

*THE BATAVIA JOURNAL*  
*OF*  
*FRANÇOIS PELSAERT*

(ARA Document 1630:  
1098 QQ II, fol. 232-316)

Edited and translated by

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c[232 r] Sad daily notes on the loss of our ship *Batavia*, being sailed on the *Abrolhos* or Reef of Frederick Houtman, situated on the latitude of  $28 \frac{1}{3}$  degrees, 9 miles<sup>1</sup> from Southland on the

Fourth of June, being Monday morning, on the 2 day of Whitsuntide, with a bright clear full moon<sup>2</sup> about 2 hours before daybreak during the watch of the skipper, I was lying in my bunk feeling ill and felt suddenly, with a rough terrible movement, the bumping of the ship's rudder, and immediately after that I felt the ship held up in her course against the rocks, so that I fell out of my berth. Whereon I ran up and discovered that all the sails were in top, the wind south west, the course north east by north during that night, and were lying right in the middle of a thick spray. Round the ship there was only a little surf, but shortly after that one could hear the sea breaking hard round it. I said, skipper what have you done, that through your reckless carelessness you have run this noose round our necks. He answered, how could I do better? I did not sleep, but watched out very well, for when I saw the breakers in the distance I asked Hans the gunner<sup>3</sup>, what can that be? Whereupon he said, skipper it is the shine of the moon, upon which I trusted. I asked him some advise now, whereabouts he thought we were. He said, that only God knows, this is a shallow that must be lying quite a distance from the unknown land, and I think we are just on the tail of it. We must see now to put out an anchor at rear, perhaps it is low tide, so that we can wind it off. I asked him how deep it was there. He answered that he did not know. I ordered the lead to be fetched, which was in the cabin of the steersman, and I found that astern there was only 17 to 18 feet of water, but at the stem of the ship much less. At the moment, I did not know any better than that it was an unknown shallow in the sea as the skipper said. So we started to throw all our cannons overboard in order to make the ship lighter, and the *schuyt* [YAWL]<sup>4</sup> with the boat was put out, and I ordered them to sound round about, and found at an *pijlschot* [ARROW'S SHOT]<sup>5</sup> at the back of the ship 7 *vadem*[FATHOM] of water. But forwards very dry, we made *aworp*[KEDGE] anchor ready, to put out at the stern. Meanwhile it began to blow harder with showers, and the boat was smitten overboard by a gush, so that it floated quickly away and we had to send the yawl to help it row up. Before it could be put aboard it had become day and we found ourselves then surrounded by rocks and shallows on every side, and very suddenly by the fall of the waters (for we had sailed there by high tide) it began to surf and foam around the ship, so that through the bumping of the ship, one could not stand or walk. Therefore we decided to put overboard the main mast, in order that it would not immediately push into the ground<sup>6</sup>. But when it was cut down we found that it caused much damage, for we could not get it from aboard, so that we could not get the boat aboard due to the big surf. I saw no land that I thought would remain above at high water except an island that by guessing lay at least 3 miles from the ship, therefore I sent the skipper to 2 small islands or reefs not so far from the ship in order to see if there the people and some of the goods could be salved. About 9 the skipper returned because it was not really possible to get there through the rocks and the reef, for at one spot one could not get over the yawl, whilst at another it would be several fathoms deep. He reported that as far he could see the islands would not be flooded. Because of the great wailing that there was from the ship, by women, children, sick, and anxious people, we decided 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

chastised us with many rods, for in spite of all the zeal we made to cant the vessel to leeward or to fall, it turned out exactly the opposite [233 r] because of the uneven reef upon which it was set, which so caused it that the people could only come out of the ship very slowly. Secondly, the ship had already burst at 10 and all speed and skill had to be used to get some *broot* [BREAD]<sup>7</sup> out of the bread cabin. Of water we hoped to get enough but our goodwill and diligence were impeded by the godless unruly troops of soldiers, as well as sailors, and their likes whom I could not keep out of the hold on account of the liquor or wine, so that one could not get there and in the meantime the entire hold became flooded, so that hardly 1 1/2 *leggers* [LEAGUERS]<sup>8</sup> were filled with *kitten* [SMALL BARRELS or JUGS] and buckets and were ready on the deck of the ship. So that day went by and the boat had only done 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 *sloep* [SLOOP]<sup>9</sup>, who had taken to land a casket of jewels and some people, and said to me, it won't help that we take water and bread on shore, since everyone on land drinks as much as he can, and forbidding has no result unless you order it otherwise. Whereupon I jumped into the yawl on account of our water of which, as far as I could see would be very little available, moreover there was such a great number of people that it had to be better used, and with the intention of returning immediately in order according to our resolution to get the money from the ship with the next boat. But by God's Truth, I was scarcely from aboard then it began to blow so hard that it was outside human power to reach the ship with the boat. Yea, 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 of the islets, for we had been separated in the night into 2 parties, and I sailed from there in the sloop and the skipper in the boat, to go abroad, where I arrived at last about noon after much rowing, and the boat could [233 v] not sail up against the wind because it had no leeboards<sup>10</sup>, and it went back to the island. Also, on account of the big surf, for the waves broke over the poop, I could not come by the ship with the sloop. I remained a long time in the vicinity of the ship to wait for an opportunity to get aboard, but in vain. At last 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 with the request to help them, for there was no longer any safe place on the ship. How great a grief it was to me all reasonable people can imagine. I asked if there were no means of getting 5 or 6 planks or pieces to make leeboards for the boat. Secondly, that they should make one or two rafts to save themselves and with the first boat that could come aboard I would get the money. Whereupon the before mentioned Jan Egbertsz swam again aboard and they immediately threw six planks overboard, which we got. Whereupon with 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 floated to land. In the afternoon it started to blow very hard out of the north-west and the ship was pounded very much that day by the waves, so that one could hardly see it and it was a miracle that it remained together. In the evening we calculated our water, which we had in the small barrels, and we found ourselves on the smallest islet where we were, with the folks of the boat and the yawl, with about 80 *kannen* [JUGS]<sup>11</sup> of water, where we were about 40 people, and on the largest island, where there were 180 souls, was still much less. Thereupon the people murmured, why we did not go to the islands or round about [234 r] in search of water, for otherwise we could not help them, or they us and we should perish in that way all together, which was what the skipper told me, or otherwise it was apparent the folk would take the boat, towards

which resolution I would not give my consent. I proposed that we should see the outcome of the weather and the ship. For to leave such a large group of fine people and the goods of the Company, I would be responsible before God and my High Authorities at *Batavia*. They protested very much against, and promised that on whatever land we should find water, be it on the islands or on the main Southland, they were willing to turn back in order to assist the other people with as many water trips as were found to be necessary. At last, after having discussed it very well and weighed up that there was no hope of getting water out of the ship unless the ship should fall to pieces and it should so float to land, or that there should be a good daily rain with which we could quench our thirst (but as these were all very uncertain means), resolved after long debating, as appears out of the resolution<sup>12</sup>, that we should go in search of water on the islands most nearby or on the *vaste landt* [MAINLAND] to keep them and us alive, and if we could find no water, that we should then sail with the boat without delay to *Batavia*, with God's grace there to inform of our sad unheard of, disastrous happening. But first I requested the skipper that he should order some men to sail with me with the yawl to the other islet, to tell them first of all our intention. But he advised me not to go to the island, saying, they will keep you there, and you will regret it, secondly, there is no one who will sail with you. I persisted [234 v] that without going to the island I had no intention of sailing in search of water, but that it was better and more honest to die with them, than to stay alive with deep grief of heart if we did not find it. At least I found the high boatswain<sup>13</sup> willing with six men to put me off on the island in the yawl on condition that if they saw I was kept there against my will, they were permitted to make off with the yawl. I took a barrel of water with me to give to the people, but when they came near the shore they did not dare touch land, saying, they will keep you and us, we will not come any nearer. When I wanted to jump overboard, the high boatswain pulled me backwards, and they rowed away before the eyes of all the people who had seen the foresaid so that by God's Truth, I was prevented from my intention and returned back at night.

On 6 ditto with the day, I wrote on a leaf of a table-book<sup>14</sup> that we were going with the boat to the islands round about or to the main Southland and would return as soon as possible, and put this under one of the bread barrels which we left there behind, and went off with the boat under sail<sup>15</sup>. Moreover, that day to two different islands<sup>16</sup>, on the largest of which we found some brackish water that was left by the rain in the holes of the rocks on the beach, but the sea water had already washed into most.

On 7 do. we remained here in order to build up our boat with planks, for we saw that otherwise it would not be possible to reach the mainland. Against nightfall we saw the sloop, which I had left in the neighbourhood of the ship, come rowing, in it was Gillis Franssz *halffwaack* [THIRD STEERSMAN]<sup>17</sup> [235 r], with yet another 10 men, also come in search of water, but when by the many wells we had dug, they saw there was none, they requested to be allowed to go with us to the mainland, which I permitted. We took also the *schuijt* [YAWL] with us in order that it would be better or easier for us to get through the surf in search of water. As well as there was no one who wanted to sail back with the yawl to the other island or to the wreck.

On 8 do. in the morning we sailed from this island to the mainland, after I had read to all people the resolution taken by us, and commanded them to take the oath, which they did, and which went as follows

Since on all the islands or reefs round about our foundered ship *Batavia*, there is no water to be found, in order to feed and keep the saved people alive,

therefore the Commander has earnestly besought us and proposed that we should sail to the mainland in order to see if God will grant that we find water there, to assist the people with as many trips from there until we can be certain that they will be able to remain alive for some considerable time, and meanwhile command someone to bring our sad happenings to the Hon. Lord General, to which we the undersigned have consented now that the need has been placed before us of how greatly important it is to be responsible before God and the high authorities. Have agreed and resolved to do our utmost duty (*devoir*) in order to help our poor companions in their distress. In token of the truth have signed with our own hand and have sworn to it in the presence of all people, this 8th June 1629.

Was signed, *Francisco Pelsart*  
 Claas Jansz Dor Ariaen Jacopsz  
 Claas Willemsz Graaf Claas Gerritsz  
 Michiel Claasz Hans Jacobs Binder  
 Jacob Jansz Hollert  
 Jan Evertsz<sup>18</sup>

[235 v] At noon had the latitude 28° 13 minutes, saw shortly thereafter the mainland, and estimated to be 6 miles n. by w. of our ship. The wind west, had ground at 25 and 30 fathoms. In the evening about 3 hours, in the night we again went away from the land, and after midnight we ran again towards it.

On 9 do., in the morning we were still about 3 miles from the coast, the wind mostly n.w. with some rain, this 24 hours, by guessing, progressed 4 to 5 miles, held n. by w. The coast here stretches mostly n. by w. and s. by e., it is a level (*slecht*) rocky land without trees, about as high as Dover in England. Here we saw a small inlet as well as low dune land, where we intended to land, but approaching, noticed that there was a big surf and many breakers near the shore, very suddenly the swell out of the west became so heavy and ran so high against the coast that we could not readily keep off it, and the wind increased more and more.

On 10 do. we kept hovering off and on the whole 24 hours because of the hard wind and had to set adrift the sloop which we had taken with us, on account of the storm that blew out of the n.w., and we also threw overboard portion of our bread and everything in our way, because we could not bale out the water. In the night we were also in great peril of sinking on account of the strong wind and the high seas. Also could not get away from the coast because we could not carry a sail as we could only heave on the sea, it rained the whole night so I hope that our people at the island have also had the rains.

On 11 do. in the morning, the weather began to calm down and the wind ran to w.-s.-w., and then we steered round to the north, but the waves ran high as ever.

[236 r] On 12 do. in the afternoon, had latitude of 27 degrees, ran close along the coast, the wind s.-e., but could not find an opportunity to get to land with the boat because of the heavy surf. The coast very steeply hewn without any foreshore or inlets as have other countries, but it seemed to be a dry cursed country without foliage or grass.

On 13 do. at noon had latitude of 25 degrees 40 minutes, we found that we drifted speedily towards the north and were round the *hoeck* [CORNER/POINT] where the coast stretches out mostly from n.-n.-e. to s.-south-west, have held during these 24 hours mostly n. The land still entirely red stone hewn off without a foreshore, and

generally everywhere at the same level, also it has not been possible to get ashore because of the surf.

On 14 do. in the morning we had a slight breeze, but during the day it became very quiet. At noon we had latitude 24 degrees, held n. and the wind s.-e. The current took us daily against our wish to the north, for we ran close along the coast with little sail. In the afternoon seeing some smoke inland, rowed thither hoping to find an opportunity of landing. Were quite rejoiced for I imagined that where there were people there would also be fresh water. I noticed that the ground on shore rose very steeply, full of stones and rocks, and there was also a very big surf, yet 6 men swam ashore, and we remained with the boat at 25 fathoms outside the breakers. Our folk was searching for water and for nothing else until nightfall but found none, saw also four men creeping towards them on hands and feet, when our folk, coming out of a hollow upon a height, approached them suddenly, they leapt to their feet and [236 v] fled full speed, which was clearly seen by us in the boat. They were black people, entirely naked, without any cover. At night time our folk swam aboard, all very much injured by the rocks upon which they were thrown by the surf, therefore lifting the kedge again, started in search of a better opportunity, sailing close to the coast all night with small sail and keeping outside the breakers, until

On 15 do. in the morning we found ourselves at the point where a large reef stretched about one mile to the sea: then we ran between the land reef and the sea reef, which we guessed to be at 23 degrees, and sailed thus along the coast, alongside which stretches a reef, where between the land is very smooth and the water appears still. We did our best to get into it, but found no opening till round noon, when we found an opening in which there was no surf, ran into that, but it was very rocky and sometimes not more than 2 feet of water. This coast had a dune foreland of about one mile width before one comes to the high land, therefore began to dig on several spots, there was salt water. A party of folk therefore went to the high land where they found by chance some small holes in a rock that were full of fresh water that the rain had left there, it seemed that the blacks had been there a little while before, for there lay bones of crabs and ashes of fires. Here we quenched our great thirst a little, for we hardly were able to do more, for since the wrecking of the ship we had been except for one or two small *mutskens* [CAPS]<sup>19</sup> of water without any wine or other drink. Here we also collected upon our drinks, about 80 jugs of water, and stayed there this night until

[237 r] The 16 do. in the morning we continued to see whether there were more such holes in the range. But our search was in vain, it appeared it had not rained there for a long time, nor was there any sign of running water, for beyond the heights the country was flat again, without trees, foliage or grass, except for high anthills thrown up of earth, which in the distance were not unlike the huts of people. There was also such a host of flies, which came to sit in the mouth and the eyes, that they could not be beaten off. Here we saw as well eight black men, each carrying a stick in his hand, and these approached to the distance of a musket shot<sup>20</sup>, but when we went towards them they ran away and we could not get them to stop where they were so that we might come up to them. Towards noon, seeing that there was no more water to be come by, set sail, and ran through another opening of the reef which lay a little more to the north. Where we were in the latitude of 22 degrees 17 minutes. I had the intention to run to the river of *Jacop Remmessens*<sup>21</sup> but the wind ran to the n.-e. so that we could not keep to the coast. Therefore we were forced to take a resolution, because we were more than 100 miles<sup>22</sup> away from the people left by us and had up to now not found water to assist them, as for ourselves only, that we might have the benefit of 2

*mutskens* [CAPS] daily, to do our utmost in the name of God to further our journey to Batavia as quickly as possible in order that through the Hon. Lord General some order or means might be set to work towards succour.

On 17 do. at noon, had no latitude, but by guessing sailed 15 miles, held n.-w. by north, wind n.-e., a topgallant breeze and dry weather.

[237 v] On 18 do. at noon had no latitude, but by guessing sailed 10 miles this 24 hours held w.-n.-w. in rough weather, with rain, wind n.-e. About noon the wind veered to the north, then we lay round to the east.

On 19 do. at noon had no latitude; by guessing sailed 17 miles<sup>23</sup>, held n.-n.-e., the wind n.-w. by west, rough weather with rain.

On 20 do. at noon had the latitude of 19 degrees 29 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 22 miles, held north, the wind w.-s.w., a shaky topgallant and sometimes rain.

On 21 do. at noon, had no latitude, by guessing sailed 23 miles, held north, the wind ran from the s.-w., to the s.-e., gradually more breezy, then again somewhat quieter.

On 22 do. at noon, had the latitude of 16 degrees 10 minutes, sailed this 24 hours 24 miles, held north, the wind ran from the s.-w. to the s.-e., shaky topgallant, with dry weather. It appeared that the current ran round north, otherwise we could not have gained so much latitude.

On 23 do. at noon, had no latitude, by guessing sailed 16 miles, held n. by w., the wind ran to and from the east to the west, then some breeze, some calmness with rain. In the afternoon a breeze blew from the s.-s.-east.

On 24 do. at noon, had the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 25 miles, held north by west, the wind mostly s.-e. by s., topgallant, with dry weather.

On 25 do. at noon, had the latitude of 11 degrees 30 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 31 miles, held n. by w., the wind more to s.-e., topgallant, with dry weather, nevertheless we saw much *steenkroos* [BLADDER WEED]<sup>24</sup> floating.

On 26 do. at noon had the latitude of 9 degrees 56 minutes, this 24 hours sailed 24 miles, held n. by w., the wind mostly s.-east with dry weather.

On 27 do. at noon, had no latitude, by guessing this 24 hours sailed 24 miles, held n. by w., the wind s.w., topgallant with some rain. Towards afternoon sighted the land of *Java*, by guessing on the latitude of 8 degrees, and were 4 to 5 miles off. We set our course w.-n.-w. along the coast, until in the evening we saw a cape in front of us, off which lay an island<sup>25</sup> covered with trees. [238 r] In the evening sailed past this cape, off which stretched a reef and found behind this a big inlet, so sailing n.-n.-west, we dropped the kedge, in 8 fathoms hard ground for the whole night till

On 28 do. in the morning with daylight, when we lifted the kedge, we rowed ashore to seek fresh water, where to our luck we found a running streamlet. Thanks and praise the Lord, for we could quench our great thirst at last, here we filled our casks and before noon were again under sail.

On 29 do. in the morning, after the second quarter<sup>26</sup>, then we saw a little island ahead which we passed on the starboard side, with the daylight we were near the western inlet, hence the course lies w.-n.-west, though one leaves the coast on account of the curve. But before one reaches the *Trouwes* [TROUVENS] Islands, land is seen again. At noon had the latitude of 6 degrees 48 minutes this 24 hours sailed 30 miles, held mostly n.-w.-west. About the middle of the afternoon, we sailed between the two *Trouwes* islands, where on the more westerly stand many coconut palms. In the afternoon we were still a mile away from the south cape of *Java*, and at the third

hourglass of the second watch we began to enter the strait between *Java* and the *Princen Islands*.

On 30 do. in the morning we were sailing through the *Princen Islands*, in the afternoon drifted about 2 miles due to calmness, until evening when a slight breeze came up from the land.

*Primo jullius*, in the morning it was again calm, at noon we were still 3 miles from *Dwars Inde Weegh* [THWARTWAY ISLAND], the wind variable, towards evening it began to blow a bit from north west, so that we could pass the *Islands Dwars inde Wegh*, but at night it became very calm and the whole night through we had to row.

On 2 do. in the morning we came by *Toppers Hoetgien* [TOPPER'S HAT], there we lay until 11 hours and waited for a sea breeze, then getting only a slight breeze, so that the whole day we had again to row, making only 2 miles by evening. [238 v] In the setting sun we saw a sail astern about *Dwars inden Weegh*, whereupon we dropped the kedge under the shore in order to wait for it.

On 3 do. before daylight, I let the kedge be lifted and ran towards the ship in order to get some weapons as we did not know how those of *Java* stood and ours<sup>27</sup>, but as we approached we saw that there were three ships, of which the nearest was the yacht *Sardam*, aboard which I went. I understood from the merchant, *Van Dommelen*, that the largest ship was *Frederick Hendrick*, on which was *Lord Raemborch*<sup>28</sup> councillor of *India*. Therefore I sailed immediately to him, 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 the ship with him until we reached *Batavia*. The other ships were *Brouwers Haven* and *Weesp*, with which was the Commander *Grijph*<sup>29</sup> coming in company of the Lord Commander *Pieter van den Broeck* from *Suratte*<sup>30</sup>, but had been parted from each other.

On 4 do. the ship *Bommel*, sailing from *Souratte*, also came by us, saying that still some ships had been seen outside the Straits, but not knowing whether they were English or our own ships.

On 7 do. we arrived at night at the fall of darkness in the roads of *Batavia*. God be praised and thanked.

[239 v] Daily notes on my return journey to the Southland, sent by the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen*, with the yacht *Sardam*, to search for and to bring back the people of our wrecked ship *Batavia*, with all the cash, and the goods, that can possibly be fished up, and we are in God's name.

On 15th July, in the morning, have sailed with a land wind. In the afternoon near *Menscheeters Eijlandt* [MAN EATERS ISLAND], met the ship *Leijden*, which had sailed from the fatherland on 8 May anno 1628, in the company of the ship *Wapen van Enchuijsen*, which had been blown up on 12 October passing near the *Sierra Lionas*, and only 57 persons from that have been saved by the ship *Leijden*, up to that time they had more than 170 deads, but the rest of the people were in fair health as they had been refreshed at *Celebar* in *Sumatra*<sup>31</sup>. Towards evening also saw the ship *Beets* or *Wigge van Hoorn*, which had sailed in the fleet of the Hon. Lord *Jaques Specx*<sup>32</sup>

On 16 do. was mostly calm, so that we did not advance with sail but were carried quickly out of the Strait, in the evening we saw the Prince Islands.

On 17 do. in the morning, we had the Princen Islands e.-n.-e. from us, it had been calm the whole night, then before sunrise it began to blow from the s.-e., our course s.-s.-w., towards noon we ran one degree more east, so that we could sail only s. by west, guessed to have sailed ...miles, and held s.-w. by south.

On 18 do. at noon had latitude of 8 degrees 25 minutes, southern hemisphere, the wind s.-e., course s.-s.-w., guessed to have sailed 25 miles, held s.-w. by west.

On 19 do. at noon had latitude of 9 degrees 56 minutes, the wind s.-e., course s.-s. west, guessed to have sailed 24 miles, held s.-w. by s.

[240 r] On 20 do. at noon, had latitude of 11 degrees, the wind s.-e. by east, course s. by west, guessed to have sailed 20 miles held s.-s.-w.

On 21 do. the wind variable, and sometimes calm. In the morning had some rain, so that we gathered about 30 to 40 *kannen* ; at noon the latitude of 11 degrees 38 minutes, held s.w. by south. Guessed to have sailed 11 miles.

On 22 do. had a topgallant gale, the wind s.-e. Course s.-s.-west, at noon had the latitude of 12 degrees 41 minutes, guessed to have sailed 19 miles, and held s.w. by south.

On 23 do. a topgallant gale, although the weather was altogether variable, with gentle showers; at noon had the latitude of 14 degrees, guessed to have sailed 22 miles, and held s.-w. by south.

On 24 do. the wind s.-e., course s.-s.-w. and held s.-s.-w. by south, at noon had the latitude 15 degrees 14 minutes, and sailed 22 miles.

On 25 do. the wind e.-s.-e., course held s.-s.-w., the latitude of 16 degrees 16 minutes, and sailed 17 miles.

On 26 do. the wind east. course s.-s.-east, and held south, at noon had the latitude of 17 degrees 52 minutes. Guessed to have sailed 23 miles.

On 27 do. at noon, had the latitude of 18 degrees 55 minutes, the wind e. by south, with lulls, guessed held south and sailed 15 1/2 miles.

On 28 do. in the morning the wind ran s.-s.-e., therefore turned easterly, with a drizzle and a beautiful wind, at noon, the latitude of 19 degrees 45 minutes, guessed held south.

On 29 do. the wind s.-s.-e. with a dark drizzle, at noon had no latitude, guessed to have sailed 20 miles, and held e.-n.-e.

On 30 do. the wind again s.-east with dark weather, at noon had no latitude, guessed to have sailed ...miles, and held s.-west.

On 31 do. at noon the latitude of 20 degrees 9 minutes, [240 v] and the longitude 132 degrees 8 minutes, as now the wind turned southerly, so that we have steered more east, sailing s.-east by east till night, when the wind ran west s.-west.

*Primo agosto*, at noon had latitude of 21 degrees 13 minutes, the longitude 133 degrees 35 minutes, held s.-west by south, the wind s.-east.

On 2 do. at noon the latitude of 24 degrees 55 minutes, the wind s.-east, held s.-w. by s.

On 3 do. at noon, the latitude of 23 degrees, longitude 132 degrees 3 minutes, the wind variable, but most s.-s.-east, and held s.-w.

On 4 do. at noon had southern latitude 23 degrees 59 minutes, longitude 131 degrees, 1 minute, beautiful weather, the wind southerly but most variable, have turned for a certain time eastwards.

On 5 do. at noon had southern latitude 24 degrees 45 minutes, longitude 130 degrees 8 minutes, the wind s.-s.-east, and sailed s.-west until night, the wind very variable, run round and round, and turned with it.

On 6 do. at noon southern latitude of 24 degrees 32 minutes, had a great swell from the s.-west, and the wind variable so that we turned altogether to the east and again to the south.

On 7 do. at noon had the southern latitude of 24 degrees 49 minutes, sailed s.-w., the wind most s.-s.-east with a strong gentle gale again had the wind e. to southerly and could sail south to east.

On 8 do. at noon had the southern latitude of 25 degrees, 20 minutes, longitude 129 degrees 47 minutes, slight breeze, the wind east to southerly, and could sail south to east.

On 9 do. at noon had southern latitude of 26 degrees 23 minutes, the wind e.-n.-e. ran towards s.-e., also altogether e.-s.-e. after the wind veered, with very bad water.

On 10 do. at noon, we had the southern latitude of 27 degrees 54 minutes, the wind north east, ran most to east according to the wind, in and out, with bad weather. At night, the wind ran to the north-east.

[241 r] On 11 do. at noon the latitude of 27 degrees 57 minutes, the wind before noon ran west, went w. by north at night coming from the s. and s.-s.-west, with a strong breeze.

On 12 do. at noon had the southern latitude of 27 degrees 2 minutes, the wind s. by west, course east. In the afternoon the weather changeable, the wind ran to the south-east, so we changed tack in the morning, s.-s.-west across wide hollow water.

On 13 do. at noon, the latitude of 25 degrees 50 minutes, rather calm, the wind s.-e., sailed s.-s.-west, and s.-w. by south, variable weather, turned altogether again after the wind turned.

On 14 do. at noon had no latitude, then guessed to be on the above mentioned latitude, the wind s.-s.-w. by south, sailed east s.-east, with high seas from the south.

On 15 do. at noon had southern latitude of 26 degrees 30 minutes, the wind south, were able to sail e.-s.-e., with a stiff gale with showery and rainy weather.

On 16 do. at noon the southern latitude of 26 degrees 16 minutes, the wind south, at night the wind ran s.-e. by south, turning mostly s.-west by south, again seawards.

On 17 do. at noon had no latitude but guessed to have gained 2 miles south, with a stiff gale and high seas from the s.-s.-w. In the morning it became bad weather and the wind veered to the east.

On 18 do. at noon had no latitude, but guessed southern latitude 27 degrees 15 minutes, the wind e.-s.-e., with beautiful weather, sailed southwards all day.

On 19 do. at noon southern latitude of 28 degrees 29 minutes, the wind e.-s.-e. with mild weather, in the morning the wind came from the s.-s.-west by s., and it became very calm.

On 20 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 29 degrees 10 minutes, the wind south, held east by south, at night shaky breeze with variable winds.

On 21 do. at noon, no latitude, guessed latitude as before, had held east, the wind S, the swell of the sea from the s.-s.-w., continued to hold east to south.

[241 v] On 22 do. at noon the southern latitude of 29 degrees 19 minutes, the wind south, course north east. The steersmen guessed to be now 15 miles from the wreck.

On 23 do. had the southern latitude of 28 degrees 14 minutes, the wind s.-west, course east, guessed now in the longitude of the land. Therefore drifted at night, 2 watches with the foresail on the mast.

On 24 do. at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 25 minutes, the wind s.-west, course east.

On 25 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 27 degrees 56 minutes, we found that a current had carried us this 24 hours round to the north in a very unusual fashion, and we also saw many strong *ravelingen* [CROSS-CURRENTS]. We thought about this time that we saw surf and some islands, but it was the reflection of the sun. The wind south, held over to the east, at night in the first watch the wind ran s.-s.-e. Therefore ran westwards, it became calm, and the sea ran very hollow from the s.-s.-w.

On 26 do. at noon had the latitude of 28 degrees 5 minutes, the wind south by west, with very high seas. Towards noon the wind shot s.-s.-e., then turned westwards and ran so about 9 to 10 glasses but on account of the hollow swell turned again to the east.

On 27 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 28 degrees 13 minutes, this day it became quiet so that we drifted very much westwards, the sea rose strongly from the south. Towards the evening we began to sail somewhat towards the s.-west, held s.-e., but at night was mostly calm.

On 28 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 28 degrees 35 minutes<sup>33</sup>, the wind s.-s.-w., ran easterly, and I then saw floating around the first seaweed, from which we guessed that we should shortly see land, and ran for two quarters with swift advancement, but during the day watch drifted with the foresail on the mast, in the morning the wind ran again s.-e. by east.

On 29 do. at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 10 minutes, the wind s.-e. by south, with hard weather, the topsail *halvenstenge* [HALF TOPMAST], so that [242 r] have again lost southern latitude. At night turned again seawards, and sailed s.-w. to west, during the whole night.

On 30 do. at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 55 minutes, the wind s.-e. by south, the sea came up hard from the s.-s.-west.

On 31 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 29 degrees 49 minutes, before noon very calm, no wind, but after noon it began to blow westerly and it became fresh. Set our course n.-east by east, for we did not know how far we were from the land, in the morning the wind ran again s.-e., after that e.-n.-east.

*On primo september* at noon the southern latitude of 29 degrees 16 minutes, the wind variable, so that it was not possible to come round to the east.

On 2 do. in the morning the wind ran north, with a topgallant gale, at noon the southern latitude of 30 degrees 16 minutes, found ourselves now rapidly drifted to the south, at night the wind veered north west: our course n.-e. to north.

On 3 do. in the morning the wind west; eastwards; at noon saw the main Southland, stretching out n.-n.-w. and s.-s.-e., were about 3 miles away, and saw the land still stretching out southwards, by guessing about 4 miles, till the eye could reach, had here clean sand ground at 25 fathoms. It is bare level land with some sand dunes like round the north, had the southern latitude of 29 degrees 16 minutes, took our course n. westwards, the wind w.-s.-west, then the hollow swell sent us very much

towards the coast, so that at night we had to anchor one mile from land, and 2 hour-glasses in the first watch, our anchor broke into 2 pieces, let another drop speedily.

