

	<p>Sad daily notes on the loss of our ship <i>Batavia</i>, being mis-sailed on the <i>Abrolhos</i> or Cliffs of Frederick Hout-man, situated in the latitude of $28\frac{1}{3}$ degrees, 9 miles¹ from Southland on the —</p> <p>Fourth of June, being Monday morning, on the 2 day of Whitsuntide, with a bright clear full moonlight² about 2 hours before daybreak In the watch of the skipper, lay I yet in my bunk being sickly, I felt the ship's rudder strike with a hard terrible motion, whereupon the ship immediately halted her course against the rocks, so that I fell out of my berth. Thereupon I walked upstairs and found all the sails aloft, the wind south west, the course at north east by north that night, and lay in the middle of a thick spume. But near the ship there was little breaching, but shortly after the sea was heard breaking hard round and about. I said, skipper, how have you wrought this that you through reckless inattention have hung us by our necks. He answered, what better could I do? I did not sleep, but did look out, for when I saw the far off foam I asked Hans the gunner³, what can that be? Whereupon he said, skipper it is the glint of the moon, upon which I have relied. I asked him what advice now, whereabouts he thought we were. He said, God knows that, this is a shoal that must be lying a long way from land unknown, and I reckon we are grounded at the tail. We must try and bring out an anchor from the rear, perhaps it is low tide, so that we might still wind it off from it. I asked him how deep that it was there. He answered that he did not know. I sent to get the lead, which was in the steersmen's cabin, and I found that astern there was only 17 to 18 feet of water, but at the ship's bow much less. At that time, I did not know otherwise than, as the skipper said, it was an unknown shoal. Therefore we began to throw the guns overboard in order to make the ship lighter, and the <i>schuyt</i>⁴ with the longboat were put out, and I had it sounded all around, and found at a <i>pijlschoot</i> [ARROW'S SHOT]⁵</p>
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¹ The mile which Pelsaert uses is the so called *Hollandse mijl*, also known as *Duitse mijl*, of which there were 15 to a degree. Measuring the actual meridian length of one degree, the Dutch scholars and mathematicians Snellius and Metius determined in 1615 this to be 28,500 Rhineland rods and this would be used for many decades to come by surveyors, in map scales and for navigation. The Rhineland rod consisted of 12 Rhineland feet and each such foot being 31.4 centimetres, it can be worked out that the *Hollandse mijl*, as per Snellius and Metius, was $28,500/15 \times 12 \times 0.314 \text{ metres} = 7,159.2 \text{ metres}$. The distance from the *Batavia* wreck site to the mainland coast of Western Australia is close to 63 km, so Pelsaert was not far off with his estimated 9 *mijlen*.

² Continental countries were using the Gregorian (Stilo Nova) Calendar. In early June, sunrise at Geraldton, Western Australia, is at 7.10 a.m. approximately. Allowing 55 minutes for nautical twilight, one can assume that the *Batavia* struck about 4 am. The precise moment of Full Moon (Greenwich Mean Time) on 6th June 1629 has been estimated as 11 pm, which, allowing for the eight-hour delay between Amsterdam and Geraldton, is approximately two days after the actual time of wrecking. Thus Pelsaert was referring to a condition of bright moonlight, not to a full moon.

³ *Boschieter* : a ship's gunner, sometimes carrying a musket. A term still used in the Dutch navy.

⁴ *Schuijt*, in modern Dutch *schuit* (pl. *schuiten*): The *schuijt* was the second auxiliary boat from the *Batavia*. *Schuijt* is a rather generic term mostly used for a variety of flat-bottomed boats and barges which have a moderately sharp bow in common and often a straight stem post at considerable rake. A *schuijt* can be a double ender, or have a square or round and peaked stern. Robert Juet, steersman for Henry Hudson on the yacht Half Moon in 1609, mentions in his journal the '*scute*', his phonetic transcript of *schuijt* for which he did not know the English word.

Pelsaert uses the word *schuijt* for the smaller of the two boats carried by the *Batavia* and refers to the larger as the *boot* (i.e., boat) by which he means the ship's longboat. The *schuijt* would be only a little smaller than the longboat, but because of being sharper and lighter built it would move better under oars than the heavy, larger and bluff-bowed longboat.

⁵ The range of an arrow depends on several factors such as the weight of the arrow, the strength of the draw and angle of launch. According to Robert Hardy in his book *Longbow* (1998 ed., p. 231) a range of 200-300 yards can be expected with a typical English longbow.

	<p>from the back of the ship 7 fathoms of water. But forwards very shallow, we made a kedge anchor ready, to bring out at the stern. Meanwhile it began to blow harder with showers, and the longboat was flung from board by a breaking wave, so that it drifted much away and we had to send the <i>schuijt</i> to help it row back up. Then before it could get alongside it had become day and then found ourselves surrounded by cliffs and shoals, and very suddenly because of the fall of the water (for we had sailed on there with full tide) seas began to break and breach around the ship, so that one could no longer stand or walk due to the pounding of the ship. Therefore we decided to carry the main mast overboard, in order that it would not presently strike at the ground. But when it was cut off we found that it caused us much harm, because due to the great breaches, we could not rid it from board, to be able to moor the longboat alongside. I also saw no land that I thought would remain dry at high water except for an island that on estimate lay a good 3 miles from the ship, therefore I sent the skipper to 2 small islets or cliffs not so very far from the ship to see if the people could be saved there and some goods salvaged. At about 9 o'clock the skipper returned because it was not really possible to get there on account of the rocks and the cliffs, for at one spot one could not go over with the <i>schuijt</i>, whilst at another it would be several fathoms deep. He reported that on inspection by eye the islands would did not overflow. Therefore, because of the great wailing that was in the ship, by women, children, sick, and anxious people, we consented to put most of the people on land first and meanwhile to get ready on deck the money and the most precious goods, for which I did my utmost. But God the Lord scourged us with many rods, for in spite of all the effort we made to careen or make the vessel fall to leeward, it fell quite contrary</p>
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	<p>because of the uneven rocks on which it sat, which so caused it that the people could only come out of the ship very slowly. Secondly, the ship had already burst at 10 o'clock and was one to try with utmost swiftness to get some <i>broot</i> [BREAD]⁶ out of the breadroom. Of water we had hope to get enough but our goodwill and diligence were impeded by the godless unruly troops, so soldiers, as sailors, with their consorts whom I could not keep away from liquor or wine in the hold, so that one could not get at it in the meantime and went the entire hold adrift, so that hardly 1 ½ <i>leggers</i> [LEAGUERS]⁷ were filled with <i>kitten</i> [SCUTTLES] and buckets and were ready above on the ship. So that the day went by and had the longboat done only three trips with people, with which we had put on land .180. souls, 20 casks of bread and some small barrels of water. About sunset the skipper came aboard with the <i>sloep</i> [SLOOP]⁸, who had brought ashore a Jewel Casket and some people, and said to me, it won't help that we salvage water and bread, because there on land everyone drinks his fill, and to forbid has no power unless you impose a different order. Whereupon I fell into the <i>schuijt</i> because of our water which I saw little more was to be obtained for a time, moreover there was such a great number of people that it had to be better used; on intention to return immediately in accordance with our resolution to get the money from the ship with the next boat, but for God's betterment, I was scarcely from board then it began to blow so hard that it was outside human power to reach the ship with the boat. Yes, we could hardly prevent it from drifting away. In the morning before daylight being the 5th, we put some folks with some bread and water on the largest islet, for we had been separated in the night into 2 parties, and I sailed from there in the sloop and the skipper in the longboat, to go aboard, where I arrived at last about noon after much rowing, and the longboat could</p>
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⁶ *Broot*, in modern Dutch *brood*, which means bread, however here it means a hard bread like ship's biscuit, kept in casks.

⁷ A *legger* is the Dutch name for a barrel or cask which, when filled with liquid, can be stored lying on its side without leaking. The largest *legger* in use, a so called *toelast*, had a volume of 614 litres and was used for water storage. Smaller *leggers* for wine (pipe @ 435 ltr or aum @ 153 ltr) or beer (aum @ 153 ltr) were also in use. *Legger*, which literally means 'layer' is often translated in English as leaguer. The 1½ leaguers that were filled with water probably were the smaller aums because Pelsaert mentions they had put some small casks with water ashore.

⁸ Presumably the *schuijt*; there seems no evidence of a third boat, and a few lines farther down Pelsaert reverts to *schuijt*.

	<p>not tack up due to the strong wind because it had no leeboards⁹, and it turned back again to the island. Nor could I get at the ship with the sloop due to the strong breakers, because the breaking waves splashed across the poop. I remained a long time in the vicinity of the ship to seize an opportunity to get aboard, but in vain. At last there was a carpenter Jan Egbertsz of Amsterdam, who dared to come to the sloop through the surf, whom the under merchant Jeronimus Cornelisz with at least another 70 men who were on the ship sent, imploring they'd help them, for there was no shelter anymore in the ship. What grief this was to me all rational people can judge. I asked if there were no means of getting 5 or 6 planks or boards to make leeboards for the boat. Secondly, that they should put together one or two rafts to save themselves and with the first boat that could come aboard I wanted to get the money. Therewith the said Jan Egbertsz swam back aboard and they immediately threw six planks overboard, which we got. Wherewith to my great regret I returned to the island, where I found the carpenter very busy making a leeboard out of a piece of topmast which had drifted there ashore. In the afternoon it started to blow a strong gale from the north-west and was the ship pounded very much that day by the waves, so that often one could not see it and seemed miraculous that it could stay together. In the evening we calculated our water, which we had in small barrels, and found on the smallest islet where we were with the folks of the longboat and the <i>schuijt</i>, about .80. <i>kannen</i> [JUGS]¹⁰ of water, for over 40 people as we were, and on the largest island, where there were .180. souls, was still much less. Therefore the people murmured, why we did not go to the islands or thereabouts</p>
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⁹ The Dutch word *zwaard* used here in this context does mean leeboard, the board set down on the leeward side of a boat for better windward performance

¹⁰ A *kan* [Eng: jug] as a specific measure for liquid capacity is 1.2 litres and is the equivalence of 8 *mutskens*. Four *mutskens* would be equivalent to one pint, or 0.6 litre which is very close to the English pint of 0.568 litre.

	<p>in search of water, for otherwise we could not help them, or they us and we should perish in that way all together which the skipper propounded as such to me, or else that the folk apparently would move on with the boat, a resolution to which I could not be consented. I propounded that we should see the outcome of the weather and the ship. For to leave such a large group of fine people and the rich means of the Company, I was not to justify myself before God and my High Authorities at <i>Batavia</i>. They protested strongly against it, and promised that on whatever land we found water, be it on islands or on the main Southland, they were willing to turn back in order to assist the other people with as many trips for water as would be found needed. At last, after we had well discussed and considered that there was no hope of obtaining water out of the ship unless the ship should fall to pieces and it should so drift ashore, or that there would be a heavy rain daily with which we might quench our thirst (but being all together uncertain means), resolved after long pleading that they motivated me, as appears in the resolution¹¹, that we should go in search of water on the nearby islands or on the mainland to keep them and us alive, and if we found no water, that we should then with the longboat by the Grace of God continue our voyage to <i>Batavia</i> to make known our sad never heard, unfortunate experience. But beforehand I requested the skipper that he would order some men to sail with me with the <i>schuijt</i> to the other islet, partly to declare to them our intention. But he advised me not to sail to the island, saying, they will keep you there, and you will repent it, otherwise, there is no one who wants to sail with you. I persisted</p>
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¹¹ This suggests that a resolution was drawn up and signed but not included in Pelsaert's journal such as the resolution which was signed on 8th June.

On 8	<p>with yet another 10 men, who also came looking for water, then seeing there was none from the manifold wells we had dug, they requested to be allowed to go with us to the mainland, which I permitted. We took also the <i>schuijt</i> along that it would be better or easier for us to search for water or to pull through the surf. Otherwise there was no one who wanted to sail back with the <i>schuijt</i> to the other island or to the wreck. d°. in the morning we set sail from this island to the mainland, after I had read to all people the resolution taken by us, and next to have them swear the oath, which they did, and went as follows:</p> <p>Since on all the islands or cliffs here around our wrecked ship <i>Batavia</i>, no water is to be found to keep the saved people alive, therefore the Commander has earnestly besought us and proposed that we should sail to the mainland and see if it will please God that we find water there, to assist the people with as many trips from there until we can make an estimation that they will be able to stay alive for a considerable time, and meanwhile order someone to convey our sad experience to the Hon. Lord General, which we the undersigned do allow. After the need has been so earnestly presented to us how much importance there is to be accounted for before God and the high authorities, have approved of and resolved to do our utmost duty (<i>devoir</i>) in order to help our poor brethren in their distress. In token of the truth have signed this with our own signatures and sworn to before all the people, this 8th June 1629.</p> <p>Was signed, <i>Francisco Pelsart</i></p> <table data-bbox="552 955 1031 1102"> <tr> <td>Claas Jansz Dor</td><td>Ariaen Jacopsz</td></tr> <tr> <td>Claas Willemsz Graaf</td><td>Claas Gerritsz</td></tr> <tr> <td>Michiel Claasz</td><td>Hans Jacobs Binder</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Jacob Jansz Hollert</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>Jan Evertsz¹⁸</td></tr> </table>	Claas Jansz Dor	Ariaen Jacopsz	Claas Willemsz Graaf	Claas Gerritsz	Michiel Claasz	Hans Jacobs Binder		Jacob Jansz Hollert		Jan Evertsz ¹⁸
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¹⁸ The division of names shows those on the left were not members of the ship's council, as those on the right are. In order of signing, their ranks are: Commander, skipper, upper-steersman, joiner or carpenter replacing another merchant officer, under-steersman J. Jansz later returned with Pelsaert in the *Sardam*. The three on the left appear to be extra witnesses to general willingness.

On 9	<p>At noon had the latitude 28 degrees 13 minutes, saw also shortly thereafter the mainland, and estimated to be 6 miles N. by W. from our ship. The wind west, had ground at 25 and 30 fathoms. In the evening about 3 hours into the night we tacked to stand again off the land, and after midnight we stood again towards it.</p> <p>d°. in the morning we were still about 3 miles from the shore, the wind mostly N.W. with some rain, this 24 hours, by reckoning, covered 4 to 5 miles, made good N. by W. The coast here stretches mostly N. by W. and S. by E., it is flat rocky land without trees, about as high as Dover in England. Here we saw a small bight as well as rather empty dune-like land, where we intended to land, but, getting close noticed that there was much breaching and breaking of waves on shore and very suddenly the swell from the west became so heavy and ran so high in-shore that we could not well make it, and the wind it rose more and more.</p>
On 10	<p>d°. we stood off and on the whole 24 hours because of the strong wind and had to set adrift the sloop which we had taken with us, due to the storm which sprang up from the N.W., and also threw overboard a portion of our bread and what was in our way, because we could not bail out the water. In the night we were in great peril of sinking on account of the strong wind and the hollow water. Also could not lay it off-shore because we could not carry sail and only heave at the seas, it rained the whole night so I hope that our people on the island have had the same rain also.</p> <p>d°. in the morning, the weather began to calm down and was the wind at W.S.W., we then cast about at north, but the sea was as rough as before.</p>
On 11	

On 12	d°. in the afternoon, had latitude of 27 degrees, stood close along the shore, the wind S.E., but could not find an opportunity to get ashore with the boat because of the strong breakers, the coast very steeply hewn without any foreshore or bights as have other countries, but it seemed to be a barren accursed world without foliage or grass, —
On 13	d°. at noon had latitude of 25 degrees 40 minutes, we found that we drifted speedily towards the north and had doubled the headland where the coast stretches mostly N.N.E. and S. South West, these 24 hours made good mostly N. The land still all red stone hewn off without foreshore, and most all of one height, also not possible to get through the breakers ashore.
On 14	d°. in the morning we had a slight breeze, but during the day it fell very quiet. At noon we had the latitude of 24 degrees, made good N. and the wind S.E. The current took us daily against our wish to the north, for we stood close along the shore with little sail. In the afternoon we saw smoke on the land, therefore rowed thither to see if one could get there. Were quite rejoiced for I presumed if there were people there also had to be fresh water. At the shore I found that it was very rough rising ground full of stones and cliffs and hard breaking seas, nevertheless 6 men swam ashore, and we stayed with the boat riding at 25 fathoms outside the breakers. Our people looked nonetheless for water until evening but found none, saw also four people who had come creeping on hands and feet going to our people, when our folks, coming up out of a hollow upon a height nearby, they leapt to their feet and

On 15	<p>ran off at full speed, which we clearly saw from the longboat. They were black people, entirely naked, without any cover, and in the evening our folk swam back aboard, all very much injured by the rocks upon which they were thrown by the surf, therefore weighed the grapnel again in search of a better opportunity and sailed at night close along the shore with small sail and outside the breakers, until d°. in the morning we found ourselves at the point where a large reef stretched along over a mile seaward; we then stood in between the land-ward reef and the sea-ward reef, which we reckoned to lay in 23 degrees, and sailed thus along the coast, alongside which stretches a reef, where in between the land it seems to be very smooth and calm water. We did our best to get in there, but found no opening till round noon, when we sighted an opening without breakers, stood in there, but it was very stony and sometimes but one or 2 feet of water. This coast had a dune-like foreland of about a mile wide before one comes to the high land, therefore began to dig in diverse places, yet was salt water. A group of people went to the high land where they found by chance some small hollows in a rock in which fresh water from the rain had remained, it also seemed that blacks had been there a little while before, because legs of crabs lay there and ashes of fire. Here we quenched our great thirst a little, because we were all but no more allowed, and since the demise of the ship have had only, one or .2. <i>mutskens</i>¹⁹ of water per day without any wine or other drink. Here we collected above of our drinking, about 80 jugs of water, and rode there this night until</p>
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¹⁹ With the *mutskens* (modern Dutch: *mutsjen*) being one-eighth of a jug of 1.2 litres, the two *mutskens* would be 300 ml per person per day.

On 16	<p>d°. when in the morning we continued to see if there were not more hollows in the mountains. But our search was in vain because it seemed not to have rained there for a long time, and of running water there was no indication, for beyond the heights there was very flat and barren land again, without trees, foliage or grass, except for high anthills thrown up of earth, which in the distance were not unlike little huts of people. There was also such a host of flies, which came to sit around the mouth and the eyes, that they could not be warded off. Here we saw as well .8. black people, who each had a stick in their hand, and came to us about a musket shot²⁰ distance, but when we went towards them they walked away and we could not get them to stand still so that we might come up to them. Towards noon, when we saw that there was no more water to get, set sail, and stood out through another opening of the reef which lay a little more Northward. Here we had the latitude of .22. degrees and 17 minutes. I was of intent to stand for <i>Jacop Remmessens</i>²¹ river but the wind was at N.E. so that we could not keep to the coast. Therefore we were forced to take a resolution, because we were now over 100 miles²² from the people stayed behind and had up to now not found water to assist them, as for ourselves only, that we might enjoy .2. <i>mutskens</i> daily, to do our best to further our voyage to Batavia in God's name at the soonest in order that by the Hon. Lord General some order or means might be employed towards succour.</p> <p>d°. at noon, did not have latitude, but by account sailed 15 miles, made good N.W. by north, wind N.E., a topsail breeze and dry weather.</p>
On 17	

²⁰ As with the range of an arrow shot, the range of a *musketshot* depends on several factors. Point blanc range may be up to 150 meters but at some elevation 250-300 metres seem attainable. According to Jan P. Puijper, quoted by Vibeke Roeper, the range was up to 400 meter (Roeper, V.D, *De Schipbreuk van de Batavia*, 1629, 2003, pp 64).

²¹This *Jacob Remessens* river is nowadays believed to be the Yardie Creek which was (re)discovered towards the end of the 19th century by Thomas Carter, pastoralist and ornithologist. The Yardie Creek is however in 22° 19'30" and Pelsaert writes, while in 22° 17', that he still had wanted to go further (northward) to this *Jacob Remessens river*. Perhaps Pelsaert had his latitude wrong otherwise he would have already been past the Yardie Creek.

²² Pelsaert wrote that the wreck of the Batavia was at 28° 20' and that they were sailing with the boat fair by the shore in 22° 17' being 100 *mijlen* from the wreck. The difference in latitude is 6° 3', or 363 minutes of arc.

Given that the Holland *mijl* was equal to 4 minutes of arc, this would be 91 *mijlen*. Of course the route followed by the boat was not a straight S-N line but a curved line following the coast, so Pelsaert was not far off with his 100 *mijlen* estimate.

On 18	d°. at noon did not have latitude, but by account sailed 10 miles this 24 hours, made good W.N.W. in rough weather, with rain, wind N.E. About noon the wind backed to north, then we cast to the east.
On 19	d°. at noon did not have latitude; by account have sailed 7 miles, made good N.N.E., the wind N.W. by west, rough weather with rain.
On 20	d°. at noon had the latitude of 19 degrees 29 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 22 miles, made good north, the wind W.S.W., a slack topsail [breeze], a little rain.
On 21	d°. at noon, did not have latitude, by account sailed 23 miles, made good north, the wind veered from the S.W., to the S.E., now and then some breeze, then again calm.
On 22	d°. at noon, had the latitude of 16 degrees 10 minutes, sailed this 24 hours 24 miles, made good north, the wind mostly at S.W. slack topsail, with dry weather. It appeared that the current had run to the north also, otherwise we could not have gained so much in latitude.
On 23	d°. at noon, did not have latitude, by account sailed 16 miles, made good N. by W., the wind shifted back and forth, from east to west, then some breeze, then calm again, with a little rain. In the evening it began to blow a little from the S.S.-east.
On 24	d°. at noon, had the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 25 miles, made good north by west, the wind S.E. by S., topsail, with dry weather.
On 25	d°. at noon, had the latitude of 11 degrees 30 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 31 miles, made good N. by W., the wind mostly at S.E., topsail, with dry weather, this day we saw much <i>steen kroos</i> [BLADDER WEED] ²³ afloat.
On 26	d°. at noon had the latitude of 9 degrees 56 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 24 miles, made good N. by W., the wind mostly S. East with dry weather.
On 27	d°. at noon, did not have latitude, by account sailed 24 miles this 24 hours, made good N. by W., the wind at S.W., topsail with some rain. Around afternoon we sighted the land of <i>Java</i> , by account at the latitude of 8 degrees, and were still 4 to 5 miles off. We directed our course W.N.W. along the shore, until in the evening when we saw a headland ahead of us, where off-shore lay a small island ²⁴ full of trees.

²³ Seaweed torn from rocks, generally a sign of land, bladder kelp.

²⁴ This is not Pulo Nusa Kambangan which is further east, but a small unnamed island immediately off-shore a headland that became later known as *de Hoek Wijnkoops Bergen* (Wijnkoops Mountains Headland).

	In the evening sailed past this headland, whereof stretched a reef and found behind the same a large bight, as stood in for it at N.N. West, thereupon dropped a grapnel, at 8 fathoms hard ground for the whole night until —
On 28	d°. in the morning with daylight, when we weighed our grapnel, and rowed aland to seek water, where to our luck we found a down running water. God be thanked and praised, because now we quenched our great thirstiness since long ago, filled here our small casks and before midday set sail again.
On 29	d°. in the morning, when the second quarter ²⁵ was out, we then saw a little island ahead which we passed by to starboard, with the day we were fair by the westernmost bight, thence one must direct the course at W.N. West, although one leaves the coast because of the bight. But before coming to the <i>Trouwes</i> [TROUWERS] Islands, one encounters the land again. At noon had the latitude of 6 degrees 48 minutes this 24 hours sailed 30 miles, made good mostly W.N. West. About half passed the afternoon, we sailed through between both <i>Trouwes</i> islands, on the westernmost stand many coconut palms. In the evening we were still a mile away from the south cape of <i>Java</i> , and three glasses into the second watch we were getting the strait between <i>Java</i> and the <i>Princen</i> Islands.
On 30	d°. in the morning we were fair by the <i>Princen</i> Islands, in the afternoon covered about 2 miles due to calmness, until evening it began to blow a bit from the land.
<i>P°. Jullius</i>	in the morning it was again calm, at noon we were still 3 miles from <i>Dwars Inde Weegh</i> [THWART-WAY ISLAND], the wind variable, towards evening it began to blow a bit from the North west, with which we were cast <i>past Dwars inde Wegh</i> , but at night it became very calm and we had to row for most of the entire night till
On 2	d°. in the morning we came at <i>Toppers Hoetgien</i> [LITTLE TOPPER'S HAT], there we rode until 11 o'clock and waited for a sea breeze, but only got little wind, so that the whole day we had to row again, and had gained only 2 miles by evening

²⁵ In the morning watch (4-8am) at about 6.00 o'clock.

On 3	At the setting sun we saw a sail astern near Dwers inden Weegh, therefore we had a grapnel dropped, fair by the shore, to await the same.
On 4	d°. in the morning before day, I had the grapnel weighed and stood towards the ship to get arms out of there as we did not know how that it stood with those of <i>Java</i> and our people ²⁶ , then getting closer we saw three ships, of which the nearest was the yacht <i>Sardam</i> , whereat I went. I understood from the merchant, Van Dommelen, that the largest ship was <i>Frederick Hendrick</i> , on which was Lord <i>Raemborch</i> ²⁷ councillor of <i>India</i> . Therefore I immediately sailed there, where I had to tell his Hon. with heart's grief of our sad disaster. He showed me much friendship and permitted that I should stay on his ship until at <i>Batavia</i> . The other ships were <i>Brouwers Haven</i> and <i>Weesp</i> , on which was the Commander Grijph ²⁸ coming in company of the Lord Commander <i>Pieter van den Broeck</i> from <i>Suratte</i> ²⁹ , but had been separated from each other.
On 7	d°. the ship <i>Bommel</i> , coming as well from <i>Souratte</i> , also came with us, saying that still some ships had been seen outside the Straits, but not knowing whether they were English or our own ships. d°. we arrived in the evening at the fall of darkness in the roads of <i>Batavia</i> . God be praised and thanked.

²⁶ The situation at West Java was tense, from the end of September till the beginning of November 1629 Batavia would be sieged by the army of the Mataram.

²⁷ Raemborch: Crijn van Raemburch, Extraordinary Councillor of India 1630-1633

²⁸ Grijph: around 1628 merchant at Surat, present when earlier Pelsaert and Ariaen Jacobsz, skipper of the *Batavia* quarreled at Surat, aboard the *Dordrecht*.

²⁹ Pieter van den Broecke (1585-1640), upper merchant at Surat and director until 1629. He was on the ship *Utrecht*, arrived *Batavia* 19th June,

[blank]

	<p>Daily notes on my return voyage to the Southland, sent by the Hon. Lord General <i>Jan Pietersen Coen</i>, with the yacht <i>Sardam</i>, to search for and bring along the people of our wrecked ship <i>Batavia</i>, with all the cash, and the goods, that can possibly be fished up, and have we in God's name.</p>
On 15	<p>July, in the morning, set sail with the land wind. In the afternoon near <i>Menscheeters Eijlandt</i> [MAN EATERS ISLAND], encountered the ship <i>Leijden</i>, which had sailed from the fatherland on 8 May anno 1628, in the company of the ship <i>Wapen van Enchuijsen</i>, which had blown up on 12 October past near the <i>Sierra Lionas</i>, and only 57 persons therefrom saved by the ship <i>Leijden</i>, until that time they had over 170 dead, but the rest of the people were rather stout as they had refreshed for a month at <i>Celebar</i> on <i>Sumatra</i> ³⁰. Towards evening also saw the ship <i>Beets</i> or <i>Wigge</i> from <i>Hoorn</i>, which had sailed out with the fleet of the Hon. Lord <i>Jaques Specx</i> ³¹</p>
On 16	<p>d°. was mostly calm, so that we did advance little under sail but drifted fast out of the Strait, in the evening we saw the <i>Princen</i> Islands.</p>
On 17	<p>d°. in the morning, we had the <i>Princen</i> Islands E.N.E. from us, it had been mostly calm the whole night, then before sunrise it began to blow from the S.E., our course S.S.W., towards noon it veered one more point eastward, so that we could sail only S. by West, accounted to have sailed ...miles, and made good S.W. by south.</p>
On 18	<p>d°. at noon had latitude of 8 degrees 25 minutes, south, the wind S.E., course S.S.W., accounted to have sailed 25 miles, made good S.W. by south.</p>
On 19	<p>d°. at noon had latitude of 9 degrees 56 minutes, the wind S.E., course S.S. west, accounted to have sailed 24 miles, made good S.W. by S.</p>

³⁰ "With the arrival of the ship *Leyden*, which through a long delay in *Sierra Leona*, as well as through many contrary winds between the *Cabo* and *Java* has had a very long journey and has lost 175 souls, received here the sad tidings of the wrecking of the ship *Wapen van Enckhuysen* which in company of ship *Leyden* the 8th October sailed from *Sierra Leona*, getting on fire the 12 ditto in latitude 10 degrees about 35 miles from land, and has burst open, whereon 184 people were lost and 5 [space was left here] were picked up by the ship *Leyden*; the upper-merchant and the skipper of the *Leyden*, who had sailed there to help quench the fire, have also died there". From report of Governor-General J. Specx and Council to Directors dated 15th December 1629 (VOC 1009, O.B. 1630 1). The same report details the wreck of the *Batavia*. One imagines that Pelsaert, at this stage, drew comfort from this apparently even greater disaster. Pelsaert gives the number saved by *Leyden* as 57 but, as indicated, the digit after 5 is left blank in the report. The town of *Celebar* (also *Celeber*, *Selebar* and *Silbe*) lies on the west coast near *Benkulen*, but is not shown on maps published after 1900.

³¹ Jacques Specx: Extraordinary Councillor of India 1622-1627, Governor-General of India 1629.

On 20	d°. at noon, had latitude of 11 degrees, the wind S.E. by East, course S. by West, accounted to have sailed 20 miles made good S.S.W.
On 21	d°. the wind variable, and sometimes calm. In the morning got some rain, so that we gathered about 30 to 40 <i>kannen</i> ; at noon the latitude of 11 degrees 38 minutes, made good S.W. by south. Accounted to have sailed 11 miles.
On 22	d°. had a topsail breeze, the wind S.E. course S.S. West, at noon had the latitude of 12 degrees 41 minutes, accounted to have sailed 19 miles, and made good S.W. by South.
On 23	d°. a Topsail breeze, although the weather was altogether variable, with gentle showers; at noon had the latitude of 14 degrees, accounted to have sailed 22 miles, and made good S.W. by south.
On 24	d°. the wind S.E., course S.S.W. and made good S.S.W. by south, at noon had the latitude 15 degrees 14 minutes, and sailed 22 miles. d°. the wind E.S.E., course made good S.S.W., the latitude of 16 degrees 16 minutes, and sailed 17 miles.
On 25	d°. the wind east, course S.S. East, and made good south, at noon had the latitude of 17 degrees 52 minutes. Accounted to have sailed 23 miles.
On 26	d°. at noon, had the latitude of 18 degrees 55 minutes, the wind E. by south, with calms, accounted made good south and sailed 15 ½ miles.
On 27	d°. in the morning the wind was at S.S.E., therefore cast about eastward, with a drizzle and a fine breeze, at noon, the latitude of 19 degrees 45 minutes, accounted made good south.
On 28	d°. the wind S.S.E. at nightfall drizzle, at noon did not have latitude, accounted to have sailed 20 miles, and made good E.N.E. d°. the wind again S. East with dark weather, at noon did not have latitude, accounted to have sailed .. miles, and made good S. West.
On 29	d°. at noon the latitude of 20 degrees 9 minutes,
On 30	
On 31	

<i>P^o Augusto</i>	and the longitude 132 degrees 8 minutes, as of now the wind shifted southward, so that we have cast about Eastward , and sailed S. East by East till night, when the wind was at West S. West. at noon had latitude of 21 degrees 13 minutes, the longitude 133 degrees 35 minutes, made good S. West by south, the wind S. East. d ^o . at noon the latitude of 21 degrees 55 minutes, the wind S. East, made good S.W. by S.
On 2	d ^o . at noon, the latitude of 23 degrees, longitude 132 degrees 3 minutes, the wind variable, but mostly S.S. East, and made good S.W.
On 3	d ^o . at noon had southern latitude 23 degrees 59 minutes, longitude 131 degrees, 1 minute, fine weather, the wind at south but mostly variable, have cast about eastward for a long time.
On 4	d ^o . at noon had southern latitude 24 degrees 45 minutes, longitude 130 degrees 8 minutes, the wind S.S. East, and sailed S. West until in the evening, when the wind very variable, veered around and back, and tacking now and then.
On 5	d ^o . at noon southern latitude of 24 degrees 32 minutes, had a heavy swell from the S. West, and the wind variable so that we tacked now and then to the east and to the south again d ^o . at noon had the southern latitude of 24 degrees 49 minutes, sailing S.W-ward., the wind very scant and mostly S.S. East until at night when the wind was at E.S. East and could sail south again.
On 6	d ^o . at noon had the southern latitude of 25 degrees, 20 minutes, longitude 129 degrees 47 minutes, feeble weather, the wind E. by South, and could sail south by east.
On 7	d ^o . at noon had southern latitude of 26 degrees 23 minutes, the wind E.N.E. stood at S.E., also on occasion E.S.E. after the wind veered, with very flat water.
On 8	d ^o . at noon, we had the southern latitude of 27 degrees 54 minutes, the wind North east, stood mostly at east so as the wind shifted on and off, with foul weather. At night, the wind was at north west.
On 9	
On 10	

On 11	d°. at noon the latitude of 27 degrees 57 minutes, before noon the wind was at west, stood at W. by North, at night it blew a strong breeze from the S. and S.S. West.
On 12	d°. at noon had the southern latitude of 27 degrees 2 minutes, the wind S. by West, course East. In the afternoon variable weather and was the wind at S.E. and in the morning cast about to S.S. West with great hollow <i>wijt</i> [sic] (water?).
On 13	d°. at noon, the latitude of 25 degrees 50 minutes, somewhat calm, the wind S.E., sailed S.S. West, and S.W. by south, variable weather, now and then cast about and back such as the wind shifted.
On 14	d°. at noon did not have latitude, then reckoned to be in the above mentioned latitude, the wind S.S.W. by south, sailed east S.-eastward, was hollow water from the south.
On 15	d°. at noon had the southern latitude of 26 degrees 30 minutes, the wind south, were able to sail E.S.E., with a strong breeze, with showery and rainy weather.
On 16	d°. at noon the southern latitude of 26 degrees 16 minutes, the wind south, at night the wind was at S.E. by south, cast about westward at S. West by South, out to sea again.
On 17	d°. at noon did not have latitude but counted to have gained 2 miles south, with a strong breeze and hollow water from the S.S.W. In the morning it became flat water and the wind veered eastward.
On 18	d°. at noon did not have latitude, but accounted southern latitude 27 degrees 15 minutes, the wind E.S.E., with fine weather, sailed southwards this whole twenty four hours.
On 19	d°. at noon southern latitude of 28 degrees 29 minutes, the wind E.S.E. with slack weather, in the morning the wind shifted to the S.S. West, and furthermore very still.
On 20	d°. at noon, the southern latitude of 29 degrees 10 minutes, the wind south, stood at east by south, at night scant breeze with variable winds.
On 21	d°. at noon, no latitude, accounted latitude as before, had made good east, the wind S., the swell of the sea from the S.S.W., next stood at east by south.

