

Japan's Official Relations with Shamuro (Siam), 1599–1745: As Revealed in the Diplomatic Records of the Tokugawa Shogunate

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ABSTRACT—Newly translated documentary information concerning Japan's relations with Siam reveals how the early seventeenth-century phenomenon of Japanese merchants leading commercial expeditions into Southeast Asia, and the so-called *Nanban* (Southern barbarian) trade with European explorers, was largely driven by Tokugawa Ieyasu and his desire for saltpetre. The vital component of black powder (gunpowder), saltpetre was not readily produced in Japan and, therefore, had to be imported from Siam and the other entrepôts of Southeast Asia. The shogunate's need helps explain the issue of vermillion-seal trade licenses to Japanese merchants from 1604 to 1615. After 1630, relations between Siam and Japan ceased following the death of Yamada Nagamasa, a key Japanese “agent” in Siam. Beyond his death, however, the present study elucidates how Japan's commercial and diplomatic relations with Siam turned on key events in contemporary Japanese history: the establishment and maintenance of the Tokugawa shogunate and the so-called *Pax Tokugawa*. Study of the Tokugawa shogunate's diplomatic records affords the opportunity to re-evaluate historical trade between Japan and Siam, and highlights the essentially peripheral position of the Japanese economy in the emerging world market.

The present study considers Japan and its diplomatic relations with Siam as they are reflected in *Tsuko Ichiran*, “list of navigations”, a collection of official diplomatic records of the Tokugawa shogunate. Compiled in 1853, *Tsuko Ichiran* was produced by the shogunate in the face of mounting pressure by the Great Powers for Japan to open its ports to Western commerce and trade. The contemporary Japanese concept of Siam was referred to as “Shamuro”, from the Chinese ideographs for Siam. The Kingdom of Shamuro was thought to encompass the smaller states, or provinces, of (1) Mishiya, the Siamese capital Ayutthaya; (2) Shinichu, or Singora (Songkhla), which marked the southernmost extent of the kingdom; (3) Pattani, adjacent to Singora, which was nominally independent with its own royal court; and (4) Kachan, or Ca chiam (Hoi-an), which was the premier port of Cochin China,

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and almost entirely outside Siamese influence.¹ While such an amorphous grouping adequately served Japanese purposes, clearly the real geo-political context was of a different order of complexity.

Let us consider the course of events in Japan's relations with Shamuro prior to the formation of the Tokugawa shogunate (as presented in table 1). On 2 June 1582, Oda Nobunaga, having done so much to promote the military unification of the Japanese archipelago, was killed by Akechi Mitsuhide. As a consequence of Oda Nobunaga's unexpected death, his protégé Hashiba Hideyoshi was appointed chief advisor to the Emperor (*Kampaku*) on 11 July 1585; and came to be named Toyotomi Hideyoshi by an Imperial decree proclaimed on 9 September of the same year.² On 18 December 1591, Toyotomi Hideyoshi became the Emperor's "prime minister (*Dajo-daijin*)" and passed the rank of *Kampaku* on to his nephew (and then adopted son) Toyotomi Hidetsugu. Ten days later, Toyotomi Hideyoshi received the new title of *Taiko*, literally the "father of the Imperial advisor", but continued to exercise real power.

On 12 March 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi launched an invasion of the Korean peninsula (*Bunroku no eki*), and in the same year, issued vermilion-seal licenses to the merchants of Hakata, authorising them to undertake foreign voyages. The problem of inheritance within the Toyotomi clan was resolved on 15 July 1595, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi drove Toyotomi Hidetsugu to commit suicide. It was around this time that negotiations with Korea, to end the invasion (*Bunroku no eki*), were in progress. By June 1597, however, all negotiations had been cancelled, and the samurai, once again, pushed forward in their invasion of Korea, which was then renamed the "Keicho" invasion (*Keicho no eki*). On 18 August 1598 Toyotomi Hideyoshi died. While the question of succession had plagued the regime throughout its final years, all authority and power were nominally handed over to his young heir, Toyotomi Hideyori. Subsequently, with news of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's death being kept secret, all samurai were withdrawn from the attempted invasion of the Korean peninsula.

¹ Olga Dror and K.W. Taylor (eds.), *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam: Christoforo Borri on Cochinchina and Samuel Baron on Tonkin* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 91–94, and Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Vankley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III: *A Century of Advance* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993), pp. 1250–65. The role of Kachan (Hoi-an) in Japan's trade with Siam is a rich source of conjecture. It is claimed that Hoi-an was more convenient than Ayutthaya for Japanese merchants, and presumably Japan's trade with Hoi-an was greater than that with Ayutthaya. See Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context c. 800–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 415.

² All specific dates pertaining to Japanese history and documents in the above text are cited according to the lunar calendar. The lunar calendar was used in Japan until 1873 when, as a part of Japan's modernisation, it was rejected in favour of the Gregorian calendar.

In July 1598, just before his death, Toyotomi Hideyoshi established a power-sharing system whereby his five chief councillors would take turns to rule in his august place. After Toyotomi Hideyoshi's death, however, Tokugawa Ieyasu, as head of the five chief councillors, acted to strengthen his own power. Through skilful diplomacy, he swiftly took hold of the council's authority and prerogatives in the process.

The first interaction between Tokugawa Ieyasu and Shamuro occurred during April 1599,³ when a visiting envoy from the “Kingdom of Pattani” presented him with a letter from one King Shitsuridanarigui.⁴ Pattani was ruled, in fact, by Queen Raja Ijau at that time (R. 1584–1616), so the gender and name of the sovereign appear to have been intentionally disguised by her envoys in their dealings with the Japanese.⁵ Accordingly, Tokugawa Ieyasu wrote an official reply in July of the same year, addressing the Pattani “King” with his own court name of Minamoto Ieyasu, as quoted in full below.

Minamoto Ieyasu of Japan respectfully addresses His Highness King Shitsuridanarigui of Pattani. During April of the lunar calendar this year, your letter arrived here and I felt as much joy as if I had seen yourself face to face.

To begin with, let me inform you that His Highness the *Taiko* Toyotomi Hideyoshi suddenly passed away here last August. Therefore, we now serve and assist his heir the duke Toyotomi Hideyori, according to his orders. Fortunately, central authority and the rule of government continue to extend, without change, unto our very borders, as it did during His Highness Toyotomi Hideyoshi's lifetime.

In regards to the manners and customs of our country, I doubt there is need for me to speak, as the honourable personages of your envoy have seen them. We have heard in your country that national peace and

³ Earlier research into Japanese trade with Siam and Southeast Asia fails to mention Japan's diplomatic and trade relations with Pattani. For example, Satow wrote in 1884 that “the first Siamese Junk visited Japan in 1612”, without noting the arrival of Pattani envoy. Some 115 years later (in 1999) Nagazumi also seems to be unaware of Tokugawa Ieyasu's initial correspondence with the Pattani sovereign. See E.M. Satow, “Notes on the intercourse between Japan and Siam in the seventeenth century”, in Asiatic Society of Japan, *Early Japanology: Aston, Satow, Chamberlain* (Tokyo: Yushudo Press, 1997 [1884]), Vol. II, pp. 262, 265–66; and Nagazumi Yoko, “Ayutthaya and Japan: Embassies and trade in the seventeenth century”, in Kennon Breazeale (ed.), *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia* (Bangkok: Toyota Thailand Foundation, 1999), p. 90.