On 4 do. in the morning, the wind s.-w. by s. with still hollow swell, during the day ran s.-s.-w., then we lifted our anchor, and before noon got under [242 v] sail, took our course w.-n.-w. to sea, in order to get off the lee shore, at noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 50 minutes, where the land began to fall off one point, to wit, n. by west and s. by east<sup>34</sup>. After noon, the wind ran s. and went towards the w. and towards night we noticed a shallow straight in front, or west of us and were only a musket shot away from it<sup>35</sup>. But had 25 fathoms clean sand ground. We turned and ran half a mile e.-s.-east away from it, there we anchored at 27 fathoms clean ground; had held w.-n.-w. from noon till evening, and were 5 miles from the mainland. At night it became very quiet and beautiful weather, the wind s. by east.

On 5 do. in the morning the wind s.-s.-east, and lovely weather, lifted our anchor and sailed one hour s.-s.-w., then we noticed in front and alongside our course more breakers, a shallow and some small islands. The wind veered meanwhile and ran more towards the east, so that we could sail southerly and s.-s.-e. This reef or shallow stretched out s.-s.-s. and n.-n.-east<sup>36</sup>, found along here 27, 28 to 29 fathoms sand ground. At 11 hours before noon the mainland had disappeared from our sight, at noon had the southern latitude of 28 degrees 59 minutes, and the corner of the reef was w.-s.-west from us, with dirty steep ground with depths from 50 to 60 fathoms. After noon it began to become quiet, but the current took us towards the west, and the rocks here stretched out wholly westerly, guessed to be about 8 miles away from the mainland<sup>37</sup>, the whole night it was dead calm, and drifted alongside the rocks so that we heard the surf the whole night, until

On 6 do. in the morning, when we had lost sight of the rocks. About 10 hours, a light wind came from the w.-n.-west, ran then slowly towards the rocks. At noon had the southern latitude [243 r] of 28 degrees 44 minutes, began to blow hard from the n.-west. Tacked off and on in the afternoon and found that the current ran us towards the north-west. At night turned to sea again away from the rocks, cast 40 fathoms ground, but dirty reef. This shallow stretches further out s.-e. and n.-west<sup>38</sup>. At night it began to blow very hard and ran with shorte.-n.-e.d sails *huckende schover zeylen* [LOWER MAIN MAST SAIL], the wind variable.

On 7 do. in the morning the weather took up, and set sail, at noon found southern latitude of 29 degrees 30 minutes and ran northwards, in order to get the mainland in view again, then the wind freshed seawards w.-n.-west, so that we again had to veer seawards.

On 8 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 29 degrees 7 minutes, course n.-east, at evening have seen the breakers again. Therefore ran the whole night w.-s.-west seawards, the wind n.-west, it began to blow so hard that the topsail had to be taken in again.

On 9 do. in the morning, have turned again towards land. At noon the southern latitude of 29 degrees, the rest of the day have turned on and off, towards the evening such a storm blew that we sailed with only mainsail, the wind n.-west.

On 10 do. in the morning set sail again, had at noon southern latitude of 29 degrees 30 minutes, the wind west, with a top gallant gale.

On 11 do. in the morning was calm, but very hollow seas, the wind out of the w.-s.-west. so that we could not make way northwards, either we were on to, or near, the rocks. At noon the southern latitude of 28 degrees 48 minutes, furthermore the wind variable, ran at night with the foresail, and drifted round until it was daybreak.

On 12 do. with the day, again set sail to eastward until noon, when took latitude 28 degrees 13 minutes. Therefore ran again [243 v] somewhat southerly, to reach the land straight on 28 degrees 20 minutes, the wind s.-west, with big breakers. In the afternoon 2 hours before sunset have seen again the rocks, which guessed to be 2 miles away from us. We cast the lead at 100 fathoms clean sand ground, but going half a mile nearer had 30 fathoms foul stony bottom. We turned this night 2 watches to seawards, and in the day watch again to the coast.

On 13 do. in the morning, 3 hours after sunrise, we again noticed in front of us breakers and being known to us, we noted had lost one mile north, as the wind had been s.-s.-east, this was the most northerly point of the *Abrolhos*. Therefore I resolved because we came always too high or too low, and because it was very perilous to approach it from outside on account of the high seas and dirty ground, to sail before the wind below the outermost shoal and tacked towards that 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. At night, because it began to blow very hard, we anchored about 2 miles from the coast in 30 fathoms clean ground.

On 14 do. the wind s.-s.-e., but blew hard, so that we could not wind our anchor, and remained lying here the whole day.

On 15 do. still blew hard, but towards noon calmed down a little so that we could wind up our anchor, at noon southern latitude of 27 degrees 54 minutes, the wind s.-s.-e., tacked the whole day to gain south, and towards evening found to have made two miles, being dark, anchored in 30 fathoms clean ground.

On 16 do. in the morning with daylight, again lifted our anchor, the wind was w.-s.-w., went near enough south, at noon the southern latitude of ... degrees ... minutes, the wind ran towards the west, and after that northerly, so that we could sail south west, [244 r] towards evening saw the rocks of our wrecked ship *Batavia* and I knew where we were when I saw the High Island, although the steersmen sustained that it was the other land. 2 Hours in the night anchored in 27 fathoms clean sand ground until

on 17 do. in the morning, with daybreak, lifted our anchor again, the wind north, were then about 2 miles from the High Island, ran towards ...that. Before noon, approaching the island, we saw smoke on a long island 2 miles west of the wreck, also on another small island close by the wreck, about which we were all very glad, hoping to find great numbers, or rather all people, alive. Therefore, as soon as the anchor was dropped, I sailed with the boat to the highest island, which was nearest, taking with me a barrel of water, ditto bread, and a keg of wine. Coming there, I saw no people, at which we wondered, I sprang ashore, and at the same time we saw a very small yawl with four men rowing round the northerly point, 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 miscreants on the islands near the wreck, with two sloops, who have the intention to seize the yacht. Furthermore, told that he was *capiteijn* [CAPTAIN] over 47 souls, who had kept themselves so long on one island in order to save their lives, as they had murdered more than 125 persons, men, women and children as well, and that 14 days ago he had captured Jeronimus Cornelisz, under merchant, who had been the chief of the scoundrels, also at the same time they had killed 4 of his principal councillors and accomplices, namely Davidt van Sevanck, assistant, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbrecht van Welderen, *adelborsten* [CADETS]<sup>39</sup>, and Pietersz of Utrecht, soldier, had been killed, because they had been

attacked twice by them in a felonious way. But they had bravely [244 v] repulsed them. And they next tried treacherous means to overpower and murder them. For they had then come to establish peace with each other under oath, and not to remember any more what had passed. Nevertheless, whilst Jeronimus was engaged in pretending to make an agreement through the agency of the predicant, whom they compelled to go backwards and forwards, at the same time Davidt van Sevanck, and Coenraat van Huyssen, were engaged in bribing some of the soldiers to treason by offering them six thousand guilders each if they, the next day when the scoundrels came back, would go over to their side, pretending to be friends, in order to help murder the others. So when the people perceived that their lives were at stake, they have killed the above mentioned, as has been told before. Moreover, that some one named Wouter Loos, who had been made their captain after the capture of Jeronimus, had attacked them this same morning with 2 sloops of men, whom they had also repulsed, and there were in the party of the ditto Wibbe Haijes, four very seriously wounded men.

With all these sad tidings which I had briefly learnt, I returned immediately aboard, whilst I ordered Wiebbe Haijes that he should go back again in the little yawl and bring Jeronimus Cornelisz bound to the ship, which he did. But before we got aboard, I saw a sloop with people rowing come round the southerly point of the High Island. Therefore we made all preparations to capture the above mentioned scoundrels. When they came near the ship, it could be seen that they were dressed mostly in red *laken*[CLOTH]<sup>40</sup>, trimmed with golden *passementen*<sup>41</sup>. [245 r] I called to them, wherefore do you come aboard armed? They answered me that they would reply to that 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 took them prisoner, and we forthwith began to examine them, especially a certain Jan Hendricxsz van Bremen, soldier, who immediately confessed that he had murdered and helped to murder 17 to 20 people, under the order of Jeronimus. I asked him the origin and circumstances of this, why they had practised such cruelties. Said the he also wished to explain how it had been with him in the beginning, saying, that the skipper, Jeronimus Cornelisz, the high boatswain and still more others, had it in mind to seize the ship *Batavia* before it was wrecked, to kill the Commander and all people except 120 towards whom they were more favourably inclined, and to throw the dead overboard into the sea and then to go pirating with the ship. Wherefore Jeronimus and all the people who had been on the island had been certain that the skipper would have killed the Commander overboard or elsewhere or thrown him into the sea. So that Jeronimus, having been for a month on the island after the wrecking of the ship, thought that one should either murder all the people to 40 or less, or else help them to some land, so that when the yacht came, one could seize it, which has been put into action to that purpose, but they could not fulfil their plan because Wiebbe Haijes had been sent with a party of people to a long island, to seek water, which they found after a 20 days search, and therefore they made, according to plan, 3 fires as a signal. But because they were in those days busy with the murdering, Jeronimus did not care about the water, whereupon several [245 v] parties from 4 to 5 strong, saved themselves from the murdering at night on pieces of wood or rafts, and escaped to Wiebbe Haijes island, until were 45 strong. As they understood what had been decided and that daily so many were being murdered, made themselves ready to counter-attack if they should come to fight them, and made weapons from hoop-iron and nails, which they bound to sticks. After they had murdered most people, except 30 men and 4 *jongers* [CHILDREN/BOYS]<sup>42</sup> they decided 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 passage, he will warn them, and our plan will not succeed, therefore they must be killed, and they had already done three trips against them, but they were unable to do any harm to them except on this day when they had shot some.

Towards evening Wiebbe Haijes brought Jeronimus bondaged aboard, to whom I looked with great sorrow, such a scoundrel, cause of so many disasters and of the shedding of human blood, and he had still had the intention to go on, however it was not according to the plan of God. I examined him in the presence of the council, and asked him why he allowed the devil to lead him so far astray from all human feeling (to do that which had never been so cruelly perpetrated amongst Christians), without any noticeable hunger or thirst, but solely out of cool 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 beaten to death, that they had forced and willed him to it, and that a man does a lot to stay alive. About the plan to participate in the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, this he denied. And to the idea of seizing any yacht that might come, he said that Sevanck had proposed this, [246 r] to which he had only consented on account of his own safety without meaning it, for firstly, he believed that they would never be salvaged, and he had also heard here on land from Rijckert Woutersen that skipper Ariaen intended to seize the ship and to throw the Commander overboard, which made him presume that he would never take the boat to *Batavia* but that they would veer off to *Malacca*, or if the other had occurred, and he or the Commander had arrived at *Batavia*, and some yacht were sent to rescue them, he would have tried to warn them. In this manner with evident lies he tried to talk himself clean with his glib tongue telling, making out that nowhere had he had a hand in it, appealing to the people, who would say the same thing too.

On 18 do. before daylight, I and the skipper went with the yawl and the boat to the island of Wiebbe Haijes and got from it 10 soldiers to whom I gave weapons and muskets, and thus we sailed to the island named *Batavia's* Graveyard, which was near to the wreck, where the rest of the scoundrels were, in order to capture and secure them. When they saw us coming they lost their courage, and said to each other, now all our necks are in the noose, thinking that they would be killed immediately, and when I came ashore I had them bound hand and foot and so secured. Afterwards, the first thing I did was to seek for the scattered jewels. These were all found, except a ring and a gold chain<sup>43</sup>.

Towards evening we went to the wreck, and found that the ship was lying in several pieces, namely, a piece of the keel, with the bottom of the hold, all above water had been washed away except a small piece of the *d'achter windtveeringh* [BULWARK AT THE BACK] which was above water, it was almost exactly in the same place where the ship had first struck. A piece of the front of the ship was broken off and thrown wholly on [246 v] the shallow, there in were lying 2 pieces of ordnance, one of brass and one of iron, fallen from the *rampaarden* [MOUNTS] without anything more. By the foreship was lying also one side of the poop, broken off at the starboard port of the gunners' room. Then there were several pieces of a lesser size, that had drifted apart to various places, so that there did not look to be much hope of salvaging much of the money or the other goods. But I understood from the *bottelier* [STEWARD]<sup>44</sup> Reijndert Hendricxsz, which comforted me a little, that on a day one month ago when it was very calm, a thing which hardly ever, or rather rarely happened, he went to the wreck fishing (at which they<sup>45</sup> kept him), and that with a

pike he hit some money chests, and hoped that they had not drifted away in the mean time. I also took the opportunity to ask him how matters had fared regarding the ship or wreck, and how long it had remained whole after having been wrecked, they said that for 8 days it had held together, then the *spiegel* [STERN] and the upper parts had been washed away first of all, in which days it had mostly blown very hard and there was a enormous surf, and at last the larboard side had been thrown out, and the wrecking went on so quickly and easily that it was like a miracle, then at different times floated ashore five leaguers water, one leaguers French wine, 4 1/2 ditto Spanish, one ditto vinegar. But before that God sent on the nights of 9 and 10 June, a hard steady rain, being the same rain by which we who were in the boat near the mainland in danger of drowning, from which they gathered much water, and after fished up the above mentioned, so that they could have given all people three *mutskens* of water and 2 *mutskens* of wine for a long time, had the devil not tempted them. In the evening I ordered the principal scoundrels and other accomplices whom I had bound here on the island, to be taken to Seals Island, from whence one could get them at an appropriate time if one wanted to examine them, so that in the meantime we would have a bit more security.

On 19 do. in the morning, I sent the skipper to bring ashore those who have been kept imprisoned in the ship in order to inquire [247 r] how they had conducted their lives namely Jeronimus Cornelisz, under merchant, Jacop Pietersz of Amsterdam, *lanspesaat* [PETTY OFFICER]<sup>46</sup>, here Lieutenant General, and had been one of the councillors, Jan Hendricxsz of Bremen soldier, and one of the main murderers, Rutger Fredricxsz of Groeningen locksmith, Hans Jacobsz Heijlweck of Basel midshipman, Lucas Jellissz from the Hague midshipman, Hans Fredericx of Bremen soldier, Jan Willemsz Gelijns of Amsterdam upper copper, Hendrick Jaspersz Cloet of Montfoort soldier, Hans Hardens from Ditmarssen soldier, Jaques Pilman of Pres du Verdun soldier and Gerrit Haas of Zanten sailor. I have that day in part begun to comprehend from questioning and free confessions, what a godless life it was, that has been lived here, the goods of the Company which they have fished up, as *laken* [CLOTH], fabrics, golden *pasementen*, and other wear, were very shamefully misused by making them into clothes trimmed with as much golden *pasementen* as possible, Jeronimus set the example, as appeared from his clothes found here. Moreover, all my clothes or goods he made his own, yea none was exempt, and he used it as if it had been left to him by will, whereby he gave free rein to the utmost to his pride and devilish arrogance on these poor miserable islands. More, by changing daily into different clothes, silk stockings, garters with gold laces, and by putting on suchlike adornments belonging to other persons. Moreover, to all his followers whom he could best trust, and who were most willing to murder, he gave clothes made from red *laken* [CLOTH] strimmed with 2 or more golden *pasementen*, creating a new mode of cassocks<sup>47</sup>, believing that such evil vain pleasure as this could last for ever. Furthermore, when the most murders had been committed, they shared the women who remained, or rather whom they had meant to stay alive, namely, Jeronimus took Lucretia Jansz, wife of Boudewijn van der Myjlen, Coenraat van Huijssen, Judith Gijsbrechtsz, [247 v] eldest daughter of the predicant, furthermore, the sisters Trijn and Zussie Fredricx, and Anneken Bosschieters should be available for common service. Jeronimus made several articles to which the women had to be put on oath if they wanted to remain alive, that they had to be obedient to the men in all that they should desire of them. Of such oaths Jeronimus has made several, and he has also taken the oaths of the men he wanted to save, that they should be obedient to him in

every way in whatever he should order them, and that they should be faithful to him, he pledged himself on his soul and salvation that those who signed the same, and whom he included, need not have any fear or mistrust that they would be murdered, thought it has nevertheless happened that some of those who signed, or took the oath, had to be killed by hatred or distrust, therefore he tore the oath of agreement publicly, by which action he dismissed the same, and so those who had to die were murdered at night, and then a new agreement was made. Of these I have found some, and read as follows:

We undersigned persons, in order to remove all distrust that may be amongst us, or that may arise between us, and nevermore to have any recollection of such, will promise with this written agreement, making to each other the greatest oath that anyone can take, to be faithful in everything, so help us God, and will take the same on the salvation of our souls, to be faithful in everything, also that we shall do no harm to any of us undersigned, nor make any plan before the one has warned the other, nor shall anyone, without the other knowing it, undertake anything, be it by favour or by hatred, but assist one another in brotherly affection in all matters that may happen. And towards further security we have signed this separately this 12 July anno 1629, thus done on the island named *Batavia's* Graveyard.

[248 r] Furthermore, dated as below, another similar, reading,

We undersigned persons, in order to remove all distrust that may be amongst us or that may arise between us, and nevermore to have any recollection of such, will promise with this written unbreakable agreement, making to each other the greatest oath that anyone can take, to be faithful in everything, *so help us God*, and on our souls' salvation, also that God shall punish us here and hereafter in eternity, in as much as we undersigned persons may undertake any plan without revealing it to each, and that none shall undertake any plan separately be it by favour or by hatred, but in all matters that may happen assist each other in brotherly affection for the common welfare. And to maintain the given laws with the following women, Lucretia Jansz, Anneken Hardens, Judith Gijsbertsz, Trijntien and Zussie Fredricx, Anneken Bosschieters, and Marretgien Louijs. To be certain, we have written our names with our own hand here below. Thus decided on the Island *Batavia* 's Graveyard, the 16 July anno 1629.

Also,

We undersigned persons being present on this island, councillors as well as soldiers, sailors, as well as our *Dominij*<sup>48</sup> no one excepted, whoever it may be. Accept as our chief, as captain general *Jeronimo Cornelij*, whom we with one accord, and each separately swear *so help us God*, 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 have bound ourselves with a common hand herewith destroying and casting away all previous promises, public and particular, and oaths which have been taken before this, [248 v] under which are included the secret comradeship's, tent-ships, and others. Also that the ship's folk amongst us will not be called sailors any more, but will be reckoned on the same footing as soldiers, under one company. Thus done on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, 20 August anno 1629.

This following letter is by Jeronimus Cornelisz on 23 July, translated into French, with Daniel Cornelisz sent secretly to the isle of Wiebbe Haijes, in order to bring some French soldiers there to treason and to murder their own people and was as follows:

Beloved brothers and friends, Jean Hongaar, Jean Reijnouw de Miambrij, Thomas de Villier, Jean Boniver, and Eduward Coo. The more we consider amongst ourselves your previous faithfulness and brotherly friendship, the more we wonder that you who left willingly 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 truest brothers and friends, and have desired still more bonds and mateships (which we consider as valuable as our own lives), and still endeavour to strive therefore. More, we think it strange that you seemed to give hearing to the tale-bearing of some evil-doers who here had deserved death on account of mutiny, and therefore were sent by us to another island, but came to you without our knowledge. That on the island we have bound Jean Coos de Sallij, only happened on account of Jean Thirion, whom we also sent (because he had drunk out of the *legger* [BARREL]), for we feared that Jean Coos might help him, which was otherwise, as we learnt later on, for Jean has offered to stab him, if he were allowed to live and die with us, with which he would have done a particular friendship for us, and still shall do so. Now then, beloved brothers and friends, Jean Hongaar, Jean Renouw, Thomas de Villier, Jean Boniver, Eduward Coo, and Jean Coos, come to [249 r] us, help us to maintain justice and to punish the evil-doers in particular to give into our hands alive those who so treacherously the day before yesterday robbed us and Your Hons. (because we and you are one) of our greatest help, the little yawl, and also give to our hands Lucas the steward's mate, Cornelis the fat trumpeter, Cornelis the assistant, deaf Jan Michielsz, Ariaen the gunner, squinting Hendrick, Theunis Claasz, Cornelis Helmigs, and other sailors who are with Your Hons., for they have in their possession (unknown to you) a compass, in order thus to go secretly with the little boat to the high land. The merchant, who has a particular liking for, and trust in Wiebbe Haijes, wishes and requests that you should inform him secretly of this. Furthermore, we refer everything to a report Your Hon. confrere Daniel Cornelisz will make verbally, if Your Hons. will give him free hearing. Herewith, beloved brothers and friends, we commit Your Hon. altogether to the protection and safekeeping of the Highest. This 23 July anno 1629 on the Island *Batavia*'s Graveyard. Was signed

*Jeronimus Cornelisz.*

Those were the recourses, because they saw that they could not overcome the people on the High Island with force, to overcome them in such a manner, by treason; and with that purpose they wrote more suchlike letters, which copies have not all been found, in order to deceive them. But it seemed that when the cruel things they had started, although they still had the intention to do more, were at the culminating point, God Almighty had stopped their evil intention by destroying some of the principal leaders by the sword and by causing Jeronimus, the author of all, to be captured, as before mentioned, in order to make more and more known to all men the wonder of His justice.

[249 v] On 20 do. before noon, I have sent the boat aboard <sup>49</sup>, to get what we were needing, also the yawl to the island where the people of Wiebbe Haijes were, to fetch water, because they had found, very miraculously after they had been on the island 20 days, 2 pits with fresh water, which with ebb and high tide flow up and down, therefore they thought it was salt water, as I shall relate later on in more detail.

On 21 do. the wind e.-s.-e. with a hard gale, with it we noticed that the water here remained very low, and because of the hard wind the yawl could not return, we spent this day with examinations.

On 22 do. the wind was as before, but no yawl to be seen. Before noon, I went with the skipper and 3 men in a boat to the wreck in order to see if one could inspect the precise situation, but the breakers were running so high that the swimmers could not get through, towards evening the yawl came back aboard.

On 23 do. the wind as before, in the morning I had the scoundrels who had been held secure on Seals Island, fetched from there for examination, and I have 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, but he has come back with the information that it was impossible to get near it because of the heavy breakers.

On 24 do. the skipper went aboard with the boat for some necessities, because it was impossible to work at the wreck.

On 25 do. in the morning when the weather was quiet, I sent the skipper with the steersman to the wreck in order to see if it were possible to begin work. When they reached it, I noticed that they were busy hauling something up, therefore I sent them the other boat [250 r], with a crew, in order to help them, and I also went in the smallest boat with 2 cabin boys and a man, to the same spot, and saw that they had fished up a chest with *clatergout* [TINSEL] <sup>50</sup> as well as a money chest, which they brought to a shallow a little way from the wreck. I stepped into the other boat, which was also engaged in fishing up, and we got yet another money chest above water. The *Gouseratse* divers <sup>51</sup> said they saw yet another six that could be got. Meanwhile, I brought the money chest which we had bouyed, to the shallow also, and the divers prepared yet another for when the skipper should come, so that we had now 4 chests, when it started to blow again very hard, and the surf came up so that we had to leave the wreck. Therefore we fetched the money chests that had been taken to the shallows and brought them to the Island *Batavia* 's Graveyard. The rest of the day was spent in examining.

On 26 do. a hard wind out of the s.-west so that we could not work at the wreck, therefore a boat has been sent to an island on the opposite side in order to fetch several empty oil barrels, amongst other things, and a capstan that was lying there, before noon also a yawl has been sent for water, and I have ordered Cornelis Jansz of Amsterdam, assistant, and Aris Janssz of Hoorn, barber, to be fetched, in order to examine them regarding what had happened to them when they were escaping, at the time when they were to have been killed. But after noon it started to become very calm and the sea was smooth, therefore I sent the skipper immediately to the wreck in order to haul up the chests with money (which we had seen yesterday), in the afternoon he returned with 3 chests with money, and there was yet one chest which was impossible to get for the time being because on it was a cannon with an anchor across it, which would have to be pushed away with force.

On 27 do. the wind out of the south, hard gale not able to do anything about the wreck. Before noon [250 v] the yawl came with the 2 above mentioned persons Cornelis, and Aris from the High Island, so that we went on with the examining of the scoundrels, and the day was spent doing that.

On 28 do. the wind southerly, with hard gale, so that we have not been able to do anything at the wreck. Therefore, after completing a thorough examination of the principal murderers and villains, from their own confessions as well as from numerous witnesses, and God save the mark, have got enough information, as seen by the following written testimonies I have called together the council, and after ripe deliberation have put to them the question whether those against whom innocent blood is calling for revenge, should be captive taken to *Batavia* before the Hon. Lord General, or whether 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. Because some, more hardened, are already impregnated with the bad life, whilst others have sipped a little of the poison, and they could easily become wholly corrupted by the richness of the salvaged wealth which belongs to our Lord Masters, which we have now fished up. Therefore it would not be without danger for the ship and the goods with so many corrupted and half corrupted people to set off to sea, have decided, as appears from the following resolution.

On this day the 28 September 1629 on the island named *Batavia*'s Graveyard situated near by the wreck of the lost ship *Batavia*, on the latitude of 28 1/2 degrees southern latitude, about 9 miles from the main Southland, the Commander *Francisco Pelsart*, and the ship's council of the Yacht *Sardam*, resolved as follows.

Because we have, thanks to God, at last arrived with the Yacht *Sardam*, on the 17th of this month, after suffering many dangers, at the High Island 2 miles from the wreck, where a [251 r] small boat with four men came to the Commander, who had gone ashore with bread, water and wine in order to assist, because of the smoke that we saw rising up there, (they came to warn us) that he should go back immediately on board, because there was on the islands near the wreck, a party of scoundrels who had the intention to seize the yacht, also that they had been able to capture Jeronimus Cornelisz (who was chief of the scoundrels), whom the Commander immediately ordered to be brought on board, and had himself returned with the yawl to the ship and had imparted the sad tidings of what he had briefly understood, upon which we prepared ourselves for defence, and shortly afterwards 11 men from a flat-bottomed yawl have come on board, who were all taken prisoner and examined, as well as Jeronimus Cornelisz, who was brought captive aboard that day. Out of which, as well as from the other scoundrels, we have realised with great grief the gruesome and abominable murders which the said Jeronimus, with Davidt van Sevanck, assistant, Coentraat van Huijssen, cadet Jacop Pietersz, lanspesaet, who 14 days ago, when Jeronimus was captured, had been killed on the High Island, except Jacop Pietersz (having the intention and having executed) were all of the opinion to reduce the number of people to 40, and who tried till the end to master a certain party of 47 souls who had escaped out of the murdering on the High Island and so saved their lives (and to master them with force and murder them). In order thus, according to their confessions, to seize the first yacht that should come to rescue them, and with it to sail to *Spain*, *Barbary*, or suchlike places.

Furthermore, we learned from their own confessions and the testimony of all the living persons, that they have drowned, murdered and brought to death with all

manner of cruelties, more than 120 persons, men, women and children as well, of whom the principal murderers amongst those still alive have been: Leenert Michielsz van Os [251 v] soldier, Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh, cadet, Jan Hendricxsz of Bremen soldier, Allert Janssz of Assendelft gunner, Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, Jan Pelgrom de Bijje of Bemmell, 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 straight truth, and from the examinations and free will confessions of Jeronimus Cornelisz we found that he, on the ship *Batavia*, after sailing from *Cabo de Bone Esperansa*, with the skipper Ariaen Jacobsz, conspired to seize the ship, they would have murdered all but 120 persons, with which they would have started first on robbery, and after that they would have sailed to Spain and suchlike countries. But because the ship was wrecked they have not been able to carry this out.

Further confesses that all people had been murdered on his order and with common agreement of his council, in order, as has been said, to reduce them to a small number. Also confesses that he with Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, and Jacop Pietersz had decided to seize the first-coming yacht, namely, after they had mastered the folk on the great island, or won them over, that then, when a ship should come, they would allow the boat to come ashore, and they would make the crew of it drunk, in order to kill them easily, and then with the same boat to surprise the yacht at night, which as far as they thought could not possibly fail, because they reckoned that on it would come only 20 to 30 men<sup>52</sup>.

Therefore after long examination of all people who have been on the island, in order to come to the straight truth, which, praise be to God, we have found, the question has been put by the Commander, whether one should take such a gruesome villain (who is with all think- [252 r] able misdeeds and horror besmirched) in captivity on our ship to *Batavia* to bring him before the Hon. Lord General, who could give him the justly deserved punishment, or whether, because according to the strict order of our Lord Masters, villains and criminal evil-doers must not be brought to *Batavia*, in order not to put ships and men in further danger (should be punished here).

Therefore we have exchanged our thoughts thoroughly and maturely and have considered, because we found one gruesome sin in the above mentioned Jeronimus, besmirched in every way not only with abominable misdeeds but also with damnable heresy, declaring that there is neither devil nor hell, and has tried to imprint the same into the people here on the island. Moreover that he is still working daily to bring with his tongue credulous people to a wrong opinion and lead them 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 the valuable goods that have been fished up here, praise be to God, may be safe against further disaster, to sentence the said Jeronimus Cornelisz, together with the worst and most willing murderers, who have made a profession of it, accordingly we sentence and condemn with this, that firstly

Jeronimus Cornelisz, of Haarlem, apothecary, and late under merchant of the ship *Batavia*, on Monday, being the first of October, as he has requested to be baptised (shall be taken) to Seals Island, to a place made ready for it in order to exercise Justice, and there firstly to cut off both his hands, and after this shall be punished on the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all

his money, gold, silver, monthly wages, and all claims which here in India he may have against the profits of the General East India Company of our Lord Masters.