On 22	d°. at noon the southern latitude of 29 [28] degrees 19 minutes, the wind south, course north east. The steersmen accounted to be as yet 15 miles from the wreck.
On 23	d°. had the southern latitude of 28 degrees 14 minutes, the wind S. West, course east, accounted now in the longitude of the land. Therefore drifted at night, 2 quarters with the foresail on the mast.
On 24	d°. at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 25 minutes, the wind S. West, course east.
On 25	d°. at noon, the southern latitude of 27 degrees 56 minutes, we found that a current had carried us this 24 hours northward in uncommon way, and we also saw many strong <i>ravelingen</i> [OVERFALLS or RIPPLINGS], at this time we believed we saw braking waves and some islands, but it was the reflection of the sun. The wind south, tacked near to windward at east, at night in the first quarter the wind was at S.S.E. Therefore casted about to westward, it fell calm, and the sea ran frighteningly hollow from the S.S.W.
On 26	d°. at noon had the latitude of 28 degrees 5 minutes, the wind south by west, with a great hollow sea. Towards noon the wind shifted S.S.E., casted about to westward and stood so about 9 to 10 glasses but on account of the hollow swell casted about again to the east.
On 27	d°. at noon, the southern latitude of 28 degrees 13 minutes, this day it fell still so that we drifted unmannered westwards, the sea rose strongly from the south. Towards the evening it began to blow ³² a little from the S-West, stood at S.E., but at night was mostly calm.
On 28	d°. at noon, the southern latitude of 28 degrees 35[45?] minutes ³³ , the wind S.S.W., stood at east, and I then saw afloat the first seaweed, whereof we guessed the land would be descried, and stood at southward for two quarters with hard going, but in the day watch let it drift with the foresail on the mast, in the morning the wind was again S.E. by east.
On 29	d°. at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 10 minutes, the wind S.E. by south, with hard weather, the topsails at half topmast [<i>ter halven stenge</i>], so that

³² Pelsaert writes here: *..begonden wt den Z. Westen wat op te zeijlen, gingen Z.O. aen...*, which translates as: ...began to sail up a little from the S. West, stood in S.E... This does not make sense, but when replacing the verb *zeijlen* with *coelen*, the sentence then translates as: ..it began to blow a little from the west, stood in S.E..., which does make sense.

³³ The numbers 3 and 4 are written together.

	have again lost southern latitude. In the evening tacked again seawards, and sailed at S.W. by west, the whole night.
On 30	d°. at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 55 minutes, the wind S.E. by south, the sea swelled hard from the S.S. West.
On 31	d°. at noon, the southern latitude of 29 degrees 49 minutes, was very calm before noon, no wind, but after noon a breeze began to blow at west. Directed our course N.E. by east, for we did not know how far we were from the land, in the morning the wind was again S.E., after that E.N. East.
<i>P°. September</i>	at noon the southern latitude of 29 degrees 16 minutes, the wind variable, so that it was not possible to get to East.
On 2	d°. in the morning the wind was at north, a topsail breeze, at noon the southern latitude of 30 degrees 16 minutes, found ourselves now fast drifting southward, at night the wind backed north west: our course N.E. by north.
On 3	d°. in the morning the wind west, saw much seaweed afloat with some cuttle-bone, therefore directed our course eastwards; at noon saw the main Southland, trending N.N.W. and S.S.E., were about 3 miles from it, and saw the land still trending southwards, on estimate about 4 miles, until the end of the horizon, had here clean sandy ground at 25 fathoms. It is barren, flat land with some sand dunes as it is to the north, had the southern latitude of 29 degrees 16 minutes, shaped our course at N.W, the wind W.S. West, then the hollow swell drove us very much towards the shore, so that at night we had to anchor one mile from land, and 2 glasses into the first watch, our anchor broke into 2 pieces, in a hurry let drop another one.
On 4	d°. in the morning, the wind S.W. by S. with still hollow swell, with the day it was S.S.W., then we weighed our anchor, and before noon got under

<p>On 5</p>	<p>sail, shaped our course W.N.W. to sea, to get somewhat off the lee shore, at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 50 minutes, from here the land began to fall away a point, to wit, N. by W and S. by East³⁴. After midday, the wind was S. and [we] stood at W., towards evening we did observe a shoal dead ahead, or west from us and were only a musket shot away from it³⁵. But had 25 fathoms clean sand ground. We tacked and stood off in E.S. east for half a mile, where we anchored at 27 fathoms clean ground; had made good W.N.W. from noon till evening, and were 5 miles from the mainland. At night it fell very still and fine weather, the wind S. by East.</p> <p>d°. in the morning the wind S.S. East, and lovely weather, weighed our anchor and sailed one hour S.S.W., then we did observe ahead and alongside our course more breaches, shoals and some small islands. The wind veered meanwhile and was more eastward, so that we could sail southerly and S.S.E. This reef or shoal trends S.S.W. and N.N.-east³⁶, found along here 27, 28 to 29 fathoms sand ground. At 11 o'clock before noon we were out of sight of the mainland, at noon had the southern latitude of 28 degrees 59 minutes, and the head of the reef was W.S. West from us, with stony rough ground from 50 to 60 fathoms deep. After noon it fell calm, but the current carried us towards the west, and the riplings here fell away wholly westerly, estimated us to be about 8 miles from the mainland³⁷, the whole night it was dead calm, and drifted alongside the riplings so that we heard the rustle all night long, until</p> <p>d°. in the morning, when we were out of sight of the overfalls. At about 10 o'clock, the air was from the W.N.W, stood near windward towards the riplings again. At noon had the southern latitude</p>
<p>On 6</p>	

³⁴ This latitude is just a little south of the latitude of Point Moore where Geraldton is today. Except for the headland itself the land here indeed trends north by west and south by east.

³⁵ This may be Hummock Island, or King Reef, some 10 nautical miles N.E. from the Pelsart Group. The Hummock Island seems the more likely.

³⁶ This appears to be Pelsaert Island of the Pelsaert Group of islands which are part of the Houtman Abrolhos. The noon latitude of 28° 59' coincides with that of a position on this Island known as Wreck Point. (Not to be confused with location of the Batavia wreck!)

³⁷ Pelsaert Island and the shoals and islets just north of it.

	<p>of 28 degrees 44 minutes, began to blow hard from the N.W. Tacked off and on this afternoon and found that the current carried us towards the north-west. In the evening cast about again off the riplings to seaward, sounded 40 fathoms ground, but foul cliffs. This shoal off here trends S.E. and N. West³⁸. In the evening it began to blow very hard and stood with half-struck lower courses [<i>huckende schover zeylen</i>], the wind variable.</p>
On 7	<p>d°. in the morning the weather abated, and made sail again, at noon observed the southern latitude of 29 degrees 30 minutes and cast northwards, to get within sight of mainland again, then the wind shortened strongly to W.N.W., so that we again had to cast about to seaward.</p>
On 8	<p>d°. at noon, the southern latitude of 29 degrees 7 minutes, course N. East, in the evening have seen the breaches again. Therefore stood all night W.S.W to seaward, the wind N. West, it began to blow so hard that the topsails had to be taken in again.</p>
On 9	<p>d°. in the morning, have cast about again towards land. At noon the southern latitude of 29 degrees, the rest of the day have tacked on and off, towards the evening it blew such a gale as one could stand under lower courses, the wind N. West.</p>
On 10	<p>d°. in the morning made sail again, at noon had southern latitude of 29 degrees 30 minutes, the wind west, a topsail breeze.</p>
On 11	<p>d°. in the morning it was calm, but very hollow water, the wind from the W.S.W. so that we could not gain north, or we were in or near the riplings. At noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 48 minutes, furthermore the wind variable, at night we drifted with the foresail on the mast, until it was daybreak.</p>
On 12	<p>d°. with the day, made sail again and stood at East until noon, when observing the latitude of 28 degrees 13 minutes. Therefore stood again</p>

³⁸ Western Reef of the Easter Group lies in the same latitude, but this could refer to a whole archipelago.

	<p>somewhat more southward, to come to land right in 28 degrees 20 minutes, the wind S. West, with great swells. In the afternoon 2 hours before sunset have sighted again the ripplings, estimated to be still 2 miles from us. We cast the lead at 100 fathoms clean sand ground, but being half a mile closer had 30 fathoms foul stony ground. This night we cast about to seaward for 2 quarters, and in the day watch again to the shore.</p>
On 13	<p>d°. in the morning, 3 hours after sunrise, we again noticed breakers ahead and being known, we found to have lost one mile North, as the wind had been S.S. East, this was the northernmost point of the <i>Abrolhos</i>. Therefore I resolved, because we came always too high or too low and it was very perilous to approach from outside due to the hollow swells and foul ground, to stand afore the wind to leeward of the outermost shoal, and then [we] bore up near windward again, the wind S.S.E., course east, coming in a little immediately had clean sand ground at 30 to 35 fathoms. At noon, the latitude of 28 degrees southern latitude, shortly after saw again the main Southland. In the evening, because a strong breeze sprang up, we anchored about 2 miles off shore in 30 fathoms clean ground.</p>
On 14	<p>d°. the wind S.S.E., but blew a stiff breeze, so that we could not wind our anchor, and rode here the whole day,</p>
On 15	<p>d°. still blew as hard, but towards noon abated a little so that we could wind our anchor, at noon southern latitude of 27 degrees 54 minutes, the wind S.S.E., tacked the whole day to gain South, and in the evening found to have gained two miles, being dark, anchored again in 30 fathoms clean ground.</p>
On 16	<p>d°. in the morning with the day, weighed again our anchor, the wind was W.S.W., cast about to south near windward, at noon the southern latitude of ... degrees ... minutes, the wind backed to the west, and after that northerly, so that we could sail south west,</p>

<p>On 17</p>	<p>towards evening saw the overfalls of our wrecked ship <i>Batavia</i> and did I recognize the high Island, although the steersmen sustained that it was the other land. 2 Hours in the evening anchored again in 27 fathoms clean sand ground until d°. in the morning, with the day, weighed our anchor again, the wind north, were then about 2 miles from the high island, stood towardsit, — Before noon, coming near the island, we saw smokes on a long island 2 miles west from the wreck, as well as on another small island close to the wreck, about which we were all very glad, hoping to find good lot, or mostly all people, alive. Therefore, the moment the anchor dropped, I went with the boat to the highest island, which was nearest, taking with me a hogshead of water, ditto bread, and a keg of wine. Coming there, I saw no people, at which we wondered, I sprang ashore, when we saw a small <i>schuijtgien</i>³⁹ with four men come rowing round the northern point, of whom one of them, named Wiebbe Haijes, sprang ashore and ran towards me, calling from afar, welcome, but go back aboard immediately, for there is a party of villains on the islands near the wreck, with two sloops, who are on intent to seize the yacht. Furthermore, told that he was <i>capiteijn</i> [CAPTAIN] over 47 souls, who had stayed thus long on an island in order to save their lives, as those fellows had murdered more than 125 persons, so men, women and children, and that 14 days ago he had captured Jeronimus Cornelisz, under-merchant, who had been the chief of the villains, when they had also beaten to death 4 of his principal councillors and accomplices, namely Davidt van Sevanck, assistant, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbrecht van Welderen, <i>adelborsten</i>⁴⁰, and Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, soldier, because they had been in two trips engaged by them in hostile fights. But they had bravely</p>
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³⁹ *Schuijtgien* is the diminutive of *schuijt*. In modern Dutch: *Schuijtje*. A little *schuijt*.

⁴⁰ *Adelborsten*, plural of *adelborst*: currently the naval rank of midshipman, but then applied to a young man, usually of better class, appointed by the Company in the low rank of an aspirant marine, or military officer, falling between the rank of corporal and *lanspassaat*. An *adelborst* of the artillery would be in charge of a team operating a gun.

	<p>beaten them off. Therefore were now using sinister means to overpower and murder them. Because at some time had come to affirm on oath the peace with each other, and not to keep anymore in mind all what had passed. Nevertheless, whilst Jeronimus was busy to make a false agreement by means of the <i>predikant</i>, whom they coerced to go hither and thither, Davidt van Sevanck, and Coenraat van Huyssen, were endeavouring to bribe some of the soldiers to treason by offering them each six thousand guilders if the next day, when they would come back under guise of friends, they were willing to side with them and help murder the others. When the people understood this that their lives were at stake, they have slain the above mentioned, as is said before. Moreover, that someone named Wouter Loos, being made Captain of them fellows after the capture of Jeronimus, had come this same morning with 2 sloops of men to fight them, whom they had also repulsed, and were of the ditto Wiebbe Haijes' party, four men very seriously wounded.</p> <p>With all these sad tidings which I had briefly learnt, I returned immediately aboard, ordering Wiebbe Haijes that he should go back again in the <i>schuijtgien</i> and bring Jeronimus Cornelisz bound to the ship, which he did. But before we got aboard, I saw a sloop with people come rowing round the southern point of the High Island. Therefore we prepared ourselves to arrest the said scoundrels. When they came near the ship, one saw that they were dressed mostly in red <i>laken</i> [CLOTH]⁴¹, trimmed with golden <i>passementenries</i>⁴².</p>
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⁴¹ A fine woolen material in which the Company traded in India.

⁴² Passementerie (Fr.) a trimming of gold or silver lace, braid, beads etc.

	<p>I called to them, why they came aboard armed, they answered me that they would tell it when they were on the ship. I ordered them to throw their weapons into the sea before they came over, which as last they did. When they came over, we immediately put them under arrest, and we forthwith began to examine them, especially a certain <u>Jan Hendricxs van Bremen</u>, soldier, who immediately confessed that he had murdered and helped to murder 17 to 20 people, and had to do this by order of Jeronimus. I asked him about the origin and circumstances of this, why they had brought to bear such cruelties. Said that he wished to explain everything, how it had presented itself from the beginning. Saying that before the ship Batavia was wrecked, the skipper, Jeronimus Cornelisz, the chief boatswain and still more others, had in mind to seize the same, and would have killed or thrown overboard the Commander with all people except 120 to whom they took a liking, and then to go pirating with the ship. Wherefore Jeronimus and all the people who had been on the island did not think otherwise or on the way the skipper would have thrown the Commander overboard or else killed or thrown into the sea. So that Jeronimus, having been now for a month on the island after the loss of the ship, devised that they should murder all the people or put out of the way, except for 40 or less, and then, if a yacht came, they should seize it, which also has been put into action to that end, but they could not bring about their intention because beforehand Wiebbe Haijes had been sent with a party of people to a long island, to seek water, who found it after having looked for 20 days, and to that end, according to plan, made 3 fires as a signal. Then, because they were in those days busy with the murdering, and did Jeronimus not care about the water, wherefore several</p>
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	<p>parties of people, from 4 to 5 strong, saved themselves and escaped from the murdering at night on timbers or rafts, and went all to Wiebbe Haijes island, so that in the end were 45 strong. who, as they understood what had been decided and so many people daily were killed, set out to defend themselves if they should come to fight them, and made arms from hoops and nails, which were tied to sticks. Then when most of the people had been murdered, except for 30 men and 4 <i>Jongers</i> [YOUTHS]⁴³ they thought fit to go to the High Island with 2 flat-bottomed sloops to overpower Wiebbe Haijes with his men, for they said, if the yacht comes through the inside way, he will warn them, and we will be deprived of our design, therefore they must put away, and they had already done three raids against them, but could not do any damage than on that day when they had shot down some.</p> <p>Towards evening Wiebbe Haijes brought Jeronimus in captivity aboard, at whom I had to look with heartfelt sorrow, such a scoundrel, cause of so much disaster and of human blood that had been shed, and still had been intended to do, although it has not pleased God. I examined him in the presence of the council, and asked him why he had let the devil tempt him so wide off humanity, to do (which had never been so cruelly perpetrated amongst Christians), without any noticeable hunger or thirstiness, but solely out of cold bloodthirstiness to attain his wicked ends. He answered, that one should not blame him for what had happened, laying it on Davidt van Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, and others who had been slain, that they had implicated and coerced him to it, and that a man does much to stay alive. In regards that he intended to help seizing the ship <i>Batavia</i>, this he denied. But in respect of seizing the yacht if one came, he said that had been proposed by Sevanck,</p>
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⁴³ It is not clear if *Jongers* refers to youths in general or to boys only. The Dutch Van Dale dictionary (1976) says that a *Jonger* is a learner or even disciple, but also that it is dialectical and means children.

<p>On 18</p> <p>Note that hereafter the ring has been found again</p>	<p>to which he had also consented for sake of well-being without meaning it, because in the first, he believed that never in his live deliverance would have come, (then later) also that here on land he had heard saying, by Rijckert Woutersen, that skipper Ariaen meant to have seized the ship and to throw the Commander overboard, from which he presumed that he would never have come with the boat to <i>Batavia</i> but that they would make for <i>Malacca</i>, or if it happened otherwise, and he or the Commander had come at <i>Batavia</i>, and therefore a yacht was sent for deliverance, that he would then have sought to warn them. In such manner with many palpable lies he tried to purge himself with his glib speaking tongue, as if he had been guilty of nothing, appealing to the people, who would say the same. Therefore let him that day resign and put under arrest</p> <p>d°. before daylight, I and the skipper went with the <i>schuijt</i> and the longboat to the island of Wiebbe Haijes and picked up from there 10 soldiers whom I gave arms and muskets, and so made for the island named <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard, near to the wreck, where the other rest of the scoundrels were, to capture them and take also into custody. When they saw us coming their hearts sank, and said to each other, now we altogether are to lose our head, thinking that they would immediately be beaten to death, and when I came ashore I had them immediately hands and feet bound and so held in custody. Thereafter, the first thing I did was to seek for the jewels which had been strewn about here and there. These were all found, except a ring and a gold chain.</p> <p>Going to the wreck towards evening, found that the ship was lying in several pieces, to wit, a piece of the keel, with the bottom of the hold, all of which above water had been washed away except a small piece of the <i>d'achter windtveeringh</i> [WHERE A SHIP'S UPPERSIDE TURNS IN TOWARDS THE STERN] which was above water, and nearly in the same place where the ship had sat at first. A piece of the foreship broken off at the bitts was thrown wholly on</p>
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<p>On 19</p>	<p>dry land, in which lay 2 pieces of ordnance, one of bronze with one of iron, fallen from the <i>rampaarden</i> [GUN CARRIAGES] without anything more. Next to the foreship lay also a side of the rear of the ship, broken off at the starboard ports of the gunners' room. Moreover other pieces of a lesser size lay in several places, drifted apart, so that there appeared to be a scant hope that much money or other goods be salvaged. But I understood from the <i>bottelier</i> [STEWARD]⁴⁴ Reijndert Hendricxs, which comforted me a little, that one day a month ago being very calm, which never, or had rarely happened, he went to the wreck fishing (to which they⁴⁵ obliged him), and with a pike had hit some money chests, hoping not to have been washed away in the meantime, I also asked him the position as it bore from the ship or wreck and how long after the loss it had stayed in one piece, they said that for 8 days it still had been mostly in one piece, but the <i>spiegel</i> [STERN] and other upper works were washed away first of all, on which days it mostly blew hard with terrifying breakers, and at last the larboard side had been smashed out, and then it broke apart so fast and easily that it seemed a miracle, whereupon on several trips fished five leaguers of water, one leaguer of French wine, 4 ½ ditto of Spanish, one ditto of vinegar. But previously, in the night between 9 and 10 June, God had sent a steady hard rain, being the same when we were at the mainland in great peril to sink with the boat, wherewith they gathered much water, and thereafter fished up the above mentioned, so that they could have given all people three <i>mutskens</i> of water and 2 <i>mutskens</i> of wine for a long time, had the devil not misled their heads. In the evening I let the principal scoundrels and other accomplices, whom I had bound here on the island, be taken to Seals Island, from whence to have them be sent for again in due time if one were to examine them, to put us so in little more security in the meantime.</p> <p>d°. in the morning, I have sent the skipper to bring ashore those who were imprisoned in the ship to investigate</p>
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⁴⁴ *Bottelier*: The person who manages and distributes the foodstuffs and drinks on board a ship. The ship's steward.

⁴⁵ Refers to the scoundrels, *sij*.

	<p>their lives led, to wit, Jeronimus Cornelisz, under-merchant, Jacop Pietersz of Amsterdam, <i>lanspesaat</i>⁴⁶, here lieutenant general, and been one of the councillors, Jan Hendricxs of Bremen soldier, one of the principal murderers, Rutger Fredricxs of Groeningen locksmith, Hans Jacobsz Heijlweck of Basel <i>adelborst</i>, Lucas Jellissz from the Hague <i>adelborst</i>, Hans Fredericx of Bremen soldier, Jan Willemsz Selijns of Amsterdam chief cooper, Hendrick Jaspersz Cloot of Montfoort soldier, Hans Hardens from Ditmarssen soldier, Jaques Pilman of Pres du Verdun soldier and Gerrit Haas of Zanten shipmate. Therefrom have partly understood on that day after questioning and their willing confessions, the overly Godless lives that had been lived at this place. The Company's goods which they have fished up, as <i>laken</i> [CLOTH], fabrics, gold <i>passembleries</i>, and other wares, were very shamefully misused, making clothes trimmed with as much gold <i>passembleries</i> as could bear or be collected, In which Jeronimus led the way, as appeared from his clothes found here. Moreover, all clothes or goods from me, yes nobody excepted, he made all his own, and he used it as if all was bequeathed to him by testament, giving his haughtiness and devilish arrogance utmost room on these poor miserable islands. Mostly changing daily into different clothes, silk stockings, garters with gold laces, and putting on suchlike splendour from other persons' goods. Moreover, to each of all his accomplices in whom he trusted most and acquitted themselves willingly to murder, he gave red <i>lakense</i> [i.e. dense woolen] cloths with 2 or more gold <i>passembleries</i>, practising new fashions of <i>cassiacken</i>⁴⁷, imagining that such evil vain pleasure could last as if forever. Next, when most of the murders had been committed, they shared out as prizes the women who had remained, or they had meant to let live, to wit, Jeronimus took Lucretia Jansz, wife of Boudewijn van der Mijlen, Coenraat van Huijssen, Judith Gijsbrechtsz,</p>
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⁴⁶ Soldier with rank approximating to lance-corporal.

⁴⁷*Cassiacken*: in modern Dutch kazakken, (*sing.* kazak). A tunic or wide fitting over-garment, a kind of overcoat.

	<p>eldest daughter of the <i>predikant</i>, furthermore, the sisters Trijntie and Zussie Fredricx, and Anneken Bosschieters should be in general at their service, to which end Jeronimus made several articles which the women had to swear to, if they wanted to stay alive, that they would be obedient to the men in all that they should desire of them. Of such oaths Jeronimus has made several, and taken of men they were willing to spare the lives of, that they in everything he would order them be obedient and faithful to him, therewith pledging himself upon his soul and salvation that those who signed the same, or he included in it, need not have any fear or mistrust to be murdered, although it nevertheless happened that some who signed, or took the oath, were to be killed because of hatred or mistrust, therefore he tore up the oath or covenant in public, absolving them from the same, and then those who had to die were murdered at night, and then again a new covenant was made. Of which I have found some, and says as follows hereunder:</p> <p>We undersigned persons, in order to remove all distrust that may be or come amongst us, and now nevermore to have any memory of such, will promise to each other with this written covenant, upon the greatest oath one can take, that is, <i>so truly as God shall help us</i>, and will take the same upon our souls' salvation, to be faithful in everything, also that we shall do no harm to any of us undersigned, nor intend to do anything before we have at first warned the one or the others, nor shall anyone unbeknownst point at something to the others, be it out of favour or hatred, but assist one another in brotherly affection in all matters occurring. And for the greater assuredness we have signed this separately this 12 July anno 1629, thus acted on the island named <i>Batavia's Graveyard</i>.</p>
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	<p>Furthermore, dated as below, another similar one, saying,</p> <p>We undersigned persons, in order to remove all distrust that may be, or come, amongst us, and nevermore to have memory of such, will promise each other with this written unbreakable agreement, on the greatest oath one can take, to be faithful in everything, <i>so truly shall help us God</i>, and upon our souls' salvation, also that God shall punish us here and hereafter for eternity, in as much as we undersigned persons resolve something we shall reveal such to each other, and no one shall privately point out something, it being out of favour or hatred, but in all matters that may happen assist each other with a brotherly affection for the common wealth. And to maintain in equal form the given laws for the following women, Lucretia Jansz, Anneken Hardens, Judith Gijsbertsz, Trijntien and Zussie Fredricx, Anneken Bosschieters, and Marretgien Louijs. For greater assuredness, we have written our names with our own hand here below. Thus decided on the island <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard, the 16 July anno 1629.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Also,</p> <p>We undersigned persons being nowadays here on this island, including fellow councillors, soldiers, shipmates, as well as our <i>Dominij</i> ⁴⁸no one excepted, whoever it may be, Appoint as our chief, as captain general <i>Jeronimo Cornelij</i>, to whom we swear in unison, and each one in particular <i>so truly as God shall help us</i>, to be faithful and obedient in all that he shall order us. And in so far as the contrary happens, we shall be the Devil's own, to which we thus firmly bind ourselves as one hand herewith squashing and laying down all previous promises, public and particular, and oaths which have been passed before this,</p>
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⁴⁸ *Dominij*: (From the Latin *dominus*). *Dominee* is the title of a *predikant* (minister) in the Dutch Reformed Church and how that person is formerly addressed.

	<p>which do include the secret comradeships, tent-ships, and otherwise. Also that the ship's crew amongst us will not be called shipmates any more, but will be counted equally as soldiers under one company. Thus done on the island <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard, this 20 August anno 1629.</p> <p>This hereunder written letter, translated into French, is secretly sent by Jeronimus Cornelisz on 23 July, with Daniel Cornelisz to the isle of Wiebbe Haijes, in order to incite some French soldiers there to betray and murder their own people and was as follows:</p> <p>Beloved brothers and friends, Jean Hongaar, Jean Reijnouw de Miombrij, Thomas de Villier, Jean Boniver, and Eduward Coö. The more we consider amongst ourselves your previous faithfulness and brotherly friendship, the more we wonder that you people, who left voluntarily at the request of the merchant to survey the High Island, do not return to bring us word, for we have always considered you our greatest and trustiest brothers and friends, and did seek your alliance and company (which we consider as valuable as our own lives), and still strive to seek. But, what we think strangest is that you people seem to give ear to the make-believe of some evil-doers who on account of mutiny had deserved death here, and therefore were sent to another island, but without our knowledge came to you people. That we did tie up Jean Coos de Sallij on the island, has only happened in consideration of Jean Thirion, who was also sent (because he had been boozing from the <i>leggers</i> [BARRELS]), and because we worried that the said Jean Coos might help him, which later on we understood to be differently, because Jean Coos has offered to run him through, if he may live and die with us, with which he would have done us a special friendship, and still shall do so. Now then, beloved brothers and friends, Jean Hongaar, Jean Renouw, Thomas de Villier, Jean Boniver, Eduward Coö, and Jean Coos, come to</p>
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us (help us to maintain justice and to punish the evil-doers) in particular seek to deliver into our hands alive who so treacherously robbed us and your people (as we and you are one) the day before yesterday of our greatest aid, the *schuijtgien*, and also deliver into our hands Lucas the steward's mate, Cornelis the fat trumpeter, Cornelis the assistant, Jan Michielsz the deafman, Ariaen the gunner, squint-eyes Hendrick, Theunis Claasz, Cornelis Helmigs, and other shipmates who are with you people, because among these fellows they have (without your knowledge) a compass, to thus go secretly with the *schuijtgien* to the high land. The merchant, who has a particular liking for, and trust in Wiebbe Haijes, wishes and requests that you will inform him secretly of this. Furthermore, we refer everything to the report which the bringer of this, you people's confrere Daniel Cornelisz, will give verbally, if you people safe-guard him. Herewith, beloved brothers and friends, we commend you people altogether in the protection and safekeeping of the Most High. This 23 July anno 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard. Was signed

Jeronimus Cornelisz

These being makeshift means, as they realized they could not overcome the people on the High Island with force, to overpower them by such way of betrayal; and to that end had written more diverse letters, the copies of which have not all been found, in order to deceive these people. Then it seemed, when their committed atrocity was at its highest, though still were of intent to do more, God Almighty unforeseeably had stopped their evil intention by letting some of the principal heads fall into the sword and Jeronimus, the author of all, into custody, as is told before, to thus make known more and more to all people His marvelous justice.

On 20	d°. before noon, I have sent the boat aboard ⁴⁹ , to get what we were needing, as also a <i>schuijt</i> to the island where the people of Wiebbe Haijes were at, to fetch water, because they had found there very miraculously, when they had been 20 days on the island, 2 pits with fresh water, which rose and fell with ebb and flood, why they thought it was salt water, as I shall relate later on in more detail.
On 21	d°. the wind E.S.E. a strong breeze, wherewith we noticed that the water here remained very low, and because of the hard wind the <i>schuijten</i> could not return; spent this day with examinations.
On 22	d°. the wind still as before, but no <i>schuijten</i> to be seen. Before noon, I went with the skipper and 3 men in a <i>schuijtgien</i> to the wreck to see if one could inspect the true location, but the seas broke so strongly that the swimmers could not make it through; towards evening the <i>schuijt</i> came back aboard.
On 23	d°. the wind as before, in the morning I had the scoundrels who had been put on Seals Island, fetched again from there for examination, and been busy with this the whole day. Meanwhile I sent the steersman [Claas Gerritsz] to the wreck, in order to see if any work could be done there, then has come back saying because of the hard breaking waves it was impossible to get near it.
On 24	d°. the skipper went aboard with the boat for some necessities, because it was still impossible to work at the wreck.
On 25	d°. in the morning, being calm weather, I sent the skipper with the steersman to the wreck to see if one could start to work now. When they reached it, I noticed that they were busy hauling something up, therefore I sent them the other boat,

⁴⁹ Back to the *Sardam*.

<p>On 26</p>	<p>manned to help them, and I also went there with the smallest <i>schuijtgien</i>, besides 2 Jongers and a man, and found that they had fished up a chest with <i>clatergout</i> [TINSEL]⁵⁰ as well as a money chest, which they brought to dry ground a distance away from the wreck. I stepped into the other boat, which was also engaged in the fishing, and we got yet another money chest above water. The <i>Gouseratse</i> divers ⁵¹ said they saw yet another six that could be got. Meanwhile, I brought the money chest which we had brought up, to the dry ground also, and the divers again had another one ready towards when the skipper would come, so that for now 4 chests had been salvaged, then it again began to blow hard, with rising breakers so that we had to leave the wreck. Therefore we fetched the money chests that had been put on dry ground and brought them to the Island <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard. The rest of the day was spent with examining.</p> <p>d°. strong wind from the S.W. so that we could not work at the wreck, therefore the longboat has been sent to an island across in order to get a number of empty oil aums, as well as a capstan (or windlass) which lay there, before noon a <i>schuijt</i> also has gone for water, and I sent to get Cornelis Jansz of Amsterdam, assistant, and Aris Janssz of Hoorn barber, to examine what had happened to them in the escape when they would have been slain. After midday noon it fell very calm and flat, therefore I sent the skipper with the longboat immediately to the wreck to get the chests with money which we had seen yesterday, in the afternoon he returned bringing along 3 chests with money, and there was still a chest as yet impossible to get because a piece of ordnance with an anchor lay across it, which shall have to be pushed off with force.</p> <p>d°. the wind from the south, blowing hard, have not been able to do anything at the wreck. Before noon</p>
<p>On 27</p>	

⁵⁰ *Clatergout*; in modern Dutch *klatergoud*: Tinsel, leaf-brass.

⁵¹ *Gouseratse duijckers*: divers from Gujarat in India.

On 28	<p>the <i>schuijt</i> has come from the high island with the 2 above mentioned persons Cornelis, and Aris, so that we carried on with examining the scoundrels, and the day was spent doing that.</p> <p>d°. the wind southerly, a hard breeze, so that we could not do anything at the wreck. Therefore, after complete examination of the principal murderers and villains on account of their own confessions and multiple witnesses, and, for God's betterment, have obtained enough experiences, as appears from the hereafter following written confessions, I have called together the council, and in ample deliberation propounded whether those, against whom the innocent blood is crying out for revenge, should be taken incarcerated to <i>Batavia</i>, to the Hon. Lord General, or that they should be punished here with death as an example to others, in order to prevent all disasters that might arise on the ship through suchlike men as Jeronimus and his accomplices. For whereas some, or the remaining others go pregnant with a little of the sucked up poison of evil life, they could onwards easily become wholly corrupted making themselves spiteful over the salvaged wealth which belongs to our Lord Masters, which we have now fished up. Therefore it being not without peril of the ship and the goods to set out to sea with so many corrupted and half corrupted people, have resolved, as appears from the next following resolution, ——</p> <p style="text-align: center;">On this day the 28 September 1629 on the island named <i>Batavia</i> 's Graveyard lying nearby the wreck of the lost ship <i>Batavia</i>, in the latitude of 28 ½ degrees southern latitude, about 9 miles from the main Southland, is resolved by the Commander <i>Francisco Pelsart</i>, and the ship's council of the Yacht <i>Sardam</i>, that which follows.</p> <p>Because thank and praise God, we have arrived with the Yacht <i>Sardam</i> on the 17th this month, after many perils suffered, near the High Island 2 miles from the wreck, where immediately a</p>
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small *schuijt*gien with four men came to the Commander, who had gone ashore with bread, water and wine in order to refresh the people, inferred from the smoke that we saw rising up, (who came to warn) that he should go straight away back on board, because there were on the islands near the wreck, a pack of scoundrels who were of intent to seize the yacht, also that they had taken prisoner Jeronimus Cornelisz (who was chief of the scoundrels), whom the Commander immediately sent for to be brought on board, and has he himself with the *schuijt* come back hurriedly on board ship and had imparted the sad tidings of what he had briefly understood, upon which we prepared ourselves for defense, and has shortly afterwards a flat-bottomed *schuijt* with 11 men come alongside, who have all been taken into custody and examined, as well as Jeronimus Cornelisz, who was brought captive aboard that day. From whom, as well as from the other scoundrels, we have understood with great grief the gruesome or abominable murders which he, the said Jeronimus, with Davidt van Sevanck, assistant, Coentraat van Huijssen, *adelborst*, Jacop Pietersz, *lanspesaat*, who 14 days ago, when Jeronimus was captured, had been slain on the High Island, except Jacop Pietersz (had brought to bear, and carried out), all being of intent to reduce the number of people to 40 persons or less, and to that end practiced (to overpower and to murder) a certain group of people, of 47 souls, who had escaped from the murdering and saved their lives on the High Island, in order to thus, according to their confessions, seize the first yacht that should come to their rescue, and to sail with it to *Spain, Barbary*, or suchlike places.—

Moreover, do we learn, so from their own confessions and the testimonies of all the living persons, that they have drowned, murdered and put to death with all manner of cruelties, more than 120 persons, so men, women as children, of whom the most principal murderers have been who are still alive: Leenert Michielsz of Os

	<p>soldier, Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh, <i>adelborst</i>, Jan Hendricxs of Bremen soldier, Allert Janssz of Assendelft gunner, Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, Jan Pelgrom de Bijde of Bemmelen, cabin servant, and Andries Jonas of Luijck soldier, with their consorts. Therefore we have been busy from 17th onwards daily, with examinations in order to come to the right truth, and from the examinations and voluntary confessions of Jeronimus Cornelisz we find that he, on the ship <i>Batavia</i>, when they had sailed from <i>Cabo de Bone Esperansa</i>, entered into conspiracy with the skipper Ariaen Jacobsz, to seize the said ship, and would have murdered all but 120 persons, with which they would then at first have plundered, and after that have sailed to <i>Spain</i> or suchlike places,— But because it has been wrecked, they have not been able to carry this out.</p> <p>Confesses furthermore that all the people have been murdered by his order and mutual agreement of his council, in order, as said before, to bring it down to a small number. Confesses also that he besides Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, and Jacop Pietersz had resolved to seize the first-coming yacht, that is, when they had overcome the folk on the large [high] island, or would have gained their fervour, that then, when there came a ship, they would let the boat to come ashore, and make the crew drunk, in order to kill them easily, and then with the same boat to take by surprise the yacht at night, which as far as they thought could not possibly fail, because they estimated that it would have only 20 to 30 men ⁵² on board.</p> <p>Therefore after long examination of all people who have been on the island, in order to come to the right truth, which, praise be to God, we have found, the Commander propounded, whether one should take such a gruesome villain (who is befouled with all think-</p>
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⁵² A good estimate, the *Sardam* carried a crew of 26.

able and horrific misdeeds) in captivity on our ship to *Batavia* to bring him before the Hon. Lord General, who could there punish him as he deserves, or that one, according to the strict order of our Lord Masters, may not bring villains and criminal evil-doers to *Batavia*, to not put the ships and men in further danger, (shall be punished here).