⁴ Shitsuridanarigui appears to be a medieval Japanese reading (of the Chinese ideograms) for “Sri Dharma raja”.

⁵ A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), pp. 11–15.

security, and the peace of the people are kept, according to the justice of your rule, and that countries both far and near receive your favours. Inquiring into the friendliness held by your country, I cannot hold back my sense of respect and awe.

On this occasion, we welcomed the gifts of your country's birds, products, etc., all of which are marvellous and foreign in our country. I will present these to my young master Toyotomi Hideyori; moreover, words cannot express my gratitude when I think that we received your consideration, from such a distant place, without even having sent you a letter of consultation.

From now on, I suspect that the traffic of merchant vessels between our countries will become more and more frequent, and we will certainly accommodate your wishes in regards to our mutual trading of those things that are unusual in each other's countries. Throughout the domains of our country, we strictly supervise against the appearance of robbers or thieves, both on land or at sea. Your country and our country are separated from each other distantly by the sea; nevertheless, let us have the affection that does not change as with brothers, and conclude a firm partnership as sworn friends. I now beg to offer Your Highness, as a token of my sincere regard, two suits of [Japanese] armour. I will be delighted if they reach you safely.

It is now July in Japan, according to the lunar calendar, but still the severe summer heat continues, without the breezes of a cool wind. For the sake of your country, pray take care of Your Highness.⁶

To what extent to which such a careful arrangement of words, in the flattering diplomatic language of the day, is actually meaningful, can be debated. Nevertheless, in light of developments in the Tokugawa shogunate, it is interesting to note that the character of the words Ieyasu uses to express respect for the "King" (with his superior status) diminishes throughout the letter. In addition, Tokugawa Ieyasu pointedly conveys news of the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi to the sovereign of Pattani, indicating that he is providing assistance to his heir Toyotomi Hideyori, as if, through his service he is behaving in the most admirable fashion. In fact, we must realise that Ieyasu aimed to usurp the reign of the Toyotomi regime, as soon as it was practical, as subsequent events would reveal.

Indeed, Tokugawa Ieyasu was to strengthen emphatically his effective rule over the Japanese archipelago after leading his Eastern army to victory over the Ishida Mitsunari's Western army at the battle of Sekigahara, on 15 September 1600.

⁶ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7 (Kyoto: Kokusho Publishing, 1913), p. 27.

Following these tumultuous events, a “quasi-diplomatic mission” from Pattani arrived in early 1602.⁷ Ieyasu wrote a reply, dated 5 August 1602, addressed to King Lin In Lin (another alias of Queen Raja Ijau?),⁸ as follows.

Minamoto Ieyasu of Japan respectfully replies to His Highness King Lin In Lin of Pattani. I read your kind letter over and over again, and while reading it, I had a feeling as if I was amusing myself in the picturesque mountain scenery of your country. Three or four years ago, I had the pleasure to address His Highness King Shitsuridanarigui, but, thereafter, I had not received correspondence from him, and worried about this state of affairs.

On this occasion, I kindly received the special products of your country along with your letter. Beyond my earnest requests, there are no words with which to express my gratitude for your gracious gifts.

As the envoy of your country has told me, your country benefits from your rule and enlightened peace; and as you are good, you are loved by the people; and you enjoy superior assistance from your Majesty's Court; and that among your people there is no suffering or starvation; indeed, just as surely as water flows to the lowest places, the people seem to put you in their hearts. From one who is in a far-off foreign country, I cannot help but feel respect and awe towards the splendour of your reign.

Please enquire about the manners and customs, and the politics, etc., of our humble country with your envoy's representatives, whom were looked after, with great care, while they were here. Although there is only a small amount of land and sea in our country, nevertheless, both are maintained in a peaceful state. Therefore, from now on, many merchants will be sailing with precious merchandise to our shores; tell them to come without anxiety or worry, for supervision is strict along both the land and sea routes, and, theft of merchandise, or other outrageous acts by persons, will not be tolerated or occur.

I present a small gift of my humble country's arms, which are catalogued on a separate list, as a token of my good faith. About the remaining gifts in preparation by us, I will present them with more news later.⁹

⁷ The term “quasi-diplomatic mission” is taken from Christian and Ike's earlier consideration of Japan's relations with Siam. See John L. Christian and Nobutake Ike, “Thailand in Japan's foreign relations”, in *Pacific Affairs*, 15:2 (Jun. 1942), pp. 198–201.

⁸ Lin In Lin appears to be an errant medieval Japanese reading (of the Chinese ideograms) for part of the title of “sultan”. Whatever the case, the Pattani sovereign has clearly written two letters with two different titles; hence Ieyasu's references to King Shitsuridanarigui in his reply.

⁹ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, pp. 27–28.

Tokugawa Ieyasu's almost obsequious comments, especially concerning his own "humble country", are particularly interesting. Clearly, the letter indicates that Tokugawa Ieyasu hoped to stimulate trade and commerce between Japan and Pattani, but what kind of commodities or goods did he desire?

On 12 February 1603, the Imperial Court accepted Tokugawa Ieyasu's *de facto* rule over the Japanese archipelago, appointing him as the new Shogun. In doing so, Edo (present-day Tokyo) was established as the site of the Tokugawa shogunate's new seat of government.

By 1605, the shogunate issued vermilion-seal licenses to various merchants in Japan, authorising them to undertake foreign trade (see table 2, lines 1–11). From July 1604 to January 1605, eleven licenses were issued for voyages to Siam. Of them, four were for Siam, four were for Pattani, two were for Shinichu (Songkhla), and the remaining voyage was bound for Kachan (Hoi-an).¹⁰ Among the applicants, the merchant Yoemon made three voyages (all to Siam), with the daimyo Shimazu Iehisa accompanying him on one of those trading missions. The merchants Imaya Munetada, Daikokuya Sukezaemon, Hihadaya Magobei and Amagasakiya Matajiro all made one voyage to Pattani, while the merchant Takaseya Shinzo, and the "Christian" Kubota Yoshiro Miguel, each made one voyage to Shinichu (Songkhla). The daimyo Matsuura Shigenobu made one voyage to Kachan (Hoi-an). That so many voyages were made to Pattani seems to reflect the relatively frequent exchange of courtly letters between Tokugawa Ieyasu and the "King" of Pattani.¹¹

On 16 April 1605, the Imperial Court appointed Tokugawa Hidetada, as the rightful heir of Tokugawa Ieyasu, to the office of Shogun. Tokugawa Ieyasu, by his own hand, retired himself from the position; and in doing so was awarded the title of *Ogoshō*, literally the "influential figure". The Tokugawa clan thus monopolized the position of Shogun, and the authority of the Tokugawa shogunate, as grasped by Tokugawa Ieyasu, was transferred to his heir. This important political step was performed to make it emphatically clear to all and sundry that Toyotomi Hideyori and his family had no claim on the shogunate. Of course, this transfer of the title shogun from Ieyasu to Hidetada created something of a dual polity; nevertheless, in regards to diplomacy, their combined authority did not part.

