled Society goods and sold them as if they were their own.⁷⁵⁾ Both Pistorius⁷⁶⁾ and Manuel⁷⁷⁾ then denied the charges. In a letter to the VOC governor-general Meijlan stated that

Table 11 Transactions of Interpreters

	1828. 9. 1	bloed coraal 3	T. 1800	1829. 2. 11	van Videtaro (Hidetaro)	T. 1800		
Gizajimon 堀儀左衛門 (HORI Gizaemon) vice junior interpreter (小通詞立)	1828. 9. 1	bloed coraal 3	T. 1800	1829. 2. 11	van Videtaro (Hidetaro)	T. 1800		
	Mosabro 名村茂三郎 (NAMURA Mosaburo) vice junior interpreter (小通詞立)	1828. 9. 6	geneeskunde boek 7	T. 125				
		〃 9.10	flacon 10	60				
		〃 9.29	brillen 72	180				
		〃 10. 1	zilver horloge 3	70				
		〃 11.24	dookipildin 12dozen	25				
		〃 12. 1	ledige flesch 2	10				
		〃 12.14	hang horloge 6	160				
		〃 12.31	likeurkelders 6	90				
		〃	likeurkelders 4	105				
		〃	vergulde kristalle deskelkommen 6	180				
		〃	horlogieornamenten 19	20				
		Videtaro 立石秀太郎 (TATEISHI Hidetaro) apprentice-interpreter (稽古通詞)	1828. 9. 6	likeurkelders 4	T. 160	1829. 2. 11	keizerl linnen 192	T. 960
			〃	likeurkelders 4	120	〃	lacquered bos 23	115
			〃	kristalle schotels 2	30	〃	krip 48?	408
〃	omhoog vergulde dekselkommen met schotels 6		} 357: 5	〃 2.12	gewoon linnen 1508	2714: 4		
〃	omhoog vergulde kleinere dekselkommen met schotels 2			〃 2.13	keizerl linnen 100	500		
〃	rond vergulde dekselkommen met schotels 4		740	〃	zonnescerm 20 cases	600		
〃 10.20	vergulde bereide vellen		25	〃 2.14	keizerl linnen 508	2450		
〃 10.26	(smoked glass cup with gold strips) 6		115	〃	gewoon linnen 46	82: 8		
〃 11.24	dookipildin 65 dozen		10: 8	〃 2.16	krip 1	17		
〃 11.26	kristalsche flask 3		32: 4	〃 12	keizerl linnen 40	200		
〃 12. 1	flask 6		57: 6	〃 12.23	liquidation of zilver draad	34		
〃 12.31	coral (tak coraal) 25 kin		9	〃	gewoon linnen 69	} 193: 6		
〃	witte wijdemonds stopflisken 6		600		keizerl linnen 16			
〃	vergulde bereide vellen 60		475					
〃	vergulde bereide vellen 37		975					
〃	vergulde bereide vellen 63	2723: 4						
〃	saffraan 3 5/9 kin	40						
〃	kalamback(calamback) 8 1/2 kin (taking over from Gizaemon)	1800						
1829. 2. 11								