Therefore we have debated this at the highest and amplest and have considered, because we find an abhorrence in the said Jeronimus, not only befouled with abominable misdeeds but also with a damnable sect, asserting that there is neither devil nor hell, and has tried to impress the same onto the people here on the island, — On the other hand that he is still working daily with his tongue to lead willing people to a wrong opinion and away from the straight path. Have therefore unanimously resolved and found good, in the best service of the Company and our Hon. Lord Masters, in order that their ship and valuable goods fished up here, praise to God, be secured against further disaster, to sentence the said Jeronimus Cornelisz, together with the worst and willing murderers, who have made a profession of it,— whom we sentence accordingly and condemn hereby, firstly that

on Monday, being the first of October, (one shall bring) to the Seals island Jeronimus Cornelisz, of Haarlem, apothecary, and having been under-merchant on the ship *Batavia*, as he requests to be baptized, to a place prepared for the execution of Justice, and there firstly chop off both his hands, and thereafter shall be punished at the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his goods, money, gold, silver, monthly wages, or any pretence which he may have here in *Indien*, for the benefit of the General East India Company of our Lord Masters,

Jan Hendricxs of Bremen soldier, aged about 24 years, who according to his confession and examination as appears *int largo*⁵³, has murdered and helped murdering 17 to 18 people, as also has been of intent to seize the yacht coming to rescue them, whom they shall also take to the above mentioned Seals Island, to the place where Justice will be executed, to firstly have there his right hand chopped off, and after that be punished at the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages and all that he might lay claim to from the Hon. Lord Masters.— Also

Lenart Michielsz van Os, *adelborst* aged about 21 years, who according to his voluntary confession has murdered and helped to murder 12 people, and who has slept with married women and has used as his concubine Anneken Bosschiers wife of Jan Carstensz of Tonningen. Therefore one shall take him also to Seals Island to there, firstly, have his right hand be chopped off, and after that he shall be punished at the gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and all that he might lay claim to from the Hon. Lord Masters,— Also

Mattijs Beijr of Munsterbergh soldier aged about 21 years old, who according to his voluntary confession as appears *int largo*, has murdered or helped murder 9 persons, also has Zussie Fredricx, married woman, used as his concubine. Therefore one shall take him also to Seals Island to firstly chop off his right hand there, and after that to punish him at the gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and all that he might lay claim to from the Hon. Lord Masters,— Also

⁵³ *Int largo*; Dutch: *Int breede*. English: At large, as in: To set forth at large.

Allert Janssen of Assendelf gunner, aged about 24 years, who according to his confession as appears *int largo*, has confessed to be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz to help to seize the ship *Batavia*, to which he has consented. As well that he has slit the throat of Andries de Bruijn of Haarlem, boy, also has helped to slay Jan Pinten, Englishman, and that one night he, besides others, had intended to slay Aris Jansz of Hoorn, barber, however due to the bluntness of his sword, though he gave him a blow to the shoulder, it did not happen and the said Aris escaped because of the darkness into the water, also has committed much wantonness with the loss of the ship. Therefore one shall take him also to Seals Island to firstly chop off his right hand there, and after that be punished at the gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and all that he might lay claim to from the Lord Masters—— Also

Jan Pelgrom de Bijde of Bommel, aged about 18 years, having been cabin servant on the ship *Batavia*, who according to his own voluntary confession, most godless in words and deeds, more a beast than becomes a human, has also murdered on Seals Island a boy and Janneken Gist, wife of Jan Hendricxz from the Hague, gunner, besides helping to slay Andries Jonas, — And also on 16 August requested very insistently that he should be allowed to behead Cornelis Aldersz of IJlpendam, *hooploper* [YOUNG SAILOR], but this Mattijs Beijr was permitted to do, about which he wept, — also has had carnal knowledge of Zussien and Trijntgien Fredricxs, both sisters, and Anneken Bosschieters, altogether married women. Therefor one shall take him also to Seals Island to there punish him at the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages and all that he has to lay claim to from Lord Masters ——Also

Andries Jonas of Luyck soldier, aged about 40 years, who according to his voluntary confession avows, when Pauwels of Harderwijck was stabbed to death in the water he too stabbed with a pike through his throat till he died, and on Seals Island has cut the throat of Maijken Soers being pregnant, and besides Jan van Bemmels helped slay Janneken Gist. Furthermore has voluntarily let him be used with all trips, —Therefore one shall take him also to Seals Island to be punished there at the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and all that he has to lay claim to from Lord Masters — Also

Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, aged about 23 years, who according to his voluntary confession avows that he has bound the hands and feet of Jacop Groenewaldt, chief trumpeter, when he was to be drowned, and was so carried into the sea by Sevanck and de Vries, — Also when Pieter Jansz provost, with another 14 was thrown from a raft into the sea, and Pauls Barentsz with Bessel Jansz, both of Harderwijck, Nicolaas Winckelhaack, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenborgh had escaped by swimming and fled here on this island, but was ordered by Jeronimus that one should slay them, has he, Rutger, with his sabre, hacked 2 strikes at Pauwels Barentsz, and walked from there to Claas Harmansz, whom he has slain single handedly — Also when Andries de Vries, assistant, was to be slain, the said Rutger, Jan Hendricx and Lenert Michielsz were called by Jeronimus into his tent, and each given a sabre that they would go and smite to death De Vries— thereto he voluntarily let himself also be used, without protest. When De Vries saw that it would affect him, he fled into the water, and Lenert Michielsz pursued him into the water and slew him in 2 strokes, so that he could do nothing to it

On the other hand, Jeronimus affirms that the said Rutger has let himself be used very much voluntarily in all matters, together with Mattijs Beer or suchlike, and therefore cannot exonerate himself from guilt. Therefore one shall take him also to Seals Island to be punished there at the gallows till death follows, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and all that he might lay claim to from Lord Masters ——

Having resolved, because there are still some miscreants here in custody, and that we are as yet not well informed or certain of all their wrongdoings, and on the other hand, inasmuch as we until now are aware of some, are in doubt if much consideration ought to be given to whether they are guilty of death, or, not being charged with more, their lives might be spared, without falling into disgrace with the Hon. Lord General, — That one shall keep the underwritten persons locked up, either to bring them thus to Batavia to the Hon. Lord General, or to face their punishment, time and occasion permitting. — Namely —

Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier, but
 after the capture of Jeronimus Cornelis
 been made Captain of the rebel troop,
 Jacop Pietersz of Amsterdam, lanspesat,
 been councillor of Jeronimus, besides
 Sevanck and Coenraat van Huyssen,
 Hans Jacop of Basel, *adelborst*,
 Daniel Cornelisz of Dort *adelborst*,
 Andries Liebent of Oldens *adelborst*,
 Hans Fredrick of Bremen soldier,
 Cornelis Jansz of Haarlem shipmate,
 Rogier Decker of Haarlem, been
 boy to Jeronimus,
 Jan Willemsz Selijns of Amsterdam, cooper.
 And the rest of the prisoners shall be let go free until further
 resolution, or providing no other charge comes.

<p>appointment</p>	<p>Also, because we find through multiple testimonies and also obviously that Wiebbe Haijes of Winschooten, soldier, for the time that he with 47 people has been on the High Island, has faithfully protected them and against the murdering party, who meant to kill them altogether, and in three trips that they had been attacked, has defended them, — have also approved, as there are no officers of the soldiers, to make the said Wiebbe Haijes sergeant of the same, as we do hereby with salary of 18 ⁵⁴ guilders per month to be earned from this date onward.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Also,</p> <p>Otto Smit of Halverstadt <i>adel-</i> Allert Jansz of Elsen <i>borsten</i></p> <p>On account of their good conduct make them besides Wiebbe Hayes, corporals, with salary of 15 guilders per month, to be earned from this date onwards.</p> <p>Thus done and decided on the Island <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard, date as above.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> <i>Francis^{Co.} Pelsarts</i> <i>Jacob Jacobsz houten man</i> [WOODEN MAN] Claas Gerritsz Jacob Jansz Sijmon IJopzoon This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch ⁵⁵ </p>
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⁵⁴ It seems the figure 2 has been erased and then the figure 1 written instead. Soon after arrival at Batavia, Haijes' monthly salary was lifted to 40 guilders per month on appointment to the rank of *vaandeldrager* which is standard bearer or ensign.

⁵⁵ Apparently Visch was a seaman, who was unable to write. His name is written for him and he himself includes his mark. This will happen every following time when his signature is needed.

Follows firstly the examination of Jeronimus Cornelisz, from the day of his imprisonment when brought to us, until the present, daily applied to him, as well as his voluntary confession, concerning the great evil delicts put to work by him and what purpose his intention has served. Whereupon follow the sentence meted out to him, as well as to his accomplices, —

Today the 17 September 1629, after midday is resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council to examine Jeronimus Cornelisz of Haarlem, apothecary and, been under-merchant on the ship *Batavia*, brought aboard in custody, his gruesome deeds done, and still had intended to do, and being so necessary to put to torture; on the yacht *Sardam*, —date as above—

Jeronimus Cornelisz, having been brought in, he has been asked by the Commander why he had let himself being stripped of all humanity by the devil, and was more vicious than [being] changed into a tiger animal, that he had have shed so much innocent human blood, and also has meant to do to us people as well. Upon which he said, all that has been done I am not guilty of, but Davidt Sevanck, Gijsbert van Welderen and Coenraat van Huijssen are, who have carried it out and also forced me to it, or I would have had to die, and has desired further audience to declare himself free from blame, and is he ordered to tell from the beginning, —

Says that 10 days after the loss of the ship, he had been still on the wreck and in that time the same was mostly smitten to pieces, such that he sat for 2 days in the bowsprit top (*marsse*) and at last has come ashore with the cheek (*wangh*) of the same bowsprit, — Found that a cask of water, one ditto wine, and one ditto vinegar, had come drifting to the island. Having been about a month

	<p>on the island, Davidt Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen, <i>adelborst</i>, with another 12, had armed their tent and one evening at around 10 or 11 o'clock, said persons have come to him, saying that the people were too strong, and the food was too little, that they wanted to surprise attack all the people in the tents and put to death except 40. Why he, Jeronimus would have pleaded, that they should not do such, but that it was much better to send the folk to the high island, to go and join there also 22 other men, who were sent before to seek water, which they would barely allow, but because of his pleading, a party would so have been sent, — 17 days after this happened, ditto Sevanck has gone in a sloop with people to the island on which the said party of people were, and has he with his consorts murdered them all, except 7 <i>jongers</i> and some women. Returning, ditto Sevanck told Jeronimus that he had done as such, and did wish that had also happened to the rest who were on the high island, and so were not to expect any harm from them, Seven, or 8 days after that, they have come again to Jeronimus and said that they wanted to sail over to fight against the other folk, the more so as Pieter Lambertsz, shipmate, had saved his life and got away with a built <i>schuijtgien</i>, to get it back and, if they could, smite dead the people, whereto they chose 22 men, which intention Jeronimus said, did not please him, but would have implored them to set up a boat or sloop to go to the mainland and afterwards to <i>Indiën</i>, which they deemed to be impossible, but upon the said resolution have moved thither, with the 22 men. Returning, Jeronimus would once more have implored them to start with a vessel, but on the contrary have they again moved thither with 37 men in 3 <i>schuijtgien</i>s, and Jeronimus present, in order, if it had come to that, to prevent the fighting, as much as could be done, have so drawn straight</p>
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to them, but the others guarded the beach and they stood up to their knees in the water, so Jeronimus requested to talk with them and to be in harmony. Meanwhile, through the mediation of the *dominij* [MINISTER], who went to and fro, the fighting had stopped for that day and promised to bring them the next day some *laken* [CLOTH] to dress themselves, in exchange, the others would hand over the *schuijtgien*. About which the people were very angry, and wanted to fight, because Coenraat van Huijssen said, he wanted to make them fight the next day, against anyone's will. The next day Jeronimus has come with *laken*, having with him six persons, namely, himself, Davidt Sevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Wouter Loos, and Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, of whom, due to a certain tumult that arose, 4 persons were slain, Wouter Loos escaped, and Jeronimus taken prisoner.

The Commander propounds to put to torture the said Jeronimus in order to learn from him the perfect truth, as he seeks to exonerate himself with glozed over tales, shoving his filth onto persons who are dead and cannot answer for themselves, the which we councillors deem highly necessary.

Jeronimus Cornelisz being bound and started to inflict a little pain, begs for suspension, because he wished to tell what one asked of him, and he knew. He being granted to be heard, has the Commander desired to know from him why, and in what manner he desired to seize the yacht, so he declares, that at the time when the 22 men had left for the island to fight, and he got them back, when Sevanck, being in the sloop, has told a dream of Lucas Jelis, *adelborst*, of a yacht that came and that it was necessary for them to seize the same and sail with it to *Spain* or other places near there, and is at last as such decided. He being further asked in what manner they would do it, said, that if a yacht had come,

they would have let the boat come ashore and then would have made the crew drunk to then kill them thus easily, and so doubtlessly without any fault have seized the same, whereupon they wanted to see the jewels of the Company and have them valued, how much each their share would amount to, which Jeronimus has opened and shown them.

Yesterday the 18 September in the afternoon, Jeronimus Cornelisz, sitting locked up in the fore-under of the ship *Sardam*, and Jan Hendricxz soldier, near him, when Jan Willemsz of Dort boatswain, has lain atop the fore-under above their heads, and heard that Jeronimus Cornelisz asked ditto Jan Hendricxsx why on the morning of the 17th they had not got the schuijtgien when they were fighting against the others, and why the muskets had not gone off, whether the gunpowder was wet. Jan Hendricxsx answering, had we presently fired with a musket then, for sure, we should have got them, but the gunpowder burned off 3 to 4 times in the pan⁵⁶. Whereon Jeronimus said, had you been crafty, you would have got it done on the water and then we should have pulled it off. With which we have confronted Jeronimus, and Jan Hendricxsx aforem. confesses this to have thus happened.

Today the 19th September on the Island
named *Batavia* 's Graveyard

Jeronimus Cornelisz being bound, and made ready for torture, requested suspension, that he would tell the truth [of] what he knew, and he being asked by the Commander why he had advised the skipper Arian Jacopsz to seize the ship *Batavia*, denied the same, yea, that he did not know anything about it, but did want to tell at large the beginnings of his shameful life, to wit, when we had set sail from *Sierra Lionas*, he noticed that the skipper made great familiarity with Lucretia, about which he reprimanded him, and asked what he wanted with that woman. The skipper answered that because

⁵⁶ Part of the lock that holds the priming powder in match-, or flintlock type of muskets.

she was fair, he desired to tempt her to his will, and to make her willing with gold or otherwise. Sometime later said Jeronimus has asked him why he was no longer so familiar towards Lucretia, but had started anew to become crazy with Zwaantgien. Said, that he had understood from the cook's wife that she was a whore, on the other hand, he had more pleasure in Zwaantgien, to converse with her and to shorten time. Having come to the *Cabo* and the Commander being gone ashore, Jeronimus Cornelisz has come unexpectedly into the cabin, and opening the *huissien* [privy]⁵⁷ in the gallery found in there the skipper Ariaen and Zwaantien having carnal knowledge with each other, therefore he closed the door again and went away. Two days after that, the Commander has again gone ashore to look for cattle inland-wards. Shortly after he sailed away, the skipper has gone ashore, taking along him, Jeronimus, and Zwaantie, and so went on a pleasure trip until evening, as when they made for the yacht *Assendelft*⁵⁸ where the said Ariaen wilfully made much of a fuss and at night they made for the ship *Bueren*⁵⁹ where he did it much worse yet, and so, at midnight, [they] came back aboard. The next day in the morning, the Commander called him into the gallery and reprimanded him over his arrogance and willfulness he had perpetrated, as well that he had taken with him without permission Jeronimus and Zwaantie, saying that if he did not refrain from his improper behaviour, he would meet it, with more other good admonishments. Skipper Ariaen, coming above again, said to Jeronimus, by God, if the ships did not lie there, I would so deftly brush him off that he would not be able to come out of his bunk within 8 to 14 days, But I swear that as soon as I set sail from here, that I shall be soon away from the other ships, and then I shall be able to be my own master. Whereupon Jeronimus said, how would you be able to do that, for the steersmen also have the watch? Replied, not with all of them that is, I will fix it on my own watch, because I have mis-givings about the upper steersman and worse still about my brother-in-law, that they would want to stand for my plan. The Commander questioning him further

⁵⁷ *Huissien*, little house. The small toilet room (privy, or dunny) placed in the gallery. In the beginning of the 17th century the gallery was still an open balcony around the stern and quarters but by the time of the Batavia this would have been roofed over and at least partly, if not fully enclosed.

⁵⁸ One of the ships in Pelsaert's fleet. Cargo capacity in Dutch-Asiatic Shipping (DAS), listed as 250 *Lasten* (c. 500 tons)

⁵⁹ Another ship in the fleet. Cargo capacity in DAS listed as 100 *Lasten* (c. 200 tons)

as he wanted to know when the way and means to seize the ship has been decided, denied knowing anything about it.

Therefore again prepared for torture.

And a little water ⁶⁰ having been poured, says that he wants to tell all that he knows, such as he would have heard for the first time on the day that the ship *Batavia* was lost, from the mouth of Rijckert Woutersz in public, at the time when the Commander and the skipper sailed with the sloop to the nearest island, that if the ship had not been lost, they would have seized the same before long, and would have thrown overboard the Commander with all the people except 120, and were only waiting for a good opportunity, which they thought to be best, so when the Commander wanted put in irons those who had laid hands on Lucretia. And after that would have made with the ship at first for *Madagascar* or *St Helena*. Declares, to have heard the same also from the mouth of Coenraat van Huyssen, that when the foresaid persons were punished, or put in irons, he would have been [one] of the first who would have jumped with a sword into the cabin, and thrown the Commander overboard,— once more asked if he did not know about this before the ship was lost, denies, no —

Have ordered to proceed with the torture, has again pleaded to hear some of his accusers, which has been granted him —

Jan Hendricxsz soldier being called, questioned whether he would have been one of the conspirators in the seizing of the ship, says that he was not one of them, nor had known of it on board, but that as soon as the ship was wrecked, he had heard it from many different people, who now are already dead, that the skipper, Jeronimus, the chief boatswain, Rijckert Woutersz, Allert Jansz of Assendelft, Cornelis Jansz of Haarlem, alias *Boontien* ⁶¹, Gijsbert van Welderen,

⁶⁰ Torturing by pouring water into a person's mouth.

⁶¹ *Boontien*: in Modern Dutch *boontje*, little bean, or perhaps beanie.

Coenraat van Huijssen, with still 10 to 12 others would have started the same, and that they would have nailed shut the soldiers' cote until they had their way with the ship. But that Allert Janssz of Assendelft was certainly one of the accomplices —

Allert Janssen of Assendelft being called, is examined, free and unforced, in what manner they would want to seize the ship *Batavia*, and who had put them up to that, has answered, that he did not know about it, but that ashore he did hear say such by Jeronimus, that they wanted to do it, and to that end a band of folks had sabres lying in their bunks, but wanted not confess furthermore.

Over that put up for torture,
persisted that he had not known
of it.

And beginning to inflict pain begs to be set free, willing to speak the truth, says, that, on the ship, Jeronimus has come to him and presented to him, if he wanted to have a hand in the seizing of the ship. But had said neither yea nor nay, — Once again poured water for torture, confesses that the chief boatswain, Jacop Pietersz stone-mason⁶² and he with still others, had *sabres* lying in their bunks, — he being threatened further, confesses that the skipper was the ringleader, and as far as he knew were only 10 to 12 men strong, and that it would have happened in the night and wanted to nail shut the cote, to all the easier overpower the ship.

Jeronimus Cornelisz again brought into the tent, and he being bound for torture, as one could not extract from him the right bottom truth, being bound, questioned whether he had not asked Assendelft for that, confesses, yea, but that the skipper Ariaen has ordered him such, and has seduced him. He, being asked why the skipper was so embittered against the Commander, says, that he does not know, for he often was amazed that he so much liked and tolerated him, but that the skipper did tell him that he took to the hatred for the Commander when he was in *Souratte*,

⁶² The manuscript has here *steenhouwer*, meaning stone-mason or, literally, stone-cutter. This was probably his profession, although it may have been his (second) surname.

	<p>to sail to the fatherland ⁶³ and one evening he had verbally offended, wherefore the Commander <i>Grijph</i> and <i>Wollenbrand Gheleijnsen</i> upper-merchant, had rebuked him, saying that such was not the way to sail in peace to the fatherland, and the commander must be treated differently, and for their sake would have feigned a little. Furthermore asked, why, so it happened out of hatred, they had not secretly thrown the Commander overboard, and so had not done our Lord Masters such damage and not have had to murder so many poor souls, he says, it was not for the sake of the Commander, but the skipper said to him, it was for the very best of them and because there was now little profit to be made in <i>Indien</i>, he would still work some wonders with that ship. Jeronimus asked him whether there was no danger, and this would indeed be possible to execute, the skipper said, let me handle it, I shall have it arranged. Because I can be assured of my cousin the boatswain's mate, but I put little trust in the under-steersman my brother-in-law, or in the upper-steersman— Furthermore asked when they would have set it to work, said, when the Commander would have put in irons the folk on account of the fact with Lucretia.— Further asked of him whether the Company and the Commander had deserved that of him, says, no, but that he has received more honour and decency than he was worth, for the skipper had brought him to it, and painted to him great riches, the more so, the skipper said, no matter what, I am in for the devil, do I come to <i>Indien</i>, then I shall yet be put to shame. Further examined why he had given out among the people that the Commander upon leaving the ship, would have ordered him that he should reduce the number of people to 40, denies the same, and that the Commander has not said such thing to him, but that Davidt Sevanck thought it necessary to make the people believe such,</p>
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⁶³ Pelsaert left Surat aboard the Dordrecht in December 1627.

confesses also that he Davidt van Sevanck and Lucas Jelisiz had resolved together to seize the first yacht that came to sail therewith to *Spain* or thereabout, for they altogether thought doubtlessly and for sure that the skipper had thrown the Commander overboard from the boat, and that he had gone with the boat to *Mallacca* to obtain a yacht there, to pick up the folks and the money, — or, if he dared to go to *Batavia*, he would certainly have got a yacht from the Hon. Lord General to look for the ship and the people again, and if such be done, they were ready.—

Being asked why he recently had have slain Mr Frans Jansz of Hoorn, chief-barber ⁶⁴, said that he was in the way of Sevanck, and on the other hand, that he wanted not rightly dance to their humour or piping, therefore had little faith in him.

Questioned who the most guiltless or innocent were, says, Jacques Pilman, Jeurian Jansz of Bremen shipmate, Reynder Hendricxsz of Barcklooster steward, Abraham Jansz of Yperen gunner, Teuwis Jansz of Amsterdam, carpenter, Jan Egbertsz of Amsterdam, carpenter, Jan Willemsz Selijns of Amsterdam cooper,—

Says also, that the Council consisted of 4 persons, namely, he Jeronimus Cornelisz, Coenraat van Huyssen, Davit van Sevanck, and Jacop Pietersz stone-mason, and what was decided by them, whom one would slay, was immediately carried out.

And because of the mistrust in each other that was among the leaders and other principals, they have sworn together an Oath of faithfulness, and who was included in it and signed selfsame, would be spared his live, and said as follows —

We undersigned persons, in order to remove all distrust that may be, or come, amongst us, and nevermore to have memory of such,

⁶⁴ The chief-barber was also the ship's surgeon.

will promise each other with this written unbreakable agreement, on the greatest oath one can take, to be faithful in everything, so truly shall help us God, and upon our souls' salvation, also that God shall punish us here and hereafter for eternity, in as much as we undersigned persons resolve something we shall reveal such to each other, and no one shall privately point out something, it being out of favour or hatred, but in all matters that may happen assist each other with a brotherly affection for the common wealth. And to maintain in equal form the given laws for the following women, Lucretia Jansz, Anneken Hardens, Judith Gijsbertssz, Trijntien and Zussie Fredricx, Anneken Bosschieters, and Marretgien Louijs. For greater assuredness, we have written our names with our own hand here below. Thus decided on the island *Batavia* 's Graveyard, the 16 July anno 1629, and the undersigned were,

Hieronimus Cornelisz, merchant
 Coenraat van Huysen, councillor
 Jacop Pietersz Cosijn, councillor
 Davidt van Sevanck, councillor
 Isbrant Ysbrantsz, assistant
 Olivier van Welderen, *adelborst*
 Gijsbert van Welderen, *adelborst*
 Jan Pelgrom de Bye of Bemmelen
 Jan Henricx of Bremen, soldier
 Lenert Michielsz van Os, *adelborst*
 Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh, soldier
 Allert Jansz of Assendelft, gunner
 Hans Hardens from Ditmarsen, soldier
 Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen, locksmith
 Gerrit Willemsz of Enchuijsen, sailor
 Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, shipmate
 Johan Jacop Heijlweck of Basel, *adelborst*
 Lucas Jelis from the Hague, *adelborst*
 Reijnder Hendricx of Barklooster, steward
 Daniel Cornelisz of Dort, *adelborst*
 Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier
 Gerrit Haas of Santen, shipmate
 Jan Willemsz Selijns of Amsterdam, cooper
 Jeurian Jansz of Bremen, shipmate
 Hendrick Jaspersz of Montfort, soldier
 Salomon Deschamps, under-merchant

Confesses also that at last he did not much like the name of merchant, because there was nothing to merchandise, — Therefore had himself given the title of Captain General, and selfsame sworn to and undersigned by all the folks, being 36 persons, to call him this, and acknowledge him as such and said as follows,

We undersigned persons, being nowadays here on this island, including fellow councillors, soldiers, shipmates, as well as our *domini*, no one excepted, whoever it may be, appoint as our chieftain, as Captain-General, *Jeronimo Corneli*, to whom we swear in unison and each one in particular, *so truly as God shall help us*, to be faithful and obedient in all he shall order us, and in so far as the contrary happens, we shall be the Devil's own, to which we thus firmly bind ourselves as one hand, herewith squashing and laying down all previous promises, public and particular, and oaths, which have been passed before this, which do include the secret comradeships, tent-ships and otherwise, — Also that the ship's crew amongst us will not be called shipmates anymore, but will be counted equally as soldiers under one Company. Thus done on the island named *Batavia's Kerckhof*, this 20 *Augusti* 1629, — the signed persons and marks were as follows

Coenraat van Huijssen,
 Davidt van Sevanck
 Jan Pietersz Cosijn,
 Wouter Loos of Maastricht
 Gijsbert van Welderen,

	<p> Gijsbert Bastiansz, <i>predikant</i> Reijnder Hendricx, steward, Jan Hendricx of Bremen soldier Andries Jonas, of Luyck soldier Rutget Fredricxs locksmith Mattijs Beer of Munsterberg soldier Hans Frederick, of Bremen, soldier Jacques Pilman of Pres, soldier, Lucas Gillisse, from the Hague, <i>adelborst</i> Andries Liebent of Oldenburg soldier Abraham Jansz of Yperen gunner Hans Hardens, from Ditmarsen, soldier, Olivier van Welderen, <i>adelborst</i> Jeurian Jansz of Bremen shipmate, Isbrant Isbrantsz of Purmerent assistant Jan Willemsz Selijns, cooper, Jan Egbertsz carpenter, Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht soldier Hendrick Jaspersz of Montfort, soldier Jellis Phillipsen of Malmediers, soldier Tewis Jansz of Amsterdam carpenter Johan Jacop Heijlweck, of Basel, <i>adelborst</i> Gerrit Haas of Zanten shipmate, Claas Harmansz of Campen, <i>hooploper</i> Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner Rogier Decker of Haarlem boy Gerrit Willemsz of Enchuijsen, <i>adelborst</i>, Abraham Gerritsz of <i>Sierra Liones</i>, Jan Pelgrom de Bij of Bommel Lenert Michielsz van Os, <i>adelborst</i>, Salomon Deschamps, under-merchant </p> <p> Today the 22 September 1629 on the Island <i>Batavia</i> 's Kerchof again examined, </p> <p> Jeronimus Cornelisz questioned again whether he has consented to the seizing of the ship <i>Batavia</i> or been made to do it by the skipper, says, that he advises none, but that the skipper persuaded him to it </p>
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Questioned if a yacht had come would he surely have seized the yacht, ^(confesses) so when he had been able to overpower the other people on the island, for which they daily did their best, because they knew that otherwise they would have warned the ship.

Confesses also, in the presence of Jan Hendricxs, that when Niclaas Winckelhaack, Paulus Barentsz and Bessel Jansz, of Harderwijck, and Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh came out of the water, where they had meant to slay them, and flee to the tent of Jeronimus, that he ordered the foresaid Jan Hendricxs: “go, and slay them”, which he also did, — Also, when the family of the *predikant* was murdered, had said, the *domini* will not be around much longer, — Also, when the sick were murdered, that Jeronimus, Gijsbert van Welderen, Coenraat van Huijsen, have taken Andries de Vries and brought him to all the little huts of the sick to slit their throats, which he did, being eleven people, — Also, when Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht did slit the throat of Hendrick Claasz, under carpenter, it has been done in the presence of Jeronimus, — Is further accused by Allert Jansz of Assendelft, in his presence that when he ordered him to slit the throat of Andries de Bruijn, boy, he sent him to catch birdies, and Assendelft thereupon following him, has thus carried it out.

Read out to him, Jeronimus Cornelisz, this above mentioned complete examination and confession, and asked if it was so altogether true, confesses the same freely and unconstraint, without torture, to have thus happened, —

On the 23 ditto,

Jeronimus Cornelisz being present at the examination of Lenert Michielsz, *adelborst*, who confesses voluntarily without torture, that he has sent him,

besides Sevanck and Mattijs Beer, with a raft to the Traitors Island, to go and drown there Andries Liebent, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, alias *maffken* [ZANY], Thomas Wensel of Coppenhagen shipmate, and Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, but Andries Liebent was pardoned by Lenert Michielisz,— Confesses this to be true,—

At 2nd : that he has sent Lenert Michielisz, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Hendricxs, Sevanck, Daniel Cornelisz and Mattijs Beer with the biggest raft, giving along Hans Radder of Dansich *adelborst*, and Jacop Groenewaldt, upper-trumpeter to tie the same ones their hands and feet and to drown in the sea.

At 3rd: confesses that he has sent to get out of their tents, said Lenert, as also Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, Hans Jacopsz, Jan Hendricxs and Mr Frans the barber and ordered him that they should sail with the *schuijtgien*, along with Sevanck and van Huijssen to Seals Island, to murder all the people there, which they did, except for 17 persons, —

At 4th: has Jeronimus called into his tent the said Lenert, as also Jan Hendricxs and Rutger Fredericxs and given them sabres to slay Andries de Vries assistant, which they did. —

At 5th: confesses that when they were of intention to murder the *predikant*'s family, that at the time he has given some foodstuff to Coenraat van Huijssen, saying that thereon he should invite the *predikant* with his daughter, as well as himself, — In the afternoon he has called the said Lenert Michielisz, as also Jacop Pieterssz, Jan Hendricxs, Wouter Loos, Andries Jonas and Andries Liebent, and said that, in the evening when he was a guest in van Huijssen's tent, they should slay all of the family of the *predikant*, which they have also done.

At 6th: confesses that on the 12 July, in the night, he has sent for the said Lenert and Lucas Gillisz with Jan Hendricxsz to get out of the tents and ordered them to slit the throat of Passchier vanden Enden, gunner, as also Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, and another one, a boy, who was sick, which they have also done.

At 7th: confesses that on the 6 August in the morning he stood in the tent of Davidt van Sevanck, called Jan Hendricxsz and gave him his own poniard, which he carried in his pocket, saying, stab Stoffel Stoffelsz, that lazy soul, who stands there and works as if his hips are cracked, (through the heart) which Jan Hendricxsz did so.

At 8th: confesses also that on 16 August he had given his sabre to Jan van Bommel to go and slash off the head of Cornelis Aldersz of IJpendam *hooploper* [young sailor], and to test whether his sabre was sharp, (the aforesaid Jan van Bommel being too light) has Mattijs Beer in his presence slashed off the head.

At 9th: confesses that although he is a married man, has taken Lucretia Jansz, the wife of Boudewijn van der Mijlen into his tent and used her as his concubine for two months against her will, and has known her carnally.

On 24 September, Jeronimus Cornelisz, being present at the examination of Rogier Decker of Haarlem, having been cabin servant on the ship *Batavia*, confesses that on 25 July he called the said Rogier into his tent and has given him a beaker of wine to drink, as also a poniard, saying go outside, and stab this into the heart of Hendrick Jansz of Purmerent, carpenter, which Rogier has carried out, confesses the above written to be true,

—

On the 28th: ditto

Because Lucas Gillisz from the Hague, *adelborst*, upon the above written confession of Jeronimus, would also have been present at the murder of Passchier, confesses in the presence of Jeronimus that he, Sevanck, besides Lenert Michielsz and Jan Hendricxs by order of Jeronimus have been charged to go and kill Passchier van Eenden gunner and Jacop Hendricx carpenter and, coming near the tent, Jan Hendricxs has jumped in and slit the throat of the said Passchier, and Jacop Hendricx was ordered to stay in his tent and Sevanck went to Jeronimus, saying, Jacop is a good carpenter, let him stay alive. But Jeronimus said, he is only a *draijer* [a wood turner] and half cripple, soon or tomorrow he might blab out, he's got to go too.

For wider confirmation whether such is true, have called also in attendance Lenert Michielsz and Jan Hendricxs, if such was truthful; confess upon their souls' salvation and to will and die the death on it, to have happened as written above — Then Jeronimus denies the same thing, saying they are belying him, also all he has confessed before he has admitted because they threatened him with torture, as also not to know about the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, —

Therefore, on account of his inconsistent and variable confessions, practising sinister means, although convinced of by all people, and was, in his presence, accused to make the same untruthful, — So once more and for the last time has he been threatened with torture, and questioned why he mocked us, since he has told and confessed everything willingly on diverse occasions before, without being hurt, the origin and the circumstances regarding the seizure of the ship *Batavia* with the atrocities happening thereafter — Confesses, that all that he has said before this, is true

But that what he does is for protractedness, that they would take him to Batavia, to speak his wife once more, and is well aware to have done enough evil, and desires no mercy over it.

Jan Hendricxz and Allert Jansen of Assendelft have willingly without questions, announced as that one night Jeronimus had invited them, and among other proposals, told that if the ship had not been wrecked, the same would have been seized a few days later, and were the principals the skipper, he Jeronimus, chief boatswain, Coenraat van Huyssen, and more others, and that they would have nailed shut the soldiers' cote, which, being present, is confronted [with], and found to be true.