The shogunate issued eight vermilion-seal licenses for foreign trade, in what were colloquially called vermilion-seal junks (*shuinsen*), from September 1605

¹⁰ Of the 45 vermilion-seal licenses known to be granted for trading missions between 1604 and 1615, it should be noted that this is the only license which specifically refers to Kachan as its destination. Thus, claims that Hoi-an was "Japan's most important trading partner" are not supported by the shogunate's diplomatic records. Perhaps, the timing and (unofficial) nature of Japan's trade with Hoi-an should be reconsidered in this light. See Lieberman, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

¹¹ See Satow, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

to May 1607 (see table 2, lines 12–19). Five of them were for Siam, two were for Mishiya (Ayutthaya), and one was for Pattani. Among the applicants, the Christian Kubota Yoshiro Miguel, and the merchant Takahashi Kamon, made a voyage to Mishiya (Ayutthaya). The daimyo Arima Harunobu and the merchant Rokujo Nihei both went to Pattani; and the merchants Kiya Yasoemon, Soemon, Imaya Munetada, and Oga Kurozaemon were all issued with licenses to voyage to Siam.

In August 1606, another envoy from Pattani arrived in Japan. On receiving the Pattani sovereign's message from this envoy, *Ogosho* Tokugawa Ieyasu drafted the following reply. Interestingly, he continued to use Minamoto Ieyasu as his official title, rather than Shogun.

Minamoto Ieyasu of Japan respectfully addresses His Highness the King of Pattani.¹² I have carefully read the gracious letter of Your Highness. Its particularly splendid contents do not bring joy [to me].

In recent years the traffic [in trade] between your country and our country has become prosperous, as is written in your letter; however, the crimes committed against the merchant ships of our country, suffering the injustices of such acts as plunder and riot in your country, are extremely serious. These merchant ships have not yet returned to our country; nevertheless, I wait for the day of their return, prepared to arrest those known to be of brutal guilt. Moreover, on arrival at our shores, the company of thieves inside these ships will be sentenced to the most severe penalties. That such things as murder and arson occur in your country is indeed regrettable, and it is a most unreasonable thing to have plunged the people of your country into fear. Such acts of evildoing cannot be forgiven, no matter where they occur.

The heat of the summer has subsided, and a cool autumn breeze has begun to blow, and so pray take care of Your Highness, particularly in the changing seasons.¹³

Apparently, the Japanese merchants experienced treachery in Pattani, despite purchasing "more goods than they were able to load". Incidents of theft, arson and murder culminated in fierce Japanese reprisals. Indeed, it is said that Pattani was twice put to the torch by Japanese "merchants".¹⁴

¹² The "King's" name is not specified on this occasion.

¹³ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, p. 28.

¹⁴ William Harrison Moreland, "Peter Floris's journal of the Globe at Pattani and Ayutthaya in the East India Company's seventh voyage, 22 June 1612–22 October 1613", in Anthony Farrington and Dhiravat na Pombejra (eds.), *The English Factory in Siam, 1612–1685* (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 97–98, 104–05, 119, and Teeuw and Wyatt, op. cit., p. 14.

In appraising Ieyasu's reply, we can see that he did not accept the apology of the unnamed "King of Pattani" in relation to the acts of murder and arson committed against Japanese merchants in Pattani, or offer any kind of apology himself, beyond promising to sentence those persons responsible to the severest possible penalties. After this incident, moreover, it should be noted that there was no further diplomatic exchange. Pattani was excluded, in effect, from all further commercial intercourse with Japan.

Throughout the above correspondence, Tokugawa Ieyasu often referred to Japan as being a small country, while addressing the king of Pattani as if his country was much larger and more powerful than his own was. In doing so, he hoped to create a mood that was conducive to the promotion of trade with Pattani. Behind the earnest desire for trade, however, he hoped, above all, to acquire a component of "black powder", or medieval gunpowder, called "saltpetre".¹⁵ Japan had no significant natural deposits of saltpetre (such as large concentrations of bat droppings as found in caves throughout Southeast Asia) and the chemical processes that facilitated its synthesis were poorly understood at that time. As a result, the manufacture of saltpetre was severely limited in medieval and early modern Japan, and the problems presented by its manufacture were not solved until the establishment of the Saltpetre Guild (*Shoseki-Kaisyo*) in 1863.¹⁶ Saltpetre, therefore, had to be almost wholly imported from China and the Southeast Asian entrepôts, as revealed in contemporary trade manifests.¹⁷

The importation of saltpetre can be seen as being both the driving force and *raison d'être* behind much of the so-called *Nanban* (Southern barbarian) trade. Indeed, its procurement was a high priority until the shogunate's very last years (as revealed by their negotiations with Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1854).¹⁸ Even if the shogunate had matchlocks (or percussion rifles), without saltpetre, the firearms were no more than unshapely horizontal pipes. An almost insatiable Japanese desire for saltpetre was an historical constant: both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi were famously hell-bent on its acquisition. And for the great Tokugawa Ieyasu, saltpetre was a paramount consideration and part of the secret that made him so powerful.

Although Japan's commercial intercourse with Pattani ended during August 1606, according to the *Tsuko Ichiran*, correspondence between the sovereigns of Japan and Siam began soon after, on 21 September 1606, and became quite

¹⁵ Nowadays known by its chemical name: potassium nitrate.

¹⁶ See Fukuda Maiko, "Bakufu ni yoru shoseki no tousei [A study on the control of saltpetre by the Tokugawa shogunate: the relation between military organizational reform and the establishment of guilds]", in *Journal of the History of Science*, 50:258 (Jun. 2011), pp. 77–85.

¹⁷ Hora Tomio, *Teppo-denrai to sono eikyo* [Matchlocks: their arrival and influence] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1991), pp. 65–66.

¹⁸ Fukuda, op. cit., pp. 77–85.

frequent. On 25 and 26 August 1604, Yoemon in Siam was issued with, in total, three vermillion-seal licenses (see table 2 for the first issue of licenses for Siam). In addition to those three voyages, another four licenses were issued for voyages up until 15 August 1606. Under such circumstances, Tokugawa Ieyasu sent the following official letter, personally signed and sealed, to the King of Siam in a startlingly candid approach to engender trade (without apparently knowing the King's name).

Minamoto Ieyasu of Japan respectfully addresses His Highness the King of Siam with a friendly heart. In matters of alliance, countries may be not widely separated, and yet if there is no friendship between them it is just as if they were a thousand leagues apart. On the other hand, although those countries are not near to each other, yet if communication is continued, it is as if they were neighbours.

What your humble servant would fain ask your honoured country for is the very best quality of eagle-wood (incense) and superlative matchlocks. If Your Highness will give such orders that such be sought for, and will have them sent here, it will be a gracious favour to me. I now beg to offer three suits of [Japanese] armour and ten Japanese halberds [*naginata*] as a token of my sincere regard. These gifts are altogether too few, but please take them as being proof of the good faith in which I hold Your Highness. Moreover, in regard to various other matters, I have instructed the master of the ship, who presents Your Highness with this document, to provide you with further explanations verbally.¹⁹

That is to say, Tokugawa Ieyasu wished to obtain eagle-wood, for making perfume and incense, and the very finest matchlocks. A vermillion-seal license for a voyage to Siam was issued to the merchant Imaya Munetada on 18 October 1606 (see table 2, line 18); along with the above letter addressed to the King of Siam, and verbal instructions.

