

DISCOVERY OF JAPAN BY A NEW ENGLANDER;
A DIARY OF WILLIAM CLEVELAND, CAPTAIN'S
CLERK ON BOARD THE MASSACHUSETTS
IN 1800: AN INTRODUCTION

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I

THE IDEA THAT THE FAMOUS 1853 EXPEDITION OF Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry did not initiate relations between Japan and the United States has been widely accepted.¹ Perhaps, the most balanced and factual description of the relations is that of Shunzo Sakamaki, Professor at the University of Hawaii, which was largely written on the basis of primary and secondary materials then available in the two countries (Japan and the United States). Mr. Sakamaki points out that the Perry expedition was preceded to Japan — on at least twenty-five occasions — by twenty-seven American vessels, including fifteen merchantmen, nine whalers, and three warships.² An effort to enrich Sakamaki's chronicle in terms of the analysis of the means by which the United States made the intellectual acquaintance of Japan, has recently been done by Columbia University Professor Henry F. Graff, in his introduction to an unofficial diary

*The text of this unpublished diary as transcribed from its original in manuscript, and annotated by Mr. M. Kanai, will be separately published by the Institute of Asian Studies as one of its published Monographs. Mr. Kanai wishes to acknowledge the cooperation rendered him while gathering microfilm materials, by Professor John Whitney Hall of Yale University, Mrs. Moyra L. Baker, former staff secretary at Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, and Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, Keeper of the General State Archives, The Hague. Credit and thanks are due to Mr. Dodge, Director of the Peabody Museum, for his kind permission to transcribe the diary of William Cleveland. The *Editor*.

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

² Shunzo Sakamaki, "Japan and the United States, 1790-1853," *Transaction of Asiatic Society of Japan*, Sec. Ser. Vol. XVIII (Tokyo, 1939), I.

of Perry's squadron.³ While these excellent works are concerned exclusively with the relations between the United States and Japan, Kiyoshi Tabohashi, Professor at Keijo (Seoul) University, has provided us with a factual study and interpretation of the wider aspects of Japanese relations with foreign countries during the century before 1854. In it are discussed the development of a common attempt among Western nations to open the door of this long-isolated country.⁴ Truly, Japan's foreign relations as well as domestic developments during the century, 1750-1850, consist of many important facts.⁵ The present author, however, restricts here his interest in the facts pertinent to a single problem: the earliest American merchantmen which engaged in trading with Japan from 1797 to 1807, without any support of their own government and trading under the color of the Netherlands—the only Western nation authorized to continue commercial intercourse with the isolated "Empire of Japan."

Three factors seem to have enabled American vessels to come to Japan during the said decade. Since the War of Independence in 1776, the activities of American merchant seamen had vigorously expanded to the East Indies, with Salem in Massachusetts, as their home port;⁶ American whalers now also revived their activities in the Pacific, with Nantucket and New Bedford as their bases.⁷ In the East Indies, the Americans who mainly engaged in entrepot trade beyond Cape Town, achieved a remarkable profit from voyage to voyage, and brought home Oriental things and ideas. The French Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the Batavian Republic—under French influence—together with the French-Dutch alliance against the English forces, constrained the Dutch East India Company to attempt to secure their trade

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

⁴ Tabohashi Kiyoshi, *Zotei Kindai Nippon Gaikoku Kankeishi* (History of Foreign Relations of Modern Japan, enlarged) (Tokyo, 1943). Its first edition was published in 1930.

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

⁶ Ralph D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine: a Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors*, The Chronicle of American Series, Vol. 36 (New Haven, 1921), 51 ff.

⁷ W.S. Tower, *History of the American Whalefishery* (Philadelphia, 1907), 39 ff.

routes by chartering vessels of neutral countries.⁸ In 1798, the management of the Company was transferred to the Republic with the Governor-General in Batavia exercising trading functions until the Netherlands Trading Society was organized in 1824, though, for a while (1811-1816), the company came under English influence.⁹ Thus, one can easily see how both the American and Dutch traders of the time found mutual cooperation mutually advantageous. But they nevertheless stipulated in their charter party an article concerning "unforeseen circumstances" or "unexpected circumstances," in which a ship would not be allowed to enter the port of destination. The Japanese authorities who had taken precautions against the approach of the Russians and other Westerners, however, eventually allowed American vessels to enter the harbor of Nagasaki, inasmuch as they bore the authentic Batavian charter party and Dutch officials on board.¹⁰ That the Americans had never been in contact with Japan under their own flag, nor bore any political or religious ambitions toward the country, was undoubtedly helpful in enabling them to broach the traditional policy of seclusion.¹¹

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

1797 (Kansei¹³ 9) *Eliza* (of New York), Capt. William Robert Stewart.