On the same date in the afternoon, the Commander has read this examination and confessions publicly to all the people being on the island, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, and asked him if such was not true. Said, something was in there such as of Assendelft, Jan Hendricxs and others who unjustly accused him. Therefore the Commander has once more protested before God unto the prisoners who sat in presence, so they burdened him with the least of something, would have to justify the same before the Divine Seat of judgment, — Have spoken and cried out in unison that they shall die on it, and take upon their souls' salvation, not to have burdened him in the least of that heretofore confessed, — Thus has the Commander once more asked Jeronimus why he has mocked the council through his intolerable dubiousness, one hour to say the truth and another hour that they all belied him. Confesses at last that he did it to prolong his life, but that he had done enough evil, as said before, —

On 29th ditto — Jeronimus

Cornelisz had written 2 letters to

his friends in Holland, and has given the same to the under-steersman Jacop Jacopsz Holloch ⁶⁵ to deliver them secretly, who has handed over the same to the Commander, and have been opened in the council and read out. Found that all written therein contradicted the truth, in order to cover up his gruesome misdeeds, that is, he was belied by all people and falsely accused, and therefore in his innocence would have to die, — To that end the Commander has read those letters to the whole congregation and has asked them fellows again upon their souls' salvation, if they had burdened him with something or unjustly accused of, they did answer all together and each one in particular, that all that they had done [was] by his order and that he has been the originator of all murders, of that which has happened or yet would have happened, putting in pawn their souls' salvation, the same to be true, — Also, Allert Jansz of Assendelft confesses in regards of the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, he took some blame, but that Jeronimus Cornelisz had proposed such thing to him for the very first time on the ship, — To make an end to these variable excuses, have ordered Jeronimus to speak the right truth or he'd be put to torture, confesses that all the excuses he looks for are for some prolongation of his life, or may be taken to Batavia, — Is asked why he mocked the council and wanted to accuse them of wanting to kill him unjustly. Says, as before, to prolong his life, — and confesses on his soul's salvation all to be true of which he is accused, —

We undersigned councillors, declare upon our Men's truth in place of confirmed oath, that all these above mentioned examinations, are taken in our presence, and confessed and told by Jeronimus, mostly free and liberal, without torture, whereupon the Commander

⁶⁵ This is the acting skipper of the Sardam.

for the greater evidence of his criminal offences (*delicten*), which were unforgivable before God or our High Authorities, has read this examination today to all the people being on the island, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, and has asked of him if this was not indeed the truth; confesses at last, (Yea), and because we have [heard] the same with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest, or to testify this at all times, before all high and subaltern judges, or the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen*, coming to *Batavia*, and being so asked to confirm by oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned this with our own hands, on the island named *Batavia's* Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629.

Franc^o Pelsartt

Jacob Jacobsz Houten man


Salomon Deschamps

Claas Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan  Willemsz

Visch

Because Jeronimus Cornelisz of Haarlem, aged about 30 years, apothecary, and been under-merchant on the wrecked ship *Batavia*, has very gruesomely gone astray and behaved himself outrageously, yea has stripped himself of all humanity and is transformed as if into a tiger animal. Namely, that before the ship *Batavia* was wrecked, he has let himself be persuaded by the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz of Durkerdam⁶⁶, to seize the same ship with the accomplices they already had and still might have willed over, and murder all, so Commander as well as the others, who would not have been of use to them except for 120 persons, why Jeronimus has also asked Allert Jansen of Assendelft gunner for the same thing, and eventually has consented, according to his own confession.

Moreover, after the loss of the ship, when the Commander *Pelsart* and the skipper were gone, looking for water, with the longboat to the surrounding islands, and the main Southland, nevertheless it not being possible to find any water, according to the testimonies of all people who have been with it, although they have search for it up to 22 degrees and due to their own thirstiness have been forced to sail to *Indiën* [i.e. Java, Indonesia] so has Jeronimus, seeing he was here chief and master of the people on the island, contrived of evil, yes, devilish means, and had them put into action, taking for his council persons of his humour such as Davidt van Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen, who have approved to have murdered or put to death all people until a number of 45 or less, and were the first ones Jan Cornelis of Amesvoort, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh soldiers, and Thomas Wensel of Coppenhagen shipmate, who were quietly sent with a raft, to have [them] drowned, which has so been done, —

Item, on 4 July he and the council have approved to have cut down, or slain Egbert Roeloffsz and Warnar Dircxsz carpenters, under the pretext that these fellows had wanted to get away with the *schuijtgien*, which thus has happened,

⁶⁶ In Modern Dutch: Durgerdam, a small village at the IJsselmeer near Amsterdam.

Item, on the 5 July, he and the council have approved that Hans Radder of Dansich *adelborst* and Jacop Groenewald chief trumpeter, should be taken to an island and that one should bind them there the hands and feet, and so carry into the sea, which is carried out, without having done any misdeeds.

Item because a group of boys, men and women, about 45 strong had been put on Seals Island, Jeronimus with his council has approved, the same should be slain, and on the 15 July about 18 *Jongers* among whom were several men, were beaten to death, and on the 18th he has ordered that one should also slay the rest, among whom were 4 women, which also has thus happened, but Cornelis Janssz of Amsterdam assistant, and Marcus Sijmonsz of Holsteijn soldier, and two shipmates called De Wagenaars have escaped it.

Item, because Pieter Jansz of Amsterdam provost with his wife and child, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburg, with his wife, Glaudine Patoijs with her child, Christoffel Quist soldier, Wouter Joel soldier, Niclaas Winkelhaack soldier, Pauls Barentsz and Bessel Janssz, both of Harderwijck, shipmates, and more others up to the number of 15 strong, had been put on Traitors Island by Jeronimus, that they should make there a raft and ply with that to the high island, —Then when they had made two rafts and were on the way therewith, Jeronimus and his council has approved that one should slay or drown the same in the sea, and so Sevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, Lenert Michielsz, Jan Hendricxsz and Lucas Gellisz have been ordered to go there with the *schuijtgien*, and were some thrown into the sea, and a few jumped themselves into the water, and drowned. But Niclas Winkelha[a]k, Pauls Barents, Bessel Jansz and Claas Harmansz escaped it by swimming, and thought to save themselves here on land — Then Jeronimus being here on the island, verbally ordered Jan

	<p>Hendricxs and Rutger Fredricx that they should go and slay them, which also has thus happened.</p> <p>Item, on the 10 July in the night, Jeronimus, besides Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbert van Welderen, has gone out, and called Andries de Vries assistant, forcing him to slit the throats of a group of sick people, which he had to do.</p> <p>Item about three days after the above happening, Jeronimus, Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen, have called again the said De Vries to slit the throats of some remaining sick, and forced him that he had to do such.</p> <p>Item on 12 July in the night, Jeronimus has called to his tent Jan Hendricxs, Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Jellis, being present Davidt van Sevanck and Coenraat van Huyssen, and ordered them, that they should go, and slit the throats of Passchier van den Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricxs carpenter, as also a sick boy, which Jan Hendricxs and Lenert Michielsz have done.</p> <p>Item on 14 July, Davidt van Sevanck has seen that Andries de Vries stood and talked from afar to Lucretia Jansz (during the day) and, because de Vries had been made to promise that if ever in his life he talked to her, he would have to die, — have therefore approved to have the said De Vries slain, and has Jeronimus called Jan Hendricxs, Lenert Michielsz, and Rutger Fredricxs into his tent, and ordered them to slay De Vries, and thereto give them a sabre from the tent, and so they have slain him, —</p> <p>Item on the 21 July Jeronimus and the council have approved, to have murdered in the night the family of the predikant, except the predikant and his eldest daughter.</p>
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	<p>To that end Jeronimus has had some food be brought in the tent of Coenraat van Huijssen, saying, that they should invite him, as also the predikant and his daughter, in the evening as guests, and are Jan Hendricxen, Lenert Michielsz and Mattijs Beer verbally ordered by Jeronimus, that they, in the night, with Sevanck and others whom he thereto should take, kill the predikant's family, and has Jan Hendricxsz stabbed to death Wijbrecht Claasz ⁶⁷, and has Lenert Michielsz knocked in the head of the predikant's wife ⁶⁸ as well as one of the children with and adze, and Mattijs Beer also smashed in the head of Willemijntgien, middle daughter, with an adze, the rest have been slain by Zevanck, Cornelis Pietersz from Wtrecht and others not seen as it was night.</p> <p>Item, on the 25 July, has Jeronimus with the council approved to have drowned Jan Gerritsz of Leijden gardener, and Obbe Jansz of Franiker shipmate, and have Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbrecht van Welderen plied to the mast and had them drowned there.</p> <p>Item, on the 5 August, Jeronimus Cornelisz, Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen and Jacop Pieterssz being on the High Island, have approved to have slain Mr Frans Jansz of Hoorn, chief barber, because they were afraid that he would go over to the other folks, which Sevanck, since Jeronimus having gone to the island whereat Wiebbe Haijes with the people⁶⁹ were, has carried out, and is the said Mr Frans slain by Lenert Michielsz, Mattijs Beer and Hans Jacops — As well so when Jeronimus besides Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, with 23 men in 2 <i>schuiften</i> were coming from the above mentioned High Island to this island⁷⁰, so has Sevanck, sitting in the <i>schuijt</i>, said to Jeronimus, I have thought of something good and anew. Whereupon Jeronimus asked, what is that? So he said, if a yacht comes to rescue us, that we seize it and go freebooting with it and sail to <i>Spain</i>. Whereupon Jeronimus answered, ho, ho, do you</p>
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⁶⁷ Young maid to the minister's wife

⁶⁸ Maria Schepens. See Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten, C.A.L. van Troostenburgh de Bruijn, p. 26.

⁶⁹ Indication that the so called High Island was not the island on which Wiebe Haijes was camped.

⁷⁰ Batavia's Graveyard.

have that just now in mind, I for long have thought of that and had in mind, and at last is so decided, and resolved to carry it out. But that beforehand they should work to overpower the other folks, why if a yacht came, that they would not warn it, and when they would have achieved their resolve, they wanted to let the boat first come to shore, and then make the boat crew drunk to slay them all the easier, and then would so have been able to easily overpower the yacht —

Item on the 6 August, in the morning, Jeronimus has verbally ordered Jan Hendricxs, to slit the throat of Stoffel Stoffels of Amsterdam carpenter who was at work, whereto he pulled his own poniard out of his pocket and gave it to him and has Jan Hendricxs also done this same.

Item on the 10 August Jeronimus Cornelisz has personally called Rogier Decker of Haarlem, formerly cabin servant, out of his tent, where he was frying fish, and told him, when had given him a beaker of wine, that he must stab into the heart Hendrick Janszen of Purmerent carpenter, who went for a stroll (but being bound) with Salomon Deschamps under-merchant, whereto he, Jeronimus, gave the poniard in the hands of Rogier, and has the said Rogier also done this same.

Item on 16 August, has Jeronimus said to Jan van Bommel (formerly cabin servant), here is my sabre, go and with it slash off the head of Cornelis Aldersen of IJlpendam *hooploper*, to see if it is sharp enough, — Then Sevanck, who heard this, said that the said Jan van Bommel was too weak for that, and was Mattijs Beer assigned to it, who in the presence of Jeronimus, in broad daylight, has slashed off the boy's head mostly in one blow, whereat Jeronimus stood and laughed.

Moreover, although he is a married man, he has nevertheless taken Lucretia Janssen into his tent and for 2 months, against her will, kept with him for a concubine —

All these and yet many more gruesome deeds which due to the death of Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen remain hidden from us, are altogether through voluntary confessions of the evil-doers and perpetrators of the murders, whom he verbally, in person spoke to, ordered it and has forced them to do, who altogether have confessed it in his presence, pledging their soul and salvation for it, if they unjustly accused him of anything, and to die the death on it, likewise they have pledged. — As well as from the examinations at large and confessions of Jeronimus Cornelissen who, after these were read to him, has confessed, before all people, in public, all to be true. — Therefore, because such unprecedented or abominable crimes would not hold amongst Moors or Turks, or in the extreme be left unpunished, I say, let alone by Christians, who would so kill each other without the utmost hunger, or thirstiness, likewise they haven't had, and yet have sought to do furthermore. But because it is apparent to have been incited by the devil to have made such a resolution to bring the number of all the people down to 40 or less, and by that means to accomplish their wickedness, and in order to carry out the same under better pretext or authority, has made the people believe, that the Commander *Pelsart* had ordered him as such, although he now publicly confesses before all people, and is still confessing, that he and Davidt van Sevanck thought fit it to say such in order to better hold the people in devotion, to that end Jeronimus said that it had been ordered to him, —

Thus have the Commander and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, paying utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations and investigations, debating and weighing, in order to avert from our neck the wrath of God and to cleanse the Christian name from such an unheard of villain, — sentenced the foresaid Jeronimus Cornelisz of Haarlem likewise we sentence him hereby, that one shall take him on Monday being the first of October, Anno 1629, as he requests to be baptized, to Seals Island to

the place prepared for that to execute Justice, to first chop off both his hands there and after that punish him on a gallows with the cord until death follows, with confiscation of all his goods, money, gold, silver, monthly wages, or any pretence he might have here in *Indien*, for the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. —Thus done and decided on the Island named *Batavia*'s Graveyard, this 28 September 1629.

FranC^o. Pelsart

Jacob Jacobs houten man [WOODEN MAN]⁷¹

Claas Gerritsz

Jacop Janssz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan  Willemsz Visch

⁷¹The suffix *houten man* may be added to his name to distinguish him from other people also called Jacob Jacobs

Today the 17 of September in the afternoon on the ship *Sardam*, is resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart*, and the ship's council, to examine Jan Hendricx of Bremen soldier on his great murders so understood to have done, and so being necessary, to bring him to torture, —date as before. —

Jan Hendricxen of Bremen soldier aged about 24 years, having been brought inside, is asked by the Commander why they wanted to have the ship seized, answered free, liberal, unbound, without torture, that more than 6 weeks ago Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant with his council had decided this and sworn to seize the first yacht that were to come, but that he is innocent of that and has not agreed, although was asked for it several times.

And in order to get to know of him the right truth, has been prepared for torture.

Has promised to say voluntarily that which he knew, whereupon being questioned, said, that he too was persuaded thereto, besides all the persons, who were on the island. The Commander asked him again why they wanted to do that, answered, that he did not know.

Furthermore questioned how they would have carried it out, says, that before Jeronimus was captured by the other group, they had resolved, if there came a yacht, to let the boat come to the land first and then have made the boat's folk drunk in order to slay them all easier, and then, by night, with the same boat manned, would have been able to seize the yacht easily, since they guessed there were just 20 to 30 men on. But at present it was not yet resolved how they wanted to begin it, because suddenly, while fighting with the other people, they saw the ship, —

Questioned him further, if they had seized it, whereto they would have sailed, and how many people they would have left alive, answered that they were of intent to ply to *Spain*, *Barbary*, or suchlike places, to sell the ship there and share the booty, would have spared the lives of the skipper, the steersman, with 5 or 6 shipmates who were useful to them, but murdered the rest,—

Questioned him further as to how many people he had murdered, thereupon confesses voluntarily that he has killed 18 to 20 by order of Jeronimus, but that he did not know all their names, therefore requested respite till the next day, in order for him to give thought to when and how he had done all this, which is granted to him.

On 19th. on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard,
before the ship's council,

Jan Hendricxsz aforesaid, being called again and asked by the Commander if he would have been one of the conspirators in the seizure of the ship *Batavia*, says that he was not one of them, neither also had known about it on the ship, but that as soon as the ship was wrecked he has heard from several persons (who are now all dead) that the skipper, Jeronimus, chief boatswain, Rijckert Woutersz gunner, Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbert van Welderen soldiers⁷², with another 10 to 12 men, would have carried out this first and had intended to nail shut the soldiers' cote at night, until they would have had their will of the ship, at which they would choose some of the soldiers, whom they thought to be with it, but murder altogether the rest but 120. Said also that he does know that Allert Jansz of Assendelft was one of the accomplices, —

Towards evening, he being called again, and asked if by now he had made up his mind, how many people he has murdered, confesses as follows —

That he one day (being the 5th July last), besides more others as Davidt van Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Cornelis Pietersz, Mattijs Beer, Leenert Michielsz and Wouter Loos, were commanded by Jeronimus to go with the biggest raft, and that they should take along and drown on the way Hans Radder *adelborst*, and Jacop Groenewald chief trumpeter, whom he has helped to bind hands and feet, and in are thus drowned.

Confesses further that on the day (being the 9th July last), he, besides Sevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen,

⁷² That Hendricxsz refers to these two as soldiers whereas they are elsewhere referred to as *adelborsten* confirms that the position of *adelborst* on board the ship *Batavia* was either a marine ('sea-soldier') or military rank.

Jacob Pietersz *lanspesaat*, Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Jelisz were ordered by Jeronimus, to go with the *schuijtgien* and do what Zevanck would order them, so have they sailed to Pieter Jansz provost, with his wife and child, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh with his wife, Glaudine Patoijs with her child, Jacop Jacopsz cooper, Pauwels Barentsz, Bessel Jansz shipmates, Christoffel Quist of Rokema soldier, Niclaas Winckelhaack soldier, Pieters Arentsz of Monickendam, shipmate and Wouter Joel Schotsman soldier, who had made 2 small rafts on another island with which they meant, according to a promise under oath by Jeronimus made before that time, to sail to the High Island; coming to them, they then coerced the men that they should jump off the rafts and help push ahead to bring them to *Batavia's* island. Having come to dry land Davidt Zevanck did walk up the land to Jeronimus and asked him something, whence Zevanck coming back, called out, smash dead, at which Jan Hendricxsz did his best, but many escaped and thought to save themselves on the island with Jeronimus, then he ordered one should slay them, and Zeevanck, with Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbert van Welderen went in the little *schuijtgien* and took with them the three aforesaid women, who were still sitting on the raft, and brought them to the deep, where they threw them overboard and drowned —

Item confesses that one day, being the 8th July, he was ordered by Jeronimus, and Zevanck present, to go and strangle the child of Hans Hardens, named Hilletgien Hardens, which he did, while Jeronimus had invited the mother for a guest.

Item confesses also that one day, being the 10th July last, by order of Jeronimus, he, besides Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, have gone in the night and together they slit the throat of Jan Pinten, English soldier —

Item confesses that one day (being 12th July last) he was called by Jeronimus into his tent, as well as Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Gellisz, and ordered that they should go and slit the throats of Passchier van den Ende, gunner, Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, and a sick boy, whereupon

he, with Davidt Zevanck and the others so commanded, went into their tent, took the lamp and asked Passchier, if he had any goods hidden somewhere, that he should tell it. Weeping, he answered no, and because he thought it would cost him his live, begged leave to say his prayer, — Then Sevanck said, get on with it, so Jan Hendricxsz threw him underfoot and slit his throat. The other one Jacop Hendrix (Wood)turner begged bitterly for his life, whereupon Zevanck and them also went to Jeronimus and said that Jacop was a good carpenter, that one may keep him alive, — Then Jeronimus answered, not at all, he is only a turner, moreover, half cripple, he must go too, soon or tomorrow he might blab out. Whereupon they have gone back to the small tent and threw Jan Hendricxsz the aforesaid Jacop also underfoot and Lenert Michielsz sat on his body and Jan Hendricxsz stabbed 2 knives to pieces on his chest, also 2 knives on his throat, whereupon Lucas Gellisz gave him one of his knives, nevertheless could not get him dead, so that at last he slit his throat with a piece of knife, after that likewise also the boy.

Item confesses that one day (having been the 14th July), he was called by Jeronimus into his tent, as also Lenert Michielsz and Rutger Fredericx, and were ordered that they should go and slay Andries de Vries assistant, for that gave each a sword, and poured them a beaker of wine first, which they publicly have done too —

Item confesses, that one day (having been the 15th July), he was got out of his tent by Jeronimus and ordered, that he, besides Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, Hans Jacopsz of Basel and Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn, barber, should go with the *schuijtgien* to the Seals Island to slay all people there, being over 40 strong, of whom he, Jan Hendricxsz, at first arrival, has slain 5 *Jongers* and 2 men thereafter, but also did not know their names, — But Cornelis Jansz the assistant

with another 3 or 4, who were chased by Hans Jacopsz, escaped on small rafts, and left they alive this time 4 women, namely Maijken Soers, Jannetgien Gist, Geertien Willemsz, widow and Laurentia Thomesz, as also some *jongers*, —

Item confesses, that one day being the 21 July he was called by Jeronimus into his tent, who made known to him that in the evening he should help murder the family of the *predikant*, and furthermore do what Zevanck would order him. In the evening when Jeronimus had himself with the predikant and his eldest daughter invited as guests in Coenraat van Huyssen's tent, is he Jan Hendricxsz gone with Zevanck, Wouter Loos, Cornelis Pietersz, Andries Liebent, Jacop Pietersz and Andries Jonas to the predikant's tent, has Zevanck called outside Wijbrecht Claasen *Jonge dochter* [young daughter], whom Jan Hendricxsz stabbed through with a poniard, and inside, the heads of all the people, being the mother with 6 children, were knocked in with adzes, and so dragged into a hole that had been made for that. Confesses also that on the same evening, or night, after this above written woeful tragedy was carried out, he knocked in the head of Hendrick Denijs of Amsterdam assistant, with an adze in front of his tent, such that he was dead immediately, —

Item confesses also that one day, having been the 28 July, he was called by Jeronimus into his tent who ordered him that he should go and take with him Andries Liebent and Jan van Bemmelen to strangle Anneken Hardens, housewife of Hans Hardens, whereupon he has gone to the tent, meanwhile Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help him, who made a noose from her hair-cord, and Jan Hendricxen, he wrung her the throat shut.

On 28 d°. before the ship's council,
Because Lucas Gillisz had been accused that he also had stabbed a knife to pieces on Jacop Hendricx carpenter, —wherefore confronted with Jan Hendricxsz if he has seen that, says that he himself has stabbed 4 knives to pieces on the said man, but that Lucas had given him thereto his knife, —

Next, once more asked when a yacht had come, so they had succeeded in their resolution,

if he would too have seized it, confesses, yes, because were it but for a few, all of them would have joined in.

Item confesses voluntarily, that one day (having been the 6th August) in the morning, he was called by Jeronimus, who stood in the tent of Zevanck, and said to him, go and stab (through the heart) Stoffel Stoffelsz of Amsterdam, carpenter that lazy dog, who stands there working, for he is not worth his keep, and gave him for that his own poniard which he carried in his pocket. Wherefore Jan Hendricxsz went and stabbed him dead with 2 jabs.

Furthermore declares, unasked, that he had remembered that one evening Jeronimus had invited him besides Allert Janssen of Assendelft as guests, and among other things stated and told that, had the ship *Batavia* not been lost, they would shortly after have seized it and altogether have been rich men, and also in what manner they thought of going about it, and to nail shut the soldiers' cote, why they thought it could not have failed them, — Therefore confronted with Allert Jansz of Assendelft, find his declaration to accord with that of Jan Hendricxsz —

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare upon our Men's Truth, in place of confirmed Oath, that all the above mentioned examinations are mentioned in our presence, and have been confessed by Jan Hendricxsz, mostly free and liberal without torture. Moreover, today, this examination and confession has been read to him again, and has he been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard this same with discerning ears and have seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest and to testify this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the Councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and being so asked, to confirm by oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own signatures this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

Franc^e. Pelsart

Jacob Jacobsz houten man


Salomon Deschaps

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Janssz

Symon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan  Willemsz Visch

Because Jan Hendricxsz of Bremen soldier, aged about 24 years, has behaved himself very gruesomely, yes dreadfully, according to his own voluntary confessions, made mostly without torture, here on the island near the wrecked ship *Batavia*, and conducted his life without humanity, to wit, that he, besides other malevolent, wicked persons, has let himself voluntarily be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz, under-merchant, to several murders, thereto he has killed or helped to kill very tyrannically, without any mercy or pity, although they were his own fellow brothers and friends, up to the number of [blank] people, on his part, as is appearing at large from his examination thereof, — Moreover, resolved together to seize the first yacht to come and rescue them and to murder all those who would not have been of use to them, and has happened as follows, —

On the 5 July Jan Hendricxsz, besides 6 other persons, has been commanded by Jeronimus to go with the biggest raft, and take along Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewalt chief trumpeter, to drown them on the way, has Jan Hendricxsz helped also to bind their hands and feet, and have thus drowned, —

Item on the 9 July, is he ordered by Jeronimus that he with Zevanck and still 5 others should go with the *schuijtgien*, and do what Zevanck ordered them to do, then they plied towards two small rafts upon which were Pieter Jansz provost with wife and child, and still another 12 persons, on intent to sail to the High Island, and forced the men to jump off the rafts and help to push these along to bring to their island. But coming to dry land, there came order from Jeronimus that one should slay them, of whom Jan Hendricxsz has helped hack dead 2 shipmates Pauwels Barentsz and Bessel Jansz, —

Item on the 8th July he has been ordered by Jeronimus to go and strangle the child of Hans Hardens, named Hilletgien Hardens, aged 6, which he has done while Jeronimus had the father and mother for guests.

Item on 10 July⁷³ he has been ordered by Jeronimus that he, besides 2 others, should go and slit the throats of Passchier van Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, as well as a sick boy — Therefore has he, besides Zevanck, Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Gellisz, gone to the tent of Passchier whom Jan Hendricxz threw underfoot and presently slit [his throat], although he begged to say his prayers, and they would have gladly spared the life of Jacop Hendricxsz, but Jeronimus said that he was half cripple and had to go too, he might soon or tomorrow blab out. Therefore they turned back to Jacop Hendricxsz whom they also threw underfoot and Jan Hendricxsz stabbed 2 knives to pieces on his chest as well as 2 on his throat, so that at last, with a piece of the last knife, his throat had to be slit, after this was done, he also stabbed to death the boy mentioned above, —

Item on the 14 July, Jan Hendricxsz as well as Lenert Michielsz and Rutger Fredricx were called around midday by Jan van Bommel to see Jeronimus who ordered them that they should go and slay Andries de Vries assistant, giving each one a sabre for that, which they have done so publicly.


Item on 15 July, he has been ordered by Jeronimus to go with the *schuijtgien*, besides Sevanck and 4 others to Seals Island to slay most of the people there, so *Jongers*, as some men, except for the women who were there who should be left alive for that time. Thus has Jan Hendricxsz, arriving at first, stabbed and hacked dead 5 *Jongers* and 2 men, —

Item on the 21 July, Jan Hendricks has been called by Jeronimus, who made known to him that in the evening they would murder the predikant's family, except the predikant, with his eldest daughter whom he would have invited as guests in Coenraat van Huyssen's tent. — Night having come, he was called by Zevanck and went together to the predikant's tent, as well as Jacop Pieterssz, Wouter Loos, Cornelis Pietersz, Lenert Michielssz, Andries Liebent and Andries Jonas, and Zevanck called outside Wijbrecht Claasz *Jonge dochter*, whom

⁷³ In the evidence given before, Jan Pinten English soldier is killed on this date.

	<p>Jan Hendricxsx ran through presently, and at once the predikant's wife with her 6 children, inside the tent, had their heads knocked in with adzes, and were dragged into a hole which had been prepared for that.</p> <p>Item, after this woeful tragedy done, Jan Hendricxsx has called out of his tent the assistant Hendrick de Nijs of Amsterdam, and as he did not want to come out for fear, they tore and dragged him out of it and Jan Hendricxsx smashed his head in with an adze, —</p> <p>Item, on the 28 July Jan Hendricxsx has been called by Jan van Bommel to Jeronimus in his the tent and was told, that he with Andries Liebent and Jan van Bommel, should go, and strangle Anneken Hardens, housewife of Hans Hardens. And coming near her tent Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help, and made a noose of her hair ribbon and Jan Hendricxsx has throttled her the throat.</p> <p>Item on the 6 August at dawn, Jan Hendricxsx was called by Jeronimus who stood in the tent of Zevanck, and gave him a poniard which he carried in his own pocket, saying, go and stab Stoffel Stoffelsz, that lazy dog who is not worth his keep, through the heart, which Jan Hendricxsx has done with 2 jabs so that he was dead instantly, —</p> <p>Item he has kept Sussien Fredricx married woman, for two month as his concubine and had carnal knowledge of her.</p> <p>All of which host of gruesome murders, for which he very willingly has let himself be used, as well as still intending to do, had not the Almighty God prevented it, moreover still daily mocking God, being one of the principals who has forbidden to say prayers, and to preach the word of God, and very scoffingly put a stop to it, although he says that Jeronimus had ordered him such, as also has disgraced the women here, with more other misdeeds apparently remaining obscured, are criminal offences of very harmful consequences, which neither by God, nor by mankind can, or may be allowed to suffer from, because</p>
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nature teaches us sufficiently, that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished, an example to others, — Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations and investigations, the selfsame debating and weighing up, to avert the wrath of God from us and to cleanse the Christian name from such a villain, — have sentenced the aforesaid Jan Hendricxs as we sentence him herewith, that on Monday the first of October 1629, one shall take him to Seals Island, to the place prepared for that, to execute Justice, to firstly have chopped off his right hand there, and after that to punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his goods, clothes, monthly wages and any pretence he may lay claim to here in *Indien*, to the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. — Thus done and decided on the Island *Batavia*'s Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629, —

Francisco Pelsartt
 Jacob Jacobsz wooden man
 Claes Gerritsz
 Jacob Jansz
 Sijmon IJopzoon
 This is the mark of
 Jan  Willemsz Visch

Today the 23 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, is resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council, to examine Lenert Michielsz of Os *adelborst*, on his great murders, so understood as to have done, and being so necessary to bring to torture, — Date as before —

Leenert Michielsz of Os, *adelborst*, aged about 21 years, questioned, why he with his accomplices, as soon as the Commander besides the skipper had sailed with the sloop from aboard to the island to put order into the little water salvaged, and was promised by him, to fetch them as soon it would be possible, smashed open all the chests and plundered goods of anyone without exception. Says, that he has knocked open the chest of Passchier van den Ende and shared out amongst each other.

Prepared to torture, as we were enough assured of his wanton deeds, begs not to be tortured, will say all that he knows. Says, that in the Commander's room, his chest being smashed open by Rijckert Woutersz, he has helped to share out the same and has given away part of the goods to others. Further, that the next day in the morning Jeronimus Cornelisz has taken out of the writing desk of the Commander all his papers as also the notes because of the fact concerning Lucretia, and read the same publicly to all people and after that they were torn up by the aforesaid Rijckert and thrown overboard, — But each has done his best with plundering and smashing open, because they said and made each other believe, the ship was lost, they had now not anymore to do with officers.

Questioned him further in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, how many people he had murdered or helped to murder, confesses, that one day, having been the 3 July, Jeronimus has called him in the presence of Zevanck and ordered him, that he with Zevanck, and others whom he would take for that, should sail with the biggest raft to go and drown Thomas Wensel, Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, and Andries Liebent. [They] have sailed out with the said 4 persons, and the next day in the morning, he has helped to bind their hands and feet, and that Daniel Cornelisz, has pushed Hendrick Jansz

into the sea, and Coenraat van Huyssen Thomas Wensel, and Gijsbert van Welderen Jan Cornelisz, but Andries Liebent was pardoned and spared his live.

Confesses also that one day, having been the 5 July, he was ordered by Jeronimus to go along on the biggest raft, besides Davidt Sevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Jan Hendricxs, Cornelis Pietersz, Mattijs Beer and Wouter Loos to drown Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewald trumpeter. Having come to Traitors Island, Rutger Fredricxs and Lenert Michielssen bound the hands and feet of Jacop Groenewald, and the others those of Hans Radder, and carried them after that into the deep, where they smothered or drowned —

Item confesses that on one day, being the 10 July at night, Jeronimus Cornelisz has sent to get him out of his tent, as also Jan Hendricxs and Lucas Gillisz, and ordered them to go and slit the throats of Passchier van den Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricx carpenter, and a boy who was ill. Therefore, with the three of them, besides Zevanck, they have gone there, and Jan Hendricxs has slit the throat of the said Passchier. After that, when they had thrown underfoot Jacop Hendricx, Lenert sat on his body and Jan Hendricxs has stabbed 2 knives to pieces on his chest, as well as 2 on his throat, one of which was from Lenert Michielsens and the other from Lucas Gillissens, and so then dragged them into a hole, which had been made for that —

Item, confesses that one day around midday (having been the 14 July last), [he] has been called by Jan van Bommel to see Jeronimus in his tent, as also Jan Hendricxs and Rutger Fredricxs, and ordered them that they should go and slay Andries de Vries assistant, thereto gave each a sabre and a beaker of wine, —Therefore, going outside, they went to him, whereupon de Vries, as he noticed that he was to suffer, started to run. But Lenert Michielsz, pursuing him the quickest, did mostly slay him.


Item confesses, that one day (having been the 15 July) he was fetched from his tent by Jeronimus, and ordered him, that he, besides

Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Hendricxs, Cornelis Pietersz, Hans Jacopsz, Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn, should ply with the *schuijtgien* to the Seals Island and there slay most of the people, who were over 40 strong, except the women. So has Lenert, at first arriving stabbed one boy right through his body and another boy through his buttock, and also stabbed Jacop de Vos tailor, right through his side. After that he has helped to drag many wounded, who were not yet dead, into the water, —

Item confesses also that on 21 July, in the evening he was notified by Jeronimus, when it was dark, to go and help murder the family of the *predikant*, except the *predikant* and his eldest daughter, whom he would invite as guests in the evening into the tent of Coenraat van Huyssen. So has he, Leenert Michielsz, besides Davidt Zevanck, Jan Hendricxs, Wouter Loos, Jacop Pietersz, Andries Jonas and Andries Liebent, gone to the *predikant's tent*, where Zevanck called Wijbrecht Claasz outside, whom Jan Hendricxs has stabbed at once. Meanwhile Zevanck, besides the others, went inside saying, there were some Company goods hidden, which they came looking for, during this talking the lamp was blown out, and Leenert Michielsz struck the *predikant's* wife on the head with an adze, as also one of the children, who was a strike away, he slew next, and they were ordered to take as their weapons adzes and axes, to enable better use in the tent, and bash into the heap —

Item confesses also, that when they were on the high island, the 5 August, Davidt Zevanck has ordered him, that he, besides Mattijs Beer, Hans Jacopsz and Lucas Gillissz, should go and take along Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn chief barber, on pretext to go and look for seals, but that on the way they should slay the said Mr. Frans. When they had gone some distance on the way, then Lenert Michielsz has ran him right through with a pike, whereupon Hans Jacopsen struck him on the head with a morning-star⁷⁴, Mattijs Beer has cleaved his head with a sabre and Lucas thrustured him in the body with a foil.

⁷⁴ A *morgensterre* [MORNING-STAR] was a spiked club.

	<p>Today the 28 d°. before the ship's Council, —</p> <p>Called him again and questioned if they had become Master of the people on the High Island, if he too would have helped seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, — Confesses, that he would have joined in as any other, —</p> <p>Asked further how many women he has known carnally on this island, says that Trijntgien Fredricx has come to him one night and so he has done his will with her, but that he has kept Anneken Bosschieters for his concubine, —</p> <p>We undersigned persons of the council of the ship <i>Sardam</i> declare upon our Men's Truth in place of confirmed oath, that all these above written examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Lenert Michielz of Os, mostly free and liberal without torture. Moreover, today, this examination and confession has been read to him again, and has he been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard this same with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General <i>Jan Pietersen Coen</i> and the councillors of <i>Indien</i>, coming to Batavia, or testify and so being requested, to confirm by oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own signatures this 28 September 1629, on the island <i>Batavia</i> 's Graveyard —</p> <p><i>Franc°. Pelsart</i> Jacob Jacobsz wooden man <i>Salomon Deschamps</i> Claes Gerritsz Jacob Jansz Sijmon IJopzoon This is the mark of Jan  Willemsz Visch</p>
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Because Lenert Michielsz of Os, *adelborst*, aged about 21 years, has behaved himself very gruesomely, yes dreadfully according to his own voluntary confessions, made by examination mostly without torture, as on the ship *Batavia* in the night of the day it was wrecked, so with drunk drinking, knocking open chests, plundering and other wilfulness, — As well as here on the island near the wreck conducting his life without humanity, to wit, that he, besides other malevolent wicked persons, has let himself voluntarily be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, to several murders, thereto he has killed, and helped to kill very tyrannically, without any mercy, or pity (although they were their fellow brethren, and friends), up to the number of [blank] people by his hand, as is appearing from his confession as also hereunder at large. Moreover, he, besides others, was resolved to seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, and to the murder all, who would not have been of use to them, and have the murders happened as follows,

On the 3 July, Lenert Michielsz is ordered by Jeronimus, that he besides Zevanck, and more other persons, should sail with the biggest raft, and take along Thomas Wensel, Jan Cornelisz of Amesvoort, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, and Andries Liebent, that they would drown them on the way, so Lenert has helped to bind them by their hands and feet, and Daniel Cornelisz has pushed Hendrick Jansz, alias *Mafken* into the sea, Gijsbrecht van Wolderen pushed Jan Cornelisz, and Coenraat van Huijssen threw Thomas Wensel off the raft into the sea, but Andries Liebent was pardoned.