In addition, on 10 October 1606, the Shogunate entrusted Imaya and An Nin Bun, who is thought to have been his interpreter, with a rescript addressed to Fernando Miguel and Jacob Kakaranaka (who seem to have been Portuguese or Spanish merchants).²⁰ Appended to the above letter written by Tokugawa Ieyasu, dated 21 September 1606, the rescript is quoted in full below.

¹⁹ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 6, p. 529. We have followed closely Satow's translation of (what we assume is) the same letter (22 October 1606); nevertheless, there are some curious embellishments (perhaps inherent in the polite language) and omissions (the second paragraph seems to have been somewhat abbreviated) that have been amended. See Satow, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

²⁰ See Satow, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–66.

This person travelling to Japan by merchant ship is not to be treated as if he were a stranger. [The above] is free to enter ports and conduct business throughout the countries and places of the Japanese Islands, in peace, providing he does not engage in coercive transactions, or other forms of importunate trade. An Nin Bun will kindly explain the details.²¹

In other words, these foreign merchants were granted permission to conduct business and the rescript guaranteed to afford them every facility for trade. Imaya set sail for Siam on 9 November 1606. From this time on, the trade between Japan and Siam gains momentum, becoming more frequent and important, as revealed by the number of vermillion-seal licenses issued (see table 2, lines 18 to 45).

On 10 October 1608, an aide of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Honda Masazumi sent the following letter to the “Okya Phra-klang”, the court title of the most senior trade official of the King of Siam.²²

Respectfully I address thee. The way by land and sea is very far and so it has been very difficult to write to each other.

I have the honour, by the commands of my lord, Minamoto Ieyasu, to address a humble letter to you. My lord is profoundly desirous of obtaining some of the matchlocks of your honoured country. If you should entertain my lord's wishes, he shall place two or even three orders in the next year, and would be very glad. And another favour, concerning the splendid saltpetre produced in your country. Although I imagine its export is restricted, could you bestow us with special permission for its export, and send us a shipload of it? In relations to the details of this, I confidently await your leave.

I send a present of six suits of armour as an expression of my sentiments. Pray take care of yourself now it has become winter.²³

In saying that Honda wanted to obtain matchlocks and saltpetre, we should understand that matchlocks were already being manufactured in great numbers, across all Japan, by this time. The request for matchlocks, therefore, most likely represents a desire to study Siamese-style weapons and compare their qualities and performance against Japanese-made equivalents. The case of saltpetre, however, is different; as it was not widely produced in Japan. Moreover, there was an important reason for the pressing demand.

²¹ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 6, p. 529.

²² Honda apparently wrote an almost identical letter (dated 17 November 1608) directly to the King of Siam. See Satow, op. cit., pp. 266–67.

²³ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 6, pp. 529–30.

Although the Tokugawa shogunate had assumed control over all of Japan, following Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at the battle of Sekigahara, a military emergency arose in Osaka caused by Toyotomi Hideyori. Of course, the Tokugawa forces were very conscious of the threat against them, and, if there was to be war, they knew that they had to secure as much saltpetre as possible (in order to achieve victory). So “that the Siamese King may have no excuse for forgetting”,²⁴ Tokugawa Ieyasu personally addressed the unnamed King of Siam in the following letter, written during July 1610.

Minamoto Ieyasu of Japan respectfully addresses His Highness the King of Siam.

Though lands, countries and seas be separated by a thousand leagues, if there be friendship between them they are close to one another. During the summer a letter from Your Highness's country arrived by merchant vessel, and I felt as much joy as if I had seen your honoured self face to face. I am extremely glad to learn from the letter of your honourable servant Okya Phra-klang that by next year's ship you will graciously send me the much-desired matchlocks and saltpetre that my vassal Honda Masazumi requested in his note of the year before last. You have satisfied all my desires and hopes, and I overflow with a feeling of joy.

The maintenance of commercial intercourse between our two countries by means of merchant ships passing to and fro every year will greatly promote the peace and happiness of both our countries and the prosperity of our respective subjects. Distant regions will thus become as if they were neighbours, so let us continue our friendly relations.

My own country cannot be said to have any particularly special products, but such as they are, I have the honour to offer to Your Highness the presents named in the accompanying list. Pray take good care of Your Highness as it becomes cooler with autumn.²⁵

Clearly, Tokugawa Ieyasu expected that the King of Siam would supply him with matchlocks and saltpetre, and the letter is written in anticipation of receiving everything he has requested. In addition, the separate list of presents included fifty matchlocks for the King of Siam, along with one suit of armour, one long sword (*koshi-gatana*), and one short sword (*wakizashi*) to be given to the Okya Phra-klang, in his capacity as the most senior Siamese official responsible for foreign trade.

²⁴ Satow, op. cit., p. 267.

²⁵ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 6, pp. 530–31. We have followed closely Satow's translation of the same letter (of July 1610). See Satow, op. cit., pp. 267–68.

That Tokugawa Ieyasu asked the King of Siam for “superlative matchlocks”, and then sent the King fifty Japanese matchlocks in return, suggests that the Siamese matchlocks (in particular, their firing mechanisms) were quite different in design from those manufactured in Japan. Moreover, in the following month of August 1610, Honda Masazumi, as an aide of Tokugawa Ieyasu, wrote a reply to the Okya Phra-klang, as quoted in full below.

Respectfully I address thee. The year before last I had the honour to address you on the orders of my master, and I am glad to say that I have now respectfully perused the memorial in which you state that as soon as my letter reached Siam it was communicated to your court, and that by next year’s ship you will present my lord with the matchlocks and saltpetre which he expressed the earnest desire to possess. I now learn, Sir, from your fragrant letter, that you presented my Lord with precious stones, and a golden ring having a design of raised flowers. He is greatly pleased, and has commanded me to reply expressing his thanks as I might judge most fitting.

My own country enjoys universal tranquillity as regard to its institutions, customs and form of government. The commanders of such Siamese merchant vessels as may visit us from year to year shall have accorded to them every kind of gracious treatment that their hearts may desire. A list of the tokens of friendship that are sent to you by my humble country will be found in the enclosed slip.

The gifts of matchlocks and saltpetre from your good offices are good news for my country. An imperfect communication.²⁶

An imperfect communication, indeed; both revealing and yet opaque, it serves as a postscript to the above episode.