Jan Hendricxsz of Bremen soldier, aged about 24 years, who according to his confession and examination *int largo*<sup>53</sup>, has murdered 17 to 18 people and helped murder them, as well as having the intention to seize the yacht that came to rescue them, shall also be taken to the above mentioned Seals Island, at which place Justice shall be exercised, in order that there firstly his right hand shall be cut off, and after that he shall be punished on the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages and all that he may have to claim against the Hon. Lord Masters. Also

Lenart Michielsz van Os, cadet aged about 21 years, who according to his free will confession has murdered 12 people or has helped to murder them, and who has slept with married women and has used as his concubine Anneken Bosschiers wife of Jan Carstensz of Tonningen. Therefore he shall be taken to Seals Island in order that there, firstly, his right hand shall be cut off, and after that he shall be punished on the gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly moneys, and all that he may have to claim against the Hon. Lord Masters. Also

Mattijs Beijr of Munsterbergh soldier aged about 21 years old, who according to his freewill confession *int largo*, has murdered 9 people or has helped to murder them, also has Zussie Fredricx, married woman used as his concubine. Therefore he shall also be taken to Seals Island in order, firstly, to cut off his right hand, and after that to punish him on the gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly moneys, and all that he may have to claim against the Hon. Lord Masters. Also

Allert Janssen of Assendelf gunner, aged about 24 years, who according to his freewill confession in full, has confessed to being persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz to help to seize the ship *Batavia*, to which he had consented. As well, he has cut the throat of Andries de Bruijn of Haarlem boy, also has helped to murder Jan Pinten Englishman, and that one night with the others, he had the intention to kill Aris Jansz of Hoorn, barber, however through the bluntness of his sword, though he gave him a blow on the shoulder, it did not penetrate and the above mentioned Aris escaped helped by the darkness into the water, as well has committed many wilful deeds during the wrecking of the ship. Therefore he shall also be taken to Seals Island in order that there first his right hand shall be cut off, and after that he shall be punished on the gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages, and all that he may have to claim against the Lords. Also

Jan Pelgrom de Bijde of Bommel, aged about 18 years, late cabin servant on the ship *Batavia*, who according to his own freewill confession has behaved in a godless manner in words and deeds, more fitting to a beast than a man, has also murdered on Seals Island a boy and Janneken Gist, wife of Jan Hendricxz from the Hague, gunner, and has also helped Andries Jonas to kill. And on 16 August required very urgently that he should be allowed to behead Cornelis Aldersz of Ylpendam, *hooploper* [YOUNG SAILOR], but this was allowed to Mattijs Beijr, about which he wept. He also has had carnal knowledge of Zussien and Trijntgien Fredricxsz, both

sisters, and Anneken Bosschieters, all married women. Therefore he also shall be taken to Seals Island in order there to punish him on the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages and all that he may have to claim against Lord Masters. Also

[253 v] Andries Jonas of Luyck soldier, aged about 40 years, who according to his freewill confession has also put a spear through the throat of Pauwels van Harderwijck in the water when he was stabbed to death, and has cut the throat, on Seals Island, of Maijken Soers, who was pregnant, and also has helped, together with Jan van Bommel, to kill Janneken Gist. And he has allowed himself to be used of his own freewill at all enterprises. Therefore he also shall be taken to Seals Island in order to be punished there on the gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages, and all that he may have to claim against Lord Masters. Also

Rutger Fredricxen of Groeningen locksmith, aged about 23 years, who according to his freewill confession bound the hands and feet of Jacop Groenewaldt, upper trumpeter, when he was to be drowned, and was carried into the sea by Sevanck and de Vries. Also when Pieter Jansz provost, was thrown into the sea from a raft with 14 of them, and Pauls Barentsz with Bessel Jansz, both from Harderwijck, Niclaas Winckelhaack, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenborgh, escaped by swimming and fled here on this island, but was then ordered by Jeronimus that they should be killed, and he, Rutger, has given Pauwels Barentsz 2 strokes with his sword, and from that he has gone towards Claas Harmansz, whom he had killed single handed. Also when Andries de Vries, assistant, was ordered to be killed, the above mentioned Rutger, Jan Hendricxen and Lenert Michielsz were called by Jeronimus into his tent, and each was given a sword in order to smite de Vries to death where to he allowed himself to be used willingly, without protest. When de Vries saw that it was his life where they were after, he fled into the water, and Lenert Michielsz followed him into the water and killed him with 2 strokes, so that he had not been able to have a hand in that. [254 r] Secondly, Jeronimus affirms that the mentioned Rutger has very much of his own freewill allowed himself to be used in all things, together with Mattijs Beer or suchlike, and therefore cannot talk himself clean. Therefore he also shall be taken to Seals Island to be punished there on the allows till death follows, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages, and all that he may have to claim against Lord Masters.

Having resolved as well, as there are still some miscreants here in captivity, because we are not as yet fully informed or certain of all their misdeeds, and secondly, insofar as we till now are conscious of them, are in doubt whether they should be considered to death or whether their lives may be spared without falling into disgrace with the Hon. Lord General. Therefore the under mentioned persons shall be kept in captivity, thus to bring them to Batavia to the Hon. Lord General, or to punish them on the way, according to time and occasion. Namely,

Wouter Loos of Maastricht, solder, but who has been made captain of the rebel troop after the capture of Jeronimus Cornelis,  
Jacop Pietersz of Amsterdam, lanspesat, councillor of Jeronimus as well as Sevanck and Coenraat van Huysen,  
Hans Jacop of Basel, cadet,  
Daniel Cornelisz of Dort cadet,  
Andries Liebent of Oldens cadet,

Hans Fredrick of Bremen soldier,  
 Cornelis Jansz of Haarlem sailor,  
 Rogier Decker of Haarlem formerly boy to Jeronimus,  
 Jan Willemsz Selijns of Amsterdam, cooper.

And the rest of the captives can go free till further resolution, or without coming other objections.

[254 v] Also, because we notice from various testimonies that Wiebbe Haijes of Winschooten soldier, all the time that he has been with 47 people on the High Island, has faithfully protected and defended them when they were three times attacked by the party of murderers who had intended to kill them all. Have decided, as there are no officers over the soldiers, to appoint the above mentioned Wiebbe Haijes sergeant of the same, we do so forthwith with the salary of 18<sup>54</sup> guilders per month, beginning from today. Also,

Otto Smit of Halverstadt

Allert Jansz of Elsen cadets

On account of their good conduct, to be promoted as well as Wiebbe Hayes, to corporals with a salary of 15 guilders per month, beginning from today. Thus done and laid down on the Island *Batavia*'s Graveyard, date as above.

*Franciscoo Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobsz *houten man* [WOODEN MAN]

<sup>55</sup>

Claas Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan Willemsz Visch<sup>56</sup>

[255 r] First there will follow the examinations of Jeronimus Cornelisz, from the day when he was brought to us as a prisoner until today; have been busy with him daily; as well as his freewill confession, concerning the great, evil, misdeeds done and intended by him. Whereupon follow the sentence that has been pronounced on him, as well as on his accomplices.

Today 17 September 1629, after noon has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council to bring forward Jeronimus Cornelisz of Haarlem, apothecary, and formerly under merchant on the ship *Batavia*, captured brought aboard, in order to examine the gruesome deeds which had done, and still had in mind to do, and if necessary to put to torture, on the yacht *Sardam*, date as above.

Jeronimus Cornelisz, brought in, has been asked by the Commander why through the devil he has denuded himself of all humanity, and why he was more evil than if he had been changed into a tiger animal, so that he had to let flow so much innocent blood, and also has had the intention also to do that with us. Whereon he

says, everything that has been done is not my fault, but Davidt Sevanck, Gijsbert van Welderen and Coenraat van Huijssen have carried it out and forced me to it, otherwise I would have to die. And furthermore has desired to be heard in order to plead himself free, and has been ordered to tell from the beginning.

Says that after the wrecking of the ship, he had been 10 days on the wreck and that the same had been smitten to pieces during that time, so that he sat for 2 days in the bowsprit *marsse* [MAIN TOP] and at last has come ashore with the *wangh* [POLE] of the same bowsprit. He found that a cask of water, ditto wine, ditto vinegar, washed at the same time to the island. Having been on the island for about a [255 v] month, Davidt Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen, cadet, with another 12, have come to his tent about 10 or 11 hours, armed, the above mentioned persons saying that there were too many people and the food was too little, that they had the intention to surprise all the people in the tents and to kill them all except 40. Whereon he, Jeronimus has requested them that they should not do this, but that it was better to send the folk to the high island in order to join 22 other men, who had been sent previously in search of water, which they would scarcely permit, but because he implored it, a party had been sent away. Seventeen days after that happened, Sevanck went with a sloop of people to the island where the above mentioned party of people were, and he with his associates have murdered them all, except 7 *jongers* and some women. Coming back, Sevanck told Jeronimus that he had done that, and that he also wished that had also happened to the rest who were on the high island, then they would not have to expect any damage from them. Seven to 8 days after that, they have come again to Jeronimus and said that they would sail to the opposite side to fight against the other folk, the more because Pieter Lambertsz, sailor, with a little self-made boat had saved his life and fled, and in order to get it back if possible, and using it kill the people. Whereto they chose 22 men, which intention Jeronimus said was not to his liking, but he would have requested them to get ready a boat or sloop in order to go to the mainland and afterwards to India, which to them seemed impossible, but they have gone out, according to the before mentioned resolution, with the 22 men. When they returned Jeronimus would again have requested them to make a vessel in readiness, but on the contrary they have gone out again with three little yawls with 37 men, amongst whom was Jeronimus, in order to prevent as much as possible the fighting, if it came to that, they [256 r] went straight at them, but the others guarded the beach and stood up to their knees in the water, so Jeronimus requested to talk with them and to come to accord. Meanwhile, through the mediation of the *dominij* [MINISTER], who went to and fro, the fighting had stopt 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 small boat. Whereon the people became very angry and wanted to fight because Coenraat van Huijssen said, he would fight them the following day, against the wish of everybody. The next day Jeronimus has returned with *laken*, with him six persons, namely, himself, Davidt Sevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Wouter Loos, and Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, of whom 4 persons have been killed through a fight that arose. Wouter Loos escaped, and Jeronimus was taken prisoner.

The Commander proposes to bring to torture the above mentioned Jeronimus in order to learn from him the straight truth, as he tries to exonerate himself with flowery talk, shoving his dirt on to persons who are dead

and cannot answer for themselves, the which we councillors thought very necessary.

Jeronimus Cornelisz being bound and having started to torture him a little, requests a postponement, for he wished to tell that which one had asked him, and what he knew. Has been permitted to be heard. The Commander has desired to know from him why, and in what manner he desired to seize the yacht. He declares, that at the time when the 22 men had gone to the island for the fight, and he called them back, Sevanck has told, when he was in the sloop, of a dream of Lucas Jelisz cadet, when there would come a yacht and that it was necessary to seize it to sail to *Spain* or other places near there, and such at last has been decided.

Furthermore asked in what manner they would have done it, said, that if a yacht [256 v] came, they would have let the boat come ashore and then they would have made the crew drunk in order to kill them easily, and so without any difficulty they would have seized it, whereupon they had desired to see the jewels of the Company and have them valued, what would be everyone's share, Jeronimus has opened and has shown them.

Yesterday the 18 September in the afternoon, Jeronimus Cornelisz, sitting locked up in the foredeck of the ship *Sardam*, with Jan Henricxz soldier, close to him, while Jan Willemsz of Dort sailor, was lying on the foredeck above their heads, and has heard that Jeronimus Cornelisz asked the ditto Jan Henricxsz why on the morning of the 17th they had not got the little boat when they were fighting with the others, and why the muskets had not gone off, whether the gunpowder had been wet. Jan Hendricxsz answered, if we could have fired with the musket then we should certainly have got them, but the gunpowder burned away 3 to 4 times from the touchhole<sup>57</sup>. Whereon Jeronimus said, if you had used some cunning, you would have got it all ready on the water and then we should have been all right. This we have verified with Jeronimus, and Jan Hendricxsz confesses that the same has happened thus.

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

Jeronimus Cornelisz bound, and made ready for torture, requested pause, that he would say truthfully what he knew, and he has been asked by the Commander why he advised the skipper Arian Jacopsz to seize the ship *Batavia*, denied the same, yea, that he did not know anything about it, but wished to tell in full the origin of his shameful life, to wit. When we have gone under sail from *Sierra Lionas*, he noticed that the skipper made great familiarity with Lucretia, for which he chided him, and asked what he intended with that woman. The skipper answered that because [257 r] she was fair, he desired to tempt her to his will, and to make her willing with gold or other means. Sometime later Jeronimus further has asked him why he was no longer so familiar towards Lucretia, but had become crazed anew by Zwaantgien. Said, that he understood from the cook's wife that she was a whore, and that, moreover, he had more pleasure to talk with Zwaantgien and to spend time with her. When they had come to the *Cabo* and the Commander had gone ashore, Jeronimus Cornelisz, coming unexpectedly into the cabin, and opening the privy in the gallery<sup>58</sup> found the skipper and Zwaantien in the act of carnal knowledge with each other, therefore he closed the door and went away. Two days after that, the Commander has again gone ashore in order to seek cattle inland. Shortly after he left, the skipper, taking with him

Jeronimus and Zwaantie, has gone ashore, and they went on a pleasure trip thus until evening, when they then sailed to the yacht *Assendelft*<sup>59</sup> where the foresaid Ariaen behaved himself very extravagant and at night time they went to the ship *Bueren*<sup>60</sup> where he behaved himself much worse, and at midnight they came again aboard. The next day in the morning, the Commander called him into the gallery and chided him over his arrogance and deeds committed by him, and also because he had taken with him, without permission Jeronimus and Zwaantie, saying that if he did not refrain from his unheard of behaviour, he would take a hand, with more other good adminishments. Skipper Ariaen, coming above again, said to Jeronimus, by God, if the ships were not lying there, I should get at him so 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 go under sail from here, that I soon will be away from the other ships, and then I shall be able to be my own master. Whereupon Jeronimus said, how would you manage that, for the steersmen also have the watch? Answered, that is nothing, I will manage it in my own watch, but I do not trust the upper steersman and still less my brother-in-law, to fall in with my plan.

The Commander asking him further [257 v], because he wished to know when the decision to seize the ship had been made, denied knowing anything about it.

Therefore again made ready to torture.

And after a little water<sup>61</sup> has been poured out, says that he will say all that he knows that he has heard for the first time on the day that the ship *Batavia* was wrecked, 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 stranded, they would have seized the same within a short time, and they would have thrown the Commander overboard, with all people except 120, and that they were only awaiting a good opportunity, one they considered to be best, when the Commander should put in irons those who had laid hands on Lucretia. They would have run with the ship firstly to *Madagascar* or *St Helena*. Declares, to have heard the same also out of the mouth of Coenraat van Huysen, that when the foresaid persons were punished, or put in irons, he would have been amongst the first who would have jumped with a sword into the cabin, in order to throw the Commander overboard. Again asked if he did not know anything about this before the ship was wrecked, denies, no.

Have ordered to go on with the torture, has again desired to hear some of his accusers, which has been granted him.

Jan Hendricxsz solider being called, asked whether he has been one of the conspirators in the seizing of the ship. Says that he was not one of them, and that he had not known anything of it on board, but that he had heard from several people after the wrecking of the ship, who were dead now, that the skipper, Jeronimus, the high boatswain, Rijckert Woutersz, Allert Jansz of Assendelft, Cornelis Jansz of Haarlem, alias *Boontien*<sup>62</sup>, Gijsbert van Welderen, [258 r] Coenraat van Huijssen, with 10 to 12 others would have started the same, and that they would have nailed the soldiers' hatch until they had their will with the ship. But that Allert Janssz of Assendelft was certainly one of the accomplices.

Allert Janssen of Assendelft being called, has been examined, free and unbound, in what manner would they have mastered the ship *Batavia*, and who had put them up to that? He answered, that he did not know about it, but he had heard it said on land, by Jeronimus, that they wanted to do that, and that parties had swords lying in their hammocks, but would not confess any more.

Put to torture about this, persisted that he knew nothing of it.

After beginning of the torture he prays to be let free, as he will speak the truth. Says, that Jeronimus has come to him on the ship and has made a proposal to him, whether he would take a hand in the seizing of the ship. But had said neither yea nor nay. When more water has been poured out for the torture, confesses that the high boatswain, Jacop Pietersz stone-mason<sup>63</sup> and he with still others, had swords lying in their hammocks. Threatened him further confesses, that the skipper was the ringleader, and that as far as he knew they were only 10 to 12 men strong, and that it would have happened at night and they would have nailed the hatch in order to master the ship more easily.

Jeronimus Cornelisz again brought into the tent, and being bound for torture, as one could not get from him the straight truth, and asked whether he had not sounded Assendelft for that, confesses, yea, but that the skipper Ariaen has ordered him such, and that he was seduced by him. He, being asked why the skipper was so embittered against the Commander says, that he does not know, for he often wondered that he accepted him so much and put up with him, but that the skipper had told him that he had started to hate the Commander when he was in *Souratte* waiting, [258 v] to sail to the fatherland<sup>64</sup> and when he had gone too far in words one night, whereon the Commander *Grijph* and *Wollenbrand Gheleijnsen* upper merchant, rebuked him, saying that that was not the manner to sail in peace to the fatherland, and that he must behave himself differently towards the Commander, and that he had dissembled a little on their behalf. Furthermore asked why the Commander should not have been thrown overboard secretly if it was only hate, because then they would not have brought so much damage to our Lord Masters and would not have had to murder so many innocent people, he says, the Commander was not the whole desire, but the skipper said to him that it would be to their advantage and because there was now so little profit to be got in India, he would do wonders with that ship. Jeronimus asked him would it not be dangerous, and whether they would be able to bring it off, the skipper said, let me go my way, I will manage it. For I can trust 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 done it, said, when the Commander would have put in irons the folk concerned in the deed with Lucretia. Him further asked whether the Company and the Commander had deserved that from him, says, no. But that he has enjoyed more favour and consideration than he deserved, but the skipper had brought him to it, and painted to him great riches, the skipper said, I am still for the devil if I go to *Indien*, then I shall get into trouble in any case.

Further examined why he had put about the story among the people that the Commander when he left the ship, had ordered him to reduce the number of people to 40, he denies that, and that the Commander had not said this to him, but that Davidt Sevanck thought it necessary to put that to the people, [259 r] confesses also that Davidt Sevanck and Lucas Jelisz had resolved between themselves to seize the

first yacht that came in order to sail with that to *Spain* or some place nearby, for they all thought that the skipper certainly had smitten the Commander overboard from the boat, and that he had run with the boat to *Mallacca* in order to get a yacht there, to get in that way the folks and the money. Or, if he had the hardihood to go to *Batavia*, he would certainly have got a yacht from the Hon. Lord General in order to reach again the ship and the people, and if that had happened, they would be ready.

Being asked why he had ordered mister Frans Jansz of Hoorn, upperbarber<sup>65</sup> to be killed recently, he said that he was in the way of Sevanck, and secondly, that he would not dance exactly to their pipes, so they had little confidence in him.

Being asked who the most innocent were, he says, Jacques Pilman, Jeurian Jansz of Bremen sailor, Reynder Hendricxsz of Barklooster steward, Abraham Jansz of Yperen gunner, Teunis Jansz of Amsterdam carpenter, Jan Egbertsz of Amsterdam carpenter, Jan Willemsz Selijnsz of Amsterdam cooper.

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

And because of the want of trust that was among the leaders and other principals, they have made an oath of trust amongst themselves, and whoever had been included in it and had signed it, would be spared, and this went as follows

We undersigned persons, in order to remove all distrust that may be amongst us or that may arise between us, and nevermore to have any recollection of such [259 v], will promise with this written unbreakable agreement, making to each other the greatest oath that anyone can take, to be faithful in everything, *so help us God*, and on our souls' salvation, also that God shall punish us here and hereafter in eternity, in as much as we undersigned persons may undertake any plan without revealing it to each, and that none shall undertake any plan separately be it by favour or by hatred. But in all matters that may happen assist each other in brotherly affection for the common welfare. And to maintain the given laws with the following women, Lucretia Jansz, Anneken Hardens, Judith Gijsbertsz, Trijntien and Zussie Fredricx, Anneken Bosschieters, and Marritgien Louijs. To be certain, 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 are,

Hieronimus Cornelisz, merchant  
 Coenraat van Huysen, councillor  
 Jacop Pietersz Cosijn, councillor  
 Davidt van Sevanck, councillor  
 Isbrant Ysbrantsz, assistant  
 Olivier van Welderen, cadet  
 Gijsbert van Welderen, cadet  
 Jan Pelgrom de Bye of Bemmell  
 Jan Henricx of Bremen, soldier  
 Lenert Michielsz van Os, cadet  
 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 Utrecht, soldier  
 Johan Jacop Heijlweck of Basel, cadet  
 Lucas Jelisz from the Hague, cadet  
 Reijnder Hendricx of Barklooster, steward  
 Daniel Corelisz of Dort, cadet  
 Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier  
 Gerrit Haas of Santen, sailor  
 Jan Willemsz Selijns of Amsterdam, cooper  
 Jeurian Jansz of Bremen, sailor  
 Hendrick Jaspersz of Montfort, soldier  
 Salomon Deschamps, undermerchant

[260 r] Also confesses that at last he did not any longer like the name of merchant, because there was no trade whatsoever. Therefore has given himself the title of Captain General, and that this was sworn to and undersigned by all persons, 36 altogether, that they had to call him thus, and recognize him as such and went as follows,

We undersigned persons, all being present on this island, both being councillors, soldiers, ship's mates, and also our minister, nobody whomsoever excepted, accept as our chieftain, as Captain-General, *Jeronimo Cornelij*, to whom we swear unanimously and severally, so help us God, to be faithful and obedient in whatever he shall command us, and whosoever shall do ought to the contrary shall be the Devil's own, with which we all together connect ourselves, herewith we cancel and retract all previous public and private promises and oaths, comprising all secret comradeship's, tent-mateship and other alliances of whatever. Furthermore will the ship's crew among us no longer be called ship's mates, but shall equally with the other soldiers be named and reckoned as belonging to one and the same company. Thus done on the island named *Batavia's Kerckhof*, on the 20th of August 1629. Signed persons and marks are as follows

Coenraat van Huijssen,  
 Davidt van Sevanck  
 Jan Pietersz Cosijn,  
 Wouter Loos, of Maastricht  
 Gijsbert van Welderen,  
 [260 v] Gijsbert Bastiansz, clergyman  
 Reijnder Hendricx, steward,  
 Jan Hendricx of Bremen soldier  
 Andries Jonas, of Luyck soldier  
 Rutget Fredercxsz locksmith  
 Mattijs Beer of Munsterberg soldier  
 Hans Frederick, of Bremen, soldier  
 Jacques Pilman of Pres, soldier,  
 Lucas Gillisse, from the Hague, cadet  
 Andries Liebent of Oldenburg soldier  
 Abraham Jansz of Yperen gunner  
 Hans Hardens, from Ditmarsen, soldier,  
 Olivier van Welderen, cadet  
 Jeurian Jansz of Bremen sailor,

Isbrant Isbrantsz of Purmerent assistant  
 Jan Willemsz Selijns, cooper,  
 Jan Egbertsz carpenter,  
 Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht soldier  
 Hendrick Jaspersz of Montfort, soldier  
 Jellis Phillipson of Malmédiens, soldier  
 Tewis Jansz of Amsterdam carpenter  
 Johan Jacop Heijlweck, of Basel, cadet  
 Gerrit Haas of Zanten sailor,  
 Claas Harmansz of Campen, *hooploper* [YOUNGSTER]  
 Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner  
 Rogier Decker of Haarlem boy  
 Gerrit Willemsz of Enchijs, sailor,  
 Abraham Gerritsz of *Sierra Liones*,  
 Jan Pelgrom de Bij of Bommel  
 Lenert Michielsz van Os, cadet,  
 Salomon Deschamps, undermerchant

Today the 22 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia* 's Kerchoff,

Jeronimus Cornelisz has again been asked whether he has consented to the seizing of the ship *Batavia* or whether he has been brought to it by the skipper, says, that he had not given counsel for it, but that the skipper persuaded him to it. [261 r] Asked if he would have seized the yacht when it should come, confesses this, when he had been able to overpower the other people on the island, for which they daily did their best, for otherwise they knew that they would have warned the ship.

Confesses also, in the presence of Jan Hendricxsz, that when Niclaas Winckelhaack, Paulus Barentsz and Bessel Jansz, of Harderwyijck, and Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh fled out of the water in which they had the intention to kill them, and came fleeing to the tent of Jeronimus, that he ordered the foresaid Jan Hendricxsz to kill them, which he did. Also, when the family of the minister was murdered, that he had said, the *domini* will not be here much longer. Also, when the sick were murdered, that Jeronimus, Gijsbert van Welderen, Coenraat van Huijssen, have taken Andries de Vries and brought him to all the huts of the sick and ordered him to cut their throats, which he did, being eleven people. Also, when Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht had cut the throat of Hendrick Claasz, under carpenter, that it had been done in the presence of Jeronimus. Was further accused by Allert Jansz of Assendelft, in his presence that when he ordered him to cut the throat of Andries de Bruyn boy, he send him to catch birds, and Assendelft has followed him, and so has been carried out.

To him Jeronimus Cornelisz had been read the above mentioned complete examination and confession, and is asked whether it is altogether true, confesses free and unbound, without torture, that everything has happened that way.

On the 23 ditto,

Jeronimus Cornelisz present at the examination of Lenert Michielsz, cadet, who confesses freely without torture, that he has sent him [261 v] together with Sevanck and Mattijs Beer, with a raft to the Traitors Island, in order to drown there Andries Liebent, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, alias *maffken* [ZANY], Thomas

Wensel of Copenhagen sailor, and Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, but Andries Liebent was granted respite by Lenert Michielisz. Confesses that this is true.

Secondly, that he has sent Lenert Michielisz, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Hendricxsz, Sevanck, Daniel Cornelisz and Mattijs Beer with the biggest raft, also sending with them Hans Radder of Dansich cadet, and Jacop Groenewaldt, upper trumpeter to tie the before mentioned their hands and feet and to drown them into the sea.

Thirdly, confesses that he has ordered to get out of their tents, Lenert *voorsz*, also Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, Hans Jacopsz, Jan Hendricxsz and master Frans the barber and told them to sail with the little yawl, along with Sevanck and van Huijssen to Seals Island, in order to murder all the people there which they did, except for 17 persons.

Fourthly, Jeronimus has called the said Lenert, also Jan Henricxsz and Rutger Fredericxsz into his tent and has given them swords in order to kill Andries de Vries assistant, which they did.

Fifthly, he confesses that when they had the intention to murder the family of the minister, he has given some food to Coenraat van Huijssen, saying that with that he must invite the minister and his daughter, as well as himself. In the afternoon he has called the said Lenert Michielisz, also Jacop Pieterssz, Jan Hendricxsz, Wouter Loos, Andries Jonas and Andries Liebent, and said that when in the evening he was a guest in van Huijssen's tent, they must kill the whole family of the minister, which they have done indeed.

[262 r] Sixthly, confesses that the said Lenert and Lucas Gillisz, with Jan Hendricxsz on the night of 12 July, had been hauled by him out of the tents and ordered to cut the throat of Passchier van den Ende, gunner, also of Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, and another boy who was sick, which they have done indeed.

Seventhly, confesses that he on the 6 August in the morning stood in the tent of Davidt van Sevanck and called Jan Hendricxsz and gave him his own dagger, which he carried in his pocket, saying, stick Stoffel Stoffelsz, the lazy fellow, who stands there working as if his back is broken, (through the heart) which Jan Hendricxsz did so.

Eighthly, confesses that also on 16 August he handed over his sword to Jan van Bommel to cut off the head of Cornelis Aldersz of Ylpendam *hooploper* [YOUNGSTER], in order to prove whether his sword was sharp, (the foresaid Jan van Bommel being too light) therefore Mattijs Beer instead has cut off his head in his presence.

Ninthly 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, present at the examination of Rogier Decker of Haarlem, late 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, also a dagger, saying, stab this into the heart of Hendrick Jansz of Purmerent, carpenter, which Rogier has done, confesses the above written to be true.

On the 28 ditto [262 v] because Lucas Gillisz from the Hague, cadet, following the above mentioned confession of Jeronimus, should also have been present at the murder of Passchier, confesses in the presence of Jeronimus that he, Sevanck, together with Leenert Michielisz and Jan Hendricxsz have been ordered by

Jeronimus to go and kill Passchier van Ende gunner and Jacop Hendricx carpenter and, coming near the tent, Jan Hendricxsz has sprung into it and cut the throat of the said Passchier, and Jacop Hendricx was ordered to remain in the tent and Sevanck, going to Jeronimus, said, Jacop is a good carpenter, let him to live. But Jeronimus said, he is only a *draijer* [TURNER/TWISTER] and half lame, tomorrow he might chatter, he must go too.

Towards broader confirmation if such is true, have called Lenert Michielsz and Jan Hendricxsz, confess on the salvation of their souls and willing to die on it, that it has so happened as is written here above. But Jeronimus denies it, saying they are lying, also that all he has confessed he has confessed because he has been threatened with torture, also that he knew nothing of the seizing of the ship *Batavia*.

Therefore, on account of his unsteady and variable confessions, practising crooked means though by all people accused in his own presence, in order to prove same to be lies. Have again and for the last time, threatened him with torture and asked why he mocked us, because he has confessed and told everything freely several times before this without torture, [both] the origin and the circumstances concerning the seizing of the ship *Batavia* as well as the gruesomeness that came about afterwards. Confesses, that all that he has said before this, is true [263 r],

But that what he asks for is delay, in order that he may be brought to Batavia in order to speak again to his wife, and that he well knows that all he has done is evil enough, and he desires no grace.

Jan Hendricxz and Allert Jansen of Assendelft have freely informed without being examined, that one night Jeronimus has invited them, and among other proposals, informed them that if the ship had not been wrecked, then it would have been seized, and that the principals were the skipper, he Jeronimus, high boatswain, Coenraat van Huysen, and others, and that they would have nailed up the soldiers' hatch, which has been confronted with, and confirmed as true.

On the same date in the afternoon, the Commander has read these examinations and confessions publicly before all the people on the island, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, and asked him if it was not true. Said, something was in it of which Assendelft, Jan Hendricxsz and others accused him wrongly. Therefore the Commander has again said to the prisoners who had been witnesses sworn before God, that if they lied to him in the least respect they would have to be responsible before the divine judgment chair. Have said and called out as one man that they would die on it, on the salvation of their souls, not to have lied in the least in the things heretofore confessed. Thus has the Commander again asked Jeronimus why he has mocked the council through his intolerable desperation, saying one time that they spoke the truth, another time that they all lied. Confesses at last that he did it to lengthen his life. But that he had done enough evil, as said.

On 29th ditto, Jeronimus Cornelisz wrote 2 letters to [263 v] his friends in Holland, and has given them to the understeersman Jacop Jacopsz Holloch <sup>66</sup> to deliver secretly, which the latter has handed over to the Commander, which have been opened in the council and read. Found that all what was mentioned therein was contrary to the truth, in order to cover up his gruesome misdeeds, thus, he by all men

has been accused with false lies, and therefore he has had to die, innocent. Therefore has the Commander read those letters to the whole community and has asked them again, on the salvation of their souls, if they in anything have wronged or unjustly accused him. They answered all together and each in particular, that all they have done has been at his order and that he had been the instigator of all murders, and that all that had happened or would have been happened, giving the salvation of their souls as pledge, that the same was true. Also, Allert Jansz of Assendelft confesses that so far as the seizing of the ship *Batavia* was concerned, he also was implicated in it, but that Jeronimus Cornelisz had firstly brought him to it on the ship. In order to make an end to these variable evasions, have ordered Jeronimus to speak the straight truth or he should be tortured, confesses that all the evasions he tries are to prolong his life, or to be taken to Batavia. Is asked why he mocked the council and why he wished to accuse them of wanting to kill him unjustly. Says, as before, to prolong his life. And confesses on his soul's salvation that all this of which he is being accused, is true.