Kinzajimon 森山金左衛門 (MORIYAMA Kinzaemon) interpreter on duty in 1850	♪ 9.14 (cup) 6 ♪ 11.19 (sniff box) 1 ♪ zilver draad 2 ♪ zilver draad 2 1828.9.6 vergulde likeur stellen 6 ♪ 11.13 (serving set) ♪ 12.31 likeurkelders 3 ♪ likeurkelders 4 ♪ kristalle geslepen dekselkommen in schotels 14 ♪ groot verrenkijker 7 ♪ klein verrenkijker 4 ♪ winst en verlies 2 1829.10.24 speelgoed 2 ♪ 10.26 aardwerken 5 ♪ lamp 2 ♪ 12.3 koekje	10:8 46:8 114:— 56:— T.130 325 135 140 420 350 170 2 T.1642 12 124 18 T.154	1829.2.12 ♪ ♪ 2.15 1829.12 1829.12 18	keizerl linnen 195 pa j ongs 7cases keizerl linnen 83 keizerl linnen 34 krip 1	T.975 252 415 T.1642 T.136 18 T.154
Senziro 堀千次郎 (HORI Senjiro) apprentice-interpreter (稽古通詞)	1828.9.20 flacon 16 ♪ 10.1 geneeskunde boek 8 ♪ 10.31 horlogeketting 4 dozen ♪ flacon 11 ♪ 12.1 ledige flesch 1 ♪ 12.31 vergulde en geschilderde kosjes 21 ♪ shoteleige 21 ♪ theepot 3 ♪ melkkan 2 ♪ suikerpot ♪ spoelkom ♪ witte wijdemonds stopflesjken 22 ♪ verguld horlogeketting 303 ♪ kristalle schotel 44 ♪ kaasdeksels met schotels 2 ♪ wist en verlies	T.90 70 48:6 59:4 5 120 32:4 173 573:4 1:4	1829.2.13 ♪ ♪ 2.15 ♪ 2.18 ♪ 2.19 1829.2.13 ♪ ♪ 2.15 ♪ 2.18 ♪ 2.19	keizerl linnen 79 mandewerk 20cases gewoon linnen 37 keizerl linnen 83 keizerl linnen 3	T.395 270 70:20 415:— 15:— T.1165:2

	1828.10.5	veerenkijker 11	T. 1123						
	1828.12.31	hang horloge 32	T. 575	1829. 2.17	keizerl linnen 130	T. 750			
Gonnozke 吉雄 權之助 (YOSHIO Gonnosuke) provisional apprentice-interpreter (籍古通詞末席)									
	1828.10.12	gout draad 77	T. 75		to Manuel	T. 80			
Sanziro 馬場佐十郎 (BABA Sajuro)		doekpildin 2 dozen	5						
	1828.10.20	horlogeketting 50	T. 50	1829. 1. 1	(to account book)	T. 452: 3			
Sekizero 石橋 助十郎 (ISHIBASHI Sukejuro) vice senior-interpreter (大通詞立)	11.18	horlogeketting 30	25	2.12	gewoon linnen 180	324			
	12.31	saffraan 10 kin	428: 2	2.16	(to account book)	1021: 34			
	〃	kreeft oogen 3.6 kin	24: 1	2.21		T. 1947: 64			
	〃	vergulde bereide vellen 5	75						
	〃	saffraan 18.93 kin	1021: 34						
	〃	bloed coraal 1	324						
			T. 1947: 64						
Mozabro 堀 儀左衛門 (HORI Gizaemon) と 名村 茂三郎 (NAMURA Mosaburo) provisional senior-interpreter (大通詞末席)	1828.10.29	gout draad 611	T. 425						
	11.24	blik/tin plate 255	39: 60						
Fatsenosin 荒 木 八之進 (ARAKI Hachinosuke) the Deshima Otona on duty (出島當番乙名方)	1828.12.19	horlogeketting 18	T. 18	1829. 2.17	keizerl linnen 50	T. 90			
	11.24	zilver horloge 4	122	〃	gewoon linnen 70	50			
Nawosiro 今 村 猶 四郎 (IMAMURA Naoshiro) provisional apprentice-interpreter (籍古通詞末席)	1829. 9. 9	koekje 6	T. 10: 8	1829. 12. 29	gewoon linnen 6	T. 10: 18			
Naonoski 松 村 直 之 助 (MATSUMURA Naonosuke) private interpreter (内通詞小頭)	1829. 9. 14	shampen glas 10	55: 2	1829. 11. 22	(onduidelijkheid) undear	9			
	〃	school boek 3		〃	keizerl linnen 28	T. 112			
	〃	gewoon linnen 24		〃	pa. j ongs 24	780			
	〃	keizerl linnen 3		〃	linnen 205	369			
	〃	school boek 30		11.26	krip 2	36			
	〃	melkkan 1	121: 8	〃	stoffen 25	366			
	〃	tabrdoozeus 20		〃	(tobacco box) 25	125			
	〃	gewoon linnen 1		〃	(textiles) 3	46			
	9.14	zilver draad 1	54: 5	〃	gewoon linnen 34	61: 2			