1798 (Kansei 10) *Eliza*, Capt. William Robert Stewart.

1799 (Kansei 11) *Franklin* (of Boston), Capt. James Devereux.

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

⁹ W.M.F. Mansvelt, *A Brief History of the Netherlands Trading Society, 1824-1924* (The Hague, 1924), 40-44.

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

¹¹ Tabohashi, *op. cit.*, 301-302.

12. Besides these vessels, those bearing no Dutch contracts came to Nagasaki four times: *The Emperor of Japan* in 1800, the *Nagasaki* and the *Frederic* both in 1803, and the *Eclipse*, chartered by the Russian-American Company in 1806. Tabohashi, *op. cit.*, 302-305. His list was compiled on the basis of J.H. Levyssohn, *Chronologisch Overzicht der Nederlandsche Opperhoofden in Japan* (*Bladen over Japan*, 24.26) and Doeff, *op. cit.*, 61-63. Before this, two American merchantmen, *Lady Washington* and *the Grace*, approached in vain Kii Province in 1791. American whalers appeared as late as 1820. See Sakamaki, *op. cit.*, 174-190.

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

- 1800 (Kansei 12) *Massachusetts* (of Boston), Capt. William V. Hutchings.
1801 (Kyowa 1) *Margaret* (of Salem), Capt. Samuel Derby.
1802 (Kyowa 2) *Samuel Smith*, Capt. G. Stiles.
1803 (Kyowa 3) *Rebecca* (of Baltimore), Capt. James Deal.
1806 (Bunka 3) *America*, Capt. Henry Lelar.
1807 (Bunka 4) *Mount Vernon*, Capt. J. Davidson.

These American ship-masters under the Dutch flag, according to Ralph D. Paine, "were fortunate enough to be welcomed when the French, Russian and English were driven from the coast of Japan as foemen and "barbarians." They were the first and last Americans to trade with the Japanese nation until after Perry had emphasized his friendly messages with the silent yet eloquent guns of the *Susquehanna*, *Mississippi*, *Saratoga* and *Plymouth*."¹⁴ Hendrik Doeff, Junior, the Dutch director (*opperhoofd*) 1803-1817, later recollected the days he enjoyed the confidence and friendship shown him at Deshima, Nagasaki, by such masters as Deve-reux, Hutchings, Derby, Stiles, Deal and Lelar.¹⁵

II

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

A number of original accounts and papers are still preserved at Salem, Massachusetts, in the United States. When some of them were quoted by Paine in his encouraging work, written early in the present century, their locations were not given either in his footnotes or in his appendix. However, in a chapter on American merchantmen in Japanese waters, Graff—for the first time—

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

¹⁵ Doeff, *op. cit.*, 155.

specified the titles and locations of his sources. As a matter of fact, it is not too much to say that the Peabody Museum and the Essex Institute (both in Salem) are depositories of the most important collections in this field. The former, the site of the East India Marine Society, preserves the journal and ledger of the ship *Franklin*, the journal of the ship *Massachusetts*, paintings of the *Eliza* and *Deshima* and other mementoes of Japanese trade of old Salem; the latter, the Devereux papers as well as a diary kept on board the ship *Margaret*. Some extracts from these sources have been printed in modern works.¹⁶

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

Dutch records concerning the chartering of American vessels and related facts are found among the Colonial Archives preserved in the General State Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief) in The Hague. Some two hundred volumes of the respective series of annual diaries, registers of resolutions, letters received and sent, and various business evidences covering the years from 1797 to 1807 are available from among its group of records called *Archief Ne-*

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

¹⁷ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, compiled in the 1850's under the supervision of Hayashi Akira, *Daigaku-no-kami*. It was for the first time published in 7 volumes by the Kokusho, Kankōkai, Tokyo, in 1913.

¹⁸ Sakamaki, *op. cit.*, 4-11, 174-184.

¹⁹ Saitō Agu, *Zufu to Nippon* (Henrik Doeff and Japan) (Tokyo, 1912); *ibid.*, tr., *Zufu Nippon Kaisōroku* (Doeff's *Herinnerungen uit Japan*) (Tokyo, 1928 in Ikoku Sōsho, bound with a translation of Van Omermeer Visscher's account).

derlandsch Factorij Japan (K.A. 11685-11856).²⁰ These documents are a part of the voluminous archives preserved at Deshima up to 1853, when they were withdrawn to Batavia and then to The Hague. They were not fully utilized even in the above-mentioned recollections of Hendrik Doeff, because he left them behind and lost most of his private records and collections in a shipwreck on his way home, after nineteen years' service in Japan. The entire *Archief Nederlandsch Factorij Japan* in microfilm has become recently available in Tokyo.²¹