We undersigned persons of the council, declare upon our Manly Truth in place of the duly attested Oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and that Jeronimus has confessed, mostly free and unbound, without torture, whereupon the Commander [264 r] for further confirmation of his criminal offences (*delicten*), which were unpardonable before God or our High Authorities, has read this examination today before all the people being on the island, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, and has asked him if this was not indeed the truth; confesses at last, (Yea), and because we have heard this same with sober ears and seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest this at all times, before all high and subaltern judges of the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* at *Batavia*, and if requested there, to testify and to confirm on 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.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobsz *Houten man* [WOODEN MAN]

*Salomon Deschamps*

Claas Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon Yopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan Willemsz Visch

[264 v] Because Jeronimus Cornelisz of Haarlem, aged about 30 years, apothecary, and late under merchant of the ship *Batavia*, has misbehaved himself so gruesomely and has gone beyond himself, yea has even been denuded of all humanity and has been changed as to a tiger. Namely, that before the ship *Batavia* was wrecked, he has allowed himself to be persuaded by the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz of Durkerdam<sup>67</sup>, that with the accomplices they already had, and still others whom they would persuade, they would seize the same ship and murder all, the Commander as well as the others, except 120 persons who would have been of use to them. Whereto Jeronimus has invited Allert Jansen of Assendelft gunner to the same fact, and has consented to it at last, according to his own confession.

Furthermore, after the wrecking of the ship, when the Commander *Pelsart* and the skipper were gone in search of water to the islands lying around and the main

Southland, and it had not been possible, according to the testimony of all men who had been present, to find water, though they searched up to 22 degrees and then were forced through their own thirst to sail to *Indien*[DUTCH EAST INDIA], so has Jeronimus, because he was here the chief and master of the people on the island, thought of evil, yea, even devilish means, and has carried them out, taking as his council persons of his own nature such as Davidt van Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen, who have decided to have murdered or destroyed all people until the amount of 45 or less, of whom the first ones have been Jan Cornelis of Amesvoort, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh soldier, and Thomas Wensel of Copenhagen sailor, whom have been sent secretly with a raft to drown, which was done.

Item, on 4 July he and the council have decided to kill Egbert Roeloffsz and Warnar Dircxsz carpenters, under the pretence that they had intended to get away with the little yawl which thus has happened.

[265 r] Item, on the 5 July, he and the council have decided that Hans Radder of Dansich cadet and Jacop Groenewald upper trumpeter, should be taken to an island and that there their hands and feet should be bound, and they should thus be carried into the sea, which has happened, although neither have done any misdeeds whatsoever.

Item that the party of boys, men and women, about 45 in number who had been put on Seals Island, Jeronimus with his council has decided, should be killed, and were slain on 15 July about 18 boys with whom were several men, and on the 18th he has ordered that the rest, with whom were 4 women, should kill as well, which thus has happened, but Cornelis Janssz of Amsterdam assistant, and Marcus Sijmons of Holsteijn soldier, and two sailors named Wagenaars have escaped.

Item, that 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 Winckelhaack soldier, Pauls Barentsz and Bessel Jansz, both of Harderwijk sailors, and yet others to the amount of 15 strong, who through Jeronimus had been put on Traitors Island, should there make a raft to sail with that to the high island, but when they have made two rafts and gone on the way with them, then have Jeronimus and his council decided that the same should be killed or drowned in the sea, and so is Sevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, Lenert Michielsz, Jan Hendricxsz and Lucas Gellisz with the little yawl have been ordered to go thereunto, and some of them were thrown into the sea, and some of them sprang of their own accord into the water and were drowned. But Niclas Winckelhak, Pauls Barents, Bessel Jansz and Claas Harmansz escaped by swimming, and thought to save themselves here on land. Then Jeronimus being here on the island, verbally ordered Jan [265 v] Hendricxsz and Rutger Fredricx that they should kill them, which was done.

Item, Jeronimus together with Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbert van Welderen, have gone out on the night of 10 July, having called Andries de Vries assistant, and forced him to cut the throats of a party of sick people, which he had to do.

Item about three days after the above mentioned event, Jeronimus, Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen, have called again the mentioned de Vries in order that he should cut the throats of some remaining sick, and they have forced him to it.

Item on 12 July at night Jeronimus has called to his tent Jan Hendricxsz, Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Jellisz, being present Davidt van Sevanck and Coenraat van Huyssen, and ordered them to cut the throats of Passchier van den Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, as well a sick boy, which Jan Hendricxsz and Lenert Michielsz have done.

Item on 14 July, Davidt van Sevanck has seen that Andries de Vries stood from afar and talked to Lucretia Jansz (during the day) and furthermore, because de Vries had been made to promise that if ever in his life he talked to her, he would have to die, therefore have decided to have the above mentioned de Vries killed, and Jeronimus has called Jan Hendricxsz, Lenert Michielsz, and Rutger Fredricxsz to his tent, and ordered them to kill de Vries, and to give them a sword to do so, and so they have slain him.

Item Jeronimus and the council on July have decided, that the family of the minister, except the minister and his eldest daughter, should be murdered at night. [266 r] To that purpose Jeronimus has allowed some food to be brought to the tent of Coenraat van Huijssen, saying that they must invite him together with the minister and his daughter, at night, and thus Jan Henricxen, Lenert Michielsz and Mattijs Beer were verbally ordered by Jeronimus, with Sevanck and others whom he should take with him, to kill the minister's family at night, and Jan Hendricxsz has stabbed Wijbrecht Claasz<sup>68</sup>, and Lenert Michielsz has beaten in the skull of the minister's wife<sup>69</sup> with an *dissel* [ADZE] as well as that of one of the children, and Mattijs Beer has killed Willemyntgien middle daughter, beating in her skull with an adze as well, the rest have been slain by Zevanck, Cornelis Pietersz from Utrecht and others because it was night and people could see nothing.

Item, on the 25 July, Jeronimus and the council have decided to drown Jan Gerritsz of Leijden gardener, and Obbe Jansz of Franiker sailor, and Sevanck is, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbrecht van Welderen have sailed to the mast and drowned them there.

Item, on the 5 August, Jeronimus Cornelisz, Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen and Jacop Pieterssz have decided, when they were at the High Island, to kill master Frans Jansz of Hoorn, upperbarber, because they were afraid that he would go over to the other party, which Sevanck, since Jeronimus had gone to the island where Wiebbe Haijes was with his people<sup>70</sup>, has undertaken, and so the aforementioned master Frans has been killed by Lenert Michielsz, Mattijs Beer and Hans Jacops. Furthermore when Jeronimus with Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, and 23 Men in 2 yawls were coming from the above mentioned High Island to this island<sup>71</sup>, Sevanck sitting in the yawl has said to Jeronimus, I have thought of a good new plan. Whereon Jeronimus asked, what is that? So he said, if a yacht comes to rescue us we should seize it and go pirating and sail to *Spain*. Whereon Jeronimus answered, ho, ho, do you [266 v] have that only now in mind, that I have long thought of and had in mind. And so it has been decided at last, and have resolved to do this. But that firstly they should endeavour to overpower the other party, in order that if a yacht came, they

should not warn it, and if they carried out the plan, then they should let the boat first come to shore, and then make the crew drunk to make it easier to kill them, and so then they would have been able easily to overpower the yacht.

Item on 6 August Jeronimus has verbally ordered Jan Hendricxsz, in the morning, to cut the throat of Stoffel Stoffelsz carpenter who stood there working, whereto he pulled his own dagger out of his pocket and handed it to him and so Jan Hendricxsz has done the same.

Item on the 10 August Jeronimus Cornelisz has personally called Rogier Decker of Haarlem late cabin servant out of his tent, where he was frying fish, and has said to him, after giving him a beaker of wine, that he must stab to the heart Hendrick Janszen of Purmerent carpenter, who went walking (but being bound) with Salomon Deschamps undermerchant, whereto he Jeronimus, put the dagger in the hand of Rogier, and the aforementioned Rogier has done so.

Item on 16 August, Jeronimus has said to Jan of Bommel (late cabin servant), there is my sword, go kill Cornelis Alderen of IJpendam youngster, cut off his head in order to see if it is sharp enough. But Sevanck, who heard, said that the aforementioned Jan van Bommel was too weak for that, and then Mattijs Beer was named thereto, who in the presence of Jeronimus, in broad daylight, has cut off the boy's head almost with one blow, whereto Jeronimus stood laughing.

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

[267 r] All these and still more gruesome deeds which through the death of Sevanck and Coenraat van Huijssen remained hidden, by the freewill confessions of the evil-doers and perpetrators of the murders, whom he verbally and personally has ordered and forced to do so, who have all confessed to it in his presence, thereto pledging the salvation of their souls, to die on it if they had every in anything unjustly accused him, which they have done. As well as from the full examinations and freewill confessions of Jeronimus Cornelisen who, after it has been read to him, has confessed publicly before all people, that everything is true. As because, even under Moors or Turks, such unheard of abominable misdeeds would not have happened or been left without being punished, I would not speak of Christians, that they should murder each other without extreme hunger or thirst, as they have not had, and had planned to do still further. But because it is clear that it has been an inspiration of the devil that they should come to such a decision in order to reduce the amount of people to 40 or less, and thereby be able to come to their intended misdeeds, and in order to give it more pretence of authority, he deceived the people by telling them that the Commander *Pelsart* had ordered him thus, also he now publicly before all people confesses and is still confessing, that he and Davidt van Sevanck thought it a good idea to say so in order to keep the people in greater obedience, Jeronimus said till the end that he had been ordered thus.

The Commander and the undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* having given the matter our utmost consideration, after long examinations and much searching, and after much discussion and weighing, in order to turn from us

the wrath of God and to cleanse the name of Christianity from such an unheard of villain, have sentenced the foresaid Jeronimus Cornelisz of Haarlem. Thus we sentence him hereby, that on Monday being the first of October, Anno 1629, as he requests to be baptised, he shall be taken to Seals Island to [267 v] the place prepared for that, to execute Justice, and there first to cut off both his hands and after that punish him on a gallows with the cord till death follows, with confiscation of all his goods, money, gold, silver, monthly wages, or all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the Island named *Batavia* 's Graveyard, this 28 September 1629.

*Francisco. Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs houten man [WOODEN MAN]

72

Claas Gerritsz

Jacop Janssz

Sijmon Yopzoon

This is the mark of

Jan Willemsz

Visch

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

Jan Hendricxen of Bremen soldier aged about 24 years, brought in, is asked by the Commander why they had wanted to seize the ship, answered, free and unbound, without torture, that more than 6 weeks ago Jeronimus Cornelisz undermerchant with his council had taken that plan and sworn to make themselves masters of the first yacht that should come, but that he is innocent of that and in no way consented to it, though several times was requested about it.

And in order to come to the straight truth of it, is put to torture.

Has promised of his own freewill to say what he knows, after this he was examined, said, that he was persuaded thereto, as well as were all persons who were on the island. The Commander asked him again why they wanted to do that, answered, that he did not know. Furthermore examined how they would have brought it about, says, that already before Jeronimus had been captured by the other party, they had the plan, if a yacht should come, to let the boat come to land first and then make the crew drunk in order the easier to kill them, and they should then have mastered the yacht easily at night time, with the boat, because they guessed that there would only be 20 to 30 men. But no decision was yet taken as to how they would begin it, because while they were fighting with the other party, they suddenly saw the ship.

He further examined as to where they would have sailed had they seized it, and how many people would have been left alive, answered that the plan was to run off to *Spain*, *Barbary*, or suchlike places, in order to sell the ship and share the booty, that they would have spared the lives of the skipper, the steersman, with 5 or 6 of the sailors who served them, but would have murdered the rest.

[268 v] Further examined as to how many people he has murdered, whereto confesses of freewill that he has killed 18 to 20 by the order of Jeronimus, but that he did not know all their names, therefore requested respite till the following day, in order to bethink himself when and how he has done all this, which is allowed.

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

Jan Hendriksz before mentioned, called again and being asked by the Commander if he would have been one of the conspirators in the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, says that he was not one of them, and has not been one on the ship, nor knew anything about it before the wrecking of the ship *Batavia*, that he when the ship was wrecked had heard from several persons (now all dead) that the skipper, Jeronimus, high boatswain, Rijckert Woutersz gunner, Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbert van Welderen soldiers<sup>73</sup>, with another 10 to 12 men, had undertaken this first and had made the plan to nail the soldiers' hatch at night, until they had become masters of the ship then they would have chosen the soldiers who they thought to be on their side, but the rest they would have murdered, all except about 120. Said also that he knew Allert Jansz of Assendelft was one of the accomplices.

Towards evening he has been called again and asked if he has now remembered how many people he has murdered, confesses as follows.

That he one day (being 5 July last), together with Davidt van Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Cornelis Pietersz, Mattijs Beer, Leenert Michielsz and Wouter Loos, were ordered by Jeronimus to go with the biggest raft, and that they should take with them and drown on the way Hans Radder cadet, and Jacop Groenewald upper trumpeter, whom he has helped to bind hand and foot, and in that way have been drowned.

Confesses further that on the day (being the 9 July last) he was ordered by Jeronimus, together with Sevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, [269 r] Jacob Pietersz *lanspesaat* [VICE-CORPORAL], Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Jelisz, to go with the little yawl and do what Zevanck ordered them to do. They had then gone to Pieter Jansz provost, with his wife and child, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh with his wife, Glaudine Patoijs with her child, Jacop Jacobsz cooper, Pauwels Barentsz, Bessel Jansz sailors, Christoffel Quist of Rokema soldier, Niclaas Winckelhaack soldier, Pieters Arentsz of Monickendam, sailor and Wouter Joel Schotsman soldier, who had made 2 small rafts on another island with which they thought, according to a promise under oath which Jeronimus before that time had made, to sail to the High Island, coming to them, they forced the men to jump from the rafts and help to push them further towards *Batavia's* island. When they came to the shallows Davidt Zevanck ran on the land to Jeronimus and asked him something,

whereon Zevanck came back and called out, kill, at which Jan Hendricxsz did his utmost, but many escaped and thought to save themselves on the island by Jeronimus, but he ordered that they should be killed, and Zeevanck, with Coenraat van Huijssen and Gijsbert van Welderen went in the same little yawl and took the three above mentioned women, who were still sitting on the raft, and took them to the deep, where they were thrown overboard and drowned.

Item confesses that one day the 8 July, he was ordered by Jeronimus, when Zevanck was by, to strangle the child of Hans Hardens, named Gilletgien, which he did while Jeronimus had invited the mother.

Item confesses that one day, being the 10 July last, together with Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, and together they cut the throat of Jan Pinten, English soldier.

Item confesses that one day (being 12 July last) he was called by Jeronimus into his tent, together with Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Gellisz, and that they were ordered to cut the throats of Passchier van den Ende, gunner, Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, and a sick boy, whereupon [269 v] he, together with Davidt Zevanck and others who were so ordered, took a lamp and went into their tent and asked Passchier if he had any goods hidden there, to say so. He answered weepingly no, and begged that he might be allowed to say his prayers, because he thought that it would cost him his life. Then Sevanck said, get on with it, thus Jan Hendricxsz threw him to the ground and cut his throat. The other one Jacop Hendrix turner begged bitterly for his life, whereupon Zevanck and the others also went to Jeronimus and said that Jacop was a good carpenter and should he not be spared. But Jeronimus answered, not at all, he is only a turner, furthermore, he is half lame, he also must go, he might become a babbler now or later. Whereon they have gone back to the small tent and Jan Hendricxsz threw the foresaid Jacop to the ground and Lenert Michielsz sat on his body and Jan Hendricxsz stabbed 2 knives to pieces on his breast, also 2 knives on his throat, whereupon Lucas Gellisz handed him one of his knives, but he could not bring him to death, so that at last he cut his throat with a piece of knife, after that did likewise to the boy.

Item confesses that one day (being 14 July last), he has been called by Jeronimus into his tent, together with Lenert Michielsz and Rutger Fredericx, and that they were ordered to kill Andries de Vries assistant, he gave them each a sword therefore, and poured them a beaker of wine first, which they have done publicly.

Item confesses, that he one day (being 15 July last) has been fetched out of his tent by Jeronimus and ordered, together with Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, Jans Jacopsz of Basel and master Frans Jansz of Hoorn, barber, that they should go with the little yawl to Seals Island to kill all people there, about 40 altogether, of whom he, Jan Hendricxsz as soon as they arrived, has killed 5 *jongers* [BOYS OR CHILDREN] and after that 2 men, but he did not know their names either. But Cornelis Jansz the assistant [270 r] with 3 to 4 others who were chased by Hans Jacopsz, escaped on rafts, and also at that time they spared the lives of 4, namely Maijken Soers, Jannetgien Gist, Geertien Willemsz widow and Laurentia Thomasz also some *jongers* were spared.

Item confesses, that he one day being 21 July has been called by Jeronimus into his tent, and that he gave him to know that at night time he must help with the murder of the predicant's family, and that he must do that which Zevanck ordered him to do. At night when Jeronimus with the predicant and his eldest daughter had been invited into the tent of Coenraat van Huysen, then he Jan Hendricxsz, with Zevanck, Wouter Loos, Cornelis Pietersz, Andries Liebent, Jacop Pietersz and Andries Jonas, have gone to the predicant's tent, Zevanck has called outside Wijbrecht Claasen maid-servant, whom Jan Hendricxsz stabbed with a dagger, and inside all people, the mother with 6 children, had their heads battered in with adzes, and so they were dragged into a hole that had been made therefore.

Confesses also that on that night, after the foresaid woeful tragedy had been committed, he has battered in the head of Hendrick Denijs of Amsterdam assistant, with an adze in front of his tent, so that he died immediately.

Item furthermore confesses also that one day, being 28 July, he has been called by Jeronimus into his tent and ordered to take with him Andries Liebent and Jan van Bommel in order to strangle Anneken Hardens, wife of Hans Hardens, whereon he went into the tent, meanwhile Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help him, who made a halter out of her hair ribbon, and Jan Hendricxen strangled her.

On 28 do. before the ship's council,

Because Lucas Gellisz has been accused that he also has stabbed a knife to pieces on Jacop Henrixs carpenter, therefore has been confronted with Jan Hendricxsz whether he has seen that, and says that he himself has stabbed to pieces 4 knives on the mentioned man, but that Lucas has handed him his knife for that purpose.

Further, asked again if when a yacht should have come, and they should have come [270 v] to the execution of their plan, he would have helped in the seizing of it, confesses, yea, for there were very few who would not have had a hand in it.

Item confesses of freewill, that one day (being 6 August last) he had been called by Jeronimus, who in the morning stood in the tent of Zevanck, and that he said to him, go and stab (to the heart) Stoffel Stoffelsz of Amsterdam carpenter that lazy dog, who stands there working, for he is not worth his keep, and thereupon gave him his own dagger which he carried in his pocket. Whereon Jan Hendricxsz killed him with 2 blows.

Furthermore he declares, unasked, that he has brought to mind that one evening Jeronimus has invited him together with Allert Janssen of Assendelft, and amongst other things he has told them that if the ship *Batavia* had not wrecked, they would shortly have seized it and so made themselves rich men, and also in what manner they thought to have brought it about, and that they would have nailed the soldier's quarters because they thought that that could not miscarry. Therefore confronted with Allert Jansz of Assendelft, found his declaration to be in accord with that of Jan Hendricxsz.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare upon our Manly Truth, in place of the duly attested Oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Jan Hendricxsz, mostly free and unbound without torture. Out of abundant goodness of

heart, this examination and confession has been read to him again, and he has been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, coming to Batavia, to attest this at all times before all high and subaltern judges, also to the Hon. Lord General *Jan Pietersen Coen* and the councillors of *Indien*, and to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobsz wooden man

*Salomom Deschaps*

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Janssz

Symon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[271 r] Because Jan Hendricxsz of Bremen soldier, aged about 24 years, had behaved with such gruesomeness, yea with very great cruelty, according to his confessions, made of his own freewill and without torture, here on the island near the wrecked ship *Batavia*, behaving inhumanly and going outside himself, namely, because he has allowed himself to be freely persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz, under merchant, together with other evil-minded wicked persons, to several murders wherein he has killed or helped to kill very tyrannically, without any compassion or mercy, though it were his own companions and friends, up to the number of ...<sup>74</sup> people, according to his own numbering. Furthermore he has decided to seize the first yacht that would come to rescue them and to murder all those who would not be obedient in that respect, and it has happened as follows.

On 5 July Jan Hendricxsz has been ordered by Jeronimus to go with the biggest raft, together with 6 persons, and to take with them Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewalt upper trumpeter, and to drown them on the way, Jan Hendricxsz has also helped to bind their hands and feet, and so they have been drowned.

Item on the 9 July has been ordered by Jeronimus to go with Zevanck and still 5 others, in the little yawl, and to do what Zevanck ordered them to do. They have sailed to two small rafts upon which were Pieter Jansz provost with wife and child, and still another 12 persons having the intention to get to the High Island, and they have forced the men to jump from the raft and to push it forward in order to bring it to their island. But when they reached the shallows, there came an order from Jeronimus that they should be killed, of whom Jan Hendricxsz has killed the sailors Pauwels Barentsz and Bessel Jansz.

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

[271 v] Item on 10 July<sup>75</sup> he has been ordered by Jeronimus with 2 others to cut the throats of Passchier van Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricxsz carpenter, as well as a sick boy. Therefore he, together with Zevanck, Lenert Michielsz and Lucas Gellisz have gone to the tent of Passchier and have thrown him on the ground and

have cut [the throat] in haste, though he begged to be allowed to say his prayers and they would have spared the life of Jacop Hendricxsz with pleasure, but Jeronimus said that he was half lame and that he must go, he would only sooner or later become a babbler. Therefore they went back to Jacop Hendricxsz and threw him on the ground and Jan Hendricxsz struck 2 knives to pieces on his breast as well as 2 on his throat, so that at last they had to cut his throat with a piece of the last knife, after this was done, he also stabbed to death the mentioned boy.

Item on the 14 July, Jan Hendricxsz together with Lenert Michielsz and Rutger Fredricx were about noon called by Jan van Bommel to Jeronimus who ordered them to go and kill Adries de Vries assistant, and he gave each one a sword for this purpose, which they have done publicly.

Item on 15 July, he has been ordered by Jeronimus to go with the little yawl, together with Sevanck and 4 others to Seals Island in order to kill most of the people, *jongers* as well as some men, and to leave alive for the time being only the women who were there. And as soon as they have come there, Jan Hendricxsz has stabbed to death 5 *jongers* and 2 men.

Item on the 21 July, Jan Hendricks has been called by Jeronimus, who made known to him that the family of the predicant would be killed that night, except the predicant and his eldest daughter who he would invite into the tent of Coenraat van Huysen. Night having come, he has been called by Zevanck and they went together to the tent of the predicant with Jacop Pieterssz, Wouter Loos, Cornelis Pietersz, Lenert Michielssz, Andries Liebent and Andries Jonas, and Zevanck called outside Wijbrecht Claasz, a maid-servant, who [272 r] was at one stabbed by Jan Hendricxsz, and immediatly the predicant's wife with her 6 children, inside the tent, have had their heads battered in with adzes, and they were dragged into a hole which had been made ready for that purpose.

Item, after this woeful tragedy has come about, Jan Hendricxsz has called out of his tent the assistant Hendrick de Nijs of Amsterdam, and because he would not come out for fear, they dragged and tore him outside and Jan Hendricxsz battered his head in with an adze.

Item, on the 28 July Jan Hendricxsz has been called by Jan van Bommel to the tent of Jeronimus and there told, with Andries Liebent and Jan van Bommel, that they must strangle Anneken Hardens, wife of Hans Hardens. When they came near her tent Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help them, and they made a halter of her hair ribbon and Jan Hendricxsz has strangled her.

Item on 6 August in the morning, Jan Hendricxsz was called by Jeronimus when he was standing in the tent of Zevanck, and he gave him a dagger which he carried in his own pocket, with the words, go and stab Stoffel Stoffelsz, that lazy dog who is not worth his keep, to the heart, which Jan Hendricxsz did with 2 stabs so that he was killed immediatly.

Item he has kept Sussien Fredricx married woman two month as his concubine and had carnal knowledge of her.

Which host of gruesome murders he has very willingly lent himself to do, as well as what they still had intention to do, if the almighty God had not foreseen it, moreover still daily mocking God, while he was one of the first who forbade to pray or to preach the word of God, has very shamefully prevented this, though he says that Jeronimus had ordered it to him, also he has outraged the women, as well as many misdeeds which it would seem have to remain hidden, criminal offences which weight very heavily and which cannot be allowed to be suffered by God or mankind, as [272 v] nature teaches us sufficiently that such evil-doers cannot as an example to others be allowed to remain unpunished. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having given the greatest attention to this matter, after long examinations and interrogations, having exchanged our thoughts with each other and weighed and pondered, in order to save ourselves from the wrath of God and to cleanse Christianity from such a villian. Have sentenced the foresaid Jan Hendricxsz as we sentence him herewith, that he shall be taken on Monday the first of October 1629 to Seals Island, to place made ready for that, to execute Justice, and there firstly to cut off his right hand and after that to punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his goods, kit, monthly wages and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested 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

[273 r] Today the 23 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council, to examine Lenert Michielsz of Os cadet, on his great murders thus so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring him to torture. Date as before.

Leenert Michielsz of Os, cadet, aged about 21 years, asked why he with his accomplices as soon as the Commander and the skipper have gone from aboard with the sloop to the island in order to maintain order over the little water that had been saved, and who has been promised by him that he should be fetched as soon as possible, broke open all the chests and goods, without any exception, and plundered. Says, that he has broken open the chest of Passchier van den Ende and that they have shared the contents amongst each other.

Put to torture, because we are enough convinced of his wanton deeds, he begs not to be tortured, and that he will say all that he knows. Says, that he was in the Commander's cabin when his chest was broken open by Rijckert Woutersz, and has

helped the same to share round and to give parts to others. Further, that the next day in the morning Jeronimus Cornelisz has taken out of the desk of the Commander all his papers as well as the notes regarding the fact concerning Lucretia, and has read the same publicly before all people and after that they have been torn up by the above mentioned Rijckert and thrown overboard. But each one has done his best in the plundering and opening up, because they said and assured each other, the ship was lost, they no longer had anything to do with the officers now.

Further interrogated in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz about the number of men he has murdered or helped to murder, confesses, that one day, being 3 July last, Jeronimus has called him in the presence of Zevanck and has ordered him, with Zevanck and others who he should take with him, to sail with the biggest raft in order to drown Thomas Wensel, Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, and Andries Liebent, that they have gone with the above mentioned 4 persons and that he has helped the next day in the morning to bind their hands and feet, and that Daniel Cornelisz, has pushed Hendrick Jansz [273 v] into the sea, and Coenraat van Huysen, Thomas Wensel, and Gijsbert van Welderen, Jan Cornelisz, but Andries Liebent had been spared on his supplication.

Confesses also that one day being 5 July last, he was ordered by Jeronimus to go in the same way on the biggest raft with Davidt Sevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Jan Hendricxsz, Cornelis Pietersz, Mattijs Beer and Wouter Loos to drown Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewald trumpeter. Having come to Traitors Island, Rutger Fredricxsz and Lenert Michielszen 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 suffocated or were drowned.

Item confesses that on one day, being 10 July at night, Jeronimus Cornelisz has ordered him to get out of his tent, together with Jan Hendricxsz and Lucas Gillisz, to cut the throats of Passchier van den Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricxs carpenter, and a *jongen* who was ill. Therefore the three of them have gone with Zevanck, and Jan Hendricxsz has cut the throat of the above mentioned Passchier. After that, when they had thrown Jacop Hendricxs to the ground, Lenert sat on his body and Jan Hendricxsz has struck 2 knives to pieces on his breast and two on his throat, of which one was the knife of Lenert Michielszen and the other of Lucas Gillissens, and so they dragged him into a hole, which they had made ready.

Item, confesses that one day about noon (being 14 July last), has been called by Jan van Bommel into the tent of Jeronimus, together with Jan Hendricxsz and Rutger Fredricxsz, and that he has ordered them to kill Andries de Vries assistant, and that he has given each a sword and a beaker of wine. Therefore they went to him, whereupon de Vries, because he knew that his life was in jeopardy, started to run. But Lenert Michielsz, following him the quickest, chiefly hacked him to death.

Item confesses, that one day (being 15 July last) he has been fetched out of his tent by Jeronimus, and that he has ordered him, together with [274 r] Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Hendricxsz, Cornelis Pietersz, Hans Jacopsz, master Frans Jansz of Hoorn, to sail with the little yawl to Seals Island and there kill most of the people, who did number about 40, except the women. So Lenert, immediately after the arrival has stabbed one boy right through his body and another boy through his

buttock, and also 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, at night he has been ordered by Jeronimus to go at darkness, to help murder the family of the predicant, except the predicant and his eldest daughter, whom he would invite as guests at night into the tent of Coenraat van Huysen. So Leenert Michielsz, together with Davidt Zevanck, Jan Hendricxsz, Wouter Loos, Jacop Pietersz, Andries Jonas and Andries Liebert, have gone to the predicant's tent, where Zevanck was called Wijbrecht Claasz outside, whom Jan Hendricxsz has stabbed immediately. Meanwhile Zevanck with the others has gone inside and said that some of the goods belonging to the company were hidden there which they had come to search for, during his talking the lamp has been blown out, and Leenert Michielsz has battered in the head of the predicant's wife with an adze, and one of the children who had also had a blow, he killed further, and they had been ordered to take adzes and axes as weapons into the tent, as to be able to strike better amongst the crowd.

Item confesses also that when they were on the High island on 5 August, Zevanck has ordered him, together with Mattijs Beer, Hans Jacopsz and Lucas Gillissz to go and take with them master Frans Jansz of Hoorn upper barber, under pretext of going in search of seals, but to kill the said master Frans on the way. When they had gone part of the way, Lenert Michielsz has stabbed him right through with a pike, whereupon Hans Jacopsen struck him a blow on the head with a morning-star<sup>76</sup> Mattijs Beer has split his head with a sword and Lucas has stabbed him in the body with a sword.

[274 v] Today the 28 do. before the ship's Council,

He has been called back and asked again whether he also would have helped to seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, after overpowering the people on the High Island. Confesses, that he would have helped just like any other.

Further asked 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 as his concubine.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* declare upon our Manly Truth in place of the duly attested Oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Lenert Michielz of Os, mostly free and unbound without torture. Out of abundant goodness of heart, this examination and confession has been read to him again, and he has been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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 to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia*'s Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobsz wooden man

*Salomom Deschamps*

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[275 r] Because Lenert Michielsz of Os, cadet, aged about 21 years, has behaved himself very gruesomely, yea terribly according to his own freewill confessions, got by examinations mostly without torture, that on the ship *Batavia* in the night following the day it was wrecked, he has committed himself by getting drunk, by breaking open chests, plundering, and other insolent deeds. As well as behaving himself very inhumanly here on the islands near the wreck, and has gone outside himself. Namely that he has willingly allowed himself to be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, with other evil-doers, to several murders which he has carried out very tyrannically without any compassion or mercy (though they were all brethren and friends) has killed and has helped to kill, up to the number of ... people by his hand, according to his confession as is apparent here below in full. Furthermore, he has resolved with others to seize the first yacht to come to their rescue, and to the murder of all, who would not have been of service to them, and his murders have happend as follows.

On July 3, Lenert Michielsz was ordered by Jeronimus, that he and Zevanck, and other persons, should sail the biggest raft, and take Thomas Wensel, Jan Cornelisz of Amesvoort, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, and Andries Liebent with them, in order to drown them on the way, thus Lenert has helpt to bind their hands and feet, and Daniel Cornelisz has pushed Hendrick Jansz, alias Mafken into the sea, Gijsbrecht van Welderen pushed Jan Cornelisz and Coenraat van Huijssen threw Thomas Wensel off the raft into the sea, but Andries Liebent had been spared.