Tokiziro 茂土崎次郎 (SHIGE Tokijiro) provisional junior-interpreter (小通詞末席)	1829.10.21	schenkbakje 3 lamp 2 vergulde bereide vellen 4 rare boek lamp 2 van Keesky horloge 28	56	1829.12.29	keizerl linnen 1 mand/basket 4cases textile 8 gewoon linnen 40 gewoon linnen 28 winst en verlies gewoon linnen 140 keizerl linnen 56	4 112 72 50: 4 5: 6 476
	〃		80	〃		
	〃 11.19		36	〃		
	〃 12. 3		40	〃		
	〃		32	〃		
Kinzaemon and Sakushichiro	1829.11.10		T. 476	1829.12		
				〃		

since no invoice existed relating to the incident, it was impossible to say who was telling the truth, but he also did not put much trust in Villeneuve's job abilities.⁷⁸⁾ In reply to the governor-general's recommendation that Villeneuve replace Fisscher as warehouseman after the latter's return home, Meijlan called Villeneuve careless and lacking the proper attention worthy of the position, stating that he would appoint Manuel instead. Moreover, it was such conflict and bickering among the Dejima staff that persuaded Meijlan to propose that the Personal Trade Society be disbanded. In a letter to the governor-general dated 28 December 1829, Meijlan first summarized the circumstances surrounding personal trade in Japan, then commented that since the interests of the Society's shareholders were at serious odds and they could not reach a consensus about how the Society was to be operated, and because the Society's operating expenses were too high, it was not a good idea to renew its contract. However, because the VOC was unable to come up with a way to keep the salaries of its employees from falling as a result, Meijlan requested that the 15 May 1818 stipulations on personal trade be implemented under his direction:

I will do all I can to prevent the [1818] stipulations from being abused and apply them in the interest of fairness. I think that they should be changed with respect to the following two points.

First, the government should decide the yearly amount to be invested in the personal Japan trade and the amount of the shares to be held by the Dejima staff and ship captains.

Secondly, in order to insure through audit that shareholders are not receiving more dividends than they are entitled to, it should be made mandatory that cargo lists be submitted to the heads of warehouses in Batavia.

Together with these two revisions, I submit the following proposal for Your Excellency's approval regarding trade during 1830.

1. The investment in the personal Japan trade for this year be no more than 52,000 guilders and be divided among the shareholders as follows [in guilders]:

商館長	15,000
chief factor (Opperhoofd)	
臨時荷倉役	5,500
temporary head warehouseman (Pakhuijsmeester)	
臨時勘定役	4,500
temporary accountant	
臨時筆者頭	4,000
temporary secretary (Scriba)	
第一書記	3,500
clerk I	
第二書記	2,500
clerk II	
自然科學調査を委嘱された職員	4,500
Natural Science survey team members	
荷倉番	500
guard of warehouse	
Sub-Total	40,000

Ship captains will be paid 20 guilders per 1 last, maximum 6,000 guilders per captain, or 12,000 for two captains.

Grand Total 52,000 guilders

2. In order to insure that dividends do not exceed the above amounts, at the time of shipment, shareholders or their representatives will be obligated to submit a list of the goods they are shipping to the head of the warehouse in Batavia.
3. The above-mentioned warehouse heads will make reports of their receipt and perusal of the shipping lists, sign them and submit them to the Chief Factor of Trade in Japan.
4. The Chief Factor of Dutch Trade will seize all goods brought into Japan that are not contained in the above-mentioned shipping lists and have the right to send such goods back to Batavia at the expense and risk of their individual carriers.