Official correspondence between Siam and Japan seems to have dried up after 1610, but commercial intercourse intermittently continued. The prefect of Nagasaki port, Hasegawa Fujihiro, reported the arrival of two ships from Siam on 5 June 1613. Japan’s internal political struggles then once again took centre stage, and threatened to turn into civil war, when the winter siege of Osaka began on 1 October 1614. After a phlegmatic truce, the conflict re-commenced as the summer siege of Osaka on 6 April 1615, with Osaka Castle falling quickly on 7 May. With the fall of the castle, and the suicide of Toyotomi Hideyori, the Toyotomi clan was

²⁶ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 6, p. 531. We have followed closely Satow’s translation of (what we assume is) the same letter (of August 1610); nevertheless, there are some curious embellishments (sandalwood) and omissions (the request for news of matchlocks and saltpetre) that have been amended. See Satow, op. cit., p. 268.

forever ruined. Tokugawa Ieyasu died almost a year later on 17 April 1616. And while it may be said that his passing marked the end of an era, the foundations of the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate remained as firm as ever. In regard to Tokugawa Ieyasu's issue of vermillion-seal licenses, permitting trade with Siam (including Kachan, Mishiya, Pattani and Shinichu), the number of voyages rose to 45 by 9 September 1615 (see table 2). There are, however, no official records of (additional) licenses being issued after this date.²⁷

In a letter dated 7 April 1621, sent via the prefect of Nagasaki Hasegawa Fujihiro, one Okya Si Dhammarat—who was better known to the Japanese by his court title “Okya Phra-klang”—as Siam's most senior trade official requested the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Tokugawa shogunate.²⁸ The same Okya Si Dhammarat wrote to Honda Masazumi on 7 April 1621, addressed Doi Toshikatsu with a letter of introduction, dated 11 April 1621, and made contact with Yamada Nagamasa, the head of the Japanese community in Siam. Significantly, the King of Siam had passed away on 11 May 1621, and it was largely through Yamada Nagamasa's prodigious efforts that commercial trade and intercourse between Siam and Japan was reinvigorated.²⁹ The trade engendered by Yamada Nagamasa's exploits, however, ended with his death (assassination?) in 1630. Considering the strengthening tendency of the Tokugawa shogunate to turn towards national seclusion, any hopes for improvement in the commercial relations between Siam and Japan after that time died along with Yamada Nagamasa.

On 27 July 1621, Tokugawa Iemitsu became the third Shogun (Tokugawa Ieyasu having died in 1616), and Tokugawa Hidetada was then awarded the title of *Ogosho*, following the precedent of early handover, as established by his father. Tokugawa Hidetada died almost eleven years later on 24 January 1632. By that time, Tokugawa Iemitsu had begun to call for a policy of national seclusion. As for the Tokugawa shogunate, moves towards the implementation of such a national seclusion policy were made public on 19 May 1636, but were not enforced in full until the so-called “National Isolation Law” of 5 August 1639. The policy of national seclusion would then continue for the next 215 years, until it was broken with the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and Japan in 1854.

²⁷ A further ten or eleven (totaling 55 or 56) licenses may have been issued between 1604 and 1635. See Yoneo Ishii, “Siam and Japan in pre-modern times: A note on mutual images” in Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack and Tessa Morris-Suzuki (eds.), *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to postmodern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 153–9, and Nagazumi, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²⁸ For more information on this, and related trade missions, see Satow, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–84.

²⁹ See Iwamoto Yoshiteru [translated by Simon James Bytheway], “Yamada Nagamasa and his relations with Siam”, in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 95 (2007), pp. 73–95.

Nevertheless, according to the *Tsuko Ichiran*, there were six visits by, or incidents concerning, Siamese vessels during the time of the national seclusion policy, and one further request for trade through a Dutch intermediary, as detailed below and listed in table 1.

1. One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki on 17 May 1656 requesting commercial intercourse. The shogunate declined the Siamese request, but did provision the vessel with potable water, firewood and cooking rice. The shogunate also allowed the vessel to make its homeward voyage in August (by the lunar calendar), after the typhoons had subsided.³⁰
2. One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki on 22 June 1680. The captain and members of his crew were questioned about their knowledge of European matters, appropriate records were made, and then the ship was forced to return on its homeward voyage.³¹
3. A high Siamese official sent a letter to the prefect of Nagasaki via a Dutch ship, which arrived in Nagasaki during April 1687, which requested the same, or similar, commercial arrangements as enjoyed by the Netherlands. The Nagasaki prefect, however, verbally refused to accept the Siamese request.³²
4. One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki on 4 August 1693 with eighteen crewmembers of a Chinese vessel that had “met with disaster”. The prefect of Nagasaki then handed over the eighteen crew members to another homeward-bound Chinese vessel, and the Siamese vessel was forced to return from “whence it had come”.³³
5. One Siamese vessel was shipwrecked on Azusa-jima (near Nagasaki?) during August 1715. The surviving crew were taken to Nagasaki, allowed to sell that part of their ship and load that they had been able to salvage, and then sent back to Siam on the next available voyage.³⁴
6. One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki on 10 August 1718 with supposedly 62 Chinese merchants on board. Although its ports of call and its on-going destinations were unclear, the vessel was forced to leave after much mediation and discussion with its Siamese captain.³⁵

³⁰ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, p. 15.

³¹ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, p. 16.

³² *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, pp. 111–21.

³³ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, pp. 21–5.

³⁴ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, p. 25.

³⁵ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, pp. 25–6.

7. One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki on 17 July 1745 with supposedly sixteen Chinese merchants on board. These sixteen “Chinese merchants” were sent away from Japan, despite their claim that they would not return to Siam. The vessel was forced to leave after “troublesome” discussions and mediations with its Siamese captain.³⁶

The most to be said of those visits is that they were brief, as short as circumstances would allow at those times, and that they did not constitute formal diplomatic relations.

After 1630, the freeze in relations between Siam and Japan may be related to the demise of Yamada Nagamasa. That cannot be, however, the entire explanation. After the winter and summer sieges of Osaka, an era of belligerence (the Keicho era) was followed by an era of demilitarization (the Genna era). That is, armaments were disposed of and weapons were put away in their armouries, in what was called the “Genna disarmament”. In brief, the unification of Japan, at the hands of the Tokugawa shogunate, had completely erased any vestiges of the violence and instability that marked the previous age of “warring states” (*Sengoku-jidai*). In the coming age, the absolute rule of the Tokugawa shogunate and the peace it engendered (the so-called *Pax Tokugawa*) was never threatened; except perhaps in the Shimabara Rebellion, a large-scale peasant uprising from 1637 to 1638. With peace, the quantitative demand for saltpetre, which had largely driven the Japanese desire for trade with Siam, dramatically decreased; and the urgency of saltpetre demand, as exemplified during the 1610s, almost disappeared.

Moreover, by the late 1630s, Japan was better able to produce saltpetre, albeit only in small amounts. When old wooden houses were dismantled, saltpetre was found to have accumulated naturally underneath the floorboards (as precipitate from urea in the adjacent toilets), and similarly, saltpetre was discovered in old (rice straw) *tatami* mats that had repeatedly been urinated on, over a long period of time (some twenty to thirty years). All such findings provided hints towards its possible production. Clearly, the amount of potassium nitrate that could be extracted through early production methods was hardly substantial, but given the over-arching context of *Pax Tokugawa*, the quantity produced in these ways was eventually able to meet the shogunate’s modest demand. To facilitate self-reliance, each domain was encouraged to build its own stores of saltpetre by the shogunate. Accordingly, regulation and management of saltpetre production and storage was strict, both because of its explosive power, and because it could be easily mixed with other components to produce gunpowder.³⁷ Moreover, Japan also bought saltpetre through

³⁶ *Tsuko Ichiran*, Vol. 7, p. 26.

³⁷ Hora, op. cit., pp. 65–6.

Chinese and Portuguese merchants in Macao when necessary. Accordingly, by the late 1630s, there was almost no need for Japan to continue trading with Siam, or the other Southeast Asian entrepôts.