Item on August 5, Leenert was ordered by Jeronimus, as well as was Davidt van Zevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Jan Hendricx, Cornelis Pieterssz of Utrecht, Mattijs Beer, Wouter Loos and Rutger Fredicxsz to go on the biggest raft, and to take Hans Radder cadet, and Jacop Groenewald trumpeter to drown them on the way, thus they sailed to Traitors Island, and have bound the said 2 persons their hands and feet, and carried them into the deep, leaving them like animals to be smothered.

Item on 10 July, Leenert has been called at night by Jeronimus, with Jan Hendricxsz and Lucas Gillisz [275 v] in his tent, and ordered to go with Zevanck, and cut the throat of Passchier van den Ende gunner, Jacop Hendricx of Amsterdam carpenter, as well as another sick boy. Therefore they have gone to the tent, Zevanck asked Passchier if he had hidden any goods somewhere, he answered no, and asked a little time to do his prayer. But Zevanck told them to go further, and Jan Hendricxsz threw him on the ground, and cut his throat. Jacop Hendricxsz seeing all this praid very humble to stay alive, that Zevanck would change his mind, and they went to Jeronimus, asking him if Jacop could stay alive, but he answered no, he only is a turner, and halff cripple anyway, he has to go as well. Thus they returned, and Lenert helped throwing the said Jacop on the ground, and sat on his body, and Jan Hendricxsz has struck 2 knives to pieces on his breast, and 2 on his throat, until at last with a piece of the knife his throat was cut. The boy was treated in the same way.

Item on July 14 Leenert Michielsz and Jan Hendricxsz and Rutgert Fredericxsz were called by Jan van Bommel into the tent of Jeronimus, who told them to go and kill Andries de Vries of Middelburg, and gave them each a sword. Then they went outside and to de Vries, who understood that his live was in jeopardy, started to run, but Lenert following him the quickest, hacked him to death the most.

Item on the July 15 Lenert has been called out of his tent by Jeronimus, and he was ordered as were Zevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Cornelis Pietersz, Jan Hendricxsz, Hans Jacops and master Frans Jansz of Hoorn upper barber to sail to Seals Island, to help to kill the people overthere, and Lenert has immediately after his arrival stabbed a boy right through his body, and another one through his buttock, and also Jacop the Vos tailor, right through his side, and he has helped to drag many wounded who were not yet dead into the water.

[276 r] Item on July 21, before dark, Jeronimus has ordered Lenert Michielsz that he at night and Davidt Zevanck and others to be chosen, should help to kill the family of the predicant, except the predicant and his eldests daughter, whom he would invite in the tent of Conrat van Huijssen. After Jan Hendricxsz had killed Wijbrecht Claasen outside the tent, Lenert has battered in the head of the predicant 's wife with an adze, she fell, and Mattijs Beer beat her to death as well as one of the children who already had a blow.

Item on August 5 on the High Island, Davidt van Zevanck by order of Jeronimus, who had left already at that time, ordered Lenert Michielsz and Mattijs Beer, Hans Jacopsz, and Lucas Gillisen, to kill master Frans Jansz of Hoorn, to take him, pretending to search for seals, and to kill him. Being on the way, Lenert has stabbed him right through with a pike, whereupon Hans Jacobsz struck him a blow on the head with a morning-star, and Mattijs Beer has split his head with a sword and Lucas Gillisz has stabbed him in the body with a sword.

Has also here on the island slept with Trijntgien Fredricx, wife of Claas Jansz t'Hooft trumpeter, and has known her carnally. As well, has kept Anneken Jansz wife of Jan Carstensz gunner<sup>77</sup> as his concubine for a long time. In all such hosts of gruesome murders he has let himself be used there willingly, as well as others he had in mind to do, had not the Almighty God prevented it. Moreoever, he was one of the principals in daily mocking at God, and who has prevented praying and the preaching of God's word, and has behaved himself very scoffingly, although he says he was ordered by Jeronimus, as well has brought the women here into dishonour, with still other misdeeds that appear to remain hidden, being criminal offences of a very bad character [276 v] which cannot, or may not be, tolerated by God or mankind, as nature teaches us sufficiently that such evil-doers cannot as an example to others be allowed to remain unpunished. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having given the greatest attention to this matter, after long examinations and interrogations, having exchanged our thoughts wiht each other and weighed and pondered, in order to save ourselves from the wrath of God and to cleanse Christianity from such a villian. Have sentenced the foresaid Lenert Michielsz of Os as we sentence him herewith, that he shall be taken on Monday the first of October 1629 to Seals Island, to place made ready for that, to execute Justice, and there firstly to cut off his right hand and after that to

punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his goods, kit, monthly wages and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested 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 Willemsz Visch

[277 r] Today 23 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council, to examine Mattijs Beer of Munsterburgh, soldier, on his great murders which understood to have done, and if necessary to bring him to torture. Date as before.

Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, aged about 21 years, asked why on the day that the ship was wrecked, as soon as the Commander and the skipper went with the sloop to the nearest island to maintain order over the little water that had been saved, and was told by them that they would be fetched as soon as possible, he with his accomplices had broken open and plundered all chests, making no exception. Confesses, that he broke open the chest of Passchier van den Ende gunner, also that of the skipper and has plundered them, 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 Huysen for a hundred guilders.

Further asked, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, how many people he has murdered or helped to murder, confesses that he had been a real enemy of Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewaldt trumpeter and had hated them very much, and therefore had requested Jeronimus to consent that he should murder them because they were loose tongued, thereupon on the same day Jeronimus has ordered Mattijs Beer, Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Jan Hendricxen, Wouter Loos and Cornelis Pietersz with Rutger Fredricx, to take Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewald with them on the biggest raft, and then drown them on the way. They have then taken them to Traitors Island, bound them hand and foot, and so dragged them into the deep where they left them to be suffocated.

Furthermore asked how many people he has helped to kill on Seals Island, says, that Zevanck has ordered him to kill the women, but he has refused (so he says) and that the same had then been ordered to Andries Jonas, who killed Maijken Soers and Jannetgien Gist. But that he [277 v] Mattijs Beer, had killed some who were already wounded, and after that had helped to drag them into the water.

Because we were sufficiently convinced of the murders and cruel deeds committed by him, we have put him to torture in order to draw the straight truth from him, and asked whom he had killed in the predicant's tent (because he also had entered there with an adze). Confesses after having endured pain, that he also was one of those and that the youngest child Roelant ran between his legs and behind him, so that he could not hit him, but that somebody who was behind him had killed him, without knowing who, because it was dark and they could not see each other, but further he had killed or touched no one.

Item confesses that when they were on the High Island, being 5 August, he was ordered by Zevanck, because he had the order from Jeronimus Cornelisz who was absent that day, to take, together with Lenert Michielsz, Jans Jacobsz and Lucas Gillissen, on the pretence of looking for seals, master Frans Jansz of Hoorn, and to kill him on the way. Therefore being gone a little way, Mattijs cleft him his head with a sword so that he died, after Lenert Michielsz had pierced him with a pike and Hans Jacobsz beat his head with a morning-star.

Item confesses, that one day, being the 16 August last he had heard that Jan van Bommel was to cut off the head of a boy named Cornelis Aldersz of Ylpendam, and that Jeronimus had handed him a sword for that purpose, whereon Zevanck gave as his opinion that the foresaid Jan van Bommel was too light. Therefore Mattijs has offered his services and has requested to be allowed to do it, which was accorded him, therefore he took the sword from the foresaid Jan, who [278 r] would not willingly give it because he wanted to do it himself, but he tore it out of his hands and took it immediately to Gillis Phillipisz of Malmediers in order to sharpen it, and took it so under his cloak again. Meanwhile Jan van Bommel was busy to blindfold the boy and Jeronimus, who stood next to him, said, now, boy, sit still, they are only having some fun with you, and Mattijs Beer with one blow near enough struck off his head.

The 24 ditto, before the ship's Council,

He has been again brought to torture in order to get from him the straight truth namely, who or how many people he has helped to kill in the predicant's tent, he maintains as before that he was present there, but that he has not killed anyone. After water has again been poured in to torture him, and after suffering pain, confesses that with an adze he has battered in the head of the predicant's wife, who was not then quite dead, and also one of the children who was on the ground. Furthermore asked at what other murders he had been present, confesses that when Jan Cornelisz of Amesvoort, Thomas Wensel and Hendrick Jansz alias Zany were to be drowned, he helped to bind their hands and feet.

The 28 ditto, before the ship's Council.

Mattijs Beer brought again and being asked whether, if they had been able to execute their intention, he would have helped to seize the first yacht coming to rescue them, confesses that he would have been in the same, just as another. Further asked as to how many women he has known carnally on the island, says, that he has slept with Zussie Fredricx and further with none.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* [278 v] declare upon our Manly Truth in place of the duly attested Oath, that all the above mentioned

examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, by torture and out of free will, this examination and confession has been read to him again in abundant, and he has been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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* to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

*Salomom Deschamps*

Claes Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

Mattijs Beijr<sup>78</sup> of Munsterbergg soldier, today 2 October on Seals Island, standing with the noose on his neck ready for death, has confessed to the predicant Gijsbert Bastiansz, to clear his conscience that on the night of ... July, in the presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, he has cut the throats of still another 4 men and a boy, names unknown to him, about which he has thus far kept silent, which the above mentioned predicant has immediately reported to us, and which we ourselves also have heard. As a sign of truth have undersigned this with our own hands, this 2 October 1629.

Gysbert Bastiaensz

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Claes Gerritsz

Sijmon IJopzoon

the mark of Willemsz Visch

[279 r] Because Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, aged about 21 years, has behaved himself very gruesomely yea horribly according to his own confession under torture as well as of freewill, that he, at night on the ship *Batavia* the day after it was wrecked, got drunk, broke open chests and plundered them and committed other wanton deeds. Also, that he has behaved himself very inhumanly here on the island near the wreck, and has gone outside himself. Namely allowing himself to be used willingly by Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, together with other evil and cruel people, to several murders, in which he has murdered or helped to murder, very tyrannically without any compassion and mercy though they were their brethren and friends, up to the numer of ... people by his hand, according to his confessions as appears underneath in full. Moreover he had in mind, together with the others, to seize the first yacht that should come to rescue them, and to murder all who would not have been of service to them, and the murders have happend as follows.

On the 3 July, Mattijs Beer has been ordered by Jeronimus together with Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Daniel Cornelisz

and Leenert Michielsz, to drown with the biggest raft, Jan Cornelisz of Amersvoort, Thomas Wensel, Hendrick Jansz of Oldenburgh, and Andries Liebent at which Mattys has helped to bind their hands and feet, and so they have been pushed from the rafts into the sea, except Andries Liebent, whom they spared.

Item on the 5 July, the aforesaid Mattijs, being a great enemy of Hans Radder and Jacob Groenewaldt trumpeter, has requested Jeronimus to allow him to kill them because they were only cacklers. Jeronimus has promised him this, and on the same day he, together with Zevanck, Coenraat van Huysen, Jan Hendricxsz, Lenert Michielsz, Cornelis Pietersz from Utrecht, Wouter Loos and Rutget Fredricxsz, have sailed with the biggest raft and they have taken with them Hans Radder, Jacop Groenewaldt and Andries de Vries, assistant, in order [279 v] to drown them, they have brought them to Traitors Island and there have bound their hands and feet and taken them into the deep and drowned them, except Andries de Vries who had been bound was set free and his life spared for the time being.

Item on the 18 July the foresaid Mattijs was ordered by Jeronimus, together with Davidt Zevanck, Andries Jonas, Jan Willemsz Selijns, Jan van Bommel, Coenraat van Huysen and Gijsbert van Welderen, to go with the little yawl to Seals Island, to kill there the 4 women and the remaining *jongers*. He, Mattijs has killed some *jongers* who were wounded and has helped to drag them into the water.

Item, on the 21 July Mattijs was ordered by Jeronimus to go at night to Zevanck, to help to murder the family of the predicant, except the predicant who with his eldest daughter he would invite as a guest to the tent of Coenraat van Huijsen. Being night, Mattijs, together with Zevanck, Jan Hendricxsz, Jacob Pietersz, Andries Jonas, Lenert Michielsz, Cornelis Pietersz, Wouter Loos and Andries Liebent, have gone to the predicant's tent, and Wijbrecht Claasz has been called outside, whom Jan Hendricxsz immediately struck dead, and Mattijs Beer, together with Lenert Michielsz, with an adze battered in the head of the old woman, and also one of the children who was lying on the ground.

Item on 5 August on the High Island, Mattijs, together with Leenert Michielsz, Hans Jacobsz and Lucas Gellisz, by order of Zevanck, have cleft with a sword, the head of the barber, master Frans Jansz of Hoorn after Lenert Michielsz had pierced him with a pike and Hans Jacobsz had battered him on the head with a morning-star.

Item on the 16 August, Mattijs has offered his services and requested (because Jan van Bommel was to cut off the head of a boy named Cornelis Aldersz) that he should do the same because Zevanck maintained that Jan van Bommel [280 r] was too light for that. Whose head, after he had sharpened his sword, he cut off with one blow in the presence of Jeronimus about noon, just to pass the time/for a joke, at which Jeronimus, Zevanck and the others were laughing. Has also had carnal knowledge of Zussie Fredricx, a married woman.

To all which mentioned gruesome murders he has let himself be very willingly used, as well as those he had still in mind to do, if the Almighty God had not prevented him. Moreover, daily still mocking at God, as he was one of the principals who has prevented the praying and the preaching of His holy word, and who has scoffingly forbidden the same, though he says Jeronimus has so ordered him, also that

he has dishonoured the women, with still more misdeeds which apparently remained hidden, criminal offences of very evil consequences which may not be suffered by God or Man, because nature teaches us sufficiently that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished as a example to others. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*.having given the greatest attention to this matter, after long examinations and interrogations, having exchanged our thoughts with each other and weighed and pondered, in order to save ourselves from the wrath of God and to cleanse Christianity from such a villain. Have sentenced the foresaid Mattijs Beer of Munsterbergh soldier, as we sentence him herewith, that he shall be taken on Monday the first of October 1629 to Seals Island, to a place made ready for that, to execute Justice, and there firstly to cut off his right hand and after that to punish him on a gallows with the cord till [280 v] death shall follow, with confiscation of all his goods, kit, monthly wages and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard this 28 September Anno 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[281 r] Today 19 September Anno 1629 on the Island *Batavias* Graveyard has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council, to examine Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, on his 'great murders so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring him to torture. Date as before.

Allert Janzen of Assendelft gunner aged about 24 years, asked why he got drunk in the night following the day on which the ship *Batavia* was wrecked, why he had committed so many wanton deeds, why he had caused so much misery to all people (laid violent hands upon) the steward's mate Lucas Gerritsz with a knife chasing out of the bottle room, calling, out, rats and dogs, you have been masters here long enough, now I for a while, and has cut him with a knife across his back. Confesses that he, with others, has committed some evil deeds and that he got very much drunk, so that he does not know whether he has committed the above mentioned things.

He being further asked, in what manner he, together with the other accomplices, had thought to seize the ship *Batavia* before it was wrecked, and who had put him up to it, denies to know anything about it when they were still on the ship, but that he had heard from Jeronimus here on land that if the ship had not

wrecked, they had meant to seize it, and that they had also already persuaded a party of people, who slept with their swords in their hammocks.

Therefore, in order to get the straight truth out of him, we have brought him to torture, and after he has suffered a little pain, he begs to be released and then will say the truth, if released. Being released, confesses that Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, has come to him on the ship, south of the *Cabo de Bone Esperansa* and has made a proposal and asked him if he would help to seize the ship, then they would be rich men for their whole lives, whereupon has said neither yea nor nay, and he had spoken about it no more.

Because the above said does not seem to be the straight truth, have brought him again to torture. Confesses, after having suffered pain, that he had been willing too [281 v], and that the principal instigators were skipper Ariaen Jacopsz, Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, Jan Evertsz high boatswain, so far as he knew they were only 10 to 12 strong, because one did not dare reveal it to another. Further asked when and how they would have done it. Says, that the best opportunity seemed to be when the Commander would have put in chains those men who had laid hands on Lucretia Jansz, which according to the skipper, would take place when they had seen the Southland, when they thought that they had find the best opportunity to rouse the people, and so run into the cabin in an uproar, and to throw the Commander overboard from the gallery and to nail the soldiers' hatch until they had seized the ship, which as far as they thought, could not fail, for everyone would very much have wanted to keep his life, though they would have left alive only 120 men. If they had seized the ship, they would have run to Mauritius to victual, and from there to rob the ships of the Company until they should have become altogether very rich.

Furthermore asked whether he also had part on the ship *Batavia* in the shameful deed done to Lucretia Jansz, confesses that he sat forward in the ship one afternoon, together with Rijckert Woutersz, Cornelis Jansz Boon [BEAN], Dirck Gerritsz of Harderwyck, Jan Purmer of Amsterdam, Abraham Hendricxsz, Harman Nannings quartermaster, and Cornelis Dircxsz of Alcmoer, where the high boatswain Jan Evertsz came to them, saying, men, there is an assault on our hands, will you help to give the prince<sup>79</sup> a pleasant outing? Upon which Allert asked, what will that be? So he said, tonight we have to blacken Lucretia and have to play a trick on her, whereupon Cornelis Dircxsz of Alcmaer gunner, said, I will not have anything to do with it, for surely something else will follow on that. Then the high boatswain answered, not with [282 r] all, I shall take the consequences, whatever comes from it. Then at last Allert Jansz consented, together with all the others except Cornelis Dircxsen of Alcmaer, and they have laid hands on the above mentioned woman at night, between light and dark, and have plastered her with dung and other filth on the face, and next over her whole body.

He being further asked how many people he has killed here on the island, confesses that he on one day, being 17 July last, has been called by Jan van Bommel to come to Jeronimus, and that the last one ordered him to kill Andries de Bruyn boy, whereon Allert has called the boy and said to him, Andries, we have to go and catch some birds<sup>80</sup>, but when they came to the beach, he has cut the boy's throat.

Item, confesses also that one night, being 19 July last, together with Jan Hendricxsz, he has helped to cut the throat of a sick English soldier named Jan Pinten.

Item, confesses that one night, being the 14 July last, Jeronimus himself came and called him out of his tent and has said, go get Hendrick Claasz of Apcou carpenter out of his tent and say he has to come to me, and when he comes outside, you, with the help of de Vries, must cut his throat, which they together have done.

Item he declares unasked, that when the ship *Batavia* was south of the *Cabo de bone Esperansa*, the Commander being ill, the skipper had come one night to the *constapelskamer* [GUNROOM] and had ordered wine, with which they were for a time quite happy, at last the skipper had gone away and had left Zwaantien with Allert, who has done his will with her, because the skipper thought that she was pregnant and that she should wed Allert.

[282 v] This same Allert Jansz confesses in presence of Jeronimus Cornelisz, who also knows this to be true because the skipper had told him.

The 27 do. before the ship's council

Aris Jansz of Hoorn, under barber, coming from the High Island, has declared that in the night when the predicant's family was murdered, he, being in his tent was called by Allert Jansz of Assendelft with the words, saying, Aris, come, we have to go and search for birds for the merchant. The foresaid Aris has gone with him although he was very much afraid, but when they came near the beach, Allert cut him across the shoulder, and he received still more blows from others who were there, but through the bluntness of their swords he was only very slightly wounded, so that Aris escaped in the water in the dark. Whereupon we have called Allert Jansz and have confronted him with him. Says, and confesses, that he had been called by Zevanck after the predicant's family had been murdered, and that he had ordered him, together with Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, to call the foresaid Aris out of his tent and kill him. Therefore he has cut him round the ears with his sword after he has called him, but Aris escaped in the water in the dark, and because he had been lying flat on his stomach they could not see him, so they said to one another, turning back, he's had it, for they thought he was so wounded that he must die.

The 28 do. before the ship's council,

Because Jan Hendricxsz has said very willingly, without being asked, that together with Allert Jansz he was guest one evening to Jeronimus, who told amongst other propositions, that if the [283 r] ship *Batavia* had not wrecked within a few days, they would have seized it, therefore asked the before mentioned Allert, in the presence of Jeronimus, if that was true. Confesses that it was true word for word as Jan Hendricxsz had told, and he takes the same on his soul and salvation, and is ready to die on it, and that everything he has confessed before this is true.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* declare upon our Manly Truth in place of the duly attested Oath, that all these above mentioned examinations have been made in our presence, and have been confessed by Allert Janssen of Assendelft gunner, under torture as well as by free will. Today this examination and confession has been read to him abundantly and he has been asked if all this was not true, confesses free and unbound and at liberty, that it has indeed so happened, and because we have heard the same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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* to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

*Salomom Deschamps*

Claes Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon Yopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[283 v] Because Allert Janssen of Assendelft gunner, aged about 24 years, putting aside all humanity, has changed himself into worse than an evil tiger beast, filled with all thinkable wantonness and cruelties, not only done, but still in mind to do, namely, that he, through his innate depravity, on the ship *Batavia*, south of the *Cabo de Bone Esperansa*, has allowed himself to be persuaded by Jeronimus Cornelisz, together with the skipper Arian Jacopsz, Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, Jan Evertsz, high boatswain, and still another 10 to 12 evil-minded men who also were roused to seize the ship *Batavia* according to his own confessions by examination, and who were working too like purpose with apt means to execute their plans. That is, that the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz ordered the high boatswain to smear the face and the whole body of the wife of a certain under merchant, named Lucretia Jansz, whom he very much hated, with dung and other black substances, scandalous, which was done on the night of 14 May, at which Allert Jansz was one of the principal accomplices, which shameful fact has been taken very hard by the Commander. Therefore when the Commander should put in chains the conspirators, who numbered 8<sup>81</sup>, that seemed to them a very apt opportunity to run into the cabin in a rioting manner, and they would then have thrown the Commander overboard from the gallery, and they would have nailed the soldiers' hatch until they were masters of the ship. After which they [284 r] would have murdered all except 120 men whom they would have chosen out of the soldiers as well as the crew, and then they would have sailed with the ship to *Mauritius* to victual, and from there they would have gone pirating on the Company until they should altogether have become completely rich. Though God the Lord did not wish to allow that extraordinary bad evil, but rather let the ship be wrecked. The aforementioned Allert nevertheless has behaved himself very insolently when the ship was wrecked, by getting drunk as well as doing harm to many people who were still board and who could not get off immediately. Moreover, coming from the ship, he has willingly let himself be seduced here on the islands near the wreck by the godless seducer and murderer Jeronimus Cornelisz, to several murders wherein he has killed tyrannically without any compassion or grace towards his brethren and friends, as well as helping to kill them, as appears below more fully in the following. Still further, together with the other evil-doers, he had resolved to seize the first yacht that should come to rescue them, and to murder all who would not have been of service to them.

On the 10 July, Allert Jansz together with Jan Hendricxsz, has helped to kill, by the order of Jeronimus Cornelisz, a sick English soldier named Jan Pinten.

Item on 14 July, the before mentioned Allert has been fetched by Jeronimus personally out of his tent, and he has been ordered together with Andries de Vries, to cut the throat of Hendrick Claasz of Apcou carpenter, because he was sick, which they have done indeed.

[284 v] Item on the 21 July, being the same night that the predicant's family was murdered, the aforementioned Allert has been called by Davit Sevanck, who ordered him, together with Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht to call out of his tent Aris Jansz of Hoorn under barber, and then to kill him, whereon Allert Jansz has gone and called, Aris, come outside, we have to catch birds for the merchant. The foresaid Aris, though he was very much afraid, went with him, but when they came to the beach, Allert struck him around his ears with his sword, as did Cornelisz Pietersz, but through the bluntness of their swords they only wounded him slightly and he escaped helped by the darkness into the water, and laid flat on his stomach so that they could not find him, at last that night he escaped with a small little yawl and saved his life.

Item on the 24 July, Jeronimus has ordered Allert, by word of mouth, to take to the beach a cabin boy, Andries de Bruijn of Haarlem, and said to him, come Andries, we will go and look for birds, but has cut his throat there with a knife.

Also, being still at sea south of the *Cabo* with secret permission of the skipper Ariaen Jacopsz, he has slept in the gunroom with Zwaantien Hendricx servant and had carnal knowledge of her.

To all which above mentioned gruesome murders he has very willingly let himself be used, as well as those he still intended to, had God Almighty not prevented the seizing of the ship *Batavia* and the yacht *Sardam*. Moreover still daily mocking at [285 r] God, being one of the principals who forbade the praying and the preaching of His holy word, and who has very scoffingly put a stop to that, although he says that Jeronimus had ordered him so, with still more misdeeds apparently kept hidden, being Criminal Offices of evil consequence which cannot be tolerated by God or Man, because nature sufficiently teaches that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished as an example to others. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having given the greatest thought to the matter, after long examinations and searching, exchanged the same (and weighed them the more because no hope of improvement in him can be expected, as he has already killed a man in Holland), in order to turn away from us the wrath of God and to cleanse the name Christian of such a villain we have sentenced the foresaid Allert Jansz of Assendelft, thus we sentence him herewith, that, on Monday the first of October, he shall be taken to Seals Island to a place there made ready to execute Justice, and there first to cut off his right hand and after that to punish him with the cord at a gallows till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages, and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General east India Company our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[285 v] Today the 24 September on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the Ship's council, to examine Andries Jonas of Luyck soldier, on his great murders, so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring him to torture. Date as before.

Andries Jonas of Luijck, soldier, aged about 40 years, asked how many people he has murdered or helped to murder here on these islands near the wreck of the perished ship *Batavia*, confesses, that one day being 9 July last, when the provost Pieter Jansz as well as 14 other people sailing on 2 small rafts to the High Island, were murdered as well as drowned, whereof Pauwels Barentsz, Hessel Jansz sailors, thought to save themselves here on the island, but were ordered by Jeronimus to be killed, then had the before mentioned Andries, after Jan Hendricxs had struck Pauwels Barentsz, pierced him with a pike right through the throat until he died.

Item confesses also that one day, being the 18 July last, he was ordered by Jeronimus, together with David Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Willems Selijnsz, Luycas Gillsz, Rutger Fredricx, master Frans Jansz, Jan van Bemmell, Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht, to sail with the little yawl to Seals Island, so then Zevanck has asked Andries Jonas at night, have you got a sharp knife on you? He said, certainly I have a knife, but it is not very sharp. Whereon Zevanck handed him his own knife and said to him, cut the throats of the women with it. So without any objection Andries has gone to Maijken Soers, who was heavily pregnant, and taking her by the hand, led her a little apart and said to her, Maijken love you must die, and threw her underfoot and cut her throat. That being done, he saw that Jan van Bemmell was busy killing Jannetgien Gist (the wife of Jan Hendricx from the Hague) and has come to his help and has stabbed her to death with a knife. The other women, Laurentia Thomas, wife of Gabriel Jacobsz corporal (who was killed on 15 of this month [286 r] together with more others on Seals Island) and Geertien Willemsz widow, together with still another 15 *jongers*, were killed by Sevanck and his accomplices that night, except for 3 *jongers* who hid themselves in the bushes.

He, further asked (because we were very certain that he also had gone to the predicant's tent and been present when his family was murdered) whom he had killed or helped to kill. Confesses, that at night Jacob Pietersz Cosijn had come to him and said, Andries, you must help by taking a walk, as we go, we'll help along the predicant's folk. Have you a knife with you? Andries answered, yea, and so he has gone to the tent, with Jacob Pietersz, where Davit Zeevanck, Jan Hendricxsz, Wouter Loos, Mattijs Beer, Leenart Michielsz, Cornelis Pietersz and Andries Liebent stood round already, so he saw that Wijbrecht Claasz was called out, who was killed by Jan Hendricxsz, whereon Zevanck with all the others went into the tent, and the foresaid Andries with Jacob Pietersz stayed outside, so he says. Therefore, to draw from him the straight truth we have brought him to torture. After suffering pain, persists that he

has not been in the tent, even less wounded or killed anyone. To be more certain, we have brought him again to torture, denies as before to have been in the tent.

On 27 do. before the ship's council,

Andries Jonas, again asked whether he has killed or helped to kill anyone, confesses of free will that in the night when the predicant's family was murdered, being 21 July last, he was called by Zevanck, who said to him that he had to call Maijken Cardoes out of her tent and cut her throat, whereon Andries Jonas has gone without any objection or reluctance, and has called the foresaid Maijken outside, saying to her that she must go for a walk with him, whereupon she asked, Andries, will you do any evil to me? Whereon he said, no, nothing at all, but having gone a little way he threw her underfoot and sought to cut her throat with the knife, but she gripped the knife in her hand so that it was stuck, and he could not carry out his intention because of her [286 v] struggling, meanwhile Wouter Loos came running, who battered in her head at once with an axe or adze, until she died, and he then dragged her into a hole in which the predicant's folk had been dragged. Confesses also that he has been very willing in murdering, and he does not now know how he had wandered so far from God. Further asked whether, if they had been able to carry out their plan to overpower the other people on the High Island, he would have taken part in seizing the first-coming yacht. Confesses that he would have taken part in it just as any other, for they were led into thinking that they would all be rich for life.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare on our Manly Truth, in place of the duly attested oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Andries Jonas of Luijck soldier, by torture and out of free will, this examination and confession has been read to him again in abundant, and he has been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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* to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

*Salomom Deschamps*

Claes Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon Yopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

Andries Jonas<sup>82</sup>, on today the 2 of October on Seals Island, with the noose on his neck ready for death, confesses to unburden his conscience, that when he was sleeping one night, being July ..., a boy came creeping into his tent on hands and knees because he had seen that some were being killed that night, which Jacob Pietersz Cosijns saw, who waked Andries and said, Andries drag that boy outside and help him forth, which the foresaid Andries has immediately done, and cut his throat outside the tent, and because we, the undersigned, have heard him confessing this

same willingly and unasked, we have, in order to certify the truth, signed this with our own hands, date this 2 October 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch<sup>83</sup>

[287 r] Because Andries Jonas of Luijck soldier, aged about 40 years, here on the islands near the wreck of the perished ship *Batavia* has let himself be turned aside from the way of human or reasonable creatures and has let himself be used willingly, through an innate corruptness, by the godless Epicurean<sup>84</sup> villain Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, to several murders, which he has committed very tyrannically without any compassion, on pregnant as well as other women, and on men whom he has killed and helped to kill, as appears from his confessions in full as mentioned below, given under torture as well as of free will. Furthermore, has decided, together with other evil-minded people, to seize the first yacht that should come to rescue them, and to murder all who would not have been of service to them, namely, when they had mastered the people and killed those on the High island (who had escaped the murdering), at the sorties and fights against them, in three different journeys he himself very willing has helped to fight them more savagely than acknowledged enemies. His murders start

on the 9 July, when Pietersz Jansz provost with still another 14 people, women as well as men, had made two rafts on Traitors Island, with which they had the intention to sail to the High Island, and to prevent that, it has been decided by Jeronimus and his council to drown or kill them, to which purpose a little yawl was manned and was sent out. At last they were chased away from the rafts, some have been killed, others drowned, while 4 to 5 men escaped and thought to save their lives here on the island, but then it was ordered by Jeronimus that they had to be killed without grace. So the before mentioned Andries Jonas has stuck a pike right through the throat of the sailor Pauwels Barentsz, who had been thrown underfoot by Jan Hendricxsz, until he died.