Chief Dutch Factor in Japan
G. F. M.⁷⁹⁾

It was in this way that the Personal Trade Society was disbanded and the personal Japan trade returned to the stipulations of 1818 with revised dividends and added provisions for auditing cargo bound for Japan.⁸⁰⁾

After the arrival on 1 August 1830 of Jan Willem Fredrick van Citters to replace Meijlan as chief factor, Meijlan remained in Japan until January of the following year. Before his departure, the Nagasaki Functionary wrote the following words of praise about him:

Your Excellency, Chief Factor Meijlan, since your arrival in our country during 1826, there has been no violation of Japanese laws and customs, and not once during your appointment has order been disturbed on Dejima. Moreover, Your Excellency was this year granted an audience before the Shogun. Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you.⁸¹⁾

Seibolt, who lived with Meijlan on Dejima, had these words to say:

Meijlan was a wonderful fellow of superior talent whose conduct while residing on Dejima brought him the highest success. Any trouble that did occur was caused by the greed and selfishness of the Japanese interpreters and officials who imposed themselves on him. During the many years he spent in India, his incomparable humility, honesty, courtesy and personal warmth was the object of continual amazement by the Indian government and its officials.⁸²⁾

After leaving Japan, Meijlan returned to Batavia, where after a few months he died at the young age of 46.⁸³⁾

Conclusion

Despite the initial efforts of this remarkable Dutch chief factor to organize personal trade on Dejima to benefit his staff, his experiment in autonomy, the Personal Trade Society, failed. The reason behind Meijlan's Society idea continued unchanged throughout: the low level of wages paid by the VOC to its employees in Japan, especially to the most junior of the staff members. Despite the fact that the profits from personal trade were intended to provide additional sources of income, difficulties arose in shareholders not playing by the rules, and conflicts of interest among them over the types of goods and prices to be charged. Nevertheless, an

examination of the activities of the Society over a three-year period reveals much about the character of personal trade on Dejima. The founding and disbanding of the Society itself was an exclusively internal affair among the Dutch Factory staff, completely unknown to the Japanese around them, suggesting that personal trade went on between Dutch and Japanese exactly as it did before and after the Society was active.

If so, first, personal trade imports were almost all European-made goods, including Western language books, pharmaceuticals, timepieces, telescopes, glassware and porcelain. The only Asian products to speak of were rattan and palm oil. The amount of personal trade was set at about one-seventh of the VOC company trade, but the actual amount of goods brought in as personal goods greatly exceeded that figure. The fact that all of these goods were geared to Japanese demand for foreign books and exotic items, which fetched very high prices as long as the novelty did not wear off, required that their Dutch sellers reside in Japan and gather marketing information on what were the most profitable goods at the time, enabling rates of profit over 200%. This kind of activity stands in stark contrast to the VOC's company trade in goods like textiles, sugar, sappan and sharkskin, which had been imported since the initial implementation of the Bakufu's strict trade regulation policies, which yielded losses of up to 80%.

On the other hand, the export goods purchased by personal traders, like linen, earned only small profits, while VOC's near monopoly in copper both covered their import losses and resulted in positive net income.

Secondly, the Personal Trade Society's direct customers consisted of the Dutch interpreters, in particular the members of their lower echelons, who like the junior members of the Dutch staff on Dejima were in need of supplementing salaries on which they could not live. The interpreters also functioned as representatives of the Bakufu, and were probably the agents for distributing personal trade items to local officials from the Nagasaki "governor" and town "eldors" on down.

The purpose of this article has been to point out the importance of personal trade in Japan's foreign trade system under the Tokugawa Bakufu. Although in terms of quantity, personal trade was only a fraction of the VOC's company trade, in terms of quality, personal trade goods made a tremendous contribution to the development of Japanese culture, by providing the material wherewithal to experience Dutch learning and use and enjoy foreign-made luxury items.

Moreover, personal trade activities themselves were extremely prof-

itable for the Dutch staff on Dejima, the Dutch interpreters and local town officials, beginning with chief factors swaggering down boarding ramps with their clothing bulging with contraband and walking by Japanese officials who were looking the other way. This rather farcical scene was repeated time and again out of common interest held by both parties, as hopefully shown in this article. One can also argue that on the several occasions that discontinuing trade with Japan was debated in the Netherlands and in Batavia, the benefits arising from personal trade may have been an important factor in the decision to continue.