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

References to the personal history of the writer of this diary are exceedingly scarce. When Paine referred to the Boston ship *Massachusetts*, which sailed for Nagasaki in 1800, he mentioned that "her captain's clerk, William Cleaveland of Salem, kept a detailed journal of this unusual voyage."²³ According to Graff, Wil-

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

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

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

²³ Paine, *The Ships and Sailors*, *op. cit.*, 218.

liam was a brother of George Cleveland, the latter being twenty years old when he arrived in Nagasaki in 1801 on board the ship *Margaret*.²⁴ Paine pointed out that George Cleveland was "of a famous family of Salem mariners"; that he sailed as a captain's clerk,²⁵ and that he was a brother of Richard Cleveland, master of the *Enterprise* and the well-known author of a narrative of his ship's voyage.²⁶ Captain Richard Cleveland was, according to the same author, born in 1773 as "the eldest son of Captain Stephen Cleveland," a brave commander under the new American flag in 1776.²⁷ Fortunately for historians, William in his journal entry for June 23, 1799, expressed his eagerness (as he was approaching Cape Town), to see his "brother Dick." Thus, one can easily reconstruct a triangle of the Cleveland family, with the father, Captain Steven, at its apex and three brothers named Richard, William and George at its base. Perhaps, William was a lad between nineteen and twenty-six years old in 1800 when he was in Japan—ambitious, intelligent, and with technical skills cultivated since his youth which was in the old New England port of Salem.

As mentioned above, the journal or diary, has a gap between June 1799 and July 1800. Consequently, it does not tell us how Captain Hutchings went about letting his vessel, the *Massachusetts*, to the Dutch at Batavia. Although it is not particularly informative concerning day-to-day negotiations at this "Metropolis," the original bi-lingual charter party between Johannes Siberg, "Ordinary Counsellor and Acting-Director General of the Dutch Indies," and William V. Hutchings, "Captain of the American ship *Massachusetts*," dated Batavia, May 12, 1800, reveals some of the premises of the romantic voyage to Japan of William Cleveland.²⁸ The merchantman in question, says the Contract, was then lying in Batavia roads and was "of the burden of 600 tons."²⁹ The charter was made pursuant to the resolution of the Batavian High Re-

²⁴ Graff, *op. cit.*, 19.

²⁵ Paine, *op. cit.*, 225.

²⁶ Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, *op. cit.*, 69.

²⁷ Paine, *The Ships and Sailors*, *op. cit.*, 297.

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

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

gency of May 11, 1800, and for, and in the name of the *Ge-octroi-jeerde Nederlandsche Oost-indische Compagnie*.

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

1. That the Captain lets to the Company the ship, requisite for a cargo of 750 tons English weight of 1850 Dutch pound each³⁰ . . . both from Batavia to Japan and from Japan back, and for the sum of 150 Spanish dollars per ton for the voyage to and fro.

2-3. That the exports consist of tin, sappanwood, pepper, cloves, cotton yarn, powdered sugar and others, and that the letter undertakes to convey copper, camphor, empty copper chests and stowage planks. (The quantity and price are briefly specified.)

4-5. That the aforesaid freight money shall be paid to the letter, after the voyage has been performed, in products of coffee, pepper and sugar; and that if in case the letter does not wish to export these products, he is at liberty to sell them to other persons.

6. That the letter shall deliver the aforesaid ship at his own expense.

7. That the ship shall leave Batavia on June 15.

8. That the crew of the ship must consist of 55 men including the Captain, to which the Company will add 13 Javanese sailors and one more seaman at their expense.

9. That the Captain and the other officers shall perform the voyage according to the tenor of this Charter Party and the Instructions to be given.³¹

10-11. That the Captain shall immediately proceed to the harbour of his destination and the voyage back should be with all possible speed to this Metropolis, without anchoring at any port, and that the ship should not stay at Japan longer than at farthest to December 1, 1800.

12-14. That if in case the Company's servants at Japan were not able to supply sufficient goods, the Company nevertheless will pay the letter the full freight, that if in case through unexpected circumstances the Japanese would not permit the ship to come upon the roads of that place, and the Captain was obliged to return with his cargo back again, the letter shall be paid at his arrival the full freight as is fixed by Article 4, and that if in case the ship after her arrival back from Japan was lost with her cargo by unexpected misfortunes of storm or fire, &c., the letter shall be likewise paid the freight.

15-16. That the Company shall be at liberty, when judged necessary, to send to Japan 4 or 5 civil servants of the Company having their lodge in the cabin free of charge except for the maintenance, and

³⁰ The Dutch text reads: *Vijfhondert en Seventig Tonnen Engels Gewigt á 1850 lb. hollde. ieder Ton.*"

³¹ No copy of such instructions was to be found among the Dutch records mentioned above, but one for the ship *Franklin* is preserved among the Devereux Papers and has been quoted by both Paine and Christy. See footnote 16, *supra*.

that the letter shall grant to the Chief and the other Company's servants both for the voyage to and from Japan, 10 tons of 1850 Dutch pounds each over and above the fixed 570 tons.