Item on the 18 July Andries Jonas has been ordered by Jeronimus to go, together with Davit Zevanck and another men, with the little yawl to Seals Island, in order to kill there the remaining 4 women and about 15 *jongers* who had not been killed on the previous murder on 15 July. Therefore Zevanck has asked whether he had a knife, Andries Jonas answered that he had a knife but it was not very sharp. [287 v] Whereupon Zevanck handed him his own knife, saying, cut the throats of the women. So willingly, without delay or objection, Andries has gone to Maijken Soers, who was pregnant, has taken her by the hand and led her a little to one side and said to her, Maijken love, you must die, and thrown her underfoot and cut her throat. That being done, he saw that Jan van Bommel was trying to kill Jannetgien Gist the wife of Jan Hendricxsz from the Hague, therefore he went to help the before mentioned Jan van Bommel and stabbed Janneken to death with his knife, the other two women and the children were killed by the others, except three children who had hidden themselves in the bushes.

Item, on the 21 July at night, Andries Jonas was called by Jacob Pietersz Cosijn, who said to him, come Andries, you must help in a outing, we will put the predicant's folk out of the way. Whereon Andries took a knife with him, and together they have gone to the tent where he found others who were chosen for that deed, namely, Davidt Zevanck, Jan Hendricxsz, Lenert Michielsz, Mattijs Beer, Cornelis Pietersz, Wouter Loos and Andries Liebent, and saw that the servant maid Wijbrecht Claasz was called out of the tent, whom Jan Hendricxsz killed, and Zevanck and all the others went into the tent and murdered the mother with her 6 children, but Andries Jonas and Jacob Pietersz remained outside because the tent was filled with people. That being done, Zevanck said to Andries Jonas, go and call Maijken Cardoes out of her tent and cut her throat. Whereupon he has gone immediately and called, Maijken, are you asleep, come, we'll go for a walk? Coming outside, the woman asked, Andries, will you do me evil? He said, no, not at all, but when he had led her a little way, he threw the woman underfoot and sought to cut her throat, but she gripped the knife and it stuck in her hand so that he could not carry out his plan because of her violent struggling. Meanwhile Wouter Loos came running with an adze or axe and battered her head in until she was dead, then he Andries Jonas dragged her into the hole, into which the predicant's folk had been dragged.

[288 r] To all which aforementioned murders he has let himself be used with great willingness, as well as the ones he still had the intention to do, had not the Almighty God prevented it, while he was furthermore daily mocking at God, being one of the principal who forbade the praying and the preaching of His Holy Word and very scoffingly put a stop to it, although he says that Jeronimus had ordered him so; with still more misdeeds that have apparently remained hidden, criminal offences, of very evil consequence, which cannot and may not be suffered by God or Man, as nature teaches us sufficiently. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having given the greatest thought to the matter, after long examinations and searching, exchanged the same and weighed them, in order to turn away from us the wrath of God and to cleanse the name Christian of such a villain, we have sentenced the foresaid Andries Jonas of Luyck soldier, thus we sentence him herewith that, on Monday the first of October 1629 he shall be taken to Seals Island to a place there made ready to execute Justice, and there to punish him with the cord at a gallows till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages, and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the Island *Batavia* 's Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*  
Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz  
Sijmon IJopzoon  
This is the mark of  
Jan Willemsz Visch

[288 v] Today 20 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the ship's council, to examine Rutger Fredrixsz of Groeningen, locksmith, on his great murders so understood to have done, and if necessary to bring him to torture. Date as before.

Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, aged about 23 years, has been asked how many people he has killed or helped to kill, confesses that one morning, being 5 July last, he has been ordered by Jeronimus Cornelisz to go with the biggest raft, with David Zevanck, Mattijs Beer, Coenraat van Huysen, Lenert Michielsz, Wouter Loos, Cornelisz Pietersz and Jan Hendricxsz, to drown Hans Radder, Jacop Groenewald trumpeter and Andries de Vries assistant. They have gone to Traitors Island and Rutger has helped to bind the hands and feet of the trumpeter Jacop Groenewald and has dragged him so into the sea, but Andries de Vries, being bound, was untied and spared for the time being. He has been further asked whether he had not killed any others, denies having wounded or killed any one further. Therefore, because we are sufficiently certain that he had willingly committed more murders because he called out daily over the island, is anyone to be boxed on the ear, I will do it for a tot, we have brought him to torture, to draw out of him the straight truth. After having suffered pain, confesses that one day, being 9 July last, when the provost Pieter Jansz with 14 others were going to the High Island on 2 rafts and were killed by drowning, from which Pauls Barentsz, Bessel Jansz, Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh and Niclaas Winckelhaack thought to save themselves here on the island, but it was ordered by Jeronimus that they should be killed. Then Rutger has struck the mentioned Bessel Jansz with his sword until he was dead. That being finished, he ran to Claas Harmansz of Maagdenburgh who was coming up out of the water, and killed him alone, without any help.

He also confesses, that one day, being the 14 July, he Rutger, together with Jan Hendricxsz and Lenert Michielsz, was called by Jan van Bemmell into the tent of Jeronimus who ordered them [289 r] to go to kill Andries de Vries, assistant, giving them each a sword thereto, and pouring each a beaker of wine, so have gone outside and have killed de Vries about noon publicly.

Jeronimus Cornelisz, being present, was asked if that was indeed true, if he had so ordered Rutger thus, confesses, yea, because he and the council had decided thus. But that he certainly believes that Rutger had done more than he has confessed, because he was always very willing to offer his services if any one had to be put out of the way. Further asked whether, if they had been able to carry out their plan to overpower the other people on the High Island, he would have helped to seize the first yacht that should have come to rescue them, confesses that he would have helped the same as any other.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare on our Manly Truth, in place of the duly attested oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Rutger Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, by torture and out of free will, this examination and confession has been read to him again in abundant, and he has been asked

whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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* to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

*Salomom Deschamps*

Claas Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[289 v] Because Rutger Fredericx of Groeningen locksmith, aged about 23 years, here on the islands near the wreck of the perished ship *Batavia*, has let himself be turned aside from the way of all human or reasonable creatures, and through his innate corruptness let himself be used by the godless Epicurean [see footnote 89] villain Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, for the purpose of several murders, which he has committed without any compassion, although they were his own shipmates and brethren. Who, bound through an oath, has killed and helped to kill whom had never done wrong to any one, being obedient to tyrants, they sought to kill out of their own wickedness all the people except a few. Furthermore with other evil willing persons, they had the intention to seize the first yacht that should come to rescue them, and to murder all who would not be of service to them, namely, when they had overpowered the people on the High Island (who had escaped from the murdering), and killed them, he has taken part in the sorties against those, and has shown himself on three occasions very willing to help to fight them more savagely than acknowledged enemies. His murders are as follows,

on the 3 July Rutger Fredricx has been ordered by Jeronimus Cornelisz, together with Davit Sevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Daniel Cornelisz, Mattijs Beer and Leenert Michielsz, 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 the foresaid Rutger has bound Jacop Groenewald, trumpeter hand and foot, and have been dragged into the sea, where they suffocated or drowned, except Andries Liebent, who was spared.

Item, on the 9 July that when Pieter Jansz provost with another 14 people, women as well as men, had made 2 rafts on the Traitors Island with which they had the intention of going to the High Island, it has on the contrary been decided by Jeronimus and his council to drown or to kill them, therefore [290 r] he sent a manned yawl to chase them from the rafts, and some have been drowned and some killed. But 4 to 5 men escaped and they thought to save their lives here on the island, but it was ordered by Jeronimus to kill them without mercy. So the before mentioned Rutger has stuck Bessel Jansz with his sword until he died. That being finished, Claas Harmansz

of Maagdenburgh was coming to the shallows and Rutger ran to him and killed him all alone, without any help.

Item, also on the 14 July, Rutger together with Jan Hendricxsz and Leenert Michielsz, was called by Jan van Bommel to the tent of Jeronimus, and Jeronimus ordered them to kill Andries de Vries, assistant, has given each one a sword, also has poured out for each a beaker of wine, and so they have gone, the three of them, to de Vries and have killed him publicly at noon.

All which above mentioned gruesome murders, to which he has with great willingness let himself be used, as well as those he still had in mind to do, had the Almighty God not prevented it. Moreover, daily still mocking at God, as he was one of the principals who has prevented the praying and the preaching of His Holy Word, and who has scoffingly forbidden the same, though he says Jeronimus has so ordered him, also that he has dishonoured the women, with still more misdeeds which apparently remained hidden, criminal offences of very evil consequences which may not be suffered by God or Man, because nature teaches us sufficiently that such evil-doers may not be left unpunished as an example to others. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* having given the greatest attention to this matter, after long examinations and interrogations, having exchanged our thoughts with each other and weighed and pondered, in order to save ourselves from the wrath of God and to cleanse Christianity from such a villain, [290 v] have sentenced the foresaid Rutgert Fredricx of Groeningen locksmith, as we sentence him herewith, that he shall be taken on Monday the first of October 1629 to Seals Island, to a place made ready for that, to execute Justice, and to punish him on a gallows with the cord till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his goods, kit, monthly wages and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard this 28 September Anno 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerritsz

Jacob Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[291 r] Today the 23 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the Ship's Council to examine Jan Pelgrom de Bije of Bommel on his great murders which so understood to have done, and the beastly life that he has lived here on the island, and if necessary to bring him to torture. Date as above.

Jan Pelgrom de Bije of Bemmél, aged about 18 years, and late cabin servant on the perished ship *Batavia*, but here on the island the servant of Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant asked, how many people he had killed or helped to kill, denies that he had harmed or killed anyone, because there were plenty of others only too ready for that. Therefore have brought him to torture, because we are sufficiently certain that he spoke lies, having suffered pain, he confesses that one day, being 18 July last, he has gone to Seals Island with Davidt Sevanck, who took him with him on his own request, because he had heard that the remaining women and children would be murdered. That night, when the sign was given, he has killed a boy, that being done, he ran to Jannetgien Gist, wife of Jan Hendricxsz from the Hague, whom he struck many times with his sword, whereon Andries Jonas came running along and who thereupon stabbed her dead with his knife.

Confesses also that one day, being July last, during the night he was sent to get Jan Hendricxsz by Jeronimus, who ordered him, together with Andries Liebent and Jan van Bemmél, to strangle Anneken Hardens wife of Hans Hardens. Therefore they have gone, the three of them, meanwhile Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help them, who made a noose of her hair ribbon and Jan Hendricxsz strangled her, Jan van Bemmél sat on her legs.

He further asked, why on the 16 August, when Cornelis Aldersz Schagen of IJpendam *hooplooper* [YOUNGSTER] was to have his head cut off, he begged so very much that he should be allowed to do it, confesses that he had gone out on that day with the little yawl, and coming into the tent, Jeronimus said to him, Jan here is my sword which you have to try on the *nettebraijer* [NET-MAKER]<sup>85</sup> to see if it is sharp enough to cut off his head, about which he was very glad. Sevanck, hearing the same, maintained that he was too light for that. Meanwhile Mattijs Beijr came, who asked if he might do it, which was granted him. So he took the sword out of Jan van Bemmél's hand and took it to Gillis Phillipson in order to file it sharp. Meanwhile Jan was busy to blindfold the boy in the presence of Jeronimus who said to the boy, now, be happy, sit nicely, it is just a joke. Meanwhile Mattijs Beer, who had the sword under his cloak, slew him with one blow, cutting off his head. Jeronimus, confronted with this, and asked if the same were true and if he had thus ordered him, says, yea, because the said Jan van Bemmél was daily begging him that he should allow him to kill someone, because he would rather do that than eat or drink. When he was not allowed to cut off the head of the foresaid youngster, he wept.

On the 26 do. before the Ship's Council.

The aforementioned Jan van Bemmél being brought again, has been asked why he has lived so godlessly here on the island, daily calling out: Come now, devils with all sacraments, where are you? I certainly wish I now saw a devil, and who wants to be boxed on the ear? I shall certainly manage it! Confesses, that he has done so and that he had been ordered the same, because daily he had heard from Jeronimus that there was neither devil nor hell, and that these were only fables.

Further asked, how many women he has here known carnally, says that he has done his will with Trijntgiens Fredricx and her sister Zussien Fredricx, and has slept with them, also with Anneken Bosschieter, all of whom he has known carnally.

Asked, how many further gruesome misdeeds he has committed, confesses at last that he was at the [292 r] end very eager to kill someone indeed, but

the others were always before him, and he was also eager to help to seize the yacht that would come.

We undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, declare on our Manly Truth, in place of the duly attested oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Jan Pelgrom de Bijen van Bommel, by torture and out of free will. Today this confession has been read to him again in abundant, and he has been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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* to testify, and if being requested, to confirm on oath. In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 28 September 1629 on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Jacob Jacobs wooden man

*Salomom Deschamps*

Claes Gerritsz

Jacop Jansz

Sijmon IJopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsz Visch

[292 v] Because Jan Pelgrom de Bijen van Bommel, aged about 18 years late cabin servant of the perished ship *Batavia*, and here on the islands of *Houtman's Abroholer*<sup>86</sup> the late servant of Jeronimus Cornelisz under merchant, has become, through his innate corruptness, entirely and wholly a disciple of his master, the Godless seducer and murderer of men, and has followed in his footsteps in murdering, as well as what he still had in mind to do, if he had been able to do so. Item, he has also had carnal knowledge here of several married women and done his will with them, of whom two were sisters, as well as his gruesome life, mocking at God and cursing and swearing, also conducting himself more like a beast than a human being, which make him at last a terror to all the people, who feared him more than any other of the principal murders or evil-doer. Moreover very eager and industrious to help to seize the first-coming yacht, yea, even on the day when the yacht *Sardam* had come, he had asked the Captain Wouter Loos, come on, say, won't we now seize the yacht? Whereupon the other, seeing that the plan<sup>87</sup> had failed, answered, no, I have given up the idea. All this is according to his confessions by examination, by torture as well as by his freewill confessed, appearing in full as well as hereunder, to be seen according to the variety of his murders. To wit,

item, on the 18 July the aforementioned Jan Pelgrom has sailed, on his own request, together with Davidt Zevanck and still many others to Seals Island, because he had heard it said and resolved that the 4 women and the rest of the children still remaining on the same island since the last slaughter, had to be done away with. So Jan, when the sign was given by Zevanck, has killed a boy, but because it was night, and dark, the name is unknown to him. That being done, he went to Jannetgien Gist, wife of Jan Hendricxsz from the Hague gunner, whom he stabbed several times with his sword.

Whereupon Andries Jonas [293 r] came running and stabbed her to death with his knife.

On the 30 July, the before mentioned Jan van Bommel has been sent at night to get Jan Hendricxsz, who when they came to the tent was ordered, together with Andries Liebert, to strangle Anneken Hardens, wife of Jans Hardens, whereupon Jan was very glad and he went quickly, but meanwhile Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help Jan Hendricxsz, who was making a noose of her hair ribbon, but Jan Hendricxsz strangled her and Jan van Bommel sat on her legs.

Item on the 16 August, Jan van Bommel having been out with the little yawl, coming into the tent, Jeronimus said to him, Jan there is my sword, which you have to try on that net-maker, whether it is sharp enough, and cut off his head. Whereon Jan was very glad and took the sword in his hand. Meanwhile David Zevanck came up and maintained that Jan van Bommel was too light and that another should be chosen for that, which Mattijs Beijr heard, who requested that he be allowed to do it, which was granted him at length, and thereon took the sword from Jan, who would not give it to him willingly, but he seized it out of his hand and went with the sword to Gillis Phillipsz in order to have it filed somewhat sharper, and then came back with it 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 Ylpendam, now boy sit quiet, they are only joking with you, whereupon Mattijs Beijr cut off his head, at which Jeronimus, Zevanck, and others were laughing, but on the contrary, Jan van Bommel was weeping, because he had not been allowed to do it.

Item, has daily on the island run round like a God-forsaken man, calling out, come now, devils with all the sacraments, where are you? I wish that I now saw a devil. And who wants to be stabbed to death? I can do that very beautifully, and many more of gruesome devilish blasphemies.

All the before mentioned gruesome deeds, and lust [293 v] for murders, which he has himself confessed, he would very eagerly have done but could never further succeed, as well as the unnatural blood scandal of having slept with two sisters, and married women, so shamefully mocking at God, which acts neither may nor can be suffered by God, who orders the evil-doer to be punished so that he shall not fall into greater sin. Because we cannot see in him anything other than great corruptness and no hope of improvement according to the judgement of all people, as well as appears from his deeds. Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam* having given the greatest thought to the matter, after long examinations and searching, exchanged the same and weighed them, in order to turn away from us the wrath of God and to cleanse the name Christian of such a villain, we have sentenced the foresaid Jan Pelgrom de Bye van Bommel, thus we sentence him herewith that, on Monday the first of October 1629 he shall be taken to Seals Island to a place there made ready to execute Justice, and there to punish him with the cord at a gallows till death shall follow, with confiscation of all his kit, monthly wages, and all that he may have to claim here in *Indien* against the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, this 28 September Anno 1629.

*Francisco Pelsart*  
Jacob Jacobs wooden man

Claes Gerrtisz  
Jacop Jansz  
Sijmon IJopzoon  
This is the mark of  
Jan Willemsz Visch

[294 r] The 28 do. towards evening, after his examination and own confessions have been read to Jeronimus publicly, before all the people who were on the island, and because he knew that the council was gathered to reach his sentence, requested by means of the predikant, a delay of a few days, because he desired to be baptised and so that he could meanwhile have time to bewail his sins and think them over so that at last he might die in peace and in repentance. Because of such an understanding for the saving of his soul, we have postponed the day of execution until the first of October, so that he may have himself baptised the day after tomorrow, being Sunday, which the predikant has announced to him, namely that a few days were granted to him, but he did not know how many. Jeronimus desired to know how many days, so that he might adjust himself, but the predikant put him at ease for that day, and he behaved himself as if he had some solace and was more courageous.

On the 29 do. Jeronimus desired again to know how many days respite had been given to him, protested that if he were not told, he could not come to peace. At last I let him be told, whereupon he said, tut nothing more, how can one show repentance of life in so few days, I thought I should be allowed 8 or 14 days. So that he began to rage, saying, I see well, they want my blood and my life, but God will not suffer that I shall die a shameful death. I know for certain, and you will all see it, that God will perform unto me this night a miracle, so that I shall not be hanged, which was his tune all that day. Therefore I ordered the guard that no one should hand him a knife or anything else with which he could hurt himself. But at night he secretly ate something with which he thought to poison himself, for it started to work about one hour in the morning, so that he was full of pain and seemed like to die. In this great anxiety he asked for some Venetian theriac<sup>88</sup>. At last he began to get some relief, because apparently it had not been strong enough, but he had to be got out of his prison certainly 20 times during the night [294 v], because his so-called miracle was working from below as well as from above.

On Sunday 30 do., when the sermon was about to begin, I ordered Jeronimus to be fetched, so that he, together with the other convicts would be able to hear the Word of God, but he answered, he would not come and would not have anything to do with the talks of the *dominis*. See how miraculously God the Lord reveals his godlessness before all people and again makes it public how before this he has forbidden all preaching and praying to the predikant. When he saw that all his subterfuges and sinister practices to remain alive were of no avail, firstly, that he desired to be brought to *Batavia* to speak once again with his wife, after that, under the pretext of desiring to be baptised to get some prolongment of his life, at last, when he saw that all his attempts were without avail, his *Epicurean* or *Torrentian*<sup>89</sup> outlook,

which he had kept hidden during that time as much as possible, namely, that there was neither Devil nor Hell, also that he still tried to maintain, here in his prison, that all he did, whether it was good or bad (as judged by others), God gave the same into his heart, for God, said he, was perfect in virtue and goodness, so was not able to send into the heart of men anything bad, because there was no evil or badness in Himself. Saying so, that all he had done was sent into his heart by God, for he had not been able to do anything out of himself, and still more such gruesome opinions which he had tried to imprint into the minds of the people here on the island.

On *primo* October, the wind s.-s.-west with great stormy showers, and it blew so hard that it was not possible to go to Seals Island and bring the evil-doers to death according to their sentences.

On 2 do. the wind south, but a bit quieter, and we have taken the 8 condemned to Seals [295 r] Island in order to 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 that the seducer of men died. But Jeronimus could not reconcile himself to dying or to penitence, neither to pray to God nor to show any face of repentance over his sins. But they all shouted at each other: revenge, some evil-doers shouted revenge at Jeronimus, and Jeronimus shouted at them. At last he challenged them, as well as the council before God's judgment seat, that he wanted to seek justice there with them, because he had not been able to get it here on earth. And so he died stubborn.

Mattijs Beijr confessed to the predicant, near the gallows, that he had also murdered another four men, and a boy, in the presence of Jeronimus one night, but he could not name them. He had not told the same all this time, and he requested therefore that one should pray for him on account of his many sins.

Also Andries Jonas, who confessed beneath the gallows that he had murdered still another boy than he had confessed to, namely, that on a certain night when some other men were murdered, on which the boy out of fear and because he was ill, came creeping on his hands and feet into their tent, which Jacop Pietersz Cosijn had seen, who said to Andries Jonas, Andries, you must help to put the boy out of the way, whereon he had gone outside, dragged the boy out of the tent and cut his throat with his knife.

Allert Jansz of Assendelft, and more others, died also very Godless and unrepentant, but he warned me, as he did also others, that we should have to watch very well on the ship because quite many traitors remained alive who would seize an opportunity to execute that which they had intended, without naming anyone, saying he did not wish to be called an informer after his death.

Jan van Bommel could not compose himself to die, [295 v]weeping and wailing and begging for grace, and that one should put him on an island and let him live a little longer. Therefore on account of his youth, one has begged for his life, which at last we have granted to him, to put him on an island or on the mainland, according to occasion occurring.

On 3 do. the wind w.-s.-w. with hard gale, and was not possible to do anything at the wreck on account of the great turmoil.

On 4 do. the wind as before, with hard gale, therefore nothing has happened.

On 5 do. the wind e.-s.-e., with changeable weather, therefore went to the wreck of the fore ship in order to get a brass piece of cannon and one of iron, which were hanging on the wreck<sup>90</sup> and towards night we got the brass cannon loose and have brought it to the island.

On 6 do. the wind southerly, in the morning I have sent the fore mentioned piece of cannon on board, and have not been able to work at the poop of the wreck on account of the hollow breakers, but have sent the little yawl to an island in order to see if there was anything to salvage.

On 7 do. the wind southerly as before. Have not been able to do anything at the wreck, but have sent aboard some goods that were here on the island.

On 8 do. the wind s.-s.-w. Have not been able to do anything at the wreck on account of the hard gale.

On 9 do. the wind as before, but a little quieter, therefore I have sent the boat to the wreck to get the other iron piece of cannon, which they have brought towards evening.

On 10 do. the wind as before, in the morning sent the before mentioned piece on board, have not been able to do anything at the wreck because of the hard wind, but we have begun to make preparations to get the water whereto a few days ago I had ordered to burn away the thickets on the High Island, on the one hand in order to catch better the cats<sup>91</sup> that were on that, on the other hand in order to see if one could find hidden *putten* [WELLS] as had been found on Wiebbe Hayes island<sup>92</sup>. When they were burning off they have found a well with water, but very stinking. After that, again a pit with brackish water. The next day they found under some burnt shrubs, a small hole that an arm might enter, threw a stone in and noticed that it gave an echo of water. So the skipper has ordered to get pickaxes and crowbars from aboard, with which they have made a hole suitable to reach the water, which is praise God very good water, although this island has been searched enough and run over by me as well as other thirsty men<sup>93</sup>, but it seems that God did not suffer that one should be able to find the same.

On 11 do. the wind as before, today we have filled the empty water vessels with the above mentioned water and brought them to the ship. In the afternoon our folk have been fishing with the smallest yawl and they found a barrel of vinegar lying on a reef.

On 12 do. the wind as before. In the morning I have sent the skipper with the boat to the above mentioned reef to get the barrel of vinegar and to bring it on board, and that he should sail from there to some small islands which were lying one to 2 miles westerly of the ship<sup>94</sup> in order to see if some drift goods had not been washed ashore there, and to be on the ship again towards evening is possible, but that he should sail carefully, even if he had to stay out the night. Before noon the weather was somewhat calmer and the sea being smooth, I have gone with the smallest yawl, together with the divers to the wreck, who dived up 75 *reals* in loose money, which had fallen out of a chest, and a piece of cannon which through a sudden wind and on account of the smallness [296 v] of the little yawl we had to leave with heart's regret.

On 13 do. the wind south, with a hard gale, have sent the smallest yawl aboard, so that as soon as the skipper comes with the boat, he should go there himself, in order to lift the foresaid money chest, with the first suitable weather, towards evening it began to blow harder.

On 14 do. the wind s. and s.-s.-w. with a hard storm, so that I fear for the boat.

On 15 do. the wind and the weather as before, so that it was not possible for the boat to come back, towards evening the weather began to take off.

On 16 do. in the morning, the wind s.-e. and e.-s.-e. with apparently beautiful weather. Therefore I went again to the wreck with the smallest yawl, in order to see if one could lift the chest with the little yawl, but coming near found that it was still breaking so much that we could not get close and much has been washed away by the last storm. After noon, I sent the foresaid little yawl aboard with a note to the upper steersman, that he must man the yawl and provision it with bread water and wine, and to send them with the under steersman to the nearest islands to seek for the boat or its crew.

On 17 do. the wind southerly. Have seen the yawl sailing away from the ship in order to seek the boat, as had been ordered.

On 18 do. The wind as before. In the morning the yawl has arrived here because it had turned back, and next, the upper steersman came in the afternoon, who told me that the yawl had come back last night, but that they had not found any boat or crew on the nearest islands. But that there was another big island about 3 miles n.-n.-w. from the ship, but towards which they had [297 r] not dared to sail because it blew too hard, also mentioned that on Sunday 13th, two hours before evening, they had seen the boat 2 miles to sea n.-n.-e. of them, but because just at that time the wind began to rise, they immediately lost it out of sight. So that, by God's Truth, it is to be feared that it has drifted away unless it has run to the foresaid island that lies n.-n.-w. of the ship and there, through the hard storm, the boat could have been knocked to pieces. Whereupon I have sent the steersman on board immediately, in order to strengthen the yawl quickly with a plank and to prepare it to go to sea, and to have the under steersman go out again provided with water, bread, grapnels, ropes, and everything they may need in search for the boat.

On 19 do. the wind southerly, towards noon we have seen the yawl sailing from aboard in order to fulfil the ordered voyage, towards evening it began to blow harder.

On 20 do. the wind s. and s.-s.-w., blowing very hard so that they could not send us from aboard the food or drink which I had written and sent for with the smallest yawl.

On 21 do. the wind as before, with a hard storm so that our yawl could not return from the islands, nor could food be sent to us from the ship although we had nothing left.

On 22 do. the wind as before, with hard weather, so that the yawl could not come from the islands, nor could the smallest yawl bring us any food or drink from the ship.

On 23 do. the wind southerly but much calmer than yesterday, but, God's Truth, still no vessel, neither from the islands nor from the ship, which should have brought us food. For now we have not had anything at all in two days to give to the people. Towards evening, near sunset, the smallest yawl has come from the ship, praise God, with bread and other good, and it started to become very beautiful weather.

[297 v] On 24 do. the wind s.-west. In the morning, I have sent the foresaid small yawl aboard to fetch water, which they had not brought us yesterday. About nine we have seen returning the big yawl which I had sent on the 19th with the under steersman to search for the skipper with the boat, and in the afternoon the foresaid yawl come here with the upper steersman, bringing tidings that they had been on an island with high dunes, about 3 to 4 miles n.-n.-west of the ship, which was set

all round with a reef except for a narrow opening, which they just struck, so that they could go in<sup>95</sup>. But they have not been able to see that the skipper or the boat have been there. I is a dry great island without having found any fresh water, but there was a host of *meuwen* [GULLS] and eggs, and in the middle of the island it had a valley with much sand. So that, by God's Truth, the boat must have been turned over by the storm on the 14th, or must have been driven away, to wit, with the skipper Jacop Jacopsz of *Sardam*, Pieter Pietersz of *Ouwenierop*, quartermaster, Marten Claasz of *Texel* gunner, Cornelis Pieterssz of *Bolswart*, late under-trumpeter on the ship *Batavia*, Ariaen Theunissen of *Harderwijck* late gunner on the ship *Batavia*. May God the Lord have been merciful to their Souls, *Amen*.

On 25 do. the wind s.-west I have gone with the smallest yawl to some islands and reefs in order to see if anything had drifted ashore. Found there nothing else but woodwork with which the islands seem to be strewn due to the great quantity that has been washed ashore on all places. I had the intention to go the wreck, but found that there was such a surf that it was impossible.

On 26 do. the wind southerly. After noon, have gone with the smallest yawl near the wreck of the fore ship, but found that such a surf ran outside that we could do nothing other than gather some iron hoops and other ironwork into the little yawl, and some lead which we got out of the forepart of the wreck, with which we returned towards evening.

On 27 do. the wind s.-west early in the morning the big yawl has come hither from aboard, with the upper steetsman and the high boatswain<sup>96</sup> because I had ordered him to come to examine some prisoners, which we have done before noon. But I have sent the yawl to the ship, because it still blew too hard to do anything at the wreck, with the foresaid [298 r] ironwork from yesterday and the firewood, with the order that it had to return immediately. Towards noon the wind began to run westerly and n.-west, with which the water became so suddenly *slecht* [LEVEL/SLACK] around the wreck it can hardly be believed. Therefore gave all possible signs with fires, flag-waving and other means as well, so that the yawl should return quickly. Meanwhile I went with the smallest yawl and the divers, to the wreck. Though strong showers, noticed that there still ran rather a big swell, therefore I remained lying outside with the little yawl for a long time, until through the ceasing of the rain as well as because of the fact that the weather became calmer, the water became very *slecht* so that we sailed around the wreck. Found that the after part of the ship had been washed completely away and now had fewer sign-marks to show where we might find the money chest which we had seen on 12th, but we looked for it so long that the divers found it. And they tied a rope to it in order to lift it, but it was too heavy for the light little yawl so that we stuck a buoy and went back to the island in order to see if the big yawl had not come, but coming there, found not yet. Therefore ordered the smallest yawl to go to *Seals Island*, because they could see them better from there and give better signals from there. At last towards evening the yawl came, half an hour before sunset, and found that it was the fault of the quartermaster, who had been lying by the high island so long beyond his ordered, and now it was too late to get the chest.

On 28 do. the wind s.-s.-west, nothing has happened on account of the strong wind and heavy breakers.