Notes

This article is a revised version of author's article in Japanese entitled "Oranda Shōkan no Wakini-bōeki ni tsuite: Shōkan-chō Meiran no setsuri-tushita kojū bōeki kyōkai (1826-1830)" オランダ商館の脇荷貿易について——商館長メイランの設立した個人貿易協會 (1826-1830)—— [Personal Trade at the Dutch Factory in Japan: The Trade Society Organized by Chief Factor Meijlan (1826-1830)], *Nihon Rekishi* 日本歴史 [The Japanese History Journal], no. 397 (1979), pp. 55-90.

- 1) *Oud Batavia: Gedenkboek uitgeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen naar aanleiding van het driehonderdjarig bestaan der stad in 1919*. Batavia, 1922. tweede deel, p. 15.
- 2) ŌOKA Kiyosuke 大岡清相, ed., NAKADA Yasunao 中田易直, and NAKAMURA Tadashi 中村質, revs., *Kiyō gundan* 『崎陽群談』, Tokyo: Kondō Shuppansha 近藤出版社, 1974, p. 76.
- 3) "Nagasaki kaisho gosatsumono" 「長崎會所五冊物」, *Nagasaki kenshi: Shiryōhen* 『長崎縣史：史料編』 [History of Nagasaki Prefecture: Sources], vol. 4, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1965, p. 24.
- 4) Verslag 1826 (Archief Japan No. 700).
- 5) ŌOKA, *Kiyō gundan*, p. 76.
- 6) "Kaban kōshi shumonki" 「華蠻交市拾開記」, *Nagasaki kenshi: Shiryōhen* [History of Nagasaki Prefecture: Sources], vol. 4, p. 277; Engelbert Kaempfer, (IMAI Tadashi 今井正, tr.), *Nihonshi* 『日本誌』 [The History of Japan], Tokyo: Kasumigaseki Shuppan 霞ヶ關出版, 1973, vol. 2, p. 28.
- 7) YANAI Kenji 箭内健次, *Nagasaki* 『長崎』, Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂, 1959, pp. 114-15.
- 8) Afgmene stukken 1829. (Archief Japan No. 557)
- 9) Kaempfer, *Nihonshi*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 116.
- 10) *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 11) *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- 12) IDA Kiyoko 井田清子, "Kenperu *Nihonshi* no mō hitori no chosha ni tsuite: Wasureareta Orandajin shisōka no sikaku kara" 「ケンペル『日本誌』のも

- う一人の著者について—忘れられたオランダ人思想家の視角から—」 [On More Author of Kaempfer's History of Japan: From the Viewpoint of a Forgotten Dutch Thinker], *Shisō* 『思想』, Dec. 1978, p. 87.
- 13) J. Feenstra Kujper, *Japan en de Buitenwereld in de 18e eeuw*, the Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1921, p. 163.
 - 14) *Ibid.*, p. 161.
 - 15) *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 - 16) IMAKI Rikurō 今來陸郎, *Chūō shi* 『中欧史』 [History of Central Europe], Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 1971, p. 319.
 - 17) SAITŌ Agu 齋藤阿具, *Zūfu to Nihon* 『ゾーフと日本』 [Doeff and Japan], Tokyo: Kōbunkan 廣文館, 1922, p. 12ff.
 - 18) Extract uit het register der handelingen en besluiten van Kommissarissen Generaal. (Collectie Baud 37, Collectie Bik 67) in J. A. van der Chijs, *Neêrlands Streven tot Openstelling van Japan voor den Wereldhandel*, Amsterdam: F. Muller, 1867, pp. 392–403.
 - 19) Afgmene stukken 1829, *op. cit.*
 - 20) Verslag 1823. (Archief Japan No. 697.)
 - 21) Dalhuizen, L. G., “De Societeit van Particuliere Handel op Japan, 1826–1830,” Leiden, 1963, pp. 16–20. This work is a 52-page typed masters degree held at Nationaal Archief, which was recommended to me by Leonard Blussé.
 - 22) Verslag 1826, *op. cit.* According to Fisscher, he had sent about 80,000 guilders worth of goods to Japan in 1824, half of which were divided up among the ship captain and crew. (Vrijmoedige gedachten over den Japanschen Handel ingeleverd aan den Hoog Edelen Gestrengen Heere, Hoofd Directeur van Financien, te Batavia, Ministerie van Binnenlandse zaken, Afdeeling van Onderwijs, Kunst en Wetenschappen 1815–1848. May 26, 28 1831. No. 4561.)
 - 23) Verslag 1826, *op. cit.*
 - 24) Hoofdpunten van overeenkomst voor de oprichting van eene Societeit tot het drijven van den particulieren handel van Batavia naar Japan en van daar terug. (Archief Japan No. 700, 1593.)
 - 25) Verslag 1826 (Archief Japan No. 700).
 - 26) Register van Resolutiën enz. der Particuliere handelsocieteit te Japan. 1826/7, 8, 9. (Archief Japan No. 1593.)
 - 27) *Ibid.*
 - 28) *Ibid.*
 - 29) Kontrakt onder nadere goedkeuring van de Indische Regering gesloten tusschen den Directeurs van ‘slands producten en civile magazijnen in’t naam van de Indische Regering en de factorij der Nederlandsche Handdmaatschappij te Batavia, krachtens de authorisatie vervat en de mis-sive van zijne Excellentie den Kommissaris Generaal over Nederlandsche Indië, dato 25 April 1827. (Ingekomen Stukken 1827, Archief Japan No. 448.)
 - 30) Register der Handelingen en Resolutien van den Leutenant Gouverneur