17. That the Bill of Lading of the goods loaded on board at Batavia for Japan and at Japan for Batavia shall be signed by the Captain or his representatives, Captain being obliged to deliver the number of chests, bales or casks in good condition without being responsible for their contents or weight.

18-20. That the Company shall deliver all goods free from and on board both here and at Japan and the letter shall not be responsible for the same, that the ship on her arrival at Japan shall be unloaded and loaded again with all possible dispatch, and that all charges respecting the loading and unloading shall be for the account of the Company, who will give thereto the necessary assistance of men.

21-23. That if in case the letter wants in necessaries, they will be furnished by the Company at the current prices and if he wishes to have any preparations at Japan, he will be assisted therein at his charge, that if in case there were any sick among his crew, they will be placed in the Hospital for the letter's account under condition that he shall take them on board at his departure, and that the Captain and the letter shall sign two accounts of charges for all these expenses.

24. That the ship shall be exempted from the anchorage money of Batavia and Japanese roads, which remain for the account of the Company.

25. That the day after the return of the ship at Batavia, unloading shall be begun and not continue longer than 24 days without respect to stormy weather, &c. If the work exceeds the expiration of the time, 300 rixdollars for each day shall be paid to the letter.

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

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

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

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

While Captain Hutchings and the Dutch supercargo, Captain Smit, passed most of the days at Nagasaki in a house on Deshima, the writer of the diary spent almost all of the time on board ship with other crew members. He went ashore only five times: on July 29 and 30, in order to oversee the weighing of copper at Deshima; on November 2-4, to purchase some private goods; and on November 17 and 21, to look around the countryside for his own amusement. Though limited for the most part to shipboard life,

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

Cleveland's stay was "exciting and educational"³⁴ because he could enjoy watching what occurred nearby—on land and sea—and talking with various persons who visited the ship: Americans, Dutch and Japanese. These experiences increased from day to day his knowledge and observations of things Japanese. A lad who carelessly mistook the island of Kyushu for "Cikoko" at his arrival, and who had crammed into his head stereotyped prejudices about Japan, soon came to understand how "many of the Japanese are assiduous in their endeavors" and to learn with astonishment "what a low opinion the Japanders have of America." William Cleveland, furthermore, began to contemplate things Japanese—boats, music, costumes, products (especially tea and copper), cities, religions, the Throne, even brothels—in comparison with those of the Western world. It seemed to him "easier for an American to make them [the Japanese] understand than to be understood by a Dutchman or Malay." Having come through the South Seas—then often dangerous even for a neutral vessel—Cleveland discovered here a land of people in whose countenances "good nature" seemed to be depicted. While other people of the ship had passed their leisure time writing, ciphering, "navigation," fiddling, drumming, dancing, or playing cards, Cleveland endeavored more and more to observe, hear and think of the exotic environment in which he found himself, and to write the essence of his ideas in his notebook just as his father and brother Richard had done before him, and as his brother George was to do later.

One of the characteristics of this journal consists of the process of how this unique observer gradually became acquainted with a remote Far Eastern land. On the other hand, his experiences were so restricted that he could not detect the extent to which the privateer Captain Stewart had been inconveniencing the Dutch residents for months, why the assistant Geenemans "was at variance with the other Agents here," or the sad financial state in which the company accounts was left by the late *opperhoofd* Hemmij. Nothing appeared in the journal about the recent unpleasant incident involving the Lord of Satsuma and Hemmij and for which two Japanese (an interpreter and Hemmij's servant) were punished with death. Instead, Cleveland—ignorant of the facts—included a romantic version of the incident. According to him, a daimyo, enamored by things Dutch, came in disguise to see and converse with a Dutch "upper hough" [*opperhoofd*] when the latter was on

³⁴ Graff, *op. cit.*, 19.

his way to "Jeddo." There are sometimes recorded in William Cleveland's diary, obviously erroneous items. These, however, are important because they reveal the true amount of the writer's knowledge of Japan. In fine, Cleveland was not placed in a position to discuss problems of real significance or, at least, to write intentionally about such subjects. Nevertheless, his accounts are enriched with picturesque descriptions of manners and customs of the town of Nagasaki. Furthermore, Cleveland's accounts describe the practices and transactions, then carried on by Japanese authorities, of which the Japanese and Dutch sources are largely devoid because such things had become, by and large, routine. This is another characteristic of the diary of William Cleveland which deserves further scholarly attention.