On 29 do. the wind w.-s.-w. with hard weather as before. Have not been able to do anything at the wreck. But have gone with the boat and the yawl<sup>97</sup> to the islands about. Got some wood and iron work which we have sent on board with the boat with the upper steersman and high boatswain.

On 30 do. in the morning the wind southerly. Was one hour very calm, therefore I went with the smallest yawl and the divers to the wreck, but found outside that the swell ran still so hard and that far outside the wreck was a surf that we could not come near, whereon it began to blow very hard from the s.-s.-west, so that we had to leave.

On 31 do. the wind s.-s.-west with hard gale, in the morning, ordered the yawl to be loaded with firewood and to be sent on board again.

*Primo November*, the wind as before but a little quieter. Therefore by means of fire signals have requested the yawl from the ship, in order to [298 v] see if the chest with money could be got out of the wreck, but have seen no sign of ditto yawl.

On 2 do. the wind southerly, early in the morning have given them fire signals again, in order to get the yawl from aboard, so that do. yawl has come with the upper steersman before noon, but because the wind was so strong, have not been able to do anything at the wreck. Therefore the steersman has again been sent aboard towards evening with the yawl, in order to fetch the rest of the water from the High Island.

On 3 do. the wind southerly as before, with strong wind, so that we have not been able to do anything at the wreck, but sent the smallest yawl to the foremost part of the wreck in order to see whether anything advantageous could be done, but have found nothing.

On 4 do. 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 I have gone with the smallest yawl, before noon, to the wreck, but as soon as we have gone from land, we noticed north east of us several columns of smoke, as well as the main coast of the Southland<sup>98</sup> which we could see perfectly, on which this smoke was, though before this the land had been seen by none here. This makes me imagine and firmly believe that the skipper with his crew have been stranded with the boat on this land, and because it is clear weather have given smoke signals, so that I hope that we shall find them still alive by the grace of God. In the afternoon the yawl has come back from the ship with the steersman, and so we have gone immediately to the wreck with the divers, but have not been able to find the money chest. Therefore we came back having done nothing.

On 5 do. early in the morning, the wind n.-west, with beautiful clear weather, therefore I have gone in turn with the yawl and the smallest yawl, to the wreck, and have ordered them to dive with great diligence in order to find the money chest, which, by God's Truth, notwithstanding all possible diligence, the divers have not been able to find, but they fished up the *casse* [BOX] with *clatergout* [TINSEL], as well as 4 silver Moorish fruit-dishes, with a ditto *lampetschotel* [HAND-BASIN] [299 r] weighing all together, by guessing ...silver marks. Have returned towards noon because the sea began to rise, and moreover it became lowering till a short time after noon, then the sun was shining brightly, have gone thither again with the yawl and the smallest yawl. But after much searching have found nothing.

On 6 do. the wind n.-n.-w. and n.-w. with a topgallant gale and dark weather, with this wind the wreck is now laying *opperwal* [the wind blows off the wreck], then the sea, to be contrary, rises very hard with breakers.

On 7 do. the wind s.-w. also calm. Have gone again with the divers with the smallest yawl to the wreck, although after much searching have found nothing, therefore have begun to take our goods from the island on board.

On 8 do. the wind south. Have not gone near the wreck on account of the strong wind and surf, but continued to take the salvaged money and other goods on board.

On 9 do. in the morning the wind s.-s.-e. but towards noon it usually shoots southerly, today on account of the strong wind we could not go to the wreck but have sent a yawl with 4 chests of money and other goods on board.

On 10 do. in the morning the wind s.-e., but towards noon southerly with a strong persistent wind. Today have gone on board with the other 3 chests of money and the other goods, in order to get ready for the voyage because there is no hope left of doing more at the wreck.

On 11 do. the wind s.-s.-east with a hard gale. This day spent in getting water because it blew too hard to get some woodwork from the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard.

On 12 do. in the morning the wind south with small gale, and during the day it began to run to the north west with variable moderate winds and at last calm. Therefore I have sent the small yawl again to the wreck with the divers in order to see if anything could be found. Towards evening they came back with 2 silver dishes and a carpenter's chest which they had fished up, declaring upon their Manly Truth that nothing more could be found, even if one remains lying here indefinitely.

[299 v] On 13 do. the wind s.-s.-west with calm and beautiful weather. Have resolved today that, God willing, wind and weather so permitting, we shall go under sail on the 15th and make our voyage as fast as possible to *Batavia*, also one shall do justice to the following persons, who have behaved themselves on the islands not altogether guiltlessly, but from fear of death have smirched their hands with human blood, to wit, Salomon des Champs under merchant, Rogier Decker late cabin-servant, Lucas Gillissen from the Hague cadet, Abraham Gerritsen of Amsterdam and Claas Harmansen of Campen, as appears out of the following resolution and sentences.

Today 13 November 1629 it has been resolved by the Commander and the Ship's Council of the yacht *Sardam*,

Because we by God's truth have spent here near the wreck of the perished ship *Batavia* a little less than 2 months, and that against our will or intention, on account of the hard wind and weather, and although we have not passed by any opportunity of calmness and little surf, and have taken the opportunity to search with the divers for cash and other wares in the wreck, so that with several efforts we have found 10 money chests, and because there have been 12 in the ship<sup>99</sup> therefore, according with the explicit order of the Hon. Lord General, did not want to give up lightly. But are wholly convinced that nothing more is to be found, which we are now, seeing that all has been searched through and dived over, so that the Commander has proposed whether one should wait here again for a few days of calm weather, which usually comes one day in 15 to 20, to see if anything can be found (on that one). Because we think we are fully aware that all further searching is only time wasting and to remain here is only to the detriment of our Lord Masters, to sail as soon as possible to *Batavia*. So has the Council concluded now that we have studied the matter most earnestly for the General East India Company, having taken into consideration that so much [300 r] cash and goods and further, more than 100 men, remaining here on the basis of an uncertain hope, cannot but be a great loss and

disservice. Therefore resolved that tomorrow morning, God willing, wind and weather so permitting, to go under sail to *Batavia*. But first of all shall sail to the main Southland, east north east from here, in order to see if we can find the skipper and other 4 men who were with him in the boat and who were driven away with hard winds. Because on the 4th of this month we have seen several smoke columns, wherefrom one can presume that they have made the same as a sign.

Further, also Wouter Loos of Maastricht soldier, after the capture of Jeronimus Cornelisz, under merchant, has been made captain of a troop of murderers before our arrival and has let himself be authorised for that, and has made people swear with signatures of oaths, to be true to him in everything, in manner as Jeronimus had done before his capture, whereupon on 17 September he has made the plan to go and fight against the defensive people on the High Island, in order to overpower them, although after 2 hours of fighting they did not advance any further than that 4 men have been shot *schadeloos* [WITHOUT HARM]<sup>100</sup> with their *musquetten* [MUSKETS] of whom one named Jan Dircxsz of Emden, gunner has died on 28 do. Furthermore, he has with great willingness let himself be used to several murders, as appears out of his examination and own confession in full, as well as done his will with several women. Towards which complete knowledge we have come very slowly, but we are fully certain of this. Therefore the Commander has proposed, because such criminal offences have been committed by him that may not or cannot be left unpunished before God and our High Authority at *Batavia*, whether one shall punish with death the said Wouter Loos here, as an example to others, or whether one shall put him on the main Southland in order to live with the inhabitants of that land, if it God so pleases that they will let him live, in order to live a period of time with them and to look into the opportunities of the land until the time ships might come on 25 or 26 degrees, so that he might still be rescued. Therefore after the council has taken notice of the same with due seriousness and after we have weighed and debated the case of the foresaid Wouter Loos we have decided to sentence him, preferring grace in place of rigour of the Justice and also the service of the General East India Company, that he, together with [300 v] Jan Pelgrom de Bije van Bommel, who on 28th September past, was sentenced to the gallows and who on account of his youth obtained by entreating to be put on an island, they shall be put with a small yawl on the foresaid land as scoundrels and death-deserving delinquents, in order to make shift with the foresaid small yawl and meanwhile to become familiar with the people there and to get to know and find out what there be of material in those lands, be it gold, silver, or anything of value, and if at any time some whips come to that coast, or yawls come ashore, that they may then be rescued by those and report the opportunities of those lands.

Secondly, because the under mentioned persons have behaved themselves on these islands not guiltlessly, but through all too great fear of death have not restrained the murdering scoundrels, closing their eyes and dissimulating instead of maintaining and setting against the others justice, their honour, oath and salvation, but on the contrary have smirched their hands with the shedding of human blood, although they have been forced to it. Therefore, after having taken their case with all consequences, well examined, debated and weighed. We have unanimously found good to sentence some according to their misdeeds, with these underwritten punishments most nearly accompanied by death, as appears from the following sentences in full.

To wit Salomon Deschamps, under merchant, three time to keel-haul and to be *geleerst*<sup>101</sup> [FLOGGED] with 100 strokes, Abraham Hendricx<sup>102</sup> of Amsterdam, 2 times to keel-haul and to be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, Lucas Gillisz from the Hague cadet, 3 times to be dropped from the yard and to be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, moreover to confiscate 6 months wages to the credit of the General East India Company, Claas Harmansz of Campen, to be dropped 3 times from the yard and to be flogged 100 strokes before the mast. Thus done and attested on the yacht *Sardam*, *datum ut supra*.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

Claes Gerritsz

*Salomon Deschamps*

Sijmon Jopzoon

This is the mark of Jan Willemsen Visch<sup>103</sup>

[301 r] Today, the 24 September 1629 on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been resolved by the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and the Ship's Council, to examine Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier alias Captain, on his committed murders and the beastly life which he has led here on the islands, and to bring him to torture if necessary. Date as above.

Wouter Loos of Maastricht, soldier, aged about 24 years, who on 2 September, after Jeronimus Cornelisz has been captured on the High Island, has been chosen and accepted by the rebel troop in his place as Captain, to which, on 8 do., he made them swear, confirming his authorisation with signatures and oaths of all the persons, to be obedient to him in everything, whereupon he has resolved on the 17th *stanty* [OF THE SAME] to go and fight the above mentioned escapees and to overpower them if possible. But after a long fight they did not advance any but that 4 men were badly wounded through musket shots, on account of which appears as inevitable that some will die. Therefore having asked him to what purpose he has fought against these folk, says, because his folk were murmuring and no longer desired a ration of water, but instead wanted to die or to become master of that island, has been persuaded by them, but maintains that he is very sorry he has done such.

Furthermore, as we are still informed that he also has been in the predicant's tent when his family was murdered, and that he also has apparently done his *devoir* [SHARE] in killing with the others. He, being asked whom he has killed, confesses that he was lying in his tent that day, towards evening, and that Davidt Zevanck has called him outside, saying that the predicant's family must be helped along at night, and that he had to keep himself ready for that towards that time. Whereupon he said, according to him, there are plenty of folk, why should you take me? But nevertheless has gone, together with Zevanck and 5 or 6 others to the predicant's tent at night, and, coming in, Zevanck took the lamp, and said, here has been [reported] hidden goods of the Company that we will search for, and we will get them. Meanwhile the lamp was blown out, and Wouter Loos took the kettle with seal's meat which hung above the fire and brought it to the tent of Annetgien

Bosschieters. Coming back, he found that all the people had been murdered. Yea, the party having dragged them away, were then busy with the plunder, but says that he touched none nor did anyone harm.

Because he has been in the tent, nonetheless denies to have killed or helped to kill anyone, [301 v] therefore he has been brought to torture in order to get the straight truth out of him. After suffering pain, denies as above, having laid hand on anyone, only that he took away 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 so they have been dragged 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 has done his will with them. Also asked whether he has been with Lucretia Jansz in the tent after he has been made Captain a few days after the capture of Jeronimus. Says, that he will die the death if he has touched her dishonourably or has seduced her<sup>104</sup>.

On the 27 October again examined  
before the ship's council.

As has come to our ears through Judith, the daughter of the predicant, that Wouter Loos has said or boasted before this that he has killed with an adze Bastiaan Gijsbertsen assistant, her eldest brother (when her mother, sisters and brothers had been murdered). Whereon, having taken strict notice and got further information, found has said this to still other persons. Therefore have brought him before us again in order to get the straight truth, drawing out of him with torture or free will confession, that which we would have liked to know, either with threatening or other means, then found him still obstinate, so that have brought him to torture. And asked, if he has boasted such to several, secondly, he had been in the tent with an adze together with the other murderers and apparently has committed his utmost share in murdering. Confesses at last that he has beaten the eldest son underfoot with an adze, until he was dead, and that after that he has brought the kettle with meat which hung above the fire into his tent.

Confesses also that a short time after the passing of the above mentioned, he went walking with Davidt Zevanck near the foresaid [302 r] predicant's tent and that he saw Andries Jonas was busy cutting the throat of Maijken Cardoes but he could not properly overpower her, therefore he, Wouter Loos, ran to them with a stick and has beaten in the head of the foresaid woman, Maijken Cardoes. The which accords with the confession of Andries Jonas made of free will before his death, saying that he had the intention to kill her. But that Wouter Loos ran to help him and beat her head in.

Declares further, that on 5 August, being on the high island, Jeronimus Cornelisz and Zevanck, who were going for a walk together, ordered that he must go and stab to death Jan Willemsz Selijns cooper, because they feared that he might run over. Whereupon Wouter Loos went towards Jan Willemsz with the intention to execute what he was told, but coming near him, he was so confused in his mind and in such an upheaval that he could not do it, and warned the foresaid cooper what had

been ordered him, 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 Manly Truth in place of the duly attested oath, that all the above mentioned examinations have taken place in our presence, and have been confessed by Wouter Loos of Maastricht, by torture and out of free will, today this confession has been read to him again in abundant, and he has been asked whether it was not all true, confesses free, unbound, and at liberty, that it so indeed happened, and because we have heard this same with sober ears and have seen with own eyes, are ready, to attest 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* to testify and if being requested, to confirm on oath. [302 v] In token of this being true, have undersigned with our own hands this 14 November anno 1629 on the yacht *Sardam*.

*Francisco Pelsartt*

*Claes Gerritsz*

*Salomon Deschamps*

*Sijmon IJopzoon*

this is the mark of Jan Willemsen Visch<sup>105</sup>

[303 r] Because Wouter Loos of Maastricht soldier aged about 24 years, but on 2 September, when Jeronimus Cornelissen under merchant was captured on the High Island by the defensive people, has been chosen and accepted by the whole mutinying troop in his place for their Captain, to which on 8 do. he made them swear, confirming his authorisation with signatures and oaths of all the persons, to be obedient to him in all. Whereon he, the 17 September, has made the plan and has been persuaded by the mutineers to go and fight the others who were on the High Island, in order to see if they could not overpower them. But after long fighting they have not advanced against them but that four of their men were very badly wounded by muskets, of whom one, named Jan Dirxsz from Emden gunner, has died on 28 September and apparently would have caused more disasters if it had not pleased God that we arrived here with the yacht at the same time, or in the very hour, when they were fighting, and thus all their design has been destroyed.

Moreover, her on the islands near the wreck of the perished ship *Batavia*, the foresaid Wouter Loos has let himself be drawn aside from the way of humanity and of reasonable creatures, and through his innate corruptness has let himself be used by the Godless, Epicurean villain Jeronimus Cornelisz, of whom he was a great favourite, to the murdering of people, as appears from his confession as well as his examination by torture, as well as free will confession in full, as well as mentioned underneath, to wit,

that on the 5 July he has been ordered by Jeronimus to go, together with Davidt Zevanck, Coenraat van Huijssen, Jan Hendricxz, Lenert Michielssz, Cornelis Pietersz of Utrecht and Rutger Fredricx, to go with the biggest raft and drown Hans Radder and Jacop Groenewaldt upper trumpeter, whom they have taken to Traitors Island, and Wouter Loos has helped to bind them hand and foot, and so they have been dragged into the sea and suffocated.

Item, on the 21 July, towards evening the foresaid Wouter Loos has been informed by Zevanck that he must hold himself ready that night in order to help along the predicant's family, towards [303 v] evening, when it was time, he was called

Zevanck, wherefore he searched on the way for an adze, with which he went, together with Jan Hendricxsz, Mattijs Beer, Cornelisz Pietersz from Utrecht, Jacop Pietersz, Andries Jonas and Andries Liebent, to the foresaid *dominie's* [PREDICANT'S] tent, where Zevanck entering spoke, saying that Company's goods were hidden there, which he wanted to take out. Meanwhile, they blew out the lamp and began to beat about the troop with adzes and axes, so that Wouter Loos battered in the head of the eldest son, Bastiaen Gijsbertsz, assistant, with an adze, until he was dead.

On the same night, after what passed as above, Wouter Loos went for a walk with David Zevanck, near the tent, when he saw that Andries Jonas was busy cutting the throat of Maijken Cardoes, whom he had thrown underfoot, but that he could not execute his intention on account of her violent struggle and because she had taken the knife in her hand. Therefore the foresaid Wouter Loos ran with a chopper or stick towards her and battered in the head of the foresaid Maijken Cardoes, the which Andries Jonas confessed of free will before he died.

Item has also confessed that, being with Jeronimus and all the others on the High Island on the 5 August, he has been ordered by the foresaid Jeronimus that he should go and kill the cooper Jan Willemsz Selijns, but coming near him, his conscience reproached him in such a way that instead of killing Jan Willemsz he warned him of what he had been ordered. But that he could not do it, so that he has begged Jeronimus for the life of foresaid Jan Willemsz, because he had much excess with Jeronimus, out of which it is very easy to observe what favourite he has been with Jeronimus, and apparently has committed more killings with his tongue, by means of advice, than with his hands.

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

All which gruesomeness as the murdering of people and the raping of women as well as his intended determination, when he was made Captain following in the footsteps as successor of the villain Jeronimus Cornelisz, to go and fight the poor defensive people, when they wounded 4 very badly, of whom one has died, as said before, on the pretext that they wanted to be master of the water, but on the contrary no water was ever refused to them, but had offered all [304 r] friendship with letters, which he has torn to pieces and has held them as enemies, as the said Wouter Loos has declared them to be in his authorisation, being criminal offences of very evil consequences which are worthy of many deaths and which cannot or may not be tolerated by God or man, because (nature) I leave aside God's commandments teaches us sufficiently that one should punish the evil as an example to others.

Therefore the Commander *Francisco Pelsart* and we undersigned persons of the council of the ship *Sardam*, having given every thought to this matter, after long examination and searchings, and having debated and weighed the same, have preferred grace in place of rigour of the Justice to foresaid Wouter Loos, and have sentenced him as we sentence hereby, that he shall be put here on the same Southland as a death-deserving delinquent, together with Jan Pelgrom de Bije van Bommel, who was sentenced on 28 September, to the gallows on account of his misdeeds, but has been begged<sup>106</sup> from death, in order to make himself familiar with the inhabitants of this land and to search out what is happening here, and to be rescued some time by ships that may happen to fall hereabout, and to be of some service to the Company,

with confiscation of his monthly wages, or anything that he may have to claim in India against the General East India Company, our Lord Masters. Thus done and attested on the yacht *Sardam*, this 13 November 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*  
*Claes Gerritsz*  
*Salomon Deschamps*  
*Sijmon IJopzoon*  
 this is the mark of  
*Jan Willemsen Visch*

[304 v] Instruction for Wouter Loos, and Jan Pelgrom de Bij van Bommel, both death-deserving delinquents, who on account of various consideration, are to be put here on the main *Southland*,

With a *champan* [SAMPAN] or *schuijdt* [YAWL]<sup>107</sup> which they will retain with all its appurtenances, in order to make shift with such, and shall see that with this southerly wind which here blows now along the coast they can reach up to 25 to 24 degrees, by guessing, the which is about 50 miles from this place<sup>108</sup>. In order to consider, observing good weather and opportunity, to put ashore there or here, to make themselves known to the folk of this land by tokens of friendship. Whereto are being given by the Commander some Nurembergen<sup>109</sup> as well as knives, beads, bells and small mirrors, of which shall give to the blacks only a few until they have grown familiar with them.

Having become known to them, if they will then taken you into their villages to their chief men, have courage to go with them willingly. Man's luck is found in strange places, if God guards you will not suffer any damage from them, but on the contrary, because they have never seen any white men, they will offer all friendship. Meanwhile, shall observe with all diligence what material, be it gold, or silver, happens there to be found, and what they esteem as valuable. So that, having come to perfect friendship with them, you may be able to ask, by signs and by learning their language, that a look out should be kept for ships, or for people coming from the side of the sea, in order to obtain from them more of such goods as iron, copper, or Nurembergen, of which you have with you several samples which without doubt will please them greatly.

The time that the ships reach the Southland there, is in *April, May, June, July*, wherefore you must look out keenly at that time, and seeing any, give suchlike signs as shall appear to be done with purpose, be it with smoke or otherwise. Above all, keep God in mind, never forget him, and without doubt he will keep you close in his shadow and will yet vouchsafe, at the last a good outcome. Thus done on the yacht *Sardam* this 16 November 1629.

[305 r] Because by God's truth, many, yea, the most of people who have been here on the Island *Batavia's* Graveyard, have behaved themselves not guiltlessly, but have gone too far in many errors, of whom some, who after examination as well as by own confession have gone too far as follows, firstly

Salomon des Champs of Amsterdam, under merchant, who considering his office by which he has bound himself to the Hon. Lord Masters, has acquitted himself very weakly in fostering the interests of the Hon. Company's servings and the saving of the poor people who have been so pitifully murdered. But has permitted the evil to take its course without saying anything against it, shutting his eyes and dissimulating in order to prolong his own life. Moreover on the 20 July at night, that he was fetched out of his tent by Jacop Pietersz who took him into Maijken Cardoes' tent, where Davidt Zevanck, Jan Hendricxsz and Cornelis Pietersen of Utrecht were, who said to him that they were not certain of his faithfulness, therefore took a young sucking child from the lap of the foresaid mother Maijken Cardoes, who was in the same tent, and said to him, Deschamps, there is a half dead child. You are not a fighting man, here is a little noose, go over there and fix it so that we here on the island do not hear so much wailing. Then he, Deschamps, without protest, has taken the child outside the tent and has strangled it, which is an act of very evil consequence, yea, is a crime, which should be punished with all severity, because an officer wishing to maintain his honour, oath, and salvation, must punish others of this and must seek to prevent more disaster and must not besmirch himself with gruesomeness. Nevertheless, the Commander and the ship's council of the ship *Sardam*, on several considerations, as well because the child had been poisoned by Jeronimus Cornelisz with *Mercurium sublimatum*<sup>110</sup> and could neither live nor die. Secondly, because he has been forced to it, as otherwise he would apparently have been killed, do not wish to proceed to the extreme with the foresaid Deschamps, but using grace in place of rigour of the Justice. Have sentenced him as 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. As well

Rogier Decker of Haarlem, aged about 17 years, cabin servant, and late servant on the ship *Batavia* to Jeronimus Cornelissen under merchant, who has let himself be denuded of humanity and brotherly love and allowed himself to be driven by his late master, Jeronimus on the 10 August, to a tyrannical murder, to wit, that on the foresaid day, when he was frying some fish in his tent, [305 v] Jeronimus himself came to him and called him out of the tent to his, and poured him a beaker of wine, saying to him, here is a dagger, go and stab with this to the heart Hendrick Jansz of Purmerent carpenter, who goes walking there with Deschamps. To which the foresaid has consented without any protest, and has gone outside and has stabbed to death the foresaid Hendrick. The which is a Criminal Offence that should be punished with death, as it is very tyrannical to shed the blood of an innocent man on a loose work. Nevertheless, the Commander and the ship's council, using grace in place of rigour of the Justice, on account of his youth, as well as on account of fear that they would have killed him if he had refused such moreover, have not been able as yet to find that he has let himself be used in any other ill-doing. Have sentenced him as sentence him herewith, that tomorrow he shall be keel-hauled 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 who had been taken from shore by the Commander, who, on 15 July, being on Seals Island when a party of boys and men were killed, was told by Davidt Zevanck, boy, you must participate to kill, or you will be fixed yourself, he has been very willing in the same, and with his knife cut the

throat of a boy named Frans Fransz of Haarlem, which is a criminal offence of evil consequence which neither can nor may be tolerated, but as an example to others he deserves to be well punished with death. Nevertheless, the Commander and the ship's council, using grace in the place of rigour of the Justice on account of his youth as well as of his having done this out of fear, have sentenced him as we sentence him herewith, that tomorrow he shall be keel-hauled three times, and after that shall be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast. Also,

Lucas Jellisiz from the Hague, cadet who having donned the appearance of the scoundrels here on the island, has followed their course in evil, with words and deeds, To wit, that on 9 July, when Pieter Jansz provost, was being killed with his party, he has let himself be used in the yawl and kept steady the raft from which they threw the people into the sea, as well as on the 20 July, when Passchier van den Ende, gunner, and Jacop Hendricxen of Amsterdam, carpenter, had their throats cut at night he together with Jan [306 r] Hendricxsz and Leenert Michielsz, was ordered to go and execute the same. Then because Jan Hendricxsz had cut both their throats, he could not help with it, but he has given him his knife, which Davidt Zevanck being present, ordered him to do, because Jan Hendricx stabbed to pieces 4 knives on Jacob Hendricxsz foresaid, before he could kill him.

Moreover, Lucas foresaid, on the 5 August when he was on the High Island together with all the others and Jeronimus and his council had decided that master Frans Jansz of Hoorn upper barber, was to be murdered, because they feared that he would change sides, then Lucas together with Leenert Michielssen, Mattijs Beijr and Hans Jacops, were ordered by Zevanck to kill the foresaid master Frans under pretext of going in search of seals, so Lucas, after Leenert Michielsz has pierced him right through with a pike, Hans Jacopsz has battered in his head with a morning-star, and Mattijs Beijr has cleft his head with a sword. The foresaid has also stabbed master Frans in his body with a pike to show good faith and to show were his sympathy laid. Which gruesomeness he could just as well have omitted. Because the man was already so hacked and stabbed. But on the contrary has wanted to show that he was one of their humour and mind. Which neither can nor may be suffered, but as an example to others deserves to be very heavily punished. Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, having considered the matter and having debated the same, prefer grace in the place of rigour of the Justice. Have sentenced the foresaid Lucas Jellissen as sentence him herewith, that he shall be dropped from the yard arm three times, and be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast. Moreover, with confiscation of six months wages to the profit 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, has hidden himself, together with 2 other boys named... in the shrubs and dared to appear after several days. Whereupon Jeronimus Cornelisz ordered Jacop Pietersz to get the foresaid 3 boys and to have them drowned on the way back. So Jacop Pietersz said to the foresaid Claas Harmansz when being in the little yawl, boy, throw the other 2 boys overboard, or the same will happen to you. To which the foresaid Claas has consented, and has thrown the other 2 boys overboard. Which is a cruelty that should be punished as heavily as possible. Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, seeing that it is a boy who was ordered, being in a yawl where there was no escape, or else he would have been thrown overboard himself, do not wish to proceed to the

extreme with him. But using grace in place of the rigour of the Justice, [306 v] have sentenced him as we sentence him herewith, that tomorrow he shall be dropped 3 times from the yard arm, and after that shall be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast. Thus done and attested on the yacht *Sardam*, this 12 November, Anno 1629, lying at anchor under the High Island, 2 miles from the wreck<sup>111</sup>.

*Francisco Pelsartt*  
Claes Gerritsz  
*Salomon Deschamps*  
Sijmon IJopzoon  
This is the mark of  
Jan Willemsz Visch

On 14 November the wind s.-s.-west, have fetched the rest of the folk from the islands, in order to go under sail tomorrow, and this day nothing particular has happened.

On 15 do. the wind s.-s.-west, with apparently beautiful weather. Therefore, have weighed our anchor in the name of God, and have gone under sail, away from these disastrous *Abrolhos*, to the mainland, course e.-n.-east, in order to search there for the skipper and 4 other men, who on the 14 of the past month have strayed from the ship through storm, and from there to expedite our journey hence to *Batavia* as speedily as possible. The place where the ship or the wreck lies, is on the latitude of 28 degrees, 37 to 40 minutes, and where we were with the yacht under the High Island is on 30 to 32 minutes n.-n.-west of the wreck. Although the steersmen, after the wrecking of the ship, have taken from the islands the latitude of 28 degrees 8 minutes, and 28 degrees, 20 minutes, the which has caused not a little misunderstanding in search of this place, and also loss of time, moreover not without great peril in sailing to the same, had not the Almighty God saved us purposely several times. We have found here that the wind, during the period that we have been lying here, generally blew from the south, and the south south east, also in the morning it veers to the south east, or east [307 r] south east, but a little, so that here at the wreck it is always *een leger wal* is [LEE-SIDE WIND] and there is continually a hard surf, and one has to observe precisely the moment of *slechte* [CALM] water, otherwise one would never have been able to do anything on the wreck. For when we first came here with the yacht, there was a piece of the poop and the foreship still 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 *geschuts* [CANNON] anchors, ropes, and suchlike heavy goods are lying, incredibly matted together, and cannot wash out.

Hereabout, it is very rich in fish, three kinds of fish but they are quite different in taste and shape than on other coasts. They are all bare coral islands and rocks, except 2 to 3 big islands, on one of which they had found, long before we came here, 2 pits with water. But these pits have become very brackish or salt during the time that we have been here, so that it is undrinkable, and on the other, where the yacht was lying at anchor, we also have found by burning off the shrubs or small bushes, 2 pits with water, which were found very accidentally, or by luck, because there was, as I have mentioned before, only a small hole on the surface, big enough for a man's arm, and underneath quite a cistern or water basin, under the earth, which on the surface we made so big with Crowbars and sledge hammers, that one could

easily scoop out the water. Moreover, on these islands there are large numbers of cats, which are creatures of miraculous form, as big as a hare<sup>112</sup>, the head is similar to that of a civet cat, the fore-paws are very short, about a finger long. Whereon it has five small nails or small fingers, as an ape's fore-paw, and the 2 hind legs are at least half an ell<sup>113</sup> long, they run on the flat of the joint of the leg, so that they are not quick in running. The tail is very long, the same as a meerkat<sup>114</sup>, if they are going to eat they sit on their hind legs and take the food with the fore-paws and eat exactly the same as the squirrels or apes do. Their generation or procreation is very miraculous, yea, worthy to note, under the belly the females have a pouch into which one can put a hand, and in that she has her nipples, we have discovered that in there their young grows with the nipple in its mouth, and have found lying in it, some which were only as large as a bean, but found the limbs of the small beast to be entirely in proportion, so that it is certain that they grow there at the nipple of the *mammen* [MOTHERS] and draw the food [307 v] out of it until they are big and are able to run. Even though when they are very big they still creep into the pouch when chased and the mother runs off with them.