- Generaal van Nederlandsch Indië in rade van primo tot ultimo Mei 1827. (Ministerie van Koloniën No. 2801.)
- 31) Brief van de Factorij Nederlandsch Handelmaatschappij aan het opperhoofd van Japan, Batavia, 30 Junij 1827. (Ingekomen Stukken 1827. Archief Japan No. 448.)
 - 32) At that time there were three maritime insurance companies operating on Java: Bataviasche Zeeassurantie Societeit (Dutch), Asiatic Insurance Co. (British) and Calcutta Insurance Co. (British). The agent for Calcutta Insurance was Maclaine, Watson & Co. The British companies dominated the market and demanded a 7% rate, but rate was calculated in the Netherlands at 4% (W. M. F. Mansvelt, *Geschiedenis van de Nederland Handelmaatschappij*, 2 vols., Haarlem: Joh. Enschede en Zonen, 1925-26, vol. 1, p. 193.)
 - 33) Brief van ten Brink en Reijnst aan President en raden van Particuliere Handelsocieteit te Japan, Batavia, 30 Junij 1827. (Archief Japan No. 1594.)
 - 34) Brief van Abraham Vres en Am Meijer aan Heeren Commissarissen der Particuliere Handelsocieteit te Japan, Batavia, 30 Junij 1827. (Archief Japan No. 1594.)
 - 35) Factuur van goedern ingekocht voor Rekening van de Handel Societeit in Japan in derwaards afgescheept met de Nederlandsche schepen Handel Maatschappij kapitein P. H. Willers en Rotterdam kapitein P. W. J. de Vries door de Factorij der Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij. (Archief Japan No. 1594.)
 - 36) SEKIYAMA Naotarō 關山直太郎, “Kamban bōeki kō” 「看板貿易考」 [On the Kanban Trade], *Keizaishi kenkyū* 『經濟史研究』, 13-6, 1935; “Oranda tsūji tsutomekata kakitome” 「阿蘭陀通詞勤方書留」 in *Nagasaki kenshi: Shiryōhen* [History of Nagasaki Prefecture: Sources], vol. 4, p. 850.
 - 37) G. F. Meijlan, *Geschiedkundig Overzicht van den Handel der Europezen op Japan*, [s.l.]: Besturend lid van het Bataviaasch genootschap van Kunsten en wetenschappen, [1833], p. 368.
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- 48) *Ibid.*, p. 368.
- 49) Register van Resolutiën enz. der Particuliere handelsocieteit, *op. cit.*
- 50) Verkoop op Kambang in 1827. (Archief Japan No. 1598.)
- 51) Faktuur van goederen ingekocht voor Rekening van de Handel Societeit alhier en naar Batavia afgescheept met de schepen de Handelmaatschappij en de Rotterdam, aan de consignatiën. (Archief Japan No. 1593.)
- 52) Afgegaane stukken 1827. (Archief Japan No. 555.)
- 53) Japans Dag Register gehouden int Comptoir Nangasackij anno 1827 door het opperhoofd germain Felix Meijlan. *Nichi-Ran Koshoshi Kenkyu-Kai*, Tokyo, 1860. Bijlage 21 p. 52.
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- 56) Verslag 1829. (Archeif Japan No. 702.)
- 57) Collectie Bezemer 21.
- 58) ŌTSUKI Gentaku 大槻玄澤, *Ransetsu benwaku* 『蘭說辨惑』 [Demystifying Dutch Ideas], Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō 八坂書房, 1972, pp. 153–63.
- 59) *Idem*, “Rangaku kaitei” 「蘭學階梯」 [Dutch Learning Step-by-Step], in NUMATA Jirō et. al., ed., *Yōgaku* 『洋學』 [Western Learning in Japan], vol. 1, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1976, p. 331.
- 60) Eisch van Koopmanschappen, welke de ondergetekenden de Heeren ten Brink en Rijnst names de Societeit der Particuliere Handel te Japan verzoeken voor hunne rekening in te koopen en in het aanstaande jaar 1827 aen hunne consignatie naar herwaards te verzenden. (Archief Japan No. 1593.)
- 61) NUMATA Jirō, *Bakumatsu yōgaku shi* 『幕末洋學史』, Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin 刀江書院, 1950, p. 190.
- 62) Fisscher, *Nihon fūzoku bikō*, vol. 2, p. 178.
- 63) KATŌ Eiichi 加藤榮一, “1636 nendo Hirado-Oranda shōkan no yushutsunyū shōhin” 「一六三六年度平戸オランダ商館の輸出入商品」 [SDutch Import and Export Goods Traded at Hirado in 1636] in *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo hō* 『東京大學史料編纂所報』 [Report on the activities of the Historical-geographical Institute], vol. 4, 1969, pp. 57–75.
- 64) Meijlan, *Geschiedkundig*, p. 317.
- 65) *Ibid.*, p. 322.
- 66) *Ibid.*, p. 329.
- 67) Lijst der goederen, de welke voor de zaakbezorger appart geligt zijn. (Archief Japan No. 1593.) See Table 10.
- 68) Groot-boek 1827–1829. (Archief Japan No. 1600.)
- 69) Copied in *ibid.*
- 70) Copied in *ibid.*
- 71) Siebold, *Nihon kōtsū bōeki shi*, p. 238.