Item on the 5 July, Leenert, besides Davidt van Zevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Jan Hendricx, Cornelis Pieterssz of Wtrecht, Mattijs Beer, Wouter Loos and Rutger Fredicxsz, was commanded by Jeronimus to go on the biggest raft, and take along Hans Radder *adelborst*, and Jacop Groenewald trumpeter, to drown them on the way, so they sailed to Traitors Island, and there have bound the said 2 persons their hands and feet, and carried them into the deep, letting them so smother like animals, —

Item on the 10 July, in the night, aforesaid Leenert, besides Jan Hendricxsz and Lucas Gillisz, has been called by Jeronimus

into his tent, and ordered them that they should go with Zevanck, and slit the throats of Passchier van den Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricx of Amsterdam carpenter, as well of a sick boy. Whereat they having gone to the tent, Zevanck asked Passchier if he had still hidden any goods somewhere, he answered no, and asked for respite that he might say his prayer. But Zevanck said to carry on with it, and Jan Hendricxsz threw him underfoot, and slit his throat. Jacop Hendricxsz seeing this very humbly begged for his life, such that Zevanck was moved by it, and they went to Jeronimus, if they could spare the life of Jacop, but he answered no, he only is a turner, and half cripple, he's got to go too. Thus they have returned, and Lenert Michielsz has helped throwing the said Jacop underfoot, and sat down on top of his body, then Jan Hendricxsz struck 2 knives to pieces on his chest, and 2 on his throat, such that he was finally slit the throat with a piece of the knife, As also after that the boy likewise.


Item on the 14 July Leenert Michielsz, besides Jan Hendricxsz and Rutgert Fredericxsz, has been called by Jan van Bommel to see Jeronimus in his the tent, who told them that they should go and slay Andries de Vries of Middelburg, thereto gave them each a sabre. When they came outside they went to de Vries, who, when noticing, he was to suffer, started to run, but Lenert pursued him the quickest, and mostly did slay him.

Item on the 15 July the said Lenert has been got out of his tent by Jeronimus, and was told, that he, besides Zevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Cornelis Pietersz, Jan Hendricxsz, Hans Jacops and Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn chief barber, should sail with the *schuijtgien* to Seals Island, to go and help slay the people over there, then Lenert at first arriving has stabbed a boy right through his body, and another one through his buttock, and also Jacop the Vos, tailor, right through his side, and furthermore has helped drag many wounded, who were not yet dead, into the water, —

	<p>Item on the 21 July, towards the evening, Jeronimus has told Lenert Michielsz also that in the evening, he, besides Davidt Zevanck and others thereto chosen, should help murder the family of the <i>predikant</i>, except the <i>predikant</i> and his eldest daughter, whom he would invite as guests into the tent of Coenraat van Huijssen. After Jan Hendricxsz had ran through Wijbrecht Claasen outside the tent, then Lenert has struck the <i>predikant</i>'s wife on the head with an adze, that she fell, and Mattijs Beer slew her forthwith as also smashed dead next one of the children who already had received a blow from someone else.</p> <p>Item on the 5 August, being on the High Island, Davidt van Zevanck by order of Jeronimus, because he had left at that time, has ordered Lenert Michielsz, as also Mattijs Beer, Hans Jacobsz, and Lucas Gillisen, that they should slay Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn, and take him along, under pretext of searching for seals. Having gone some distance on the way, Leenert has ran him right through the body with a pike, whereupon Hans Jacobsz struck him on the head with a morning star, and next Mattijs Beer cleaved his head with a sabre and Lucas Gillisz has stabbed him in the body with a foil —</p> <p>Also, has here on the island slept with Trijntgien Fredricx, housewife of Claas Jansz t'Hooft trumpeter, and has known her carnally. and also, has kept a long time Anneken Jansz housewife of Jan Carstensz gunner⁷⁵ for his concubine, — All of which hosts of gruesome murders, for which he very willingly has let himself be used, as well as still intended to do, had not the Almighty God prevented it, — Moreover, still daily mocking God, being one of the principals who has forbidden to say prayers and to preach God's word, and very scoffingly put a stop to it, although he says that Jeronimus has ordered him such, as also has disgraced the women here, with still other misdeeds apparently remaining obscure, are criminal offences of very harmful consequences,</p>
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⁷⁵ Here it can be seen why Anneken Jansz is distinguished as Anneken Bosschieters, she is the wife of Jan Carstensz Bosschietier [GUNNER], who was on Wiebbe Hayes Island. The second Anneken was the wife of Jan Hardens, soldier.

which neither by God, nor mankind can or may be allowed, to suffer from, as nature teaches us sufficiently that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished, an example to others. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to this matter, after long examinations and investigations, the selfsame debating and weighing up, to avert the wrath of God and to cleanse the Christian name from such villain, — Have sentenced the aforesaid Lenert Michielsz of Os, as we sentence him herewith, that on Monday the first of October Anno 1629, one shall take him to Seals Island, to the place prepared for that, to execute Justice, and to firstly have chopped off his right hand there and after that to punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages and any pretence he may lay claim to here in *Indien*, to the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and decided on the Island *Batavia*'s Graveyard this 28 September 1629.

Franc^o. Pelsart
 Jacob Jacobs wooden man
 Claes Gerritsz
 Jacob Jansz
 Sijmon IJopzoon
 This is the mark of
 Jan  Willemssz
 Visch

Today 23 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council, have resolved to examine Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh, soldier, on his great murders, so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring to torture — Date as before—

Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, aged about 21 years, questioned why he with his accomplices, on the day when the ship was wrecked, as soon as the Commander, besides the skipper, went with the sloop to the nearest island to put order into the little water salvaged, and was ordered by him that they would be fetched as soon as it would be possible, — smashed open and plundered all chests of anyone without exception. Confesses, that he has knocked open the chest of Passchier van den Ende gunner, as also plundered the skipper's chest, but Lenert Michielsz had given him a medallion (which he had looted in the Commander's cabin) which he has sold later to Coenraat van Huyssen for a hundred guilders —

Further asked, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, how many people he had murdered or helped to murder, — confesses that he had been a great enemy of Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewaldt trumpeter and full of hatred, and to that end had requested Jeronimus that he would have them put out of the way, because they were just quarrelers, thereupon on the same day Jeronimus has ordered Mattijs Beer, Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Jan Hendricxen, Wouter Loos and Cornelis Pietersz with Rutger Fredricx, to go with the biggest raft and take along Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewald, to drown them on the way, whom they have brought to Traitors Island, bound them the hands and feet, and so carried them into the deep where they let them smother, —

Asked him further, how many people he had helped to kill on Seals Island, says, that Zevanck had ordered him to go and slay the women, but he showing unwillingness (so he says) it had been ordered to Andries Jonas, who slew Maijken Soers as also Jannetgien Gist, — But that he,

	<p>Mattijs Beer, next did slay some of the wounded, and after that helped drag them into the water.</p> <p>Because we are sufficiently assured of his murders and committed cruelties, we have put him to torture in order to draw the right truth out of him, and asked of him whom he had slayed in the <i>predikant</i>'s tent (because he also had entered there with an adze), — Confesses after suffering pain, that he also had been present there, and that the youngest child Roelant ran between his legs and round about his person, so that he could not hit it, but there was somebody behind him who slew it, without knowing who did this, as it was dark and they could not see each other, but otherwise he had not beaten or hit anyone, —</p> <p>Item confesses that when they were on the High Island, being the 5 August, he has been ordered by Zevanck, as he had the order from Jeronimus Cornelisz who had left that day, that he, besides Lenert Michielsz, Jans Jacobsz and Lucas Gillissen, on pretext to go and look for seals, should take along Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn, and slay him on the way, — Therefore having gone some distance on the way, after which Lenert Michielsz ran him through with a pike and Hans Jacobsz struck his head with a morning-star, Mattijs next cleaved him the head with his sabre to have him die —</p> <p>Item confesses, that one day, having been the 16 August he had heard that Jan van Bemmél was to slash off the head of a boy named Cornelis Aldersz of IJlpendam, and for that Jeronimus had given him the sabre in his hands, about which Zevanck argued, or sustained that ditto Jan van Bemmél was too light for that. Therefore Mattijs has offered his services and asked he'd be allowed to do it, which was accorded him, therefore he took the sabre from the aforesaid Jan, who</p>
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would not willingly give it because he desired to do it himself, but he tore it out of his hands and presently took it to Gillis Phillipsz of Malmediers to have it sharpened a bit, and so took it back under his cloak. Meanwhile Jan van Bommel was blindfolding the boy and Jeronimus, who stood next to him, said, now boy, sit still, they are just having some fun with you, and Mattijs Beer, in one blow, almost completely slashed off his head, ——

The 24 ditto, before the ship's
Council,


Putting him once more to torture, in order to get to know from him the right truth, whom or how many people he has helped slay in the *predikant's* tent, persists as before that he had been present there, but would not have beaten anyone, — Pouring once more water for torture, and after suffering pain, confesses, that he, with an adze, has further smashed in the head of the predikant's wife, who was not yet quite dead, and also one of the children who lay underfoot. Asked furthermore at what other murders he had been present, confesses that when Jan Cornelisz of Amesvoort, Thomas Wensel and Hendrick Jansz alias *Mafken* were to be drowned, he has helped to bind their hands and feet.

The 28 ditto, before the ship's
Council.

Having Mattijs Beer brought back again and questioned him, if they had achieved their intention, would he have helped to seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, confesses that he would have joined in, just as any another, — Further asked as to how many women he has known carnally here on the island, says, that he has slept with Zussien Fredricx and with no one else.


We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*

declare upon our Men's Truth in place of confirmed Oath, that all these above written examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, so through torture as voluntarily, To day this examination and confession has moreover been read to him, and asked whether it was not altogether true, confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard this same with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest or testify this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the Hon. Lord councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and if so requested, to confirm under oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own signatures, this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

Franc^o. Pelsart
 Jacob Jacobs wooden man
Salomon Deschamps
 Claes Gerritsz
 Jacop Jansz
 Sijmon IJopzoon
 This is the mark of
 Jan  Willemsz Visch

Mattijs Beijr⁷⁶ of Munsterbergh soldier, today the 2nd October on Seals Island, standing with the noose round his neck prepared for death, has confessed to the *predikant* Gijsbert Bastiansz, to relieve his conscience that one the night having been the [blank] July, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, he has slit the throats of still another 4 men and a boy, the names unknown to him, about which he has thus far kept silent, which the said *predikant* has immediately reported to us, and have we heard the same also. In token of truth have undersigned this with our own signatures, this 2 October 1629, —

Gijsbert Bastiaensz

Franc^o. Pelsart
 Claes Gerritsz
 Sijmon IJopzoon
 the mark of Jan
 Willem  Visch

⁷⁶ This paragraph has been added later.

Because Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, aged about 21 years, has behaved himself very gruesomely yes dreadfully, according to his confessions made so under torture as well as voluntarily, as on the ship *Batavia* in the night of the day it was wrecked, so with drunk drinking, knocking open chests, plundering and other wilfulness committed, — as well as here on the island near the wreck conducting his life without humanity, to wit, that he, besides other malevolent wicked persons, has let himself voluntarily be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, to several murders, thereto he has killed, and helped to kill very tyrannically, without any mercy, or pity (although they were their fellow brethren, and friends), up to the number of [blank] people by his hand, as is appearing from his confession as also hereunder at large. Moreover, he, besides others, was resolved to seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, and to the murder all, who would not have been of use to them, and have the murders happened as follows,

On the 3 July, Mattijs Beer has been commanded by Jeronimus, besides Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Daniel Cornelisz and Leenert Michielsz, to go with the biggest raft, to drown Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, Thomas Wensel, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, and Andries Liebent, whom Mattys also has helped to bind the hands and feet, and so they were pushed from the rafts into the sea, except Andries Liebent, who was pardoned,

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Item on the 5 July, the aforesaid Mattijs, being a great enemy of Hans Radder, and Jacob Groenewaldt trumpeter, has begged Jeronimus, that he would have them slain, because they were just quarrelers. Jeronimus did also promise him this, and on the same day he, besides Zevanck, Coenraat van Huyssen, Jan Hendricxsz, Lenert Michielsz, Cornelis Pietersz from Wtrecht, Wouter Loos and Rutget Fredricxsz, has plied with the biggest raft, taking along Hans Radder, Jacop Groenewaldt, and Andries de Vries, assistant, to go and

drown them, whom they have brought to Traitors Island and there bound hands and feet, then brought into the deep, where they let them smother, except Andries de Vries who, being bound, was set free, and was his life spared for the time being.

Item on the 18 July the aforesaid Mattijs was commanded by Jeronimus, besides Davidt Zevanck, Andries Jonas, Jan Willemsz Selijns, Jan van Bommel, Coenraat van Huyssen and Gijsbert van Welderen, to go with the *schuifgien* to Seals Island, to slay there the 4 women and the remaining *Jongers*, has he, Mattijs, slain further some *Jongers* who were wounded and helped to drag into the water.

Item, on the 21 July Mattijs was told by Jeronimus, that he'd be found in the evening at Zevanck, to also help murder the family of the *predikant*, except the *predikant* with his eldest daughter whom he would invite as guests in Coenraat van Huijssen's tent, — Being evening, Mattijs, besides Zevanck, Jan Hendricxs, Jacob Pietersz, Andries Jonas, Lenert Michielsz, Cornelis Pietersz, Wouter Loos and Andries Liebent, has gone to the *predikant's* tent, and Wijbrecht Claasz has been called outside, whom Jan Hendricxs immediately stabbed dead, and Mattijs Beer, besides Lenert Michielsz, smashed in the head of the old woman with an adze, and also one of the children that lay underfoot, —

Item on the 5 August on the High Island, Mattijs, besides Leenert Michielsz, Hans Jacobsz and Lucas Gillisz, by order of Zevanck, has cleaved with a sabre, the head of the barber, Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn after Lenert Michielsz had ran him through with a pike and Hans Jacobsz had smashed him on the head with a morning-star, —

Item on the 16 August, Mattijs has offered his service and requested (because Jan van Bommel was to slash off the head of a boy named Cornelis Aldersz) that he could do it because Zevanck sustained that Jan van Bommel

was too light for that, — Whom he, after he had the sabre sharpened a bit, in the presence of Jeronimus, without delay, around midday, with one strike, almost completely slashed of the head, about which Jeronimus, Zevanck and the others were laughing. Has also had carnal knowledge of Zussie Fredricx, a married woman, —

For all which said gruesome murders he very willingly has let himself be used, as well as still intended to do, had not the Almighty God prevented it, — Moreover, still daily mocking at God, being one of the principals who has forbidden to say prayers, and to preach His holy word, and very scoffingly put a stop to, although he says Jeronimus had ordered him such, as also disgraced the women here, with more other misdeeds apparently remaining obscure, are criminal offences of very harmful consequences which neither by God, nor Mankind can, or may be allowed to suffer, as nature teaches us sufficiently, that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished, an example to others, —

Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations and investigations, the selfsame debating and weighing up, to avert the wrath of God from us and to cleanse the Christian name from such a villain,— Have sentenced the aforesaid Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, as we sentence him herewith, that on next Monday the first of October 1629, one shall take him to Seals Island, to the place prepared for that, to execute Justice, and firstly have chopped off his right hand there and after that to punish him on a gallows with the cord till

death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages and any pretence he may lay claim to here in *Indien*, to the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters, — Thus done and decided on the island *Batavia*'s Graveyard — this 28 September Anno 1629.

Francisco Pelsart

Jacob Jacobs houten man

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan ~~A~~ Willemssz

Visch

	<p>Today on the 19 September Anno 1629 on the Island <i>Batavia</i>'s Graveyard the Commander <i>Francisco Pelsart</i> and the ship's council have resolved, to examine Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, on his great murders, so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring to torture — Date as before—</p> <p>Allert Janssen of Assendelft gunner aged about 24 years, questioned why, in the night of the day when the ship <i>Batavia</i> was wrecked, he so wilfully committed to drunk drinking, as to inconvenience all people (he had violently abused), chasing the steward's mate Lucas Gerritsz with a knife out of the bottlery, shouting, get out you cats and dogs, you have been masters here long enough, now am I too for a while, and has cut him with a knife across the back. Confesses that he did behave wilfully towards others, and drank himself very drunk, such that he does not know, if he has done that spoken of above —</p> <p>Asked him further, in what manner that he, besides other accomplices, had meant to seize the ship <i>Batavia</i> before it was wrecked, and who had put him on to that, —denies to have known anything about it aboard ship, but that he did hear it being told by Jeronimus here on land, that if the ship had not been wrecked, they had meant to seize it, that they had already persuaded a band of people to it, who slept with their sabres in their bunks, —</p> <p>Therefore, in order to draw the right truth out of him, we have put him to torture, and after suffering a little pain, begs to be released, would gladly say the truth, —Being released, confesses that Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, to the south of <i>Cabo de Bone Esperansa</i> on board the ship has come to him and presented and asked if he too wanted to join in such a raid to help seize the ship, they would be rich men all of their lives, to which he has said neither yes nor no, and spoken not furthermore about it, —</p> <p>Because this written above does not seem to be the right truth, have put him to torture once more — Confesses, after suffering pain, that he had also agreed to it</p>
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and the principal leaders were the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz, Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, Jan Evertsz chief boatswain, so far as he knew they were only 10 to 12 strong, because one for another did not dare reveal it, — Asked further when and how they would have done it, —says, that they thought as the best opportunity, when the Commander would have put in chains the people who had laid hands on Lucretia Jansz, which the skipper said would take place when they had sighted the Southland, as when they believed they would find the best stimulus or opportunity to rouse the people, and so tumultuously have run into the cabin, and thrown the Commander from the gallery overboard and nailed shut the soldiers' cote until they had master of the ship, which they thought, could not fail, for everyone would have been eager to preserve his life, though they would have left alive only 120 men. Being master, they would have stood with the ship towards Mauritius to refresh, and from there raided ships of the Company until they altogether would have been wholly rich.

Asked further if he too had been guilty of the scandalous fact wrought on Lucretia Jansz on the ship *Batavia*, —confesses that one day, having been the 12 May, in the afternoon, he, besides Rijckert Woutersz, Cornelis Jansz Boon [BEAN], Dirck Gerritsz of Harderwyck, Jan Purmer of Amsterdam, Abraham Hendricxsz, Harman Nannings quartermaster, and Cornelis Dircxsz of Alcmaer, sat altogether forward in the ship where the chief boatswain Jan Evertsz came to them, saying, men, there is an assault at hand, will you help the prince⁷⁷ doing a raid? Upon which Allert asked, what will that be? So he said, in the evening we must make Lucretia black and play a trick on her, whereupon Cornelis Dircxsz of Alcmaer gunner, said, I will not have anything to do with it, for surely some more would follow after that. Then the chief boatswain answered, not with

⁷⁷ Prince here means something like the leader/organizer of this assault gang.

	<p>all, I will bail you out of it, whatever comes from it. Then at last Allert Jansz, besides all the others, except Cornelis Dircxsen of Alcmaer, has agreed to do the same, and in the evening between light and dark, they have grabbed the said woman, and besmeared her the face with shit and other filth, and next the whole body.</p> <p>Asked him next how many people he had killed here on the island, — confesses that one day, having been the 7th [?] July, he has been called by Jan van Bemmél to see Jeronimus, and ordered him that he should go and slay Andries de Bruijn boy, whereupon Allert went to call the boy, and said to him, Andries, we have to go and catch some birdies⁷⁸, but on coming to the beach, he has slit the boy's throat, —</p> <p>Item, confesses also that one night, having been the 10 July, he, besides Jan Hendricxs, has helped to slay a sick English soldier named Jan Pinten, —</p> <p>Item, confesses also that one night, having been the 14 July, Jeronimus himself came to call him out of his tent and did say, go and get Hendrick Claasz of Apcou carpenter out of his tent and tell him to come and see me, and when he is outside, you, with help of De Vries, shall slit his throat, which the both of them have done so.</p> <p>Item also declares unasked, that on the ship <i>Batavia</i> to the south of the <i>Cabo de bone Esperansa</i>, the Commander lying ill, the skipper had come one night into the <i>constapelskamer</i> [master-gunners room] and has sent for wine, with which they made merry for a long time, at last the skipper had gone away, and left Zwaantien with Allert, who has done his will with her, wherefore the skipper thought that she was pregnant and that she should marry Allert, —</p>
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⁷⁸ Probably mutton birds, which come ashore on these islands at night-time and burrow in the sand, and are good eating.

This same Allert Jansz confesses in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, who also affirms it, well-knowing it to be true, as the skipper had told it him, —

The 27 d°. before the ship's council


Aris Jansz of Hoorn, under barber, has come from the High Island, who has presented and declared, that in the night, so when the *predikant's* family was murdered, he, being in his tent, was called by Allert Jansz of Assendelft, saying, come on Aris, we must go and find 4 birdies for the merchant. The said Aris, although he was very anxious, has gone with him, then coming near the beach, Allert struck him with a sabre across the shoulder, and he suffered more blows from others who were nearby, but due to the bluntness of their sabres he was but very little wounded, so that Aris escaped from it through the darkness into the water — About which we have called Allert Jansz to be present and be confronted with him, — Says, and confesses, that he was called by Zevanck after the *predikant's* family had been murdered, and did order him, that he, besides Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, should call out of his tent and slay the aforesaid Aris, — Therefore after he had called him, has hacked him over the ears with his sabre, then due to darkness Aris escaped from it into the water, and because he had laid down flat on his stomach they could not see him, so that on returning they said to one another, he's had it, for they reckoned him to be so wounded that he should die.

The 28 d°. before the ship's council,

Because Jan Hendricxsz has come to say willingly, without being asked, that one evening he, besides Allert Jansz, was Jeronimus guest, who told amongst other propositions, that if the

ship *Batavia* had not wrecked we would have seized it a few days after that, therefore asked the aforesaid Allert, in the presence of Jeronimus, if that was true. Confesses to have happened word for word as Jan Hendricxsz had told, and he stakes the same upon his soul and salvation, and to die the death on it, and that everything he has confessed before, to be the truth.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* declare upon our Men's Truth in place of confirmed Oath, that all these above written examinations are undertaken in our presence, and are confessed, either through torture or made voluntarily, by Allert Janssen of Assendelft gunner. Today this examination and confession has moreover been read to him and he has been asked if it altogether was not true, confesses free, liberal and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard the same with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest, or testify this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and if so being requested, to confirm under oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own signatures this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

Franc^o. Pelsart
 Jacob Jacobs houten man
Salomon Deschamps
 Claes Gerritsz
 Jacop Jansz
 Sijmon IJopzoon
 This is the mark of
 Jan  Willemsz
 Visch

	<p>Because Allert Janssen of Assendelft gunner, aged about 24 years, casting aside the humaneness, he has changed for worse than an angry tiger beast, full of all thinkable wantonness and cruelty, [as] those done, but was still up to do more, namely, that, on the ship <i>Batavia</i>, to the south of the <i>Cabo de Bone Esperansa</i>, he, because of his inveterate corruption, has allowed himself to be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz, besides also the skipper Arian Jacopsz, Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, Jan Evertsz, chief boatswain, and still another 10 to 12 malevolent people who also were incited to it to help seize the ship <i>Batavia</i>, according to his own confessions made on examination, to which end [they] were working towards adequate means to carry out their intention. That is, that the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz ordered the chief boatswain to scandalize a certain under-merchant's wife called Lucretia Jansz, whom he very much hated, to besmear her face and whole body with shit, and other black substance, which was carried out on 14 May in the evening, in which Allert Jansz was one of the principal perpetrators, which scandalous fact has been very strongly resented by the Commander. On the other hand they reckoned the opportunity to be adequate, — That when the Commander would have had put in chains the perpetrators, who were 8⁷⁹ strong, that they then would have ran tumultuously into the cabin, and thrown the Commander overboard from the gallery, as also nailed shut the soldiers' cote until they had been masters of the ship. At which time, they</p>
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⁷⁹ Jan Evertsz, Allert Jansz, Rijchert Woutersz, Cornelis Jansz, Dirck Gerritsz, Jan Jansz Purmer, Abraham Hendricxsz, Herman Nannings.

had murdered the rest altogether, except for 120 men, whom they chose from the soldiers as well as shipmates, and would then go with the ship to *Mauritius* to refresh, and from there have raided at the Company until they altogether would be wholly rich, — Although God the Lord did not want to allow that extraordinary wicked evil, but preferred to have the ship wrecked, — So the aforesaid Allert, with the ship being stuck, nevertheless has conducted himself very wilfully, with drunk drinking as well as violating many people, who were still on board and for a time being could not get off, — Moreover, coming off the ship, he has willingly let himself be used here on the islands near the wreck by the godless seducer and man-murderer Jeronimus Cornelisz, for several murders in which he very tyrannically, without mercy or pity for his own fellow brethren and friends, killed, or has helped to kill, as is at large appearing extensively hereunder, Moreover, that he, besides other evil-doers, was also resolved to seize the first yacht to come to rescue them, and to murder all who would not have been of use to them.

On the 10 July, Allert Jansz, besides Jan Hendricxs, has helped slay, by the order of Jeronimus Cornelisz, a sick English soldier named Jan Pinten, —

Item on 14 July, in evening, the aforesaid Allert, was fetched from his tent by Jeronimus personally, who ordered him, that he, besides Andries de Vries, should go and slit the throat of Hendrick Claasz of Apcou carpenter, because he was sick, which they have also done, —

Item on the 21 July, being the same night that the *predikant's* family was murdered, Allert, aforesaid, has been called by Davit Sevanck, who told him, that he, besides Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, should go and call out of his tent Aris Jansz of Hoorn under-barber, and then slay him, whereupon Allert Jansz has gone and called, Aris, come outside, we have to catch 4 birdies for the merchant. Aris, aforesaid, although he was very afraid, went with him, but coming towards the beach, Allert struck him over the ears with his sabre, as did Cornelisz Pietersz, but due to the bluntness of their sabres, wounded him little and through the darkness got away into the water, and did lay flat on his stomach, that they could not find him, at last that night, has escaped it with a little *schuijtgien* and saved his life.

Item on the 24 July in the evening, Allert, by verbal order of Jeronimus, has led a boy, Andries de Bruijn of Haarlem, to the beach, saying to him, come on Andries, we'll go and look for birdies, but there has slit his throat with a knife, —
Also, being at sea south of the *Cabo*, with connivance of the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz, he has slept in the master gunner's room with Zwaantien Hendricx maid-servant and had carnal knowledge of her, —

All which aforesaid gruesome murders he very willingly has let himself be used for, as well as still being of intent to do, if not due to the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, and the Yacht *Sardam*, God Almighty had prevented it, —Moreover still daily mocking at

God, being one of the principals who has forbidden the praying and to preach His holy word, and very scoffingly has put a stop to it, although he says that Jeronimus had ordered him such, with more other misdeeds apparently remaining obscure, are criminal offices of very harmful consequence, which neither by God nor Mankind can be allowed to suffer, as nature teaches us sufficiently that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished, an example to others, — Therefore the Commander *Fran^{co}. Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations and investigations, the selfsame debated and weighed up, the more because no hope of improvement in him was to be expected, as he has stabbed dead a man in Holland also), in order to avert the wrath of God from us and to cleanse the Christian name of such a villain, — have sentenced the aforesaid Allert Jansz of Assendelft, as we sentence him herewith, that, on Monday the first of October, one shall take him to Seals Island to the place prepared for that, to execute Justice, to firstly have chopped off his right hand there, and after that to punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and any pretences he may lay claim to here in *Indien*, for the benefit of the General East-India Company our Lord Masters. Thus done and decided on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629.

Francisco Pelsart

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan-~~A~~ Willemsz

Visch

Today the 24 September on the Island
Batavia's Graveyard, the Commander
Francisco Pelsart and the Ship's council
 have resolved, to examine Andries Jonas of Luijck soldier,
 on his great murders, as understood to have done, and being
 so necessary,
 to bring to torture, — Date as before —

Andries Jonas of Luijck, soldier, aged about 40 years, questioned how many people he had murdered or helped to murder here on the islands near the wreck of the wrecked ship *Batavia*, — confesses, that one day having been the 9 July, when the provost Pieter Jansz besides 14 other people, sailing on 2 small rafts to the High Island, were slain, as also drowned, — of whom Pauwels Barentsz, Hessel Jansz shipmates, meant to save themselves here on the island, but was ordered by Jeronimus one should slay them, so has the said Andries, after Jan Hendricx had hacked Pauwels Barentsz, also ran him right through the throat with a pike until he died —

Item confesses also that one day, having been the 18 July, he, besides David Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Willems Selijnsz, Luycas Gillsz, Rutger Fredricx, Mr. Frans Jansz, Jan van Bemmél, Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht, was ordered by Jeronimus to sail with the *schuijtgien* to Seals Island, —so in the night Zevanck has asked of Andries Jonas, do you have a sharp knife with you? He said, I do have a knife, but [it] is not very sharp, whereupon Zevanck gave him his own knife and said to him, go and slit the throats of the women with it. So without any objection Andries has gone to Maijken Soers, who was heavily pregnant, and took her by the hand, led her a little away and said to her, Maijken love you must die, and threw her underfoot and slit her throat, — That being done, he saw that Jan van Bemmél was engaged in slaying Jannetgien Gist (the wife of Jan Hendricx from the Hague), has Andries gone to help him and next has stabbed her dead with a knife. The other women, Laurentia Thomas, housewife of Gabriel Jacobsz corporal (who was killed on the 15th instant


besides more others on Seals Island) and Geertien Willemsz widow, with about some 15 *Jongers*, were slain this night by others, such as Sevanck and his accomplices, except for 3 *Jongers* who had hid themselves under the thicket ——

Questioned him further (because we were certain that he too had gone to the *predikant's* tent and been present, when his family was murdered) whom he had killed there or helped to kill. ——Confesses, that in the evening Jacob Pietersz Cosijn did come to him and said, come on Andries, you must help doing a sortie, we will go help to get rid of the *predikant's* folks, do you have a knife with you? Answered Andries Jonas, Yes, and so he has gone to the tent with Jacob Pietersz, where Davit Zeevanck, Jan Hendricxs, Wouter Loos, Mattijs Beer, Leenart Michiels, Cornelis Pietersz and Andries Liebent also stood round about, then he saw that Wijbrecht Claasz was called outside, whom Jan Hendricxs stabbed dead, whereupon Zevanck with all the others went into the tent, and Andries with Jacob Pietersz stayed outside, so he says, —— Therefore, to draw from him the right truth we have put him to torture, — After suffering pain, persists that he has not been in the tent, much less has wounded or killed anyone. For better assuredness, tormented him once more, nevertheless, as before, denies. To not have been in the tent.


On 27 d°. before the ship's council, Andries Jonas, asked again whether he has not killed or not helped to kill anyone else, confesses voluntarily, that in the night when the *predikant's* family was murdered, having been the 21 July, he was called by Zevanck, who said to him that he should call Maijken Cardoes outside her tent and slit her throat, whereupon Andries Jonas, without any protest or remiss, has gone, and called the aforesaid Maijken outside, telling her that she should go for a walk with him, whereupon she asked, Andries, will you do any harm to me too? Whereupon he said, no, nothing at all, but having gone a short bit, he threw her underfoot and sought to slash her throat with his knife, but she grabbed the knife in her hand that it died away in it, and because of her wrestling could not carry out

his intention, meanwhile Wouter Loos came walking up, who [smashed] her head in with an axe or adze, until she died, and then he dragged her also into the hole in which the predikant's folks had been dragged. —Confesses also that he has been very willing in murdering, and now does not know how he had wandered so far away from God, — Questioned him further, if they had succeeded with their plan, that they overpowered the other people on the High Island, if then he would have helped to seize the first-coming yacht, —Confesses that he would have participated as any other, because they were made to believe, that they'd be rich for all of their life.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare on our Men's Truth, in place of confirmed oath, that all the above written examinations are taken in our presence, and confessed by Andries Jonas of Luijck soldier, so by torture or made voluntarily. Moreover today this examination and confession has been read to him again, and asked whether it was not all true, —confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard selfsame with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest, or testify this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord Governor General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and if being so requested, to confirm under oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our signatures this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

Francisco Pelsartt
Jacob Jacobs wooden man
Salomon Deschamps
Claes Gerritsz
Jacop Jansz
Sijmon IJopzoon
This is the mark of
Jan  Willemsz Visch

Today on the 2 October on Seals Island Andries Jonas⁸⁰, with the noose around his neck being prepared to die, confesses to unburden his conscience, that one night, having been the [blank] July, when he lay down to sleep, a boy had come creeping into his tent on all fours, since he had seen, that some had been slain that night, which Jacob Pietersz Cosijns saw, who woke Andries and said, Andries drag that boy outside and get rid of him, which aforesaid Andries did do presently, and outside the tent slit his throat, and because we, the undersigned, have heard him confess this same voluntarily and unasked, we have, in order to confirm the truth, signed this with our own signatures, this 2 October 1629. —

Fran^{Co} Pelsart
Jacob Jacobs wooden man
Claes Gerritsz
Sijmon IJopzoon
This is the mark of
Jan  Willemsz Visch

⁸⁰ The next paragraph followed by the signatures has been added later.

Because Andries Jonas of Luyck soldier, aged about 40 years, here on the islands near the wreck of the stricken ship *Batavia* has let himself be pulled from the way of humanity or rational creatures and because of his inveterate corruptness has well-willingly let himself be used, by the godless Epicurean⁸¹ villain Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, to several murders, which he has committed very tyrannically without any mercy, so on pregnant as well as other women, and men whom he killed and has helped kill, as is appearing at large from his confession, made so through torture as voluntarily, as also mentioned hereunder, moreover, was also resolved, besides other wicked, malevolent people, to help seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, and to murder all who would not have been of use to them, namely, when they had conquered and slain the people on the High island (escaped there from the murdering), in which expeditions and fights against them, in three different trips, he has also shown himself very well willing, and worse than public enemies has helped to fight, — His murders start on the 9 July, when Pietersz Jansz provost with another 14 people, women as well as men, had made 2 rafts on Traitors Island, with which they meant to sail to the High Island, then contrary was agreed by Jeronimus and his council, that one should drown, or slay them, to which end a *schuifgien* was manned and sent there. Finally having been chased off the rafts, some being slain, others drowned, of whom 4 or 5 men escaped it and thought to save themselves here on the island, yet was ordered by Jeronimus that they should be slain, there was no mercy. So the aforesaid Andries Jonas, with a pike, has stabbed right through the throat of a shipmate Pauwels Barentsz, who had been knocked underfoot by Jan Hendricxs, until he died.