In this light, Yamada Nagamasa's attempts to reinvigorate trade between Japan and Siam were, sooner or later, bound to fail. Maintenance of the so-called *Pax Tokugawa* required that the Tokugawa shogunate curtail its diplomatic relations with Spain, Portugal, and any other countries that traded with them, in order to stop their priests from bringing "unfavourable thoughts" into Japan. Moreover, Japanese trade with the English was soon discontinued after their small "factory" voluntarily departed in 1623. As a result, by 1639, Japan's trade with three of Europe's premier trading nations had ended, and a policy of national seclusion was established in its place. The brusque introduction of "national seclusion" stranded those Japanese who went to Southeast Asia for adventure and trade, and stories about the plight of those who were expelled or prevented from returning home were common, as exemplified by the fate of Jagataru Oharu.³⁸

Moreover, travel by Japanese to foreign ports was prohibited. Trade was limited to Chinese and Korean vessels; and the occasional arrival of ships from the Netherlands. From 1639 to the last years of the Tokugawa period, all Japanese dealings with Europe were limited to, and negotiated through, the diplomatic window held by the Dutch at Dejima in Nagasaki. The national seclusion policy thus gave the shogunate a monopoly over foreign trade and profits generated there from, and on the collection and dissemination of information from overseas. The period of national seclusion, therefore, may be said to have been a time of "carefully managed trade", rather than that of a "country in chains (*sakoku*)". Accordingly, within the framework of the shogunate's managed trade Kachan (Hoi-an), Mishiya (Ayutthaya), Pattani and Shinichu (Songkhla), not to mention other Southeast Asian entrepôts such as Jakarta, Luzon and Manila, were all excluded.

The sixteenth-century phenomenon of Japanese merchants from Hakata and Sakai leading commercial expeditions into Southeast Asia, and, indeed, the entire *Nanban* trade, with European explorers flocking to the Japanese Islands, may be seen from a global-history viewpoint as being part and parcel of the "Great Age of Navigation". During the period of *Pax Tokugawa*, however, there is no need to stress this connection. The market economy of the Japanese archipelago did not

³⁸ Jagataru Oharu (Geronima Simonsen) was born in Nagasaki to a Japanese Christian mother and an Italian sea adventurer father. As a child of "mixed parentage" she was expelled from Nagasaki to Batavia (known later in Japan as Jakarta, or Jakataru) in 1639 at the tender age of 14. She apparently married a Dutch VOC clerk (Simon Simonsen) during 1646; and dreamed endlessly of returning to Japan, without even so much as a hope. See Nishikawa Joken [1648–1724], *Nagasaki Yawaso* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942).

need a permanent connection with the international market, and Japan subsequently remained a closed country as the European countries had no need to incorporate the Japanese trade into their own market economies. The development of the Japanese economy was, therefore, a *non sequitur*, not an imperative, until the foreign demand for trade broke open Japan's domestic markets through the establishment of treaty ports in the latter half of 1850s. As an aside, Karl Marx is reputed to have said that geography can be credited with the discovery that the earth is physically round, but the forced opening of Japan proved that the earth is economically round.³⁹ That is, the opening of treaty ports in the late Tokugawa period illustrated the development of an international market economy, based on capitalism, and demonstrated that the sixteenth, and the early seventeenth, century experiences of *Nanban* and Southeast Asian trade had not reached an advanced stage in terms of its own market economy. In this sense, for European peoples, Japan was regarded as being just as it was written: the Far East.

³⁹ See "Marx and Japan" in Suzuki Koichiro, *Shihonron Henreki* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1971), p. 220.

Table 1. Timeline of Japan's history and relations with Shamuro (and other states)

	DATE (D-M-Y)	SUMMARY OF EVENTS	SOURCE: <i>Tsuko Ichiran</i>
1	2-6-1582	Oda Nobunaga killed by Akechi Mitsuhide, in the so-called Honnoji-no-Hen incident.	
2	11-7-1585	Hashiba Hideyoshi appointed as chief advisor to the Emperor (<i>Kampaku</i>), named as Fujiwara Hideyoshi.	
3	9-9-1585	The former Hashiba Hideyoshi re-named Toyotomi Hideyoshi by Imperial decree.	
4	18-12-1586	Toyotomi Hideyoshi appointed as the Emperor's prime minister (<i>Dajo-daijin</i>).	
5	28-12-1591	Toyotomi Hideyoshi hands over the rank of <i>Kampaku</i> to his nephew Toyotomi Hidetsugu, and received the new title of <i>Taiko</i> .	
6	12-3-1592	Toyotomi Hideyoshi launches an invasion of the Korean Peninsula (<i>Bunroku no eki</i>), and issues vermilion-sealed trade licenses to the merchants of Hakata, Nagasaki and other ports.	
7	8-7-1595	Toyotomi Hideyoshi banishes Toyotomi Hidetsugu to the temples of Koyasan, to live out the rest of his life as a monk.	
8	15-7-1595	The problem of inheritance within the Toyotomi clan resolved by Toyotomi Hidetsugu being compelled to commit suicide.	
9	15-11-1596	Toyotomi Hideyoshi outlaws the practice and propagation of Christianity.	
10	6-1597	The invasion of Korea escalates, and is re-named as the Keicho invasion (<i>Keicho no eki</i>).	
11	7-1598	Toyotomi Hideyoshi appoints five chief councillors to share power until his heir (Toyotomi Hideyori) comes of age. Tokugawa Ieyasu, as head of the five-member council, is first among equals.	
12	18-8-1598	Toyotomi Hideyoshi dies.	
13	7-1599	After receiving an envoy from the Kingdom of Pattani, Tokugawa Ieyasu writes his first letter to the Pattani King, signing his name as Minamoto Ieyasu.	Vol. 7, p. 27
14	15-9-1600	Tokugawa Ieyasu consolidates his rule over Japan after his Eastern Army defeats Ishida Mitsunari's Western Army at the battle of Sekigahara.	
15	5-8-1602	A diplomatic mission from the Kingdom of Pattani arrives earlier in 1602, and Tokugawa Ieyasu replies to their enquiries, signing himself as Minamoto Ieyasu.	Vol. 7, pp. 27-28
16	12-2-1603	The Imperial Court appoints Tokugawa Ieyasu as the new Shogun. Edo (present-day Tokyo) established as the Tokugawa Shogunate's new seat of government.	
17	16-4-1605	The Imperial Court appoints Tokugawa Hidetada, the rightful heir of Tokugawa Ieyasu, to the office of Shogun. Tokugawa Ieyasu, by his own hand, retires, and is awarded the title of Ogosho.	