- 72) *Ibid.*
- 73) At the end of a record entitled “Verkoop op Kambang” in 1827. dated 1827 (Archief Japan No. 1598.), we find the seal of the *tōban yakushi* 當番譯司 (interpreters on duty that year) and the names B. Soekezo and Namura Sakusaburo as *goyohikaekata*, indicating that the interpreters alternated as Bakufu agents on a yearly basis.
- 74) KATSU Kaishū 勝海舟, *Hikawa seiwa* 『氷川清話』, (Kōdansha bunko), Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1974, pp. 93-94.
- 75) Brief van de Villeneuve aan het opperhoofd der Nederlandschen Handel in Japan, Decima, 15 December 1829. (Afgegane Stukken 1829, Archief Japan No. 557.)
- 76) Brief van Verkerk Pistorius aan Meijlan, Decima 15 December 1829. (Afgegane Stukken 1829, Archief Japan No. 557.)
- 77) Brief van A. Manuel aan Meijlan, Decima, 14 December 1829. (Afgegane Stukken 1829, Archief Japan No. 557.)
- 78) Brief van Meijlan aan Gouverneur Generaal, Decima, 28 December 1829. (Afgegane Stukken 1829, Archief Japan No. 557.)
- 79) Brief van A. Manuel aan Meijlan, *op. cit.*
- 80) Register der Handelingen en Resolutiën van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indië in rade over de maanden Jan., Feb., Maart 1830. (Ministerie van Koloniën No. 2834.)
- 81) Dalhuizen, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- 82) Siebold, *Nihon kōtsū bōeki shi*, p. 225.
- 83) Dalhuizen, *op. cit.*