Item on the 18 July Andries Jonas has been ordered by Jeronimus that he, besides Davit Zevanck and another [blank] men, should go with the *schuifgien* to Seals Island, to help slay there the remaining 4 women and about 15 *Jongers* who were left over from the previous murder on the 15 July, — Therefore, Zevanck has asked if he did have a knife, Andries Jonas answered that he did have a knife but it was not very sharp

⁸¹ A follower of the philosophy of Epicurus (341-271 B.C.), who thought lust and pleasure the highest goods.

Whereupon Zevanck gave him his own knife and said go and slit the throats of the women. So presently, without delay or protest, Andries has gone to Maijken Soers, who was pregnant, and taking her by the hand led her a little aside and said to her, Maijken love, you must die, and threw her underfoot and slashed her throat. That being done, he saw that Jan van Bemmél was engaged with slaying Jannetgien Gist the housewife of Jan Hendricxs from the Hague, therefore he went to help the said Jan van Bemmél and next stabbed dead Janneken with his knife, the remaining 2 women and the *Jongers* were slain by the others, except for three children who had hidden themselves in the thicket.

Item, on the 21 July in the evening, Andries Jonas was called by Jacob Pietersz Cosijn, who said to him, come Andries, you too must help with a sortie, we will go put the predikant's folks out of the way. Wherefore Andries has taken a knife with him, and have together gone to the tent where he found standing others who were elected also to the fact, as Davidt Zevanck, Jan Hendricxs, Lenert Michiels, Mattijs Beer, Cornelis Pietersz, Wouter Loos and Andries Liebent, and saw that the Wijbrecht Claasz *Jonge dochter* was called outside the tent, whom Jan Hendricxs stabbed dead, and Zevanck, with all the others went into the tent and murdered the mother with her 6 children, but Andries Jonas and Jacob Pietersz stayed outside, because the tent was full with people. That being done, Zevanck then said to Andries Jonas, go and call Maijken Cardoes outside her tent and slit her throat. Whereupon he presently has gone and called, Maijken, are you asleep, come outside, we'll take a bit of a walk. The woman coming outside, asked, Andries, will you too harm me? He said, no, nothing at all, but having led her a little away, he threw the woman underfoot and sought to slit her throat, but she grabbed the knife and it died in her hand, so that because of her strong wrestling he could not carry out his intention. Meanwhile Wouter Loos came walking up with an adze or axe and smashed her head in until she was dead, then he, Andries Jonas, dragged her into the hole, into which the *predikant's* folks had been dragged, —

All aforesaid gruesome murders, for which he has let himself very willingly be used, as also wanted to do yet, had not the Almighty God prevented it, moreover, still daily mocking at God, being one of the principals who has forbidden the praying and to preach His Holy Word, very scoffingly putting a stop to it, although he says that Jeronimus had ordered him such; with more other misdeeds, apparently remained obscure, are criminal offences, of very harmful consequence, which by God and Mankind cannot, or may not be suffered, as nature teaches us this sufficiently, that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished, an example to others, — Therefore the Commander *Fran^{co}: Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations and investigations, the selfsame debating and weighing up, to avert the wrath of God from us, and to cleanse the Christian name from such a villain, — have sentenced the aforesaid Andries Jonas of Luijck soldier, likewise we sentence him herewith, that on Monday the first of October 1629 one shall take him to Seals Island to the place prepared for that to execute Justice, and there to punish him on the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and any pretences he may lay claim to here in *Indien*, to the benefit of the General East-India Company our Lord Masters. Thus done and decided on the Island *Batavia* 's Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629 —


Fran^{co}: Pelsart

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan  Willemssz

Visch

	<p>Today the 20 September 1629 on the Island <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard, the Commander <i>Frans^c. Pelsart</i> and the ship's council, have resolved to examine Rutger Fredricxs of Groeningen, on his great murders so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring to torture, — Date as before.</p> <p>Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, aged about 23 years, questioned how many people he has killed as well or has helped to kill, — confesses that one morning at dawn, having been the 5 July, he, besides, David Zevanck, Mattijs Beer, Coenraat van Huyssen, Lenert Michielsz, Wouter Loos, Cornelisz Pietersz and Jan Hendricxs, was ordered by Jeronimus Cornelisz to sail with the biggest raft, to drown Hans Radder, Jacop Groenewald trumpeter and Andries de Vries assistant. Therefore have plied to Traitors Island and has Rutger helped bind the hands and feet of the trumpeter Jacop Groenewald and so carried him into the sea, but Andries de Vries, being bound, was untied and spared life for the time being, — asked him further if he had killed nobody else, denies to have wounded or killed anyone else. Therefore, because we are sufficiently assured of more other murders to have committed, as well been willing to do, daily calling out over the island, does anyone need to have the ears boxed, I'll do it for a <i>mutske</i>, so have we put him to torture, to draw the right truth from him. After pain suffering, confesses, — that one day, having been the 9 July, when the provost Pieter Jansz, besides 14 other people, plying to the High Island on 2 small rafts, were slain or drowned, —from which Pauls Barentsz, Bessel Jansz, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh and Niclaas Winckelhaack thought to save themselves here on the island, but was ordered by Jeronimus that one should slay them, So Rutger has hacked the said Bessel Jansz with his sabre until he died. That being done, he walked up to Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh, who was coming up out of the water, whom he alone, without any help, hacked dead.</p> <p>Item also confesses, that one day, being the 14 July, he, Rutger, besides Jan Hendricxs and Lenert Michielsz, was called by Jan van Bemmelen to see Jeronimus in his tent, who told them, that they</p>
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should go and slay Andries de Vries, assistant, giving them each a sabre for that, as also poured each a beaker of wine, so have they gone outside and around midday have slain De Vries publicly.

Jeronimus Cornelisz, being present, asked if this was true, he had ordered Rutger such, confesses, Yes, because he and the council had agreed to this. But that he most certainly believes, that Rutger had done more, than he has confessed, because he always willingly has come to offer his services if there was anyone to be put out of the way — Asked him further, if they had succeeded in their intention that they overpowered the other people on the High Island, if then he too would have helped to seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, —confesses that he would have joined in, as any other, —

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare upon our Men's Truth, in place of confirmed oath, that all these above written examinations undertaken in our presence, are confessed by Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, so through torture as made voluntarily, Today this examination and confession has moreover been read to him again, and asked whether it was not altogether true, — confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard selfsame with discerning ears seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest, or testify this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and so being requested, to confirm under oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned it with our own signatures this 28 Octob^r: [sic] 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

Fran^{Co}: Pelsart
 Jacob Jacobs wooden man
Salomon Deschamps
 Claas Gerritsz
 Jacop Jansz
 Sijmon IJopzoon
 This is the mark of
 Jan ~~A~~ Willemssz
 Visch

Because Rutger Fredericx of Groeningen locksmith, aged about 23 years, here on the islands near the wreck of the lost ship *Batavia*, has let himself be pulled from the way of humanity or rational creatures, and because of his inveterate corruptness has let himself be used by the godless Epicurean villain Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, to several murders, in which he very tyrannically without any pity, killed and has helped to kill, although they were his own fellow ship's brethren and companions, who were bound together under one oath, and who had never done wrong to any one; being obedient to Tyrants, who, because of their own wickedness, sought nothing than to kill all but for a few of the people to succeed by such means in their design,

—
Moreover, besides other wicked and malevolent persons, was also resolved to help seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, and to murder all who would not have been of use to them, namely, so when they had overpowered the folks on the High Island (escaped there from the murderings), and had smitten them dead, in which expeditions and fights against them, up to three different trips, he has shown himself very well-willing, and severe than helping to fight public enemies, —
— His murders are as follows,

On the 3 July Rutger Fredricx, besides Davit Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Daniel Cornelisz, Mattijs Beer and Leenert Michielsz, has been commanded by Jeronimus Cornelisz, to go with the biggest raft and drown Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, Thomas Wenzel, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh and Andries Liebent, and on Traitors Island aforesaid Rutger has bound Jacop Groenewald⁸², trumpeter the hands and feet, and were so next carried into the sea, until they smothered or drowned, except Andries Liebent, who was pardoned, —

Item, on the 9 July so when Pieter Jansz provost with another 14 people, so men as women, had made 2 rafts on the Traitors Island, with which they meant to sail to the High Island, it was on the contrary approved by Jeronimus and his council that one should drown, or slay them, to which end

⁸² Here the events of July 3 (see folio 273r-v) are mixed up with those of July 5 (see folio 279r-v). Rutger Fredricx does not appear to have been involved in the events on July 3.

a manned *schuijten* was sent there, and, chased off the rafts, some have been slain and some drowned, Of whom 4 to 5 men escaped it and thought to save themselves here on the island, but it was ordered by Jeronimus that one should slay them; there was no mercy. So has Rutger aforesaid also hacked Bessel Jansz with his sabre until he died — That being done, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh had also come on dry land and Rutger walked up to him and slayed him all alone, without any help, —

Item, on the 14 July, Rutger, besides Jan Hendricxsz and Leenert Michielsz, was called by Jan van Bemmelen to see Jeronimus in his tent, who told them that they should go and slay Andries de Vries, assistant, for which [he] has given them a sabre each, as also poured a beaker of wine, so have they, with the three of them, gone to De Vries and at midday have publicly slain him, —

All which above written gruesome murders, for which he very well-willingly has let himself be used, as well as still intending to do, had not the Almighty God prevented it, — Moreover, still daily mocking at God, being one of the principals who has forbidden the praying and to preach His Holy Word, and very scoffingly put a stop to it, although he says Jeronimus had ordered him such, with more other misdeeds which apparently remained obscure, are criminal offences of very harmful consequences, which by God, and Mankind cannot, or may not be suffered, as nature teaches us sufficiently, that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished, an example to others, — Therefore the Commander *Frans^{Co}: Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations and investigations, the selfsame debating and weighing up, to avert from us the wrath of God and to cleanse Christian name from such a villain —

have sentenced the aforesaid Rutgert Fredricx of Groeningen, locksmith, as we sentence him herewith, that on Monday the first of October 1629 one shall take him to Seals Island, to the place prepared for that, to execute Justice, and there to punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and any pretences he may lay claim to here in *Indien* for the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and decided on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629.

Fran^{Co}: Pelsart


Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan  Willemssz

Visch

Today the 23 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, the Commander *Frans^{Co}: Pelsart* and the Ship's Council have resolved to examine Jan Pelgrom de Bijde of Bemmél, on his committed murders, as the beastly life having conducted here on the island, and if so necessary to bring to torture, — Date as above.

Jan Pelgrom de Bijde of Bemmél, aged about 18 years, and having been cabin-servant on the wrecked ship *Batavia*, but here on the islands been the servant of Jeronimus Cornelisz under-merchant, questioned, how many people he had killed or helped to kill, denies to have wounded, or killed anyone, since there have been plenty of others, who were all too eager for that, — Therefore have put him to torture, because we are sufficiently assured, that he spoke lies, after pain suffered, confesses that one day, having been the 18 July, he, with Davidt Sevanck, who took him along on his begging, has sailed to the Seals Island, because he had heard, that the remaining women and *Jongers* would be murdered, — He has, in the night when the cry was given, slain a boy, that being done, he walked up to Jannetgien Gist, housewife of Jan Hendricxs from the Hague, whom he hacked many times with his sabre, whereupon Andries Jonas came along walking, who next stabbed her dead with his knife —

Confesses also that one day, having been the [blank] July, in the night, he was sent by Jeronimus to fetch Jan Hendricxs, who ordered him, that he, besides Andries Liebent and Jan van Bemmél, should go and strangle Anneken Hardens housewife of Hans Hardens. Therefore the three of them have gone hence — meanwhile Gijsbrecht van Welderen came, to help them too, who made a noose of her hair-cord and Jan Hendricxs throttled her the throat, [and] Jan van Bemmél sat on her legs, —

Questioned him further, why, on the 16 August, so when Cornelis Aldersz Schagen of IJlpendam *hooplooper*, was to have his head slashed off, he pleaded so much that he may do it, confesses, that on that day he had been out with the *schuijtgien*,

and coming into the tent, Jeronimus said to him, Jan here is my sabre which you have to test on the *nettebraijer* [NET-MAKER]⁸³ if it is sharp and slash off his head, about which he was very elated, — Then Sevanck, hearing such, sustained that he was too light for that. Meanwhile Mattijs Beijr came, who asked if he could do it, which was also permitted to him. So he took the sabre out of Jan van Bommel's hand and took it to Gillis Phillipsen to file it bit sharper. Meanwhile Jan was engaged in blindfolding the boy in the presence of Jeronimus who said to the boy, now, cheer up, sit nicely, it is just fun, then Mattijs Beer came, who had the sabre under his cloak, and in a single strike, slashed mostly his head off — Jeronimus, confronted with this, and asked if such were true and had ordered it to him, says, yes, because the said Jan van Bommel was daily pleading, he'd do allow him to kill someone, because he liked it better than to eat or drink. Why, when he was not allowed to chop off the head of the aforesaid *hooploper*, he wept.

On the 26 d°. before the Ship's Council.

The aforesaid Jan van Bommel being brought back again, questioned him why he had lived so godlessly here on the island, daily calling out: Come now you devils, by all the sacraments, where are you? I do wish that I saw a devil now, and who now wants the ear be boxed? I'll do it! — Confesses, that he has done it, but that he was ordered this, because daily he heard Jeronimus say that there was neither devil nor hell, that it were just fables, —


Asked further, how many women he had here known carnally, says that he has done his will, and slept with Trijntgien Fredricx and her sister Zussien Fredricx, as also with Anneken Bosschieter, all of whom he has known carnally, —

Asked, how many more gruesome wickednesses he has done, confesses, that in the end he was

⁸³ A *nettebraijer* is a braider, or knitter of nets which was traditionally a woman's task in a fishing community. Here it is used derogatory.

very eager to slay someone indeed, but someone else was always at it before him; has also been very eager to help seize the coming yacht,
—

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare on our Men's Truth, in place of confirmed oath, that all these above written examinations are taken in our presence, and are confessed by Jan Pelgrom de Bijen van Bommel, so by torture as made voluntarily. Moreover today this confession has been read to him again, and asked, whether it was not altogether true, confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard selfsame with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest, or testify this at all times, before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and if so requested, to confirm under oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own signature, this 28 September, Anno 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

Fran^{Co}: Pelsart
Jacob Jacobs wooden man
Salomon Deschamps
Claes Gerritsz
Jacop Jansz
Sijmon IJopzoon
This is the mark of
Jan  Willemsz
Visch

	<p>Because Jan Pelgrom de Bijde of Bemmelen, aged about 18 years, having been cabin-servant of the wrecked ship <i>Batavia</i>, and here on the islands of <i>Houtman's Abroholes</i>⁸⁴ been the servant of Jeronimus Cornelisz, under-merchant, who, because of his innate corruptness, abandoned himself wholly as a disciple of his master, the Godless seducer and murderer of men, and has followed in his footsteps, so in murders committed, but willing to do yet more, had he been able to come to that, — Item, has had carnal knowledge of several married women here and done his will with them, amongst whom two sisters, as well as his gruesome conduct of life here, mocking at God and cursing and swearing — resembling more a beast than a human being, which in the end made him a terror to all the people, and feared more than any other of the most principal murderers, or evil-doers, —</p> <p>Moreover having been very eager and zealous to help to seize the first-coming yacht, yes, even on the day when the yacht <i>Sardam</i> had come, he had asked of the Captain, well, shouldn't we now seize the Yacht? Whereupon the other, seeing that their design⁸⁵ had failed, answered, No, I am not up to that. All this is in accordance, as appearing at large from his confessions, made by examination, so by torture as well as voluntarily, which, because of his murders, can also be seen lengthier hereunder, — To wit,</p> <p>Item, on the 18 July the aforesaid Jan Pelgrom, at his pleading and asking, did ply, besides Davidt Zevanck and still many others, to Seals Island, because he had heard say, or resolve, that one should put away the 4 women and the rest of the <i>Jongers</i> who since the last slaying had remained on ditto island, So Jan, when the cry was given by Zevanck, has slain a boy, but because it was night and dark, the name is unknown to him, That being done, he walked up to Jannetgien Gist, housewife of Jan Hendricxsz from the Hague, gunner, whom he hacked several times with his sabre. Whereto Andries Jonas</p>
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⁸⁴ Obvious a mistake.

⁸⁵ The plan to conquer those on the High Island, and to seize the first coming yacht.

came walking and next stabbed her dead with his knife —

On the 30 July, in the night the said Jan van Bommel has been sent by Jeronimus to get Jan Hendricxs, who, coming into the tent, was ordered, that he, Jan van Bommel, besides Andries Liebent, should go and strangle Anneken Hardens, housewife of Hans Hardens, wherefore Jan, being elated, went along, but meanwhile Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help Jan Hendricxs, who made a noose from her hair-cord, but Jan Hendricxs throttled her the throat, and Jan van Bommel sat on her legs, —

Item on the 16 August, Jan van Bommel having been out with the *schuijtgien*, coming into the tent, Jeronimus said to him, Jan, there's my sabre, you have to test it on that net-knitter, if it is well sharpened, and shall slash him his head off, at which Jan was much elated and took the sabre in his hand. Meanwhile David Zevanck came who sustained that Jan van Bommel was too light for it, and that one should take another fellow for that, which Mattijs Beijr heard, who requested he'd be allowed to do it, which in the end was him permitted, and therefore took the sabre of Jan, who did not want to give it him willingly, but had to be snatched from his hand, who went with the sabre to Gillis Phillipsz to have it filed a bit sharper, and then came back with the sabre under his cloak. Meanwhile, Jan van Bommel had already blindfolded the boy in the presence of Jeronimus who stood by, and said to the boy named Cornelis Aldersz of IJlpendam, now boy sit merrily, they are just having fun with you, whereupon Mattijs Beijr slashed his head off, which Jeronimus, Zevanck, and others laughed about, but on the contrary, Jan van Bommel was weeping, because he had not been allowed to do it.

Item, has walked daily on the island like a wicked person, crying out, come now you devils, by all the sacraments, where art thou? I'd like it if I saw a devil now, and who wants its ear to be boxed? I can arrange that very nicely, with such, and more other abominations and blasphemies of God.

All of which aforesaid cruelties, and inclination to

murder, as has confessed himself, he would have gladly done more of, but nevermore got around doing, as also that he has indeed done it; also the unnatural blood scandal to sleep with two sisters, and married women; to so scandalously blaspheme God, are matters, which God neither will suffer nor can suffer, but commands to punish the wicked, that he shall not fall into graver sin. Because we observe nothing but great corruptness, and no hope for betterment in him, as by judgement of all people, and showing from his actions, — Therefore the Commander *Fran^{Co}: Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid the utmost attention to the matter, after long examinations, and investigations, the selfsame debated, and weighed up, to avert the wrath of God from us, and to cleanse the Christian name of such a villain, have sentenced the aforesaid Jan Pelgrom de Bye van Bommel, as we sentence him herewith, that on Monday the first of October 1629 one shall take him to Seals Island to the place prepared for that to execute Justice, to there be punished on a gallows with the cord until death shall follow, with confiscation of all his clothes, monthly wages, and any pretences he may lay claim to here in *Indien*, to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Thus done and decided on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, this 28th September, Anno 1629.

Fran^{Co}: Pelsart

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerrtisz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan  Willemsz

Visch

On 28 d°.	<p>towards the evening, after Jeronimus had his examinations and own confessions read out to him publicly, before all the people who were on the island, and he noticed that the council was in meeting to pass his sentence, requested through the <i>predikant</i>, a few days of respite still, because he wanted to let himself be baptized and that meanwhile he could have time to pity and contemplate his sins, and so at last might die in peace and repentant, — Because of such an insight for salvation of his soul, we have postponed the day of execution until the first of October, so that he could have himself baptized the day after tomorrow, being Sunday, — which the <i>predikant</i> has told him, saying that a few days were granted to him, but did not know how many, — Jeronimus wanted to know how many days, so that he could adapt himself to it, but the <i>predikant</i> put him at ease for that day, and he left him, as or he was consoled and cheerful —</p>
On 29 d°.	<p>Jeronimus again wanted to know how many days respite had been given to him, protested that if one did not tell it him, he could not put himself at ease. At last [I] have let him be told, whereupon he said, tut-tut is that all, how can one show repentance of life in so few days, I thought one should have given me 8 or 14 days. Such that he began to fully fulminate, saying, I do see, they seek only my blood and life, but God will not suffer that I shall die a shameful death. I verily know, and you will all see it, that this night God will work me a miracle, that I shall not be hanged, which was his hum or tune all that day, — Therefore I ordered the guard that no one should lend him a knife or anything with which he could hurt himself. But in the evening he secretly ate something with which he meant to poison himself, for about an hour into the evening it began to work, so that he was full of pain and seemed to want to die. In this great anxiety he sent for some Venetian theriac⁸⁶. At last he began to get some relief, because apparently it seemed not to have been strong enough, but in the night he needed to be unlocked a good 20 times</p>

⁸⁶ *Veneetse trijackel*: a medicine of a complex composition that was made in Venice. The constituents were among other things opium and sugar. The medicine was used as a castor-oil, and as an antidote to bites of poisonous animals such as snakes.

Island to there be punished according to their sentences on the gallows with the cord. Coming there, they begged that Jeronimus should be hanged first, so that their eyes could see the seducer of men die. But Jeronimus could not resign himself to dying or to penitence, nor to pray to God or to show any remorseful face over his sins. Then they cried for vengeance upon each other, the other evil-doers upon Jeronimus, and Jeronimus upon them. In the end he summoned them, as well as the council, before the judgment seat of God, that he wanted to get justice done there with them, because he could not get it here on Earth. And so has died obstinately.

Mattijs Beijr confessed to the *predikant*, near the gallows, that one night he had murdered another four men, and a boy, in the presence of Jeronimus, but he could not tell their names, which thus far he had kept silent about, requested therefore, because of the multitude of his sins, that one would pray for him, — As also Andries Jonas, who confessed under the gallows that one night he had yet murdered one more boy than in his confession avowed, namely, that on that night some other folks were murdered, upon which the boy out of fear and also being ill, had come crawling on his hands and feet into their tent, which Jacop Pietersz Cosijn had seen, who said to Andries Jonas, Andries, you must go and put the boy out of the way, thereupon he has gone outside, dragged the boy out of the tent and slit his throat with his knife, —

Allert Jansz of Assendelft, and more others, died also very Godless and unrepentant, but he warned me, as he has also done to others, that we should be rather vigilant on the ship because quite a lot of traitors remained alive, who, seeing opportunity, would yet carry out what they had had in mind before this, without wanting to name anyone, saying he did not want to be called a snitch after his death, —

Jan van Bemmelen could not resign himself to die,

	<p>screaming and yowling, begging for mercy, that one would have him put on an island and let him live a little longer. Is therefore, for sake of his youth, pardoned to live, for which we have at last agreed, to put him on an island or on the mainland, as the opportunity shall present itself.</p>
On 3 d°.	the wind W.S.W. a strong breeze, nothing could be done at the wreck due to the great breakers —
On 4 d°.	the wind as before, a strong breeze, therefore nothing has happened.
On 5 d°.	the wind E.S.E., with agreeable weather, therefore have sailed to the wreckage of the fore-ship to lift off a bronze and an iron piece of ordnance, which hung from the wreckage ⁸⁹ and in the night we did get the bronze piece and have brought it to the island.
On 6 d°.	the wind southerly, in the morning I have sent the said piece on board, and further this day have not been able to work at the stern wreckage, due to the hollow breakers, but have sent the <i>schuijtgien</i> to an island in order to see if there was anything to salvage, —
	the wind southerly as before. Have not been able to do anything at the wreck, but sent aboard some goods that were here on the island.
On 7 d°.	the wind S.S.W. Have not been able to do anything at the wreck due to the strong breeze.
	the wind as before, but a little quieter, therefore I have sent the boat to the fore- wreckage to get the other iron piece, which they have brought in the evening.
On 8 d°.	the wind as before, in the morning sent the said piece on board, today
On 9 d°.	have not been able to do anything at the wreck due to the strong wind, but we have begun to make preparations to get the water, wherefore I had commanded several days ago to burn off the thicket on the High
On 10 d°.	Island, on the one hand to better be able to catch the cats ⁹⁰ that were on it, on the other hand

⁸⁹ Guns were jettisoned but apparently not all of them.

⁹⁰ This must be wallabies, which they took wrongly for cats.

	<p>if one might not find there hidden pits as had been found on Wiebbe Hayes island⁹¹, in which burning off they have found a pit with water, but very stinking, — After that, again a pit with brackish water. The next day they found under some burnt off thicket, a small hole for an arm to get into, threw a stone in it and found it gave an echo of water. So the skipper has pickaxes and crowbars be brought from aboard, with which they have worked a hole suitable to get at the water and, God be praised, it is very good water, although in the first, this island has been thoroughly looked over for it and walked across, so by me as other thirst suffering men⁹², but it seems not to have pleased God that one should have found the same, —</p>
On 11 d°.	<p>the wind as before, today we have filled our empty water casks with the water mentioned above and brought aboard ship. In the afternoon our folks have been out fishing with the little <i>schuijtgien</i>, who found a leaguer of vinegar lying at a cliff, —</p>
On 12 d°.	<p>the wind as before. In the morning I have sent the skipper with the boat to the above mentioned cliff to get the leaguer of vinegar and to bring it on board, and that he should sail from there to some islets which were lying one to 2 miles westward from the ship⁹³ to see if any flotsam had not washed up there, and that in the evening he should be on board if it were possible, but that he should navigate with care, if he should to stay a night out, — Before noon, the weather calmed down a bit and the sea being flat, I have gone, besides the divers, with the smallest <i>schuijtgien</i>, to the wreck, who dived up 75 <i>reals</i> in loose money, which had fallen out of the chests, and as yet, in the end, found lying a chest of money on which a piece of ordnance lay down which, due to the acute wind, as also because we could not raise them</p>

⁹¹ Here is clearly shown the differentiation between the two high islands.

⁹² This were the men who searched the island for water unsuccessfully just after the wrecking, before they left for *Java*.

⁹³ It is more likely that the wreck was meant here, and not the *Sardam*.

	with the little <i>schuijtgien</i> , had to leave with heart's regret, —
On 13 d°.	the wind south, a strong breeze, have sent the small <i>schuijtgien</i> aboard, that as soon as the skipper had come with the boat, he should go thither, to raise the aforesaid money chest, with the first suitable weather, towards evening it began to blow harder.
On 14 d°.	the wind S. and S.S.W. a strong gale, so that I fear for the boat. the wind and the weather as before, so that the boat could not have come back yet, towards evening the weather began to abate a little.
On 15 d°.	in the morning, the wind S.E. and E.S.E. with expectation of fine weather. Therefore I went again to the wreck with the smallest <i>schuijtgien</i> , to see if one could raise the chest with the <i>schuijtgien</i> , but
On 16 d°.	getting there, found there was such a breaking of waves, that again we could not get near, and much had been washed away by the last storm, — After midday, I sent the aforesaid <i>schuijtgien</i> aboard with a note to the upper-steersman, that he must man the <i>schuijt</i> and provide them with bread, water and wine, and send them, besides the under-steersman, to the nearest islands to search for the boat or its crew, —
	the Wind Southerly, have seen the <i>schuijt</i> sailing away from the ship to go and search for the boat, as they had been ordered.
On 17 d°.	The wind as before. In the morning the <i>schuijt</i> , as it had returned again, has come hitherward, which, arrived here in the afternoon with the upper-steersman, who told me that the <i>schuijt</i> had come back yesterday evening, but at the adjacent islands had not observed any boat or folks.
On 18 d°.	But that there was yet another large island about 3 miles N.N.W. from the ship, where they had

	<p>not dared to sail to because it blew too hard. Also told that on Sunday the 13th, two hours before evening, they had seen the boat 2 miles out to sea to the N.N.E. of them, and as at that time the wind began to rise, they immediately lost sight of it. So that, for God's betterment, it is to be feared, that it has drifted away, unless it had stood back towards the aforesaid island, that lies N.N.W. from the ship and because of the hard gale, the boat might be smashed to pieces, — Therefore I have immediately sent the steersman back on board, to plank up the <i>schuijt</i> in a hurry with a board and prepare it for going at sea, and to have the under-steersman, again provided with water, bread, grapnels, and ropes, with all that which they may have need of, search for the boat, —</p>
On 19 d°.	<p>the Wind southerly, towards noon we have seen the <i>schuijt</i> ply away from board to accomplish the voyage ordered her, towards evening it again began to blow harder —</p>
On 20 d°.	<p>the Wind S. and S.S.W., blowing very stiff so that they could not provide us from aboard with food or drink, for which I had written and sent for with the smallest <i>schuijtgien</i>, —</p>
On 21 d°.	<p>the Wind as before, with a hard gale so that our <i>schuijt</i> could not come back from the islands, nor could food be sent to us from the ship, although we have nothing more,</p>
On 22 d°.	<p>the Wind as before, with hard weather, so that the <i>schuijt</i> could not come from the islands, nor could the small <i>schuijtgien</i> bring us any food or drink from the ship.</p>
On 23 d°.	<p>the Wind Southerly, but much calmer than yesterday, but for God's betterment, still no vessel observed, either from the islands or from the ship, which should have brought us food. For we have not had anything at all now in two days to give the folks to eat. Towards evening, after sunset, the small <i>schuijtgien</i> has come from the ship, praise God, with bread and other foodstuff, and it started to become very fine weather, —</p>

On 24 do.	<p>the wind S. West. In the morning, I have sent the aforesaid <i>schuijtgien</i> back aboard to fetch water, which they had not brought along for us yesterday. Around noon we have seen returning the big <i>schuijt</i> which on the 19th I had sent with the under-steersman to search for the skipper with the boat, and in the afternoon the aforesaid <i>schuijt</i> with the upper-steersman has come here, bringing tidings that they had been on a high dunish island, about 3 to 4 miles N.N. West of the ship, which was beset all round with a reef except for a narrow gap, which they just chanced upon, and so got inside⁹⁴, but they have not been able to see that the skipper or the boat had been there. It is a barren, large island without having found any fresh water, than a host of <i>meuwen</i> [GULLS] and eggs, And in the middle of the island it had a valley where lay much salt. So that for God's betterment, with the previous storm of the 14th instant, the boat shall have capsized, or must drifted away, To wit, with the skipper Jacop Jacopsz of <i>Sardam</i>, Pieter Pietersz of Ouwenierop, quartermaster, Marten Claasz of Texel gunner, Cornelis Pietersz of Bolswart, having been under-trumpeter on the ship <i>Batavia</i>, Arriaen Theunissen of Harderwijck having been gunner on the ship <i>Batavia</i>. May God the Lord have been merciful to their Souls, <i>Amen</i>.</p>
On 25 do.	<p>the Wind S. West I have gone with the little <i>schuijtgien</i> to some islands and cliffs to see if not something had washed up. Found there nothing else but woodwork with which all the islands seem to be strewn because of the amount that has been washed up in all places, I meant to go to the wreck, but found that there was so much breaching [surf] that it was impossible, —</p>
On 26 do.	<p>the Wind Southerly. After midday, I have gone with the <i>schuijtgien</i> near the wreck of the fore-ship, but found outside so much breaching that we could do nothing but gathering the <i>schuijtgien</i> full with iron hoops and other ironwork, and some lead which we got out of the forepart of the wreck, with which we returned towards evening, —</p>
On 27 do.	<p>the wind S. West, early in the morning the large <i>schuijt</i> has come hither from aboard, with the upper-steersman and the chief boatswain⁹⁵ because I had sent for them to examine some more prisoners, which we have done before noon. But before that, because it still blew too hard to do anything at the wreck, I have sent <i>ditto schuijt</i> aboard with the said ironwork</p>

⁹⁴ According to Drake-Brockman, in *Voyage to Disaster*, this is an excellent picture of North Island.

⁹⁵ The upper-steersman was Claas Gerritsz, as it had already been stated that Jacop Jansz held the rank of under-steersman. The chief boatswain of the *Sardam* was Sijmon IJopzoon, as appears from the order of signatures already noted.

	<p>and firewood from yesterday, ordering that it should return immediately. Towards midday the wind began to shift westward and blow from the N. West, with which it so suddenly became a flat water about the wreck that it was hard to believe. Therefore made all possible signs, so with fires, flying of flags, and otherwise, such that the <i>schuijt</i> should return in a hurry. Meanwhile I plied with the little <i>schuijtgien</i> and the divers, to the wreck. Found that due to strong showers of rain, there was still rather severe breaching, therefore I remained lying without with the <i>schuijtgien</i> for a long time, until, because rain and weather abated, it became very flat water, when we plied towards the wreck. Found that the after-ship had been very much washed away and now had not many markers where we might find the money chest which we had seen on the 12th, but searched as long until the divers found it, and clinched a hawser to it to raise, but it was too heavy for this light <i>schuijtgien</i> so that we set a buoy on it and plied back to the island to see if the big <i>schuijt</i> was not yet on its way, but coming there did not yet see it — Therefore let the little <i>schuijtgien</i> ply to Seals Island, because from there they could better see them and make signals. In the end, towards evening, half an hour before sunset, the <i>schuijt</i> came, and found that it was the fault of the quartermaster, who, beyond his commission, had rode so long off the high island, why now it was too late to get the chest — the wind S.S. West, nothing has happened on account of the strong wind and heavy breakers.</p>
On 28 d ^o .	the wind W.S.W. with hard weather as before. Could do nothing at the wreck, but have gone with the boat and the <i>schuijt</i> ⁹⁶ to the surrounding islands, picked up some timber and iron work which, besides the upper-steersman and chief boatswain, we have sent back on board. —
On 29 d ^o .	in the morning the Wind southerly it was for the length of an hour very calm, therefore I went with the little <i>schuijtgien</i> and the divers to the wreck, but outside found that the swells still surged so hard and breached far outside the wreck that we could not get there, whereupon it again began to blow a strong breeze from the S.S. West, so that we had to leave.
On 30 d ^o .	the Wind S.S. West, a strong breeze, in the morning, had the <i>schuijt</i> loaded with firewood, and to be sent back on board, — the Wind as before but a little quieter. Therefore with fire signals requested for the <i>schuijt</i> from the ship,
On 31 d ^o .	
<i>P^o. November</i>	

⁹⁶ Confusingly it seems that Pelsaert is now referring to the *schuijt* of the Sardam as the boat and the *schuijtgien* from the wrecked ship Batavia as the *schuijt*.