Table 1, continued

	DATE (D-M-Y)	SUMMARY OF EVENTS	SOURCE: <i>Tsuko Ichiran</i>
18	8-1606	An envoy from the Kingdom of Pattani arrives in Japan. On receiving a letter from the envoy, Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu drafts a reply continuing to write his name as Minamoto Ieyasu.	Vol. 7, p. 28
19	21-9-1606	Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu writes (as Minamoto Ieyasu) to the King of Siam, in the hope of encouraging further trade.	Vol. 6, p. 529
20	10-10-1606	The Shogunate writes to Fernando Miguel and Jacob Kakaranaka (foreign merchants) to notify them that they were free to conduct business and trade in Japan.	Vol. 6, pp. 529–530
21	3-7-1607	Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu retires to Suruga.	
22	11-3-1608	Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu, after a brief return to Edo, once again retires to Suruga.	
23	10-10-1608	At Tokugawa Ieyasu's request, Honda Masazumi sends a letter to Okya Phra-klang, an aide of the King of Siam, requesting matchlocks and saltpetre.	Vol. 6, p. 530
24	7-1610	Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu (as Minamoto Ieyasu) personally addresses the King Siam to convey his appreciation on receiving matchlocks and saltpetre, and sends presents in return. Honda Masazumi does likewise.	Vol. 6, pp. 530–531
25	24-8-1611	Nagaoka Tadaoki (of Buzen) travels to Siam in a merchant ship. Trade mission successful and Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu is presented with ivory and various tribute on its return.	Vol. 6, p. 499
26	30-7-1612	Siamese envoy arrives, but is not received in Suruga. Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu instead orders trusted ministers to handle the matter.	Vol. 6, p. 531
27	5-6-1613	The prefect of Nagasaki port, Hasegawa Fujihiro, reports the arrival of two ships from Siam.	Vol. 6, p. 531
28	26-6-1613	Kiya Yasoemon, on return from a successful trade mission in Siam, is granted an audience with Ogosho Tokugawa Ieyasu.	Vol. 6, p. 499
29	1-10-1614	The winter siege of Osaka (<i>Fuyu no jin</i>) begins.	
30	6-4-1615	The summer siege of Osaka (<i>Natsu no jin</i>) begins with Osaka Castle falling in just over a month. Toyotomi Hideyori commits suicide, the the Toyotomi clan is extinguished.	
31	17-4-1616	Tokugawa Ieyasu dies.	
32	11-5-1621	Hasegawa Fujihiro receives a Siamese envoy who requests improved diplomatic relations with the Tokugawa Shogunate. The envoy also wrote to Honda Masazumi on 7-4-1621 requesting the same. In addition, Yamada Nagamasa (in Siam) addressed Doi Toshikatsu with a letter of introduction (dated 11-4-1621).	Vol. 6, pp. 532–535
33	27-7-1621	Tokugawa Iemitsu becomes the third Shogun, and Tokugawa Hidetada awarded the title of Ogosho, in the same manner as his father.	

Table 1, continued

	DATE (D-M-Y)	SUMMARY OF EVENTS	SOURCE: <i>Tsuko Ichiran</i>
34	8-1621	A Siamese envoy arrives in Japan with a letter from his King (dated 8-4-1621).	Vol. 6, p. 536
35	9-1621	Two Siamese envoys arrive in Edo with their King's request for the continuation of amity and trade. The envoys were asked to present the King of Siam with a message of friendship from Ogosho Tokugawa Hidetada (self-titled as Minamoto Hidetada), and a large variety of gifts. Doi Toshikatsu and Honda Masazumi are also involved in an exchange letters with an official of the Siamese Government and, in addition, they ask the Siamese envoys to personally deliver a jointly signed letter to Yamada Nagamasa.	Vol. 6, pp. 537–539
36	8-1623	A Siamese envoy arrives in Japan with a letter from his King to the King of Japan. Sakai Tadayo and Doi Toshikatsu also receive correspondence from Siamese ministers (all correspondence dated fortunate day April 1623).	Vol. 7, pp. 1–4
37	(2) 8-1623	Ogosho Tokugawa Hidetada (as Minamoto Hidetada) replies to the King of Siam. Sakai Tadayo, Doi Toshikatsu and Itakura Shigemune all write replies and letters to officials in Siam. The Siamese envoy is entrusted with their delivery.	Vol. 7, pp. 3–6
38	8-1625	Makino Nobunari sends a letter to Siam on a Siamese vessel.	Vol. 7, pp. 6–7
39	4-1626	Sakai Tadayo and Doi Toshikatsu receive correspondence from Siamese ministers.	Vol. 7, pp. 7–9
40	10-1626	Sakai Tadayo and Doi Toshikatsu send replies to officials in Siam. A Siamese envoy is entrusted to deliver the letters.	Vol. 7, pp. 9–10
41	13-9-1629	Three Siamese envoys and their interpreter arrived in Edo (via Nagasaki) and soon met the Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu, and the former Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada, delivering a message of friendship from their King (dated 15-4-1629). The Siamese envoys also presented gifts on behalf of one Kalahom, a leading Siamese official, to Doi Toshikatsu and Sakai Tadayo. Doi Toshikatsu and Seki Chikara-no-suke (an attendant of Sakai Tadayo) both receive almost identical letters from Yamada Nagamasa thanking them for help (dated 3-3-1629).	Vol. 7, pp. 10–12
42	9/10-1629	Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (as Minamoto Iemitsu) replies to the King of Siam with a messages asking for continued friendship and commercial intercourse. Sakai Tadayo, Doi Toshikatsu and Itakura Shigemune all write replies and letters to officials in Siam. Doi Toshikatsu and Sakai Tadayo ask the Siamese envoys to deliver a jointly signed letter addressed to Kalahomrahomn. Sakai Tadayo also used the opportunity to ask the envoys to deliver rewards to Yamada Nagamasa. Sakai Tadayo addresses Nagamasa as if they were at the same rank, the Honourable Yamada Nizaemon.	Vol. 7, pp. 13–14
43	24-1-1632	Tokugawa Hidetada dies.	

Table 1, continued

	DATE (D-M-Y)	SUMMARY OF EVENTS	SOURCE: <i>Tsuko Ichiran</i>
44	19-5-1636	The Tokugawa Shogunate publically announces the imminent introduction of a national seclusion policy.	
45	5-8-1639	The Tokugawa Shogunate promulgates the National Isolation Law and enforces a ban on all unauthorised trade and intercourse with Japan.	
46	17-5-1656	One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki on 17 May 1656 requesting commercial intercourse. The shogunate declined the Siamese request, but did provision the vessel with potable water, firewood and cooking rice. The shogunate also allowed the vessel to make its homeward voyage in August (by the lunar calendar), after the typhoons had subsided.	
47	22-6-1680	One Siamese vessel arrives at Nagasaki. The captain and members of his crew were questioned about their knowledge of European matters, and then the ship was forced to leave.	Vol. 7, p. 16
48	4-1687	A high Siamese official sends a letter to the prefect of Nagasaki, via a Dutch ship, requesting the same, or similar, commercial arrangements as enjoyed by the Netherlands. The Nagasaki prefect refuses to accept the Siamese request.	Vol. 7, pp. 111–121
49	4-8-1693	One Siamese vessel arrives at Nagasaki with eighteen crew members of a Chinese vessel that had met with disaster. The prefect of Nagasaki then handed over the eighteen crew members to another homeward-bound Chinese vessel, and the Siamese vessel was forced to return from whence it had come.	Vol. 7, pp. 21–25
50	8-1715	One Siamese vessel was shipwrecked on Azusa Island. The surviving crew members were taken to Nagasaki, allowed to sell that part of their ship and load which they had been able to salvage, and then sent back to Siam on the next available voyage.	Vol. 7, p. 25
51	10-8-1718	One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki with 62 Chinese merchants on board. The vessel was forced to leave after laborious discussions with its Siamese captain.	Vol. 7, pp. 25–26
52	17-7-1745	One Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki with sixteen Chinese merchants on board. The merchants were expelled from Japan, despite claiming that they would not return to Siam. The vessel was forced to leave after troublesome discussions with its Siamese captain.	Vol. 7, p. 26

Notes:

1. All dates are according to the Japanese lunar calendar, with Japanese reign names replaced by the corresponding Gregorian calendar year.
2. Second intercalary months, or extra lunar months in the Japanese lunar calendar, are represented with (2) in front of the month.