On 2 d°.	<p>to see if one might get the chest with money out of the wreck, but have not seen ditto <i>schuijt</i>.</p> <p>the wind southerly, early in the morning have again made fire signals, to get the <i>schuijt</i> from aboard, such that ditto <i>schuijt</i> with the upper-steersman has come before midday, then because the wind was so strong, could not do anything at the wreck. Therefore in the evening have sent the steersman with the <i>schuijt</i> back aboard, to fetch <i>with it</i> the rest of the water from the High Island.</p>
On 3 d°.	<p>the wind southerly as before, with strong wind, so that nothing could be done at the wreck, then sent the little <i>schuijtgien</i> to the front wreck to see whether anything of benefit could be done, but have found nothing.</p>
On 4 d°.	<p>the wind S.S. East, but a little quieter and beautiful clear weather, so that again we have made signals with smoke to get the boat from aboard. Meanwhile, before midday, I have plied with the little <i>schuijtgien</i> to the wreck, but as soon as we stood off the land, we became aware of several smokes at north-east from us, as also the main coast of the Southland⁹⁷ which we could see perfectly, on which this smoke was, although before this nobody has yet seen the land. This makes me firmly believe and imagine that the skipper with his folks have been stranded with the boat on this land, and because of the clear weather have made smoke signals, so that I hope, that by the Grace of God, we shall find them still alive, — In the afternoon the <i>schuijt</i>, besides the steersman, has come from the ship, and presently have gone with the divers to the wreck, but have not been able to find the money chest. Therefore came back without success.</p>
On 5 d°.	<p>early in the morning, the wind N. West, with beautiful clear weather, therefore I have gone early with the <i>schuijt</i> and the little <i>schuijtgien</i>, back to the wreck, and there had diving done with great diligence to find the money chest, which, for God's betterment, notwithstanding all possible effort applied by the divers, could not be found, but fished up the casket with tinsel [<i>clatergout</i>], as well as 4 silver Moorish fruit-dishes, with a ditto wash basin [<i>lampetschotel</i>]</p>

⁹⁷ The distance between the Houtman Abrolhos Islands and the mainland is about 60 kilometres.

	weighing all together, on estimate [blank] silver Marks ⁹⁸ . With that returned towards noon because the sea began to dash hard, and looking dark withal, until a little after noon, there being bright sunshine, have once more gone thither with the <i>schuijt</i> and the little <i>schuijtgien</i> . But after much searching have found nothing at all, —
On 6 d°.	the wind N.N.W., and N.W., a topsail breeze and dark weather, with this wind it is now a windward shore at the wreck, then contrariwise, the sea rises hard with breakers.
On 7 d°.	the wind S.W. altogether calm; have again, besides the divers, gone with the little <i>schuijtgien</i> to the wreck, although after much searching could find nothing, therefore have begun to bring our goods from the island on board.
On 8 d°.	the wind at south. Have not been at the wreck because of the strong wind and breaches, but continued to bring the money that is salvaged, and other goods, on board, —
On 9 d°.	in the morning the wind S.S.E. but towards noon it usually shifts southward, today because of the strong wind could not go to the wreck, but have had a <i>schuijt</i> ply with 4 chests of money and other goods to board, —
On 10 d°.	in the morning the wind S.E., but towards noon southerly, a stiff settled wind. Today did ply to board with the remaining 3 chests of money and the other goods, to prepare us for the voyage because there is no hope to do anything more at the wreck, —
On 11 d°.	the wind S.S. East, a strong breeze. This day spent with hauling water, because it blew too hard to get yet some woodwork from the Island <i>Batavia's</i> Graveyard.
On 12 d°.	in the morning the wind south, a little breeze and during the day it shifted to the north west with variable weak breezes and at last calm. Therefore I have sent the little <i>schuijtgien</i> , besides the divers, once more to the wreck to see if there was still anything to be found, — who have returned in the evening, bringing along 2 silver dishes and a carpenter's chest which they had fished up, declaring upon their Men's truth that now no more was to be found, whatever length of time one would still stay.

⁹⁸ The Mark was a weight of ½ pound (246 grams) in silver or gold.


On 13 d°.	<p>the wind S.S. West, calm, and fine weather. Have resolved today that, God willing, wind and weather so permitting, we shall set sail on the 15th and proceed speedily with our voyage to <i>Batavia</i>, as also that one shall execute justice to these persons following hereafter, who have conducted themselves on the islands not without impunity, but out of fear of death had besmirched their hands with human blood, to wit, Salomon DesChamps under-merchant; Rogier Decker, having been cabin-servant; Lucas Gillissen from the Hague, <i>adelborst</i>; Abraham Gerritsen of Amsterdam and Claas Harmansen of Campen; as appears in the following resolution, and sentences, —</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Today the 13th of November 1629 is resolved by the Commander and the ship's council of the yacht <i>Sardam</i>,</p> <p>Because, for God's betterment, we have had to spend here, near the wreck of the wrecked ship <i>Batavia</i>, the time of little less than 2 months, much against our will or intention, because of hard wind and weather, that although we have not missed, but taken well advantage of any opportunities of calmness and diminished breakers, to have the divers search in the wreck for cash and other wares, so that on several occasions we have found 10 chests of money, and because there have been 12 in the ship⁹⁹, therefore, according to our strict order of the Hon. Lord General, did not want to separate from there rashly, but be wholly assured, that nothing more was to be found, which we are now, because all has been ranged and dived over, so that the Commander has proposed whether one should still wait here for another few days of calm weather, which usually comes one every other 15 to 20 days, to moreover see, if something would be found yet, — (or that one), since we are wholly aware, we think, that all the further searching is but time wasted and the staying put is to great disadvantage of our Lord Masters; (shall proceed the soonest with our voyage to <i>Batavia</i>. So has the Council, after we earnestly have paid attention to the issue in the best interest of the Gen. East-India Company, and drawn consequences, that to stay put here with so much</p>
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⁹⁹ One chest they had been unable to lift because of the cannon on it, the other had been opened by Jean Thirion after the wreck.

cash and goods, besides more than 100 men, on a basis of an uncertain hope, cannot be but a great loss and disservice, —Therefore have resolved that tomorrow morning, God willing, wind and weather so permitting, to set sail for *Batavia*. But beforehand shall call at the main Southland, East North East from here, to see if we can find the skipper and other 4 men who were with him in the boat and due to strong wind have drifted away. Because on the 4th instant we have seen several smokes, wherefrom it is to be presumed that these folks have done such for a sign.

Further, because Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier, but after the capture of Jeronimus Cornelisz, under-merchant, before our arrival here, has been made Captain of a troop of murderers and has himself be authorized for it, and made the people swear with signatures and oaths, to be loyal to him in everything, in manner as Jeronimus had done also before his capture, whereupon on the 17 September he has decided to go and fight against the defending folks on the High Island, to overpower them, although after 2 hours of fighting they did not advance on them, other than that 4 men have been shot very much harmless [*schadeloos*]¹⁰⁰ with their muskets of whom one named Jan Direxs of Emden, gunner has died on the 28 ditto. Furthermore, he has willingly let himself be used to several murders, as is appearing at large from his examination and own confession, as also done his will with several women. Of which perfect knowledge we have become very slowly and now first fully assured, Therefore the Commander has propounded, since such criminal offences have been committed by him, that we (held accountable) cannot or may not leave him unpunished before God nor our High Authority at *Batavia*, whether one shall punish here the said Wouter Loos with death, as an example to others, (or that one shall) put him on the main Southland, to live there for a long time amongst the inhabitants of the land, if it God so pleases that they will let him live, and to look into in the situation of the land, until such time that some ships might fell with 25 or 26 degrees, where he might still be found and rescued. So, after we very seriously have paid attention to the same and weighed up and debated the case of the said Wouter Loos, the council has sentenced him, preferring grace instead of rigour of Justice, as also at the service of the General East India Company, that he, besides

¹⁰⁰ Although the modern meaning of the Dutch word *schadeloos* is: without harm or damage, or not dangerous, here Pelsaert uses the word *schadeloos* to mean being rendered harmless.

	<p>Jan Pelgrom de Bijde van Bommel, who on the 28th of September past, was sentenced to the gallows and because of his youth was pardoned, to be permitted be put on an island, shall be put on aforesaid land with a <i>schuijtgien</i> as scoundrels and death-deserving delinquents, to support themselves there with the said <i>schuijtgien</i>, and meanwhile make themselves familiar and acquainted with the people and to look into what kind of materials fall in those lands, be it gold, silver, or otherwise, so if at some time some ships came to fall with that coast, or <i>schuijten</i> came ashore, with which they may get rescued, and report on the situation of these lands —</p> <p>On the other hand, because the persons written hereunder have not behaved themselves on these islands with impunity, but for too great a fear of death allowed the murderous scoundrels their doings with connivance and dissimulation, instead of setting against it justice, their honour, keeping with God and salvation, but contrary have besmirched their hands with shedding the blood of people, although having been compelled to it. Therefore we have, after having, at the highest, as a consequence, well examined, debated, and weighed up their cases, —</p> <p>unanimously agreed to sentence some conform their crimes, with these hereunder written punishments, standing next nearest to Death, as appears at large from the following sentences, —</p> <p>To wit, Salomon Deschamps, under- merchant, to be keel-hauled three times and <i>geleerst</i>¹⁰¹ [FLOGGED] with 100 strokes; Rogier Decker of Amsterdam, to be keel-hauled three times and flogged with 100 strokes before the mast; Abraham Hendricx¹⁰² of Amsterdam, to be keel-hauled 3 times and flogged with 100 strokes before the mast; Lucas Gillisz from the Hague <i>adelborst</i>, to be dropped 3 times from the yard and flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, moreover be confiscated 6 months wages to the benefit of the General East India Company, — Claas Harmansz of Campen, to be dropped 3 times from the yard and flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, — Thus done and decided on the yacht <i>Sardam</i>, <i>datum ut supra</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> <i>Fran^{Co}: Pelsart</i> <i>Claes Gerritsz</i> <i>Salomon Deschamps</i> <i>Sijmon IJopzoon</i> This is  the mark of Jan Willemsen Visch¹⁰³ </p>
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¹⁰¹ *Geleerst*, also *gelaarst*; from *laarzen*: To be flogged with a thick piece of rope on the pants.

¹⁰² Pelsaert mentioned earlier Abraham Gerritsz, Hendricx is a mistake.

¹⁰³ These signatures are interesting. Jacob Jacobsz was now missing. The extraordinary feature is the signature of Salomon Deschamps attached to his own sentence. Hitherto he has only been called on to sign the declaration of truth following the given evidence, but not the sentences. The *datum ut supra* (as above) is the 13th November, the same date in which Pelsaert earlier noted that Justice will be done to the same persons mentioned here.

Today, on 24 September 1629 on the Island
Batavia's Graveyard, the Commander *Fran^{co}*.
Pelsart and the Ship's Council, have resolved to
 examine Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier alias
 Captain, about his committed murders as beastly
 live conducted here on the islands and being so
 necessary, bring to torture, — Date as above, —

Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier, aged about 24 years, who, on the 2nd September after Jeronimus Cornelisz was captured on the High Island by the defending and fled people, has been chosen and appointed by the rebel troop in his place as Captain, which on the 8th ditto, he has made them to swear with signatures and oaths of all the people, in confirmation of his authorization, to obey him in everything, whereupon he has resolved on the 17th instant to go and fight the above mentioned escapees and to overpower them if they could. But after a long fight they have nothing advanced on them than that they severely wounded 4 men with their muskets of whom some will die, — Therefore questioned him to what end he has fought against those folks, says, because his folk murmured and desired to have no more water rations, but wished to die, or become master of that island, therefore had him be persuaded by them, but that he regrets very much, to have done this, —

Furthermore, as we have yet learned that he also has been in the *predikant's* tent, when his family was murdered, and apparently done his *devoir* [part] in the slaying, besides others, — He, being asked whom he had slain there, confesses that on that day, towards evening, he was lying in his tent, and that Davidt Zevanck called him outside, telling that in the night, one was to put away with the *predikant's* family, and that he should be at the ready towards that time. Whereupon he supposedly has said, there are plenty of folks, aren't there, why should you take me for it? But has gone nevertheless, in the evening, besides Zevanck and 5 or 6 others, to the *predikant's* tent, and entering, Zevanck took the lamp, and said, Company's goods are hidden in here which we want to look for, and get out. Meanwhile the lamp was blown out, and Wouter Loos took the kettle with seal's meat which hung cooking above the fire and brought it into the tent of Annetgien Bosschieters, — Coming back, found that all the people were murdered, yes a number dragged away, with plunder being engaged in, but that he has touched nobody, or harmed anyone.

Because he too has been in the tent, nevertheless denying to have killed or helped to kill anyone,

wherefore he has been brought to torture to get the right truth out of him. After pains suffered, denies as above, to have laid hands on anyone, only that he made away with the kettle, — But confesses that when Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewald trumpeter, were to be drowned, he has helped to tie their hands and feet, and have so been carried into the sea, ——

Further asked how many women he has known carnally here on this island, confesses that he has slept a few times with Trijntgien Fredricx and Annetgien Bosschieters and done his will with them. Also asked whether he has been with Lucretia Jansz in her tent since he was made Captain a few days after the capture of Jeronimus, — Says, that he will die the death if he has unjustly touched or tempted her¹⁰⁴——

On the 27 October before the ship's
council examined once more

Because it has reached our ear through Judith, the daughter of the *predikant*, that Wouter Loos would have so said, or prided himself earlier on, that he slew with an adze Bastiaan Gijsbertsen, assistant, her eldest brother (when her mother, sisters and brothers were murdered). Whereupon, paying strict attention to the matter and making further enquiries, found that he has said this to more other persons. Therefore had him brought back to now draw out of him the right truth, be it with torture or as voluntary confession, which we were eager to know from him, either with threats or otherwise. Then found him equally obstinate, hence have put him to torture, — And asked, whereas he has prided himself on this to several; on the other hand, that he had been in the tent with an adze besides the other murderers and apparently did do his utmost devoir in the slaying, confesses at last that he has beaten underfoot with an adze the eldest son, that he was dead, and that thereafter he has brought the kettle with meat, which hung over the fire cooking, into his tent.

Confesses also that a short time after above happenings, he, besides Davidt Zevanck, went walking near the aforesaid

¹⁰⁴ The above examination was made before the executions, the one that follows, after.

predikant's tent, and that he saw that Andries Jonas was engaged in slitting the throat of Maijken Cardoes, but could not well overpower her, so has he, Wouter Loos, walked to them with a stick, and with it has smashed in the head of the aforesaid woman, Maijken Cardoes, which accords with the confession of Andries Jonas made willingly before his death, saying, that he intended to kill her, but that Wouter Loos came walking to help him, who smashed in her head, —

Declares furthermore, that on the 5 August, being on the high island, Jeronimus Cornelisz and Zevanck, who went together for a walk, ordered him, that he should go, and stab dead Jan Willemsz Selijns cooper, because they feared that he too might defect. Whereupon Wouter Loos, on intent to carry out what he was told, went to Jan Willemsz, then coming to him, he grew upset at heart in such alteration, that he could not do it, and warned the said cooper at once that he had been ordered this, but that he would plead for him because he was a great friend of Jeronimus, —

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* declare on our Men's Truth in place of confirmed oath, that all the above written examinations are taken in our presence, and confessed by Wouter Loos of Maastricht, so by torture or voluntary made, Moreover today this examination and confession has been read to him again, and asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, liberal, and unconstrained, to have indeed so happened, and because we have heard selfsame with discerning ears and seen with own eyes, are prepared, to attest, or testify this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the councillors of *Indien*, coming to *Batavia*, and if being so requested, to confirm under oath.

	<p>In token of this being true, have undersigned with our signatures this 14 November anno 1629 — on the yacht <i>Sardam</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Fran^{Co}: Pelsart</i> Claes Gerritsz <i>Salomon Deschampsz</i> Sijmon IJopzoon this is A the mark of Jan Willemsen Visch¹⁰⁵</p>
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¹⁰⁵ All now aboard the *Sardam* ready to sail. Once more, it is an extraordinary fact that Deschamps is called to witness this declaration, himself condemned to suffer the day before.

So Wouter Loos of Maastricht soldier aged about 24 years, but since the 2 September, when Jeronimus Cornelissen under-merchant was captured on the High Island by the defending, fled people, chosen and appointed in his place by all of the rebellious troop for their Captain, which in confirmation of his authorization, on the 8th ditto, he had them undersign and sworn to by oath by all the persons, to obey him in everything, Whereupon, on the 17 September mentioned before, he let himself be moved by the principal mutineers to go and fight the others who were on the High Island, to see if they could overpower them. Then after a long fighting they have not advanced on them, other than that they severely injured 4 men with their muskets, of whom one, named Jan Dircxsz from Emden gunner, has died on the 28 September and apparently would have caused more mischief, had it not pleased God that we arrived here with the yacht that same time or hour, when they fought, when thus all their design has been destroyed. —

Moreover, here on the islands near the wreck of the stricken ship *Batavia*, the said Wouter Loos has let himself be pulled from the way of humanity and of rational creatures, and because of his inveterate corruptness has well-willingly let himself be used by the Godless, Epicurean villain Jeronimus Cornelisz, of whom he was a great favourite, to the murdering of people, as is appearing at large from his confession, made so through examination by torture, as voluntarily, as mentioned hereunder, —

to wit, —

That on the 5th July he had been ordered by Jeronimus, besides Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Hendricxz, Lenert Michielssz, Cornelis Pietersz of Wtrecht and Rutger Fredricx, to go with the biggest raft and drown Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewaldt chief trumpeter, whom they have brought to Traitors Island, and Wouter Loos has helped to bind their hands and feet, and are so carried into the sea and smothered. —

Item, on the 21 July, towards evening the said Wouter Loos has also been told by Zevanck that he should hold himself at the ready, to put away with the *predikant's* family in the night, and in the evening,

when it was time, he was called by ditto Zevanck, thereto on the way looked for an adze, with which, he, besides Jan Hendricxs, Mattijs Beer, Cornelisz Pietersz of Wtrecht, Jacop Pietersz, Andries Jonas, and Andries Liebent, has gone to the aforesaid *dominie's* [*predikant's*] tent, where Zevanck, entering, acted as spokesman, saying that Company's goods were hidden in there, which he wanted to get out. Meanwhile, they blew out the lamp and began to beat into the heap with adzes and axes, such that Wouter Loos smashed in, with his adze, the head of the eldest son, Bastiaen Gijsbertsz, assistant, until he was dead, —

On the same night, after the above happenings, Wouter Loos went for a walk with David Zevanck, near the tent, when presently he saw that Andries Jonas was engaged in slitting the throat of Maijken Cardoes, whom he had thrown underfoot, then, because of her strong wrestling and that she had grabbed the knife with her hand, he could not succeed in his intention. Therefore the said Wouter Loos walked up to them with a club or stick and so smashed in the head of the aforesaid Maijken Cardoes, which Andries Jonas has also confessed voluntarily before he died.

Item has also confessed, that on the 5 August, when he, besides Jeronimus and all the others, being on the High Island, that the said Jeronimus ordered him that he should go and slay the cooper Jan Willemsz Selijns, but coming to him, his heart tormented him in such a way that instead of slaying, warned Jan Willemsz that he had been ordered it, but that he could not do it, so that he has pleaded pardon for the said Jan Willemsz with Jeronimus, because he had much access to him, from which is easy to notice what favourite he has been with Jeronimus, and apparently has done more slayings through advice by his tongue, than with his hands. —

Item, also has had carnal knowledge here on the island of several married women, or done his evil will with them. —

All which horrors; such as the murdering of people and the violating of women, as premeditated obstinacy, when he, being made Captain, has followed in the footsteps as successor of the villain Jeronimus Cornelisz, to go and fight the poor defending, fled people, where he severely wounded 4, of whom one, as written before, has died, on pretext that they wanted to be master of the water, when to contrary no water has been refused to them, but in letters had offered them all

friendship, which he has ripped to pieces and has held them as if enemies, likewise the said Wouter Loos declared them to be in his authorization; being criminal offences of very harmful consequences which are worthy of death manifold and which either by God, or Mankind cannot or may not be suffered, as (nature) I [sic] let alone God's commandment, teaches us sufficiently that one must punish the evil [-doers] as an example to others.


Therefore the Commander *Fran^{co}: Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having paid utmost attention to this matter, after long examination and investigations, the selfsame debated and weighed up, — grace favoured to said Wouter Loos in place of rigour of the Justice, have sentenced him as we sentence him hereby, that one shall put him here on the main Southland as a death-deserving delinquent, besides Jan Pelgrom de Bijen van Bommel, who was sentenced on 28 September to the gallows for his misdeeds, but has been pardoned from death, to make themselves acquainted with the inhabitants of this land and investigate what happens there, they still to save their lives at some time through ships which might fall hereat, and the Company to enjoy some service, with confiscation of his monthly wages, or pretences he may lay claim to in India, for the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and decided on the yacht *Sardam*, this 13 November 1629. —

Fran^{co}: Pelsart

Claes Gerritsz

Salomon Deschamps

Sijmon IJopzoon

this is  the mark of

Jan Willemsen Visch

	<p>Instruction for Wouter Loos, and Jan Pelgrom de Bij van Bemmél, both death-deserving delinquents, who on account of various viewpoints, are put here on the main <i>Southland</i>, —</p> <p>With a <i>champan</i> or <i>schuijdt</i>¹⁰⁶ which they shall keep with its appurtenances, to sustain themselves with it, and shall see that with this southerly wind which now blows here along the shore, they make for, as estimated, 25 to 24 degrees, which is about 50 miles from this place¹⁰⁷ to be put there ashore, To there, or on the way, taking advantage of fine weather and opportunity, to make themselves acquainted with the people of this land by tokens of friendship, Whereto the Commander has given along with them some Nurembergeries¹⁰⁸ as knives, beads, bells and small mirrors, of which, every now and then, they shall give a few to the blacks until they have grown accustomed them.</p> <p>Being acquainted with them, that they then want to bring you into their villages to their chieftains, take heart to willingly go with them. It is capricious wherein Man's luck is lying, if God guards you, you will not suffer any harm from them, but to contrary, because they have never seen any white men, show all the friendship. — Meanwhile, shall pay close attention to what materials, be it gold, or silver, do fall there, and what they regard as most precious. So that, if you have entered into perfect friendship with them, you may request, by signs, or learning their language, to be afforded to look out for ships, or for people at the sea-side, to get more of such goods from them, as iron, copper, or Nurembergeries, of which you have with you several samples, which no doubt will do please them. —</p> <p>The time that the ships call at the Southland, is in <i>April, May, June, July</i>, wherefore at that time you must look out sharply, and sighting any, make such signs that one can see that these are done in earnest, so with smoke, or otherwise— Above all, keep God in sight, forget Him not, He will doubtlessly overshadow you, and yet at last dispose of a good outcome, — Thus done on the yacht <i>Sardam</i> this 16 November 1629.</p>
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¹⁰⁶ With the word *champan* Pelsaert may indeed refer to a sampan, a small boat used in Asian waters, particularly China, and carried on board the *Sardam*. On the other hand he may simply refer to one of the flat-bottomed *schuijgtiens*, made at the islands, because it may have resembled a sampan. *Schuijdt*, in Modern Dutch: *schuit*.

¹⁰⁷ On this date, 16th November, as will later be seen, they had determined to be in 27° 51', not far from the mainland shore. Given that the Holland *mijl* is equal to 4 minutes of arc it can be calculated from the differences in latitude from this position and the suggested 25° and 24°, which are 171' and 231', that the distances come out at 42.7 and 57.7 *mijlen* respectively. The significance of "25 to 24 degrees" used here, lies in the fact that on the first trip north he had actually seen natives about 24°, on 14th June. Probably he could not at this juncture recall the past position on that day more accurately. It is obvious that he means that if the marooned men cannot find natives at this spot, they should travel about 50 Holland *mijlen* north. With the Holland *mijl* being 7.1592 km (See endnote 1), this is some 360 km.

¹⁰⁸ At this time cheap wooden toys and trifles from Nuremberg were sold all over Europe.

Because, for God's betterment, many, yes, most of the people who have been here on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, have not transgressed with impunity, but with many faults, of whom some are those following hereafter, who, so by examination carried out, as their own confession, have behaved themselves exceedingly, in the following, firstly —

Salomon des Champs of Amsterdam, under-merchant, who, because so of his position, for which he signed on with the Hon. Lord Masters, has acquitted himself very feebly, In the furtherance of that of interest to the Hon. Company and the safeguarding of the poor people who are so woefully murdered, was stretching his live, But has let the evil ones carry on with their design with dissimulation and connivance, without saying anything against it.

Moreover on the 20 July at night, when he was fetched from his tent by Jacop Pietersz who took him into Maijken Cardoes' tent, where Davidt Zevanck, Jan Hendricxsz and Cornelis Pietersen of Wtrecht were, who told him that they were not assured of his loyalty, therefore took a young suckling child from the lap of the mother Maijken Cardoes, aforesaid, who was in the same tent, and said to him, Deschamps, there is a half-dead child, but you are not a fighting man; herewith is a little noose, go forth and make that we don't hear so much yowling of it here on the island. Then he, Deschamps, without much protest, has taken the child outside the tent and thus strangled, which is a delict of very harmful consequence, yes, a crime, which should be punished at the highest, because an officer who wants to act following his honour, oath and salvation, ought to punish others over it and seek to prevent more disaster and is not to besmirch himself with atrocities, — Nevertheless, because of several consideration, such as because the child had been poisoned by Jeronimus Cornelisz with the toxin *Mercurium sublimatum*¹⁰⁹ and could neither live nor die, On the other hand, that he has been coerced to it, or otherwise would apparently have taken his life, the Commander and the ship's council of the ship *Sardam* have not wanted to prosecute at the highest the aforesaid Deschamps, but using grace in place of rigour of Justice — Have sentenced him, likewise [we] sentence him herewith, That tomorrow he shall be keel-hauled 3 times and after that be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast as an example to others, — Also, —

Rogier Decker of Haarlem, aged about 17 years, cabin attendant, and on the ship *Batavia* former servant to Jeronimus Cornelissen under-merchant, who too has let himself be stripped of humanity and brotherly love, when on the 10 August, has let himself to be persuaded by his former master Jeronimus, to a tyrannical murder, to wit, that on the aforesaid day, when he sat down in his tent frying some fish, when

¹⁰⁹ *Mercurium sublimatum* (Lat.): Sublimate of Mercury. A medicinal preparation containing sublimated (refined) mercury.

Jeronimus himself came, and called him out of the tent with him, and poured him a beaker of wine, saying to him, here is a poniard, go and stab with this Hendrick Jansz of Purmerent carpenter, who goes walking with Deschamps, through the heart. To which the said Rogier has agreed without any objections, and so has gone outside and with it has stabbed dead the aforesaid Hendrick, — which is a criminal delict, that should well be punished with death, to so tyrannically, on a say-so, shed the innocent man's blood, Nevertheless, the Commander and the ship's council, applying grace instead of rigour of Justice, so because of his youth, as on the other hand so for the fear of death, if he had refused this, that they would have killed him, — as also for as yet not having been able to find that he has let himself be used in any other ill-doing, have sentenced him, likewise he is sentenced herewith, that tomorrow one shall keel-haul him three times, and after that be flogged before the mast — Also, —


Abraham Gerritsz of Amsterdam, boy, aged about 15 years, who had run away from the ship *Leijden* in the *Sierra Leonas*, and from this land is taken along by the Commander, who, on the 15 July, being on Seals Island, so when a group of *Jongers* and men were slain, he was told by Davidt Zevanck, boy, you too must help with the merry slaying, or you yourself will be fixed up, he has been well-willing in this, and with his knife slit the throat of a boy named Frans Fransz of Haarlem, which is a criminal delict of very harmful consequence which cannot or may not be suffered, but as an example to others well deserves to be punished with death. Nevertheless, the Commander and the ship's council, applying grace instead of rigour of Justice, so because of his youth, and that he has done it out of fear, have sentenced him, likewise we sentence him herewith, that tomorrow one shall keel-haul him three times, and after that shall be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast. —Also, —

Lucas Jellisiz from the Hague, *adelborst* who here on the island, so in words as deeds, has taken to the sham of the scoundrels, and in his acts has followed their course in wickedness, To wit, that on 9 July, when Pieter Jansz provost with his group were slain, he too, in the *schuijtgien*, has let himself be used, and held fast the raft from which they threw the people into the sea, as also on the 20 July, when Passchier vanden Ende, gunner, and Jacop Hendricxen of Amsterdam, carpenter, had their throats slit in the night, he, besides Jan

Hendricxs and Leenert Michielsz, was commanded to go and carry out the same. Then because Jan Hendricxs had slit both their throats, he did not get to help with it, but has given him his knife, which Davidt Zevanck being present, demanded of him, because Jan Hendricx stabbed 4 knives to pieces on Jacob Hendricxs aforesaid, before he could kill him. —

Moreover, Lucas aforesaid, being on the high island on the 5 August besides all the others, and that Jeronimus and his council had agreed, to have Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn chief barber be murdered, because they feared that he would defect, so Lucas, besides Leenert Michielssen, Mattijs Beijr and Hans Jacops, has been commanded by Zevanck to slay the aforesaid Mr. Frans under pretext of going to look for seals, so when Leenert Michielsz at first had run him right through with a pike, Hans Jacopsz had smashed in his head with a morning-star, and Mattijs Beijr had cleaved his head with a sabre. — Lucas, for goodness sake, has also stabbed the aforesaid Mr. Frans in his body with a pike, All of this cruelty, which he could have well avoided, since the man was already so hacked and stabbed, But on the contrary has wanted to show that he was one of their humour and ilk, Cannot or may not be suffered, but as an example to others well deserve to be punished at the highest, Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, after having paid attention to the matter and selfsame debated, prefer grace instead of rigour of Justice, have sentenced the aforesaid Lucas Jellissz, likewise he is sentenced herewith, that he shall fall three times from the yard-arm, and be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, — Moreover, with confiscation of six months wages to the benefit of the General East India Company, our Lord Masters, — Also, —

Claas Harmansz of Campen boy, aged about 15 years, who on the 18 July, when the women and the remaining children were murdered on Seals Island, had himself, besides 2 other *Jongers* named [blank] hidden in the thicket and after several days trusted in themselves to show up, Whereupon Jeronimus Cornelisz had Jacop Pietersz fetch the aforesaid Jongers, that he should have them drowned on the way. So Jacop Pietersz said to the aforesaid Claas Harmansz, being in the *schuijtgien*, boy, throw the other 2 *Jongers* overboard, or they'll do it to you. To which the aforesaid Claas has consented, and thrown the other 2 *Jongers* overboard, — Which is an atrocity that should be punished at the highest, — Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, realizing that it is a boy, who was ordered it, being in the *schuijt* where there was no escaping, or would himself be thrown overboard, did not wish to prosecute him to the fullest, But applied grace instead of the rigour of Justice,

	<p>have sentenced him, likewise we sentence him herewith, that tomorrow, one shall have him fall 3 times from the yard arm, and after that shall be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, —Thus done and decided on the yacht <i>Sardam</i>, this 12 November, Anno 1629, lying at anchor under the High Island, 2 miles from the wreck¹¹⁰. —</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> <i>Fran^{Co}: Pelsart</i> <i>Claes Gerritsz</i> <i>Salomon Deschampsz</i> <i>Sijmon IJopzoon</i> This is the mark of Jan  <i>Willemsz</i> Visch </p>
On 14 November	the wind S.S. West, have picked up the rest of the folks from the islands, in order to set sail tomorrow, and has this day nothing particular happened.
On 15 d°.	<p>the wind S.S. West, with, by the looks of it, fine weather. Therefore, in the name of God, have weighed our anchors, and have set sail from these unfortunate <i>Abrolhos</i>, to the mainland, course E.N. East, to look at there for the skipper and 4 other men, who on the 14 last month, with the boat, became separated from the ship through storm, and from there to further our voyage at the speediest to <i>Batavia</i>, — The place where the ship or the wreck lies, is in the latitude of 28 degrees, 37 to 40 minutes, and where we with the yacht rode under the High Island is in 30 to 32 minutes N.N. West of the wreck. Although the steersmen, after the wrecking of the ship, had measured on one of the islands a latitude of 28 degrees 8 minutes, and 28 degrees, 20 minutes, which has caused not a little misunderstanding in the search for this place, and of course the wastage of time, as also not without great peril of mis-sailing the same as well, had not the Almighty God remarkably saved us several times, — We have found here that the wind most of the time that we did ride here, blows from the South, and the South South East, from time to time in the morning veering to the south east, or east</p>

¹¹⁰ The documentation of these sentences, following after the Instructions for Wouter Loos and his trial evidence, bears a date one day earlier than the first recording on 13 November of the sentencing of these men (See ff. 299v-300v). Pelsaert went on board the *Sardam* on 10 November and seems to have held trials on 11 and 12 November. Note that Deschamps signs his own sentence, but does not have his wages confiscated.

south east, but little, so that it is here at the wreck always a leeward shore, and continually strong breakers, and the flat water must be observed very accurately, otherwise one would never have been able to carry out anything at the wreck, because when we first came here with the yacht, there was still a part of the aft-ship and the fore-ship above water, but now it has been altogether washed away, so that under water lies only the keel with a little of the hold of the wreck, where the pieces of ordnance, anchors, ropes, and suchlike heavy stuff are lying, very wondrously entangled together, and cannot wash away, —

Around here, it abounds very much with fish of three kinds but are quite different in taste and fashion than on other coasts. It are all low, little coral-like islands and rocks, except 2 to 3 large islands, on one of which they had found, a long time before we came here, 2 pits with water. But these same pits have become very brackish or salty during the time that we have been here, so that it is undrinkable, and on the other, at which the yacht had been riding, we have, by burning off the wild growth or thicket, also found very adventurously, or luckily, 2 pits with water, because, as I have told before on the [blank] of last month, there was above only a small hole, in which a man's arm did fit, and below was a whole cistern or water basin underground, of which we made the hole above so big with Crowbars and sledge hammers, that one could properly scoop out the water, — Besides this, on these islands there are large numbers of cats, which is a wondrous fashion or creature, as big as a hare¹¹¹, the head looks like a civet cat, the little front-feet are very short, about the length of a finger on which are five little claws or tiny fingers, as an ape's fore-paw, and the 2 hind legs are at least half an ell¹¹² long, on which they walk with the weight on the flat of the leg, so that they are not fast in walking. The tail is very long, as that of a meerkat¹¹³, when they eat they sit on their hind feet and take the food in the little fore-paws and eat as the squirrels or apes do. Their reproduction or procreation is very wondrous, yes, noteworthy. Below the belly the females have a pouch into which one can put a hand, and inside she has her nipple. In there we have found that her young grow with the nipple in its mouth, and have found so lying in it, that were only the seize of a bean, and the limbs of the beastie, entirely proportioned, alive, so that it is certain that they grow there on the nipple of the mammae and suckle their food

¹¹¹ *Catten*: in Modern Dutch *katten*, this is the first description of an Australian marsupial. It can be noted that Pelsaert began the myth that the young grew at the nipples, an idea that lingered for 300 years.

¹¹² The Dutch ell [spelled *el*] was a measure often used for the length and width of fabrics, for instance canvass. It was based on the length of a person's underarm from the tip of the pink to the tip of the elbow and measured 68 centimetres.

¹¹³ Meerkat is a South African carnivore, covered with reddish fur, head and body a foot long, bushy greyish tail a foot long. A name also given to 'Madagascar cat' or lemur, which seems the more likely comparison.

<p>On 16 d°.</p>	<p>until they are grown up and can walk, yet, although being grown up much, they still creep into the pouch and the mother walks off with them, if one chases them —</p> <p>Some grey turtledoves¹¹⁴ also keep on these 2 islands, but otherwise so animals or fruits, there falls not, but thickets, non or little grass, — This and all the aforesaid has been experienced and has happened here around these <i>Abrolhos</i>. Therefore shall turn to the main Southland, towards which we sail, and at about midday, came close under the land, where we stood along at about half a mile off the beach under small sail, to see if we could get sight of any people or signs, until in the afternoon when we saw on the high land a little smoke rising, but vanished straight away, nevertheless, anchored there at 21 fathoms, clean sand ground, to see if it was the skipper with his men, but the smoke stayed away and no one appeared on the beach, by which we saw that it had been the inhabitants, who did not dare to show themselves; remained lying at anchor, because it blew hard, until —</p> <p>in the morning, when we weighed our anchor again, the wind S.S. East, a topsail breeze, sailed again with small sail, close along the shore a <i>Cartouw</i> shot¹¹⁵ from the breakers; towards midday noticed the small bight, where, on 8 June when we were with the longboat in search of water, we wanted to go into, but due to a Northwestern storm which befell us, were in great danger of sinking, and God us then so remarkably saved. Here we saw several smokes rising up, and were altogether elated that our own folks might be there, therefore I have immediately sent the <i>schuijt</i> to the land to get certain information about this place and the smokes, who found there, around a steep headland, where we surmised to be water, a down flowing water, which down at the seaside was brackish, but up ahead was fresh. They also saw many footsteps of people and small footpaths continuing to the mountains, with multiple smokes, but the blacks kept themselves hidden and revealed themselves to nobody, — Before this, when we were roving here with the boat, we were also close under the land, but at this place have seen neither people nor smoke. Because of this good opportunity, I have let the two sentenced delinquents, to wit, Wouter Loos and Jan Pelgrom de Bij van Bommel, ply with a <i>champan</i>¹¹⁶, provided with everything, to this land.</p>
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¹¹⁴ Undoubtedly the Brush Bronzewing.

¹¹⁵ *Cortouw schot* = *kartouwschot* is a cannon shot with a range of about 2000 meter using a cannon that shoots an iron ball of 48 pounds.

¹¹⁶ See footnote 106.

	May God grant that it will be of service to the Company and that God may grant them a good result, in order to once know for certain, what happens in these lands, — This small bight is situated in the latitude of 27 degrees 51 minutes. After midday, because there was no hope, or probability to find the skipper, have made sail, and shaped our course N. West, two points from the coast, because a stiff wind sprang up, and in the evening we stood at West North
On 17 d ^o .	West, — at Midday, the Southern latitude of 26 degrees, 40 minutes, course W.N. West, the wind at South, a topsail breeze, —
On 18 d ^o .	at noon, the southern latitude of 25 degrees, 49 minutes, course W.N. West, the wind S.S. West, a topsail breeze, —
On 19 d ^o .	the ^w southerly, a weak topsail breeze, at the midday did not have a latitude, this 24 hours have sailed, on account, 30 miles, made good W.N.W., our course now shaped at
On 20 d ^o .	N. West, — the Wind S.E. a weak topsail breeze, course N. West, this midday have had no latitude, but on account, have sailed 30 miles, —
On 21 d ^o .	the Wind S. East, a weak topsail breeze, course N. West, this midday, have had no latitude, but on account, have sailed 30 miles, it makes here a very dark overcast sky with a dry south east Wind —
On 22 d ^o .	in the morning our course shaped at North, and North by east in order to get sight of the <i>Cocus</i> Islands. The Wind S. East, a topsail breeze. This 24 hours have sailed, on account, 36 miles. At midday had no latitude due to dark sky.
On 23 d ^o .	at midday the Southern latitude of 18 degrees, the wind E.S.E., a topsail breeze, this 24 hours, on account, sailed 36 miles. Course North and North by East, —
On 24 d ^o .	at midday the southern latitude of 15 degrees 30 minutes, the wind E.S.E., a topsail breeze. This 24 hours sailed 37 miles. Course North and North by East, —
On 25 d ^o .	the Wind East, a topsail breeze, at midday have had no latitude, but on account, this 24 hours sailed 30 miles, made good North —

On 26 d ^o .	the Wind East, from the 25 th , until the first quarter of the night, when it shortened to North North East, a hard gale, so that could not carry any sail, but laid it a hull. It was raining the whole night and today until after the midday, Therefore have not had latitude. In the afternoon the wind abated and was at northward, made the topsails and cast about to the eastward, until we saw some seaweed floating from the Cocus Islands, till in the night when again it began to blow hard that the topsails had to be taken in till —
On 27 d ^o .	in the morning, the Wind North east, but again a strong breeze, and tacked about to N.N.W. with a topsail breeze, the Wind sprang up hard from the northward. At midday had latitude of 12 degrees 3 minutes. Found us now past the <i>Cocus</i> Islands which we have doubled close by, but have not seen them —
On 28 d ^o .	in the morning the Wind has veered East, so that we could sail North and N.N. East, with lovely weather and smooth water, at noon had the latitude of 10 degrees 58 minutes this 24 hours made good N.N. West —
On 29 d ^o .	in the morning the wind shifted S. East, So that we can now reach standing in our course North East towards <i>Sumatra</i> , at midday had the latitude of 10 degrees 2 minutes, have made good this 24 hours N.E. by North, and sailed 17 miles with nice, calm and lovely light weather. the wind S.E. and S.S. East with fine and lovely weather, with smooth water and little wind. At midday the latitude of 8 degrees 40 minutes, course, North East, accounted to have sailed 37 miles.
On 30 d ^o .	the Wind and Course as before, with as yet fine lovely weather, and smooth water. At midday had the latitude of 7 degrees 52 minutes, thus made account [to have] sailed 17 miles.
On P ^o . December	the wind S.S. East, Course North East, a slack breeze as before, at midday had the latitude of 7 degrees, this 24 hours have sailed 18 miles, from now on our course made good N.E. by East,
On 2 d ^o .	

Because the delinquents, written below, like the other previously convicted persons, on the islands near the wrecked ship *Batavia*, have committed offences in obeying the villain Jeronimus Cornelissen, forgetting their oath and loyalty by which they were under obligation to the General Company, our Lord Masters, But on the contrary, quitting the same, have obliged themselves, so with signatures, as swearing of oaths, to be obedient to such one, of whom they could sufficiently notice that his procedures could neither be or be justified before God or Worldly Authorities, as also have conducted themselves very wilfully without humanity after the loss of the ship, Wherefore some have been kept in custody a long time, to bring them thus to the Hon. Lord General at *Batavia*, — Then because they emphatically asked, as have also the commoners pleaded for them, that one might cleanse their faults or delicts committed with befitting punishment here on the ship, pleading for pardon and to spare their lives, So has the Commander called into meeting the council about this, whether one could completely dispatch of the same here on the ship, without falling into disgrace with the Hon. Lord General, or whether one should leave open their cases until arriving at *Batavia*, to engage therewith the discretion of the Hon. Lord General. Which has been weighed utmost by the council and after long discussions in deliberation, reached, finally resolved and agreed, in view of that all principal criminal offences have been disposed of heretofore for security of the Company's ship and goods, and the culprits have been executed, that one shall cleanse here also those of far lesser weight, in order not to trouble further the Hon. Lord General in his manifold engagements, as obviously we fear, though hope Not, that the Javanese war¹¹⁷ is causing him enough heartaches, — To sentence and condemn here on the ship, the next following persons, to wit, —

Daniel Cornelissen of Luijck, *adelborst* aged about 21 years, who on the 4 July with the first drowning of people, has willingly let himself be used, and was to go, besides Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Lenert Michielsz, with the biggest raft, to go drown Jan Cornelissen of Amesvoort, Thomas Wensel, and Hendrick Janssen of Oldenburgh, whom, on the raft, they have bound hands and feet, and has he, Daniel, thrown overboard the aforesaid Hendrick Janssen of Oldenburgh, alias *Mafken* [dull-head], Moreover on the 5 July, when Egbert Roeloffs and Warnar Dicxsx carpenters, were slain,

¹¹⁷ See note 26.

he, Daniel, besides others, has also ran right through the foresaid Warnar with a foil, about which he has prided himself later, saying it went through him as if it had been greased, — So that the aforesaid Daniel was reckoned to be one of the accomplices of Jeronimus Cornelisz and Coenraat van Huyssen with his consorts, In view of that, being assured of his willingness, have they sent him on 23 July with a letter translated into French to the High Island where the fugitives, or defending were¹¹⁸, to there corrupt into treason certain French soldiers, as appears at large from the same letter being handed to us — Then the selfsame noticing the false intention, have held Daniel prisoner until the time that we arrived with the yacht, and so has been handed over to us, —

All of which Criminal delicts are not without much fear for falling into disgrace with the Hon. Lord General if, at the highest, he is not to be given death. Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, counting on the clemency of the Hon. Lord General, who prefer grace instead of rigour of Justice, have therefore, because of several considerations, not wanted to prosecute with him to the fullest, But have sentenced him likewise they sentence him herewith, that with this suitable opportunity and weather he shall be keel-hauled 3 times and after that be flogged before the mast with 200 lashes, with confiscation of all his earned monthly wages, which he has earned since the fatherland until the present day to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters, — Also —

Hans Jacob Heijlweck of Basel *adelborst*, aged about 23 years, who on the 15 July¹¹⁹, besides other villains, has let himself be used on Seals Island, at the time when the first group of 18 men were slain there, that he, besides Davidt Zevanck and his consorts, being there and the sign for murder given, when Coenraat van Huijssen grabbed the assistant Cornelis Jansz of Amsterdam and Cornelis van Huijssen struck the said Cornelis Jansz over the shoulder with his foil, but he wrestled it from him, so Hans Jacops stepped forward and stabbed the assistant on the run with a pike in his pants, on intent to run him through, but he escaped on a small raft or some timbers that lay there, — After that he has dragged all the dead, up to 15 in number or more, into the water, —

Further, on the 5 August in the morning on the High Island Wouter Loos and the said Hans Jacopsz were ordered by Jeronimus and Davidt Zevanck to go and slay Jan Willemsz Selijns cooper, but when Wouter Loos came to the cooper, his heart tormented him, so that he

¹¹⁸ The island of Wiebe Hayes, here the distinction between that island and the island below which the yacht Sardam anchored.

¹¹⁹ In the manuscript July 18 has been changed into July 15.

	<p>he could not do it. But warned Jan Willemsz that he should watch out, for they had ordered that he should slay him, — In the afternoon of the same day Mattijs Beer, Leenert Michielsz, Lucas Gillisz and Hans Jacops were ordered to go and slay Mr. Frans Jansz of Hoorn, which they accepted well-willingly, and having led him a little away under the pretext of going to look for seals, Leenert Michielsz first ran him right through the body with a pike, after that Hans Jacops smote him in the head with a morning star, so that he fell down, and Mattijs Beijr further cleaved his head with his sabre. All which Criminal offences, as above, well deserve to be punished with death. But the Commander and the council after having utmostly weighed and debated the matter, applying grace instead of rigour of Justice, have sentenced the aforesaid Hans Jacops, likewise he is sentenced herewith, that with the first opportunity he shall be keel-hauled 3 times, and be flogged before the mast with 100 lashes, with confiscation of 6 months of wages to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters, — Also</p> <p>Cornelis Jansen of Haarlem, alias <i>Boon</i> [BEAN] shipmate, aged about 18 years, who, because of his innate, and inveterate corruptness, on 14 May 1629 on the ship <i>Batavia</i> south of the <i>Cabo de Bone Esperansa</i>, [let] him [be used] by the high boatswain Jan Evertsz of Monickendam, for a shameful act committed that night by these fellows on ditto ship, on a woman's person, to wit, that he, the said <i>Boon</i>, besides Ryckert Woutersz of Harlingen gunner, Jan Jansz Purmer of Amsterdam gunner, Harman Nanninxsz quartermaster, Dirck Gerrits of Harderwijck, Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, Abraham Hendricxsz gunner, in the evening, between light and dark, have seized Lucretia Jansz widow¹²⁰ of Boudewijn van der Mijlen, when coming out of the cabin from table, and have thrown her down on the <i>stierplecht</i> (steering deck)¹²¹ and have dragged her from there onto the orlop, and there have besmeared her face as also under her clothes with black shit and other filth until they had cooled their wicked lust, with yet much other wantonness which they have committed on ditto ship, which, through the mischievous procedures of the skipper and other officers, which from the beginning before that time were not well to remedy, because, for the betterment of God, their design was to seize the ship. — Hereafter the ship has been wrecked, — so has this Cornelis Jansz moreover not only used wantonness in drunk drinking, and such-like acts, but also, besides other scoundrels, has let him there the wine be poured and to that end, chased out who belonged in there,</p>
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¹²⁰The knowledge of Van der Mijlen's death is displayed in this assessment, in their evidence the men trialled earlier would not have known of this fact, although it was known in Batavia.

¹²¹ The *stierplecht*, or *stuurplecht* on a 17th century Dutch ship was the particular part of the deck from which the tiller of the rudder was worked. In case of the *Batavia* a so-called whip-staff was used for that purpose which pivoted in a fulcrum, or rowl, by which means the tiller was shifted. Apparently, immediately aft of the *stuurplecht*, there was the main (or great) cabin where Lucretia had just had a meal. Extending forward of the *stuurplecht* the deck was called *overloop* which translates as orlop, and was the general name given to the full length of the deck. In *Batavia*'s case this would have been the second deck up from the hold.

As also sticking the hat and pleats of the pants full with knives, and when anyone contradicted his opinion, threw at him a knife to cut, — Moreover, he was also to be found with the plundering of the Commander's trunk from which he desired his share, the which has been given him, amongst which was a gold medallion with the portrait of his princely excellency¹²² cut out in stone of agate and garnished round about which he kept until the next day; then he laid it in his cap with some other stuff as well and threw it into the sea, saying, there lies the rubbish, even if it is worth that many thousands, — These and more suchlike pieces of roguery, too long to narrate here, have been committed by him, which well ought to be punished at the highest, yes, with death, —

Nevertheless the Commander and the council, after having duly weighed his delicts and drawn its consequences, prefer grace in place of rigour of Justice, — Therefore, have only sentenced him, likewise they sentence him herewith, that with the first opportunity or suitable weather, one shall keel-haul him 3 times, thereafter to be flogged with 150 lashes before the mast, with confiscation of 18 months of wages to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters,

— Also —

Jean Thirion of Heijdelbergh soldier, aged about 38 years, who after the wrecking of the ship *Batavia* has offended heavily and gone beside himself, staying on the same ship despite he had been ordered to go aland, when that day all the people, had they been willing to, could amply come ashore, but some have cast the white of their eyes upon drunk drinking, others upon plundering; for sake of that objective, aforesaid Thirion has stayed on board as well, and the next day has dared to hack open with an adze one of the Company's money chests, which were placed above to be salvaged, and was at last driven away from there; and was a piece of plank nailed on again by the carpenter Hendrick Jansz, whereupon others have come, who knocked off the nailed down plank again, and so mostly emptied out the whole chest, and in the end through drunkenness, have thrown the money at each other's heads. Whereof he, the aforesaid Thirion, has been the principal author or foregoer, and as there was no lack of disciples in mischief to follow him, it has caused the whole chest to be miscarried and

¹²² This is Prince Frederik Hendrik, the Stadholder.

nothing of it has been found, at the great cost and damage of the Company, Which is a matter that well ought to be punished with death; that instead of protecting the goods of his masters, wilfully destroyed the same, does deserves to be punished at the highest, yes with death, — Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, after having duly weighed his delicts and drawn its consequences, prefer grace in place of rigour of Justice, — Therefore have only sentenced him likewise they sentence him herewith, that with the first opportunity, or suitable weather, one shall keel-haul him 3 times; thereafter to be flogged with 100 lashes before the mast, with confiscation of 6 months of wages, to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters, — Also —

Andries Liebendt of Oldenburgh soldier aged about 19 years, who, besides the murderers, being commanded by Davidt Zevanck on the 21 July on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, to also stand by at the ready in the evening, to help murder the family of the *predikant*, which he did not refuse, but, with an axe in the hand as was the weapon of all, had him found near the tent, then because he came a little too late, and Davidt Zevanck with his peers were already engaged inside with the murdering, the aforesaid Andries stayed outside because the tent was too full of folks, but when they began to murder, he took from the kettle with seal's meat, which hung over the fire cooking, some meat, wrapped it in a cloth and took off with it, —

Also on 30 July, he, besides Jan Hendricxs, has been called by Jeronimus into his tent, who ordered that they should go and strangle Anneken Hardens, housewife of Hans Hardens, to whom they have gone; meanwhile, Gijsbrecht van Welden came to help, who made a noose from her hair-cord and Jan Hendricxs throttled her throat shut, and he Andries sat on her legs, —

Moreover, in the end he has been one of the principal mutineers, murmuring that they did not any longer want rationing of water, but desired to fight against the defenders, or to die, so that he has excelled, so in words as by his red clothes, garnered with many golden passementeries wherein he has also needlessly consumed the Company goods. All of which are delicts are of very

harmful consequences which well ought to be punished at the highest. Nevertheless the Commander and the council, after having drawn and earnestly weighed the matter in ample deliberation, on account of diverse insights, prefer nevertheless grace instead of rigour of Justice, namely to have sentenced him likewise they sentence him herewith, that [he] shall fall 3 times from the yardarm and be flogged with 100 lashes before the mast, — Moreover, with confiscation of 6 months of wages to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters, —As also —

Hans Frederick of Bremen soldier aged about 18 years, who on the 5 July has gone very unchristian-like beside himself, showing to also want to be one of the well-willing followers of the murderers. To wit, that when Egbert Roelofs and Warnar Dirx carpenters, were hacked to death on the island *Batavia's Graveyard*, so the aforesaid Hans Fredrick has also given 2 to 3 hacks to Warnar, — And because he has often, yes most of the time, been ill, he has never more, probably to his own regret, been an evildoer, although he too has been counted amongst the number of armed in the *Jongers* ¹²³ tent. But has let himself be used well-willingly in the fight against the defenders. Which above mentioned well-willing inclination, which he has shown at first still being healthy, in helping to hack dead, is a delict of very harmful wickedness, which well ought to be punished at the highest, Nevertheless the Commander and the council, after they have drawn and weighed the matter in ample deliberation, on account of diverse insights, prefer however grace instead of rigour of Justice. To wit, sentence him likewise sentencing him herewith, that he shall fall 3 times from the main yard, and be flogged with 100 lashes before the mast, — Moreover, with confiscation of 6 months of wages to the benefit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters, — Also —

Olivier van Welderen of Nimwegen *adelborst* aged about 22 years, who, on the island *Batavia's Graveyard*, notwithstanding to have been ill most of the time, nevertheless has offended and gone beside himself so in deeds as words, namely, that on the aforesaid island, he has slept on 2. different times with Sussie Fredricx, married woman, and done his will, in such conjunction, that what was desired of her could not be refused if she wanted to save her life. On the other hand, he, Olivier, being the eldest brother of Gijsbert van Welderen, one of the principal murderers and rogues who were of intent to seize the ship *Batavia*,


¹²³ In the manuscript the words *Joncker's tent* are used, meaning the tent of young noblemen. This is most likely a misspelling of *Jongers' tent*, the tent of the youngsters, of whom many were killed on 15 July. Therefore the untranslated word *Jongers'* is here used.

the aforesaid Olivier was overlooked, —Moreover, not being satisfied that he had done his wicked will with her, he has several times, so ashore, as here on the ship, prided himself on this, belying the woman that she had offered it him, or solicited for it, which is a matter of very harmful consequence, which in ship of justice cannot or ought not be suffered, but be punished, as an example to others. Therefore the Commander and the council, after they have paid attention to the matter, sentenced the aforesaid Olivier likewise they sentence him herewith, that he shall fall 3 times from the yard, [and] be flogged with 100 lashes before the mast — as also

Jan Renow de Miombrij, soldier aged about 22 years, one of the defenders. Nevertheless, quickly forgetting his state of misery in which he had been, he has, shortly after our arrival, in words, gone rudely beside himself. To wit, that Sussien Fredricx, besides Anneken Bosschieters, on the 20 September, having gone to the High Island¹²⁴ had to stay there for 2 days due to bad weather or hard wind. In which time the aforesaid Jean Renouw has come into a tent where about 10 to 12 persons sat together, saying here is something new. Wiebbe Hayes has slept today with Zussien, mentioning the place where it would have happened. After that the trumpeter Cornelis Pietersz has also come there, who has done his will with her as well, after that I have gone with her myself and have also done it 2 times, mentioning the places and occasions where the same would have happened altogether on one day, — Moreover, saying that she had put him up to some mischief, Which lies or fabrications have spread immediately, and the woman was daily blamed that she had done it, — Therefore have paid attention to this matter and sentenced the aforesaid Jean Renouw, who renounces the same and denies that he has ever said it, then because there are 8 to 10 credible witnesses who have heard him saying it, conclude his renouncement and [denial] to be great lies. Which is a matter of very harmful consequence, to defame someone with lies, which to make these yet more credible, he not only asserted that others had done their will with the woman, but prided himself that he likewise had come to that, Thus the Commander and the council, after they have paid attention to the matter, sentenced the aforesaid Jean Renouw likewise they sentence him herewith, that he shall fall 3 times from the yard and be flogged with 100 lashes before the mast, as an example to others — as also —

¹²⁴This is Wiebe Hayes island.

Isbrant Isbrantsen of Purmerent assistant, aged about 20 years, who on the 24 July, was commanded besides Reynder Hendriksen steward, and Gerrit Willemsz of Enchuysen, shipmate, to go with Jacop Pietersz Cosijn of Amsterdam *lanspesaat*, in the *schuijtgien* to help rowing, with the order of Jeronimus to the said Jacop, that he should fetch 3 *Jongers*, who, with the slaying of the folks on the seals island, had very subtly hidden themselves, and who, being some days later, had shown up again, and to have 2 of the same drowned, but should spare one, who would throw the others overboard, the which Jacop Pietersz has carried out, and fetched the *Jongers*. Being under way, he quietly ordered Claas Harmansz *hooploper*, one of the 3, that he should get the *Jongers* to sit on the board of the *schuijt* and then push them overboard, what Claas did to one. But the other, seeing that one wanted to do with him as with his mate, wrestled and would not sit on the board. Wherefore Jacop Pietersz ordered IJsbrant, who was sitting next at the oar, that he should help the boy, what IJsbrant has done without protest, seizing him by a leg, and Claas Harmensz threw him so overboard also, — And because the aforesaid Isbrant has otherwise not offended before or after, Therefore the Commander and the council, for sake of these insights, did not wish to prosecute him to the fullest, But have sentenced him likewise they sentence him herewith, that he shall fall 3 times from the yard, and shall be flogged with 50 lashes before the mast ———
Thus done and decided on the yacht *Sardam* this 30 November Anno 1629 ———

FranC^o: Pelsart
Claes Gerritsz
Salomon Deschampsz ¹²⁵
Sijmon IJopzoon
This is the mark of
Jan  Willensz
Visch

¹²⁵ It should be noted that Deschamps, a fortnight after his presumed keel-hauling and flogging, is still on the council and signing the final trial document.

On 3 December	in the morning with the day, God be thanked and praised, have seen the Princen Islands, with the east headland of <i>Java</i> , and had the island <i>Cracatoun</i> E.N. east of us, the wind S.E. so that we could not sail closer than E.N.E., in the day it fell calm, and after the midday, the wind shifted south and we casted about near windward, in the night came abreast the coast of <i>Java</i> , till —
On 4 d ^o .	in the morning, when we were abreast <i>Angier</i> , but it fell very calm until the afternoon, that the wind was at S.W., a fine breeze, but the current ran so fast from the west, that we gained only 3 miles for the whole day, until in the night when the flood came, with which we have drifted past <i>Bantham</i> , and found ourselves —
On 5 d ^o .	in the morning near the Man Eaters Island, with a fine land wind, and have at last, God have thanks and praise for our safe journey, arrived back in the roads of Batavia late in the afternoon.

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	<p>Declaration in short; the origin, wherefore, and to what intention, Jeronimus Cornelissen under-merchant, came to resolve to murder all the people, with their diverse designs, and how the matter, so at first as in the end,</p> <p>has happened —</p> <p>Jeronimus Cornelissen, having made himself a great friend and highly familiar with the skipper Ariaan Jacops, melted their humour, mind, and feelings into one mass, the skipper being bestowed with haughty conceitedness, Ambitious, why would not suffer well anyone's authority above. Moreover, scoffish and despiser of all people. Furthermore, inexperienced or incompetent in associating with people, except only by way of touching upon his sea-faring. But Jeronimus on the contrary, was gabbing well, giving his usual words of lie an appearance of truth, far more sly and cunning in associating with people, because in Holland, or at Haarlem, he had been a disciple or companion of <i>Torentius</i>¹²⁶ whose opinion or kind of belief, was still imprinted on him, yea, did not profess to any religion, such that Jeronimus was the tongue of the skipper and served him as a pedagogue to insinuate what he should answer if I wanted to tell him something or reprimand him, according to his own confession made voluntarily. — That at the <i>Cabo de Bona Esperansa</i>, when I had gone inland to search for beasts, the skipper, besides Jeronimus, taking Zwaantien along, had gone ashore without my knowledge, moreover, at the yacht <i>Sardam</i>, and after that at the ship <i>Bueren</i> conducted himself most beastly, so in words as in deeds, that they were obliged to complain about it. — Therefore the next morning, in the cabin, in the presence of Jeronimus and more others, I have punished the skipper for his bad procedures he had begun to carry out, so with reprimands and threats, that if he did not want to distance himself, would have to be acted on, ere we came to <i>Batavia</i>. He excused himself that on the one hand he had been drunk, on the other hand that he did not know that one would resent this, — The same day, a short time after this happened, the skipper went above to Jeronimus and said, by God, if those ships were not lying there, I would treat that miserly dog so much so that he could not get out of his bunk for 14 days (and were I a bit younger, I set to work something else) that, when we had weighed our anchors, I would make haste to be away from the ships, Whereupon Jeronimus asked, how would he be able to do that, because the steersmen are on watch, and you have only the day watch, he answered, I will manage, even if I did it on my watch, and will then be quickly Master of the ship, repeating more times, were I a bit younger, I set something else to work, whereupon</p>
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¹²⁶ It has not been possible to confirm this and we have to take Pelsaert's word for it.

Jeronimus at last asked, what would it then be, if you were younger? But for the time being he would not speak out about it, then a few days after, they again came into a conversation, and he told all of the above again to Jeronimus, Were I younger, I would not think it over so long, as I do now, Whereupon Jeronimus protested strongly, so if he did not tell him, that he doubted his perfect friendship, At last the big word came out, that he would make himself master of such an excellent and rich ship as never in his life had sailed from *Amsterdam*, to try his luck with it for a year or 2, they for sure would all be rich fellows, that *Kamphaan*¹²⁷ could not be likened to them. Which intention Jeronimus immediately accepted and approved as good, asking him if it could that one would bring about such thing without great peril, so the skipper answered, I shall get most of the officers on my side with the principal shipmates, and regarding the soldiers, we shall nail shut their cote at night, until we are masters. And was also decided to throw overboard or slay the Commander with all the people except for 120 stout men, depending how the opportunity would present itself, Then shortly hereafter I became very ill, that I did not think otherwise, but I would die, as they by the way hoped, but after 20 days lying down, I began to get better, contrary to their opinion, and it was on 13 May that I got up for the first time, at which the skipper and Jeronimus, seeing their intended design fail, which they could have been accomplished so much easier) thought of a means to set to work, which would not only affect a disturbance, but also put to the test the loyalty of those who would carry out the same, to so gradually bring the affair into the open, — That is, because the skipper was very hateful of a woman named Lucretia Jansz, whom he had tried to entice to his will for some time, in which he had not succeeded, therefore taking to extreme bitterness towards her, preferring her maid-servant Zwaentien Hendrixen for his pastime or by whom to do his will, who very willingly accepted the caresses of the skipper and refused him not, whatsoever he desired. Then the mutual love of them flourished so much, that he did not regard the honour and reputation of his office, but had sworn, according to the confessions of Jeronimus, whomsoever caused the said Zwaantien a sour face, so to speak, he would not leave it unavenged, — At last, at the *Cabo*, being away from the ships, he casted away from her from the neck the name of maid-servant, promising her

¹²⁷ Kamphaan: Claes Compaen, pirate who was active in this period.

that she would yet see the demise of her mistress and more others, and that he wanted to make her into a great lady. At last the skipper and Jeronimus, in the presence and with the fore-knowledge of the said Zwaantgien, decided after long debates and discourses, what disgrace they could best bring upon the aforesaid woman, that would be the most scandalous and strongest resented by the Commander, in order that meanwhile through her, when they would punish the perpetrators, a confusion might be sought, Jeronimus propounded one should give her across both cheeks, a cut with a knife, which could be done by one person, and few would perceive that it came from their proceedings, — The skipper on the other hand, thought it were better that there were many perpetrators, then the Commander could not punish the lot, or there would come to be brought about a tumult, and if the Commander should let it go by unnoticed, then there was always time enough to give her cuts on the cheeks. At last they decided that they would give the order for this job to the chief boatswain, whom they had already enticed to everything, so to the seizing of the ship, as all that they might order him, — That is that in the evening, she would be besmeared in the face and whole body, with shit, blacking and other filth by a band of folks whom the chief boatswain would choose for that (which they did carry out the 14 May in the evening between light and dark), which the Commander took greatly amiss (although still being very sick, and investigated exceedingly who had been the perpetrators of it. Because of many circumstances he had noticed during his illness, he foremost held that the skipper was the Author of the work, This has been the true objective why they have inflicted it, Had the Chief boatswain give out that, Rather than that one would punish the folks, or made to suffer for sake of women or whores, the skipper shall never in his life allow it. Meantime, came to talk to some of those who had had been the culprits, that they wanted to seize the ship and now had the occasion and opportunity. So when the Commander should want to put the culprits of the fact into irons, that they would have then jumped with their sabres into the cabin and hurled the Commander overboard, and so forth would have made themselves Masters of the ship, to which end they also had already some of the soldiers devoted to them. But have not been able to arrive at the complete number of those who have known of this, because they did not know one another. Hereafter the ship happened to be wrecked, and because of some displeasure that the skipper had caused to Rijckert Woutersz, one of the principal accomplices, who, when he got ashore, told in public what they had intended to do, complaining very much about the skipper, and that he, for his sake, had slept for some days with the sabre under his head, and for that had now been very ill rewarded by him¹²⁸. Jeronimus Cornelisz, who was still on the ship, and due to the strong breakers could not get off, stayed for 8 days so on the ship as in the spritsail top¹²⁹ (after we had gone with the boat

¹²⁸ Woutersz was probably referring to the departure of the skipper without him.

¹²⁹ The *blinde marsse*, or spritsail top is the small top or crows' nest at the forward end of the bowsprit. The presence of this spritsail top also indicates that the Batavia had a spritsail topsail and mast.

in search of water) because he could not swim. At last, coming ashore, understood that it altogether had been rumoured abroad about the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, Therefore was from that time on practising such devilish auxiliary means, that he would not have to come to *Batavia*, carrying this out very subtly and gradually, that in the first 20 days it could not be perceived, but for the 4 July, when a soldier named Abraham Hendricx of Delft, who had tapped several times from the leaguer of Wine and had drank himself drunk, as also had shared it with a gunner Arian Ariaansz, so that he was also drunk. Wherefore Jeronimus called into meeting his council which he then had, and propounded that they were both worthy of death without grace or delay, and one should drown them forthwith. The council assented to it in case of Abraham Hendricxz because he had tapped from the barrel, but in regards of the other, Arian Ariansz, who was given it, had some insight, therefore made difficulties, and could not agree to sentence him to death also. Why then Jeronimus burst out and said, how can ye not help to agree, thou shalt as yet have to resolve something else, at which words everyone was apprehensive, and could not figure what he meant by that, —Then the next day he dismissed his council, and elected for his new council, such persons who accorded with his humour, to wit, Coenraat van Huijssen, *adelborst*, who would also have been one of the conspirators in the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, the second Davidt van Zevanck assistant, the third Jacop Petersz Cosijn, *lanspesaat*, Herewith, the next day after their election, he brought to bear the beginning of the murdering, namely of 4 men whom he had secretly drowned, succeeding with it as they wished, Next resolved, by adequate means, to do away with all the rest except for 30 to 40 of the stoutest, although there was no small risk with the execution of the same, because if the good ones had perceived, that it altogether concerned their lives, they could certainly have put up resistance. But they prevented such, by choosing 20 to 24 of the most willing for this work, who divided themselves over 2 tents with their weapons and took away all the weapons from those who had any. Following the good success of this trial piece with the above 4 men whom they had drowned, they continued daily with their design so with secretly drowning, and slaying, and when someone asked where the missing were, they made the folks believe that they had been sent to the high land, but this cloak was soon uncovered, whereupon out of fear, everyone sought to escape on timbers and small rafts to the High Island 2 ½ miles from the wreck, where some persons had sailed to in the first instance, to look for water, with an arranged sign, if they

were to find water, they would make 3 fires; where, after having been there some days, they found 2 hidden pits with water, and therefore at several places made 3 fires which were seen enough by Jeronimus and all the folks, but because they were engaged in murdering, which began the 4th of July, and lasted until 21 ditto, when they had reduced the number to 40, — Therefore had no interest in water. Meanwhile there were in those days about 45 persons, so fugitives as those who were sent there at first gathered on the High Island, — When the intention of Jeronimus and his council had thus far been effectuated, they then pronounced that they would seize the first-coming yacht that came to collect them, and was resolved that they would have first let the boat with the officers come ashore, whom they could then easily slay, and then in the night they would go with that same boat, and take possession of the yacht, which in their opinion could not fail, would then have plied for booty for a length of time, and after that, when they were rich enough, they wanted to sail into the Strait, or Spain¹³⁰. But before that they had to overpower those escaped folks on the High Island, and put them out of the way, for Jeronimus propounded that if the yacht came through on the inside, so would they be warned by them. — Therefore they prepared for war to fight with them, but they could not win against the defenders, and went without success. A few days after that they prepared themselves again with all the men-folks¹³¹ they then had, who only numbered 32, then again their party had no chance, — Therefore they changed their tack to making peace with them, and the opportunity arising, surprise attack them by treason. Which accord Jeronimus brought about through the *domini* (the *predikant*)¹³² who went back and forth. To wit, that Jeronimus would give them cloth for clothes, on the other hand the defenders would give back the *schuijtgien* that one fugitive had taken along. Wherefore Jeronimus went to fetch the cloth, saying with great joy to his folks they were as yet confident that he had those people already for sure in his hands, — The next day Jeronimus returned, and besides 5 of the principal murderers and accomplices, went with the cloth ashore to the defenders, who handed it there out, and made the folks believe very many lies, saying that he did not want to harm anyone, that it was only for the water that he had waged war against them, and they did not need to be distrustful of him, because some had been slain, for those had been mutineers and rogues who had well deserved it, But most of the people he still left on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, because he could not carry them in the 2 *schuijten*.
Meanwhile, Davidt and the others who had come with Jeronimus, were engaged to bribe some of the stoutest into treason, promising each six thousand guilders, if they would fall in with their side, moreover they would also, besides themselves, have a share in the jewels, portraying their luck, which was at hand, as extreme,

¹³⁰ ..*inde Straat ofte Spangnien*: ...into the Strait of Gibraltar, or to Spain.

¹³¹ Above *volk* [FOLKS] is written *mannen* [MEN].

¹³² Gijsbert Bastiaensz.

Therewith the defenders put their heads together, whereas it lay to treason, that they had to be vigilant, resolved they wanted to take them prisoner, which they carried out, and started to tie them up, then one of them ran off —The murderers (who stood in arms on a small island close by the high land), seeing that their principal heads were captured, began to make themselves ready to attack and to relief them. For purpose of being better secured and that they would not hinder themselves with the prisoners, [they] did slay four of the principals and kept Jeronimus Cornelissen captive, in whose place another captain was forthwith chosen from the soldiers, named Wouter Loos, who 14 days after this happened, being the 17th September resolved once again to go fight the defenders. Although after 2 hours of fighting did also not advance on them other than that they gravely wounded 4 men with 2 muskets which they had, of whom one has later died. At the same time or hour when they were engaged in fighting, we appeared to them with the yacht, about which there was a great joy amongst the defenders, whereas on the contrary the hearts of the murderers were smitten with fear, seeing that their chances expired and their designs in-effectuated — Hereon, after the great joy which we had drawn from the smokes on the High Island¹³³ hoping to find a large group of people alive, we had to learn at great grief to the heart that more than 120 persons, so men, women, and children, had been woefully murdered, by drowning, strangling, hacking and throat-slitting, and had yet more in mind to do, which they would have brought to bear, had it not aggrieved the Almighty God Who halted their design and made all their intentions collapse, and having them taste their deserved punishment, and God's righteous judgement over their committed wickednesses, who for thus long found very great pleasure in having committed them, —

God the Almighty be thanked for the good outcome and the delivery of us all, *Amen* —

¹³³ Wiebe Hayes' island. In the diary entry of 17th September it is noted that there was no sign of life on the high island under which the *Sardam* dropped her anchor.