Table 2. The Tokugawa Shogunate's issuance of vermillion-sealed licenses for Shamuro (and other states)

	DATE OF ISSUE (D-M-Y)	APPLICANT	HOME PORT OF APPLICANT	DESTINATION	PLACE OF ISSUE	AGENT/SPONSOR	SOURCE: <i>Tsuko Ichiran</i>
1	5-7-1604	TAKASEYA Shinzo		Shinichu		OGASAWARA Ichian & GOTO Shozaburo	Vol. 7, p. 30
2	25-8-1604	Yoemon (1st issue)	Shamuro	Shamuro		ARIMA Shuri	Vol. 6, p. 494
3	26-8-1604	IMAYA Munetada		Pattani			Vol. 7, p. 29
4	26-8-1604	Yoemon (2nd issue)	Shamuro	Shamuro			Vol. 6, p. 494
5	26-8-1604	Yoemon (3rd issue)	Shamuro	Shamuro			Vol. 6, p. 494
6	12-(2) 8-1604	SHIMAZU Iehisa		Shamuro			Vol. 6, p. 494
7	12-(2) 8-1604	KUBOTA Yoshiro (Miguel)	Nagasaki	Shamuro			Vol. 7, p. 30
8	27-11-1604	MATSUURA Shigenobu		Kachan	Mikawa, Yoshina		Vol. 7, p. 31
9	16-12-1604	DAIKOKUYA Subezaemon		Pattani	Edo		Vol. 7, p. 29
10	16-12-1604	HIHADAYA Magobei		Pattani	Edo		Vol. 7, p. 29
11	3-1-1605	AMAGASAKIYA Matajiro		Pattani	Edo		Vol. 7, p. 29
12	13-9-1605	KUBOTA Yoshiro (Miguel)	Nagasaki	Mishiya			Vol. 7, p. 31
13	2-12-1605	ROKUJO Nihei		Pattani			Vol. 7, p. 29
14	12-6-1606	TAKAHASHI Kamon	Nagasaki	Mishiya			Vol. 7, p. 31
15	21-7-1606	KIYA Yasoemon	Sakai	Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi & Jukan	Vol. 6, p. 494
16	11-8-1606	Soemon	Nagasaki	Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 494
17	15-8-1606	ARIMA Harunobu		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 495
18	8-10-1606	IMAYA Munetada		Shamuro		GOTO Shozaburo & MIURA Anjin (=William ADAMS)	Vol. 6, p. 495
19	7-5-1607	OGA Kurozaemon	Sosei, Hakata	Shamuro	Sokokuji	HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 495
20	4-8-1607	KIYA Yasoemon	Sakai	Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi & Jukan	Vol. 6, p. 495
21	18-10-1607	SHIMAZU Iehisa		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi & YAMAGUCHI Suruga	Vol. 6, p. 495

Table 2, continued

	DATE OF ISSUE (D-M-Y)	APPLICANT	HOME PORT OF APPLICANT	DESTINATION	PLACE OF ISSUE	AGENT/SPONSOR	SOURCE: <i>Tsuko Ichiran</i>
22	24-12-1607	GOTO Shoin		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 495
23	25-7-1608	TANABEYA Matazaemon		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi & HIRANO Magozaemon	Vol. 6, p. 495
24	11-1-1609	KATO Kiyomasa		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 495
25	11-1-1609	ITO Shinkuro		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 495
26	11-1-1609	Christian Bertram THOMAS		Shamuro		HASEGAWA Shobei	Vol. 6, pp. 495–496
27	1609 [day/month unclear]	SHIMAZU Ichisa		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi & YAMAGUCHI Suruga	Vol. 6, p. 496
28	25-7-1609	KIYA Yasoemon	Sakai	Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi & Jukan	Vol. 6, p. 496
29	25-8-1609	KAMEI Korenori		Shamuro	Sunpu	HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 496
30	11-1-1610	EJIMA Kichiemon & OMURA Tango-no-kami			Shamuro	HONDA Masazumi & GOTO Shozaburo	Vol. 6, p. 496
31	25-7-1610	KIYA Yasoemon	Sakai	Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 496
32	22-8-1610	KAMEI Korenori		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 496
33	11-1-1611	HASHIDA Echu (=HOSOKAWA Tadaoki)	Nagasaki	Shamuro		HASEGAWA Sahei	Vol. 6, p. 496
34	9-9-1612	Jan JOOSTEN		Shamuro		HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, pp. 496–497
35	28-10-1612	Ships representing Pattani & Bataan	Pattani & Bataan	Japan	Hirado	Captain of the Dutch Factory	Vol. 6, pp. 188–189
36	11-1-1613	HASEGAWA Chubei	Nagasaki	Shamuro	Sunpu	HONDA Masazumi & GOTO Shozaburo	Vol. 6, p. 497
37	11-1-1613	Manoshiru	Nagasaki	Shamuro		HASEGAWA Chubei	Vol. 6, p. 497
38	9-9-1613	Jan JOOSTEN		Shamuro	Sunpu	HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 497
39	11-1-1614	KIYA Yasoemon	Sakai	Shamuro	Sunpu	GOTO Shozaburo	Vol. 6, p. 497

Table 2, continued

	DATE OF ISSUE (DD-MM-YYYY)	APPLICANT	HOME PORT OF APPLICANT	DESTINATION	PLACE OF ISSUE	AGENT/SPONSOR	SOURCE: [day/
40	9-9-1614	MIURA Anjin (=William ADAMS)	Hirado	Shamuro	Sunpu	HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 497
41	9-9-1614	Bekkei (Chinese merchant)	Nagasaki	Shamuro	Sunpu	HONDA Masazumi & HASEGAWA Chubei	Vol. 6, pp. 497–498
42	9-9-1615	Sankan (Chinese merchant)	Nagasaki	Shamuro	Sunpu	HONDA Masazumi & GOTO Shozaburo	Vol. 6, p. 498
43	9-9-1615	HASEGAWA Gonroku	Nagasaki	Shamuro	Nanzenji	HASEGAWA Sahei	Vol. 6, p. 498
44	9-9-1615	Jacob KAKARANAKA		Shamuro	Nanzenji	HONDA Masazumi	Vol. 6, p. 498
45	9-9-1615	TAKAO Jiemon		Shamuro	Nanzenji	HASEGAWA Sahei	Vol. 6, p. 498

Notes:

1. All dates are according to the Japanese lunar calendar, with Japanese reign names replaced by the corresponding Gregorian calendar year.
2. Second intercalary months, or extra lunar months in the Japanese lunar calendar, are represented with (2) in front of the month.
3. Names rendered entirely in capital letters are surnames.