Also some grey turtledoves<sup>115</sup> are here on these 2 islands, but of other creatures or fruits nothing but bushes, no, or very little grass. This and all the foresaid has been experienced and has happened here at these *Abrolhos*. Therefore shall turn to the main Southland, whereto we are sailing. And about noon, came near the land, where we sailed at about half a mile from the beach with small sail, in order to see if we could see any people or signs, until the afternoon when we saw on the heights a little smoke rising, but it blew away immediatley, however, anchored there at 21 fathoms, clean sand ground, in order to see if it was the skipper with his men, but the smoke remained in the background and no one appeared on the beach, from which we came to the conclusion that it had been made by the inhabitants who did not dare to show themselves, remained lying at anchor, because it blew very hard, until

on 16 do. in the morning, when we weighed our anchor again, the wind s.-s.-east with a topgallant gale, sailed again with small sail, close along the shore a *cortouw* shot<sup>116</sup> from the surf, towards noon noticed the small inlet where on 8 June when with the boat we were searching for water, we thought to run in, but through the north-west storm which fell upon us, were in great danger of sinking, and God so miraculously saved us then. Here we saw several smokes rising up, and were altogether gladdened that our own folk might be there, therefore I have immediately sent the yawl to the land in order to get sure information about this place and the smokes, they found around a steep corner, where we expected to be water, a running water, which was brackish on the side to the sea, but higher up was fresh. They also saw many footprints of people and small footpaths running to the mountains, with many smokes, but the blacks kept themselves hidden and did not show themselves to anyone. Before this, when we were searching about here with the boat, we were also close under the land, but at this place have seen neither people nor smoke. At this good opportunity, I have ordered the two sentenced delinquents, to wit, Wouter Loos and Jan Pelgrom de Bij van Bommel, with a *champan*<sup>117</sup> provided with everything, to sail to this land. God [308 r] grant that it may stretch to the service of the Company and may God grant them a good outcome, in order to know once, for certain, what happens in these lands. This small inlet is situated on the latitude of 27 degrees 51 minutes. In the afternoon, because there was no hope of finding any sign of the skipper, have set sail, our course n.-west two points outside the coast, because it began to blow stiffly, and towards evening we went towards west north west.

On 17 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 26 degrees, 40 minutes, course w.-n.-west, the wind south with a topgallant gale.

On 18 do. at noon, the southern latitude of 25 degrees, 49 minutes, course w.-n.-west, the wind s.-s.-west, with a topgallant gale.

On 19 do. the [wind] southerly, with a weak topgallant gale, at noon had no latitude, this 24 hours have sailed, by guessing, 30 miles, held w.-n.-w., our course is now n.-west.

On 20 do. the wind s.-e. with a weak topgallant gale, course n.-west, this noon had no latitude, but by guessing, have sailed 30 miles.

On 21 do. the wind s.-east, with a weak topgallant gale, course n.-west, this noon, had not latitude, but by guessing, have sailed 30 miles, it holds here a very dark overcast sky with a dry south eastern wind.

On 22 do. in the morning our course north, and have taken north to east in order to get in view of the Cocus Islands. The wind s.-east with a topsail gale. This 24 hours have sailed, by guessing, 36 miles. At noon had no latitude through dark sky.

On 23 do. at noon the southern latitude of 15 degrees 30 minutes, the wind e.-s.-e. with a topsail gale, this 24 hours by guessing sailed 36 miles. Course northern and northern by eastern.

On 24 do. at noon the southern latitude of 15 degrees 30 minutes, the wind e.-s.-e. with a topgallant gale. This 24 hours sailed 37 miles. Course northern and northern by eastern.

On 25 do. the wind east with a topgallant gale, at noon had no latitude, but by guessing, this 24 hours sailed 30 miles, held north.

[308 v] On 26 do. the wind east as previously from the 25th, until the first quarter in the night, when it shot north north east, with a hard storm, so that could not carry any sail, but let it drift. It was raining the whole night and today until noon. Therefore had no latitude. In the afternoon the wind took off and ran northerly, hoisted the topsails and ran over eastwards, until we saw some seaward floating from the Cocus Islands, until night when it began to blow very hard so that had to sail with the topsails in till

on 27 do. in the morning, the wind north east, but again a hard gale, and ran n.-n.-w. with a topgallant gale, the wind shooting hard from the northerly side. At noon had latitude of 12 degrees 3 minutes. Found us now past the *Cocus* Islands where we have drifted close by, but have not seen them.

On 28 do. in the morning the wind has run east, so that we could sail northern and n.-n.-east, with lovely weather and smooth water, at noon had the latitude of 10 degrees, 58 minutes this 24 hours have held n.-n.-west.

On 29 do. in the morning the wind shot s.-east. So that we can now easily sail our course north east towards *Sumatra*, at noon had the latitude of 10 degrees 2 minutes, have held this 24 hours n.-e.- to northern, and sailed 17 miles with beautiful calm and lovely soft weather.

On 30 do. the wind s.-e. and s.-s.-east with beautiful and lovely weather, with smooth water and little wind. At noon the latitude of 8 degrees 40 minutes, course, north east, guessed to have sailed 37 miles.

On primo *December*, the wind and course as before, with beautiful lovely weather still, and smooth water. At noon had the latitude of 7 degrees 52 minutes, that guessed we sailed 17 miles.

On 2 do. the wind s.-s.-east, course north east, with soft breeze, as before, at noon had the latitude of 7 degrees, this 24 hours have sailed 18 miles, from now on have held our course n.-e. to easterly.

[309 r] Because the under mentioned delinquents, the same as the others previously sentenced, have on the islands near the perished ship *Batavia*, gone too far in obeying the villain Jeronimus Cornelissen, forgetting their oath and the fidelity by which they were bound to the General Company our Lord Masters, but on the contrary, quitting the same, have taken as their duty, with signatures as well by swearing of oaths, to be obedient to such a one, of whom they could sufficiently see that his procedures could neither exist nor be acceptable to God or worldly power, moreover have behaved themselves very insolently and inhumanly after the loss of the ship. Wherefore some have been kept a very long time in bonds, in order to bring them thus to the Hon. Lord General at *Batavia*. Then because they urgently besought and also the community have begged for them, that the faults or offences committed by them may be allowed to be purged by due punishment here on the ship, begging for grace and to spare their lives. So has the Commander called together the council here-over, whether one could finish the same here on the ship ones and for all, without falling into disgrace with the Hon. Lord General or whether one should leave open their case until *Batavia*, in order to give the Hon. Lord General the opportunity to do therein as pleases him. Which has been seriously considered by the council and after long debates at last resolved and found good, seeing that all principal offences have been dealt with before this for security of the Company's ship and goods, and as evil-doers have been executed, that those of lesser importance shall be purged here, in order not to trouble further the Hon. Lord General in his many duties, as we fear, though hope such is not so, that the Javanese war<sup>118</sup> is causing him enough heartburning, to sentence and condemn here on the ship, the following persons, to wit,

Daniel Cornelissen of Luijck, cadet aged about 21 years, who on the 4 July at the first drowning of people, has let himself be used willingly, together with Davidt Zevanck, Coentraat van Huysen, Gijsbrecht van Welderen, Lenert Michielsz, to go with the biggest raft and drown Jan Cornelissen of Amesvoort, Thomas Wensel, and Hendrick Janssen of Oldenburgh, whom they have bound hand and foot on the raft, and he, Daniel, has thrown overboard the foresaid Hendrick Janssen of Oldenburgh, alias *Maffken* [ZANY]. Moreover on the 5 July, when Egbert Roeloffs and Warnar Dicxsz carpenters, were killed, [309 v] he, Daniel has pieced the foresaid Warnar, together with several others, with a sword, of which he boasted later, saying that it went through him as if it was greased. So that the foresaid Daniel was considered to be one of the followers of Jeronimus Cornelisz and Coentraat van Huysen with his accomplices, and so, certain of his willingness, on 23 July they have sent him to the High Island where the escaped and defensive were<sup>119</sup> with a letter translated into French, in order to corrupt to treason certain French soldiers, as appears in full out of the same letter being handed to us. Then the same marking the false intention, have held Daniel prisoner until the time that we arrived with the yacht, and thus has been delivered over to us.

Which are all criminal offences not to be suffered without great fear of falling into disgrace with the Hon. Lord General if he be not punished to the extreme with death. Nevertheless, the Commander and the council leaning on the clemency of the Hon. Lord General who prefers grace in the place of rigour of the Justice, have therefore not wanted to proceed with him to the extreme by reason of several considerations, but have sentenced him as they sentence him herewith, that with this apt opportunity he shall be keel hauled 3 times and after that be flogged before the mast with 200 strokes, with confiscation of all his earned monthly wages, which he

has earned since the fatherland to the profit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Also

Hans Jacob Heijlweck of Basel cadet, aged about 23 years, who on the 15 July<sup>120</sup> has let himself be used on Seals Island, together with other villains, at the time when the first party of 18 men were killed there, that he together with Davidt Zevanck and his accomplices, being there and the sign for murder given, Coenraat van Huijssen, the assistant Cornelis Jansz of Amsterdam the foresaid Cornelis Jansz and struck him over the shoulder with his sword, then he outwrestled him, so Hans Jacops came and pierced the breeches of the assistant, while running with a pike, having the intention to pierce through him, but he escaped on a small raft or some timber which lay there. After that he has dragged into the water all the dead to the number of 15 or more.

Further, on the 5 August in the morning on the High Island Wouter Loos and the foresaid Hans Jacopsz were ordered by Jeronimus and Davidt Zevanck to go and kill Jan Willemsz Selijns cooper, but when Wouter Loos came near the cooper, his conscience spoke to him, so that [310 r] he could not do it. But warned Jan Willemsz that he should take care, for they were ordered to kill him. In the afternoon of the same day Mattijs Beer, Leenert Michielsz, Lucas Gillisz and Hans Jacops were ordered to go and kill master Frans Jansz of Hoorn, the which they accepted greatly willing, and having led him a little out of the way under the pretext of searching for seals, Leenert Michielsz first stabbed him with a pike right through his body, after that Hans Jacops smote his head with a morning star, so that he fell down, and Mattijs Beijr has cleft quickly with a sword his head. All which criminal offences as above should be punished with death. But the Commander and the council have considered and debated the matter earnestly, not wishing to go to the extreme, but using grace in place of rigour of the Justice, have sentenced the foresaid Hans Jacops as sentence herewith, that with the first opportunity he shall be keel-hauled 3 times, and be flogged before the mast with 100 strokes, with confiscation of 6 months' wages to the profit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Also

Cornelis Jansen of Haarlem, alias *Boon* [BEAN] sailor, aged about 18 years, who through his innate and incancered corruptness has let himself be used on 14 May 1629 on the ship *Batavia* south of the *Cabo de Bone Esperansa* by the high boatswain Jan Evertsz of Monickendam, to the shameful deed done that night by them on do. ship, to a woman to wit, that he, the foresaid *Boon*, together with Ryckert Woutersz of Harlingen gunner, Jan Jansz Purmer of Amsterdam gunner, Harman Nanninxen quartermaster, Dirck Gerrits of Harderwijk, Allert Jansz of Assendelft gunner, Abraham Hendricxen gunner, towards night between light and dark, have seized Lucretia Jansz widow<sup>121</sup> of Boudewijn van der Mijlen, when coming out of the cabin from table, and have thrown her there on the *stierplecht* [STEER-DECK]<sup>122</sup> and have dragged her from there into the gallery, and have smudged her face as well as under her clothes with black dung and other filth until they had cooled their evil lust, with still other wanton deeds which they have committed on do. ship, who through the evil procedures of the skipper and other officers, were not easily at that time to be cured from that faction, because by God's Truth, it was their plan to seize the ship. Hereupon the ship has been wrecked, and so the foresaid Cornelis Jansz has not only gone beyond himself in wanton drunken drinking, and given himself to suchlike acts, but also with other scoundrels, has ordered that wine be poured and served there, chasing [310 v] out of it who belonged there. Also sticking knives in the hat and the pleats of the breeches, and if any spoke against his opinion, threw a knife at him, to

cut. Moreover, has also let himself be found in the plundering of the Commander's *coffer*<sup>123</sup> from which he desired his share, the which has been given him. Whereunder was a gold medallion with the visage of his princely excellency<sup>124</sup> cut out in *agate* and embellished, which he kept until the following day, then he put it in his cap with still other valuables and threw it into the sea, saying, there lies the rubbish, even if it is worth so many thousands.

These and more suchlike scoundrelly acts, which here come too long to narrate, have been committed by him and ought to be punished to the extreme yea, even with death.

Nevertheless the Commander and the council, after his offences have been well-weighed and the consequences considered, prefer grace in place of rigour of the Justice. Therefore, have sentenced him as they sentence him herewith, that with the first opportunity or apt weather he shall be keel-hauled 3 times, after that be flogged with 150 stokes before the mast, with confiscation of 18 months' wages to the profit 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 very insolently and gone beyond himself, by remaining on the same ship when he was ordered to go ashore, because that day all the people, if they had so desired, had been very well able to get ashore, but some had their eye on drunken drinking, others went on plundering, and the foresaid Thirion also remained on board for that purpose, and he has dared the next day to chop open with an adze, one of the Company's money chests which had been brought above for salvage, and at last he was driven away from it, and through the carpenter Hendrick Jansz a piece of plank has been nailed on, whereupon others have come, who prised off the nailed plank again, and so the whole chest was for the most part emptied, and at last in drunkenness, have thrown the money at each others' heads. Whereof he, the foresaid Thiriou, has been the principal instigator or leader, because there was no lack of disciples in evil to follow him, causing the whole chest to be broken up [311 r], and nothing has been found, to the great detriment and damage of the Company. Which is a matter that ought to be punished with death, that in place of protecting the goods of their masters, they destroyed the same deliberately, the which deserves to be punished to the extreme, yea even with death. Nevertheless, the Commander and the council, after having weighed his offences and considered the consequences, prefer grace in place of rigour of the Justice. Therefore have sentenced him as they sentence him herewith, that with the first opportunity or apt weather, he shall be 3 times keel-hauled, after that to be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, with confiscation of 6 months' wages, to the profit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Also,

Andries Liebendt of Oldenburgh soldier aged about 19 years, who on the 21 July on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, has been ordered by Davidt Zevanck to keep himself near at hand at night together with the murderers, in order to help murder the family of the predicant, which he has not refused, but with an axe in the hand, as was the weapon of all, was found near the tent, then because he came late, and Davidt Zevanck was already busy with his men inside with the murdering, the foresaid Andries remained outside because the tent was too full of people, but when they began murdering, he took some meat out of the kettle of seals' meat that hung boiling above the fire and wrapped it in a cloth and off with it.

Also on 30 July, together with Jan Hendricxsz, he has been called by Jeronimus into his tent, who ordered him to go and strangle Anneken Hardens, wife of Hans Hardens, to whom they have gone, meanwhile, Gijsbrecht van Welderen came to help, who made a halter out of her hair snood and Jan Hendricxsz strangled her, and he Andries sat on her legs.

Moreover, he has become in the end one of the principal mutineers, grumbling that they did not any longer want rationing of water, but desired either to fight against the defenders, or to die, so that he has exceeded in words as well as in deeds, as by his clothes, bordered with many golden *pasementen* [GALLOON] wherein he has wasted the Company goods in a very unlawful manner. All which offences are of such [311 v] evil consequence that they ought to be punished to the extreme. Nevertheless the Commander and the council, after having viewed the affair in rope deliberation, and weighed seriously, prefer unanimously on account of several considerations, to give grace in place of rigour of the Justice. To wit have sentenced him as they sentence him herewith, that he shall be dropped 3 times from the *reede* [YARD], and to receive 100 strokes before the mast. Moreover, with confiscation of 6 months' wages to the profit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Also

Hans Frederick of Bremen soldier aged about 18 years, who on the 5 July has gone beyond himself in a very unchristian way, showing himself to be one of the willing followers of the murderers. To wit, that when Egbert Roelofs and Warnar Dirx carpenters, were killed on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, the foresaid Hans Fredrick has also given 2 to 3 hacks to Warnar. And because he has been ill a long time, yea most of the time, he has never been able to have a hand in it, possibly much to his regret, although he has been reckoned amongst the armed in the *Joncker's* [YOUNG NOBLEMAN]<sup>125</sup> tent. But has let himself be used very willingly in the fight against the defenders. Which above mentioned good-willing readiness he has shown, first when was still healthy, in helping hacking to death, an offence of very villainous evil that should be punished to the extreme. Nevertheless the Commander and the council having viewed and weighed the affair with rope deliberation, unanimously prefer grace in place of rigour of the Justice. To wit, sentence him as sentence herewith, that he shall be dropped 3 times from the great yard, and be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast. Furthermore, with confiscation of 6 months' wages to the profit of the General East India Company our Lord Masters. Also,

Olivier van Welderen of Nimwegen cadet aged about 22 years, who on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, although he has been ill most of the time, has committed himself with deeds as well as words, and has gone beyond himself. To wit, that on the foresaid island, he has slept with Sussie Fredricx, married woman, and has done his will with her in ways because she was in such a situation that if she wanted to save her life she could not refuse. Secondly, he Olivier, being the elder brother of Gijsbert van Welderen, one of the principal murderers and scoundrels who had the intention to seize the ship *Batavia* [312 r] the foresaid Olivier was *ontsien* [SPARED/PROTECTED]. Moreover, not content that he had done his will with her several times ashore, as here on the ship, has boasted of this, belying the woman that she had offered herself to him, and besought it, which is a matter of evil consequence, which in an upright ship cannot or may not be tolerated, but as an example to others should be punished. Therefore the Commander and the council, after they have considered this matter,

sentence the foresaid Olivier as they sentence him herewith, that he shall be dropped 3 times from the yard, and be flogged with 100 stokes before the mast. Also,

Jan Renow de Miombrij, soldier aged about 22 years, one of the defenders. Nevertheless, nearly forgetting the state of misery in which he had lived, immediately after our arrival, has gone very much beyond himself with words. To wit, that Sussie Fredricx, together with Anneken Bosschieters on the 20 September, having gone to the High Island<sup>126</sup> had to remain there for 2 days due to bad weather or hard wind. In which time the foresaid Jean Renouw has come into a tent where there were about 10 to 12 persons saying here is some news. Wiebbe Hayes has slept today with Zussie. Mentioning the place where it happened. After that the trumpeter Cornelis Pietersz has also come there, and also done his will with her, after that I have gone there myself and have also done it 2 times, mentioning the places and opportunity where the same would have happened altogether on one day. Moreover, saying that she had done him some evil. Which lies or tales have spread immediately, so that it has daily been cast at the woman that she had done so. Therefore have taken notice of this matter and have examined<sup>127</sup> the foresaid Jean Renouw, who belies the same and that he has ever said it, but because there are 8 to 10 trustworthy witnesses who have heard him saying it, found his denials and oaths to be lies. Which is a matter of very evil consequence, to defame someone with lies, and which he, in order to make them more credible, asserted not only that others had done their will with the woman, but boasted of himself having gone there for the same. Thus the Commander and the council, after having considered the matter, have sentenced the foresaid Jean Renouw as they sentence him herewith, that he shall be dropped 3 times from the yard and be flogged with 100 strokes before the mast, as an example to others. Also

[312 v] Isbrant Isbrantsen of Purmerent assistant, aged about 20 years, who on the 24 July, was ordered together with Reynder Hendrixen steward, and Gerrit Willemsz of Enchuysen, sailor, to go with Jacop Pietersz Cosijn of Amsterdam lance-corporal, in the little yawl and to help rowing, with the order of Jeronimus to the foresaid Jacop, that he had to get 3 children who had kept themselves very subtly hidden at the murdering of the folk on Seals Island, and who had shown themselves again some days ago, and that he should drown 2 of the same, but spare one, who must throw the others overboard, the which Jacop Pietersz has done, and has got the children. Being on the way, he secretly ordered Claas Harmansz, one of the 3, that he should get the boys to sit on the gunwale of the yawl and then push them overboard, the which Claas did with one. But the other, seeing that the same thing would be done to him as to his mate, wrestled and would not sit on the gunwale. Whereupon Jacop Pietersz ordered Ysbrant, who was sitting next at the oar, to help the boy, the which IIsbrant did without any protest, he seized him by one leg, as well as Claas Harmansz, and threw him overboard. And because the foresaid Ysbrant has not committed himself in anything else, before or after this, so the Commander and the council did not wish to proceed to the extreme, out of several considerations, but have sentenced him as they sentence him herewith, that he shall be dropped 3 times from the yard, and shall be flogged with 50 strokes before the mast.

Thus done and attested on the yacht *Sardam* this 30 November Anno 1629.

*Francisco Pelsartt*  
Claes Gerritsz

*Salomon Deschamps*<sup>128</sup>

Sijmon IJpzoom

This is the mark of

Jan Willenssz Visch

[313 r] On 3 *December* in the morning with daylight, have God be thanked and praised, seen the Princen Islands and to the east, the cape of *Java*, and had the island *Cracatouw* e.-n.-east of us, the wind s.-e. so that we could sail no higher than e.-n.-e., with the day, it became calm, and towards noon the wind ran south and we near enough went over, in the night got close to the coast of *Java.*, till

on 4 do. in the morning, when we found ourselves next to *Angier*, but it became very calm until the afternoon, when the wind ran s.-w. with a beautiful breeze, but the current ran so hard round to the west, that we gained only 3 miles the whole day, until at night when the flood came, with which we have drifted past *Bantham*, and found ourselves

on 5 do. in the morning near Man Eaters Island, with a beautiful land wind, and have at last, God have thanks and praise for our safe journey, arrived in the roads of Batavia this late afternoon.

[314 r] Declaration in short, the origin, reason, and towards what intention, Jeronimus Cornelissen under-merchant, has resolved to murder all the people, with his several plans, and in what manner the matter has happened from the beginning to the end.

Jeronimus Cornelissen, having made himself a great friend and highly familiar with the skipper Ariaan Jacobs, moulded their mood, intelligence, and feelings into one mass, the skipper being innate with prideful conceit, ambitious, so that he could not endure the authority of any over him. Moreover, he was mocking and contemptuous of all people. Further, he was inexperienced or inept in getting on with people, in so far as it did not concern sea-faring. But Jeronimus on the contrary, was well-spoken and usually knew how to give the polish of truth to his usual lying words, he was far more sly and skilled in getting on with people, because in Holland, or more exactly at Haarlem, he had been a disciple or partner of *Torentius*<sup>129</sup> which opinion or denomination of belief, was still imprinted on him, yea, he did not profess to any religion. So that Jeronimus was the tongue of the skipper and served as pedagogue to insinuate into him what he should answer if I wanted to speak to or admonish him, according to his own free-will confession. At the *Cabo de Bona Esperansa* the skipper and Jeronimus, taking *Zwaantien*, went ashore without my knowledge when I had gone inland in search of beasts. Furthermore, they behaved themselves on the yacht *Sardam*, and after that on the ship *Bueren*, very beastly with words as well as deeds, so that it was felt obliged to complain about this. Therefore the next morning in the cabin in the presence of Jeronimus and more others, I spoke to the skipper about his evil procedures which he had begun, punished both with admonishing and threatening, and said that if he did not cease, should have to take other measures even before we arrived at *Batavia*. He excused himself that on the one

hand he had been drunk, on the other hand that he did not know that one would take a thing like that so seriously. 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, then I would treat that miserly dog so that he could not come out of his cabin for 14 days (and were I a bit younger, then I would do something else) then as soon as we lifted our anchor, I would very quickly be able to make myself of the ship. Whereon [314 v] Jeronimus at length asked, how would you be able to do that, the steersmen have the watch, and you have only the day watch? He answered, I should manage it, even if I had to do it in my own watch, and I shall very quickly be master of the ship, while he repeated several times, if I were younger, I would do something else. Whereupon Jeronimus at length asked, what would that be, if you were younger? But he would not give an answer for the time being, but a few days after when they came back to talking, and he told all the above mentioned again to Jeronimus, if I were younger, I would not take counsel with myself so long. Whereupon Jeronimus protested strongly that if he would not tell why, he would doubt his perfect friendship. At last he gave it away that he meant to make himself master of such an precious and rich ship as never before in his life had sailed out from *Amsterdam*, in order to try his luck therewith for one or 2 years, they all of them together would become so rich that *Kamphaan*<sup>130</sup> would not stand comparison to them. To which plan Jeronimus immediately agreed and approved as good, he asked him if one would be able to do this without great peril, whereupon the skipper answered, I shall get most of the officers on my side and the principal sailors, and as far as the soldiers are concerned, we shall nail up their cot at night, until we are masters. And it was decided as well to throw overboard or kill the Commander with all the people except for 120 stout men, as the opportunity presented itself to them. Whereupon a short time after that I became very ill, so that they hoped, and I did not think otherwise, than that I should have died, but after 20 days lying down, I began, contrary to their opinion, to get better, and on 13 May I was up for the first time, through which the skipper and Jeronimus saw that their easily accomplished plan had failed, and that they would have to think of a means not only to create a disturbance, but also to put to the test the reliability of those who would bring the matter to execution. That is, the skipper had also taken a great hatred to a woman named Lucretia Jansz, whom he had tried to seduce for a long time and not succeeded, and therefore he was very embittered towards her and had chosen her servant Zwaentien Hendrixen with whom to spend his time and do his will, who readily accepted the caresses of the skipper with great willingness and refused him nothing whatsoever he desired. Then the love on both sides became so intense that without taking any thought of his honour or the reputation of his office, had sworn, according to the confession of Jeronimus, that if any one made even a sour face at the foresaid Zwaantien, he would not leave it unrevenged.

At last when they were away from the *Cabo*, he took from her the name and yoke of servant, and [315 r] promised that she should see the destruction of her mistress and others, and that he wanted to make her into a great lady. At last the skipper and Jeronimus, in the presence and with the knowledge of the foresaid Zwaantien, decided after long debates and discourses, what dishonour they could best do to the foresaid lady, which would be most shameful to her and would be supposed the worst by the Commander, in order therefore that confusion might be sought through her and through the punishment of those who took a hand in it. Jeronimus proposed that she should be given a cut over both cheeks with a knife, which could be done by one person, and few would perceive that they had been the instigators of it. The skipper was of another mind, that it would be better that many

should have a hand in it, then the Commander could not punish the many, or there would be a big outcry, and if the Commander should let it go unnoticed, then there was time enough to give her cuts on the cheeks. At last they decided that they would give the burden of this job to the high boatswain, who had consented to everything, including the seizing of the ship, as well as all they might order him to do. That is to say, that at night, through some men chosen for it by the high boatswain, they would smear with dung, blacking and other filth, the face and the whole body (which they did 14 May in the evening between light and dark), the which was taken very violently and to the highest degree, by the Commander and (although he was still very ill) he thoroughly investigated who had been the culprits. For he more especially suspected, from many circumstances of which he had become aware during his sickness, that the skipper had been the author of it.

This has been the true aim which they thought to have brought off, to let it be spread by the high boatswain that the people would be punished or brought to grief for the sake of women or whores, which the skipper would never permit to happen, so long as he lived. In the meantime, some who had had a hand in this, came up to the discussion about seizing the ship, and that now had occasion and opportunity. So when the Commander would put the cuprites of this act into chains, they would jump into the cabin and throw the Commander overboard, and in such a way they would seize the ship, towards which they also had some of the soldiers in their following. But have not been able to come to 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 through some displeasure that the skipper had given to Rijckert Woutersz, one of the principal accomplices, told in public when he got ashore what they had intended to do, by complaining very much about the skipper, and that he, for his part, had slept for some days with a sword under his head, and therefore had now been very badly rewarded by him<sup>131</sup>. Jeronimus Cornelisz, who was still on the ship, and on account of the hard surf could not get off because he could not swim, remained so on the ship for 8 days like a *blinde marsse* [HIDDEN TOP CROWS NEST] (after we had gone with the boat [315 v] in search of water). At last, coming ashore, understood that everything had become known about the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, therefore from that time practising devilish shifts in such a manner as to prevent going to *Batavia*, acting very subtly and gradually, so that in the first 20 days it could not be perceived, except on 4 July, when a soldier named Abraham Hendricx of Delft, who had tapped a wine barrel several times and drank himself drunk, and had also given some to a gunner Arian Ariaansz, so that he also became drunk. Whereupon Jeronimus proposed to his council, which he had called together, that they were worthy of death without grace or delay, and must be drowned forthwith. The council consented in so far as it concerned Abraham Hendricxz because he had tapped the barrel, but in so far as it concerned the other, Arian Ariansz, it was given to him, and because they could understand some of it, they made difficulties and would not vote to sentence him to death. Whereupon Jeronimus burst out and said, how can you not let this happen, nevertheless, you will soon have to resolve on something quite else. At which words each one became afraid and could not understand what he meant by that. But the next day he dismissed his council and chose for his new council such persons as accorded with his desires, to wit, Coenraat van Huijssen, cadet, who would also have been one of the conspirators in the seizing of the ship *Batavia*, as second Davidt Zevanck assistant, the third Jacop Petersz Cosijn, *lanspesaat* [VICE-CORPORAL]. With those the day after they had been chosen, he began the murdering, to wit 4 men whom he ordered to be secretly drowned, the

which was successful as wished. Furthermore, resolved by apt means to do away with all others except 30 to 40 of the stoutest, although in the execution of the above there would be no little peril, because if the good people had perceived that all their lives were at stake, they could certainly have made a stand. But they prevented such a thing, because they chose 20 to 24 of the most willing, whom they divided, with their weapons into 2 tents, taking away all weapons from those who had any. After the success of this test with the foresaid 4 men whom they had drowned, they continued daily with their plan by secretly drowning as well as killing, and whenever some one asked where the missing were, they informed the folk that the others had been sent to the High Land.

But the pretence of this became known, whereupon out of fear, everyone tried to escape on timber and rafts to the High Island 2 1/2 miles from the wreck, where some persons had gone in the first place in search for water, with a given sign that if they [316 r] would found water, they would make 3 fires, when been there some days, had found 2 hidden pits with water, and therefore at several places made 3 fires which was seen by Jeronimus and all the folk, but because they were busy with the murdering, which had begun the 4th of July, and went on until 21 do., till they had reduced the number to 40, therefore they had no need for it. Meanwhile during those days, about 44 persons had gathered together on the High Island, consisting of those who had fled and those who had been sent away previously. When Jeronimus and his council had thus far effected their intention, they announced that they would seize the first-coming yacht that came to collect them, and was resolved that they would let the boat with the high officers come ashore first, so that they might kill them easily, and at night with that same boat, they would be able to overpower the yacht, which according to their reckoning could not fail. They would then for the time being have gone pirating, and after that, when they had become rich enough, they would have sailed into the Strait of *Spain*<sup>132</sup>. But first they must master the people who had fled to the High Island, and get rid of them, for Jeronimus maintained that if the yacht came sailing straight in, they would be warned by those. Therefore they made themselves ready to fight with them, but they could not win against the defenders, and returned without success. A few days after that they again made themselves ready with all the folk/men<sup>133</sup> they had at that time, who only numbered 32, then again their party had no success. Therefore they changed their attitude and tried to make peace with them and to come to accord with them, in order, under the cloak of friendship, to surprise them by treason at an opportune time. Which agreement Jeronimus would bring about by the *domini* [PREDICANT]<sup>134</sup> who went back and forth. To wit, that Jeronimus would give them cloth for clothes, and that they must give back the little yawl that one of them who had escaped had taken with them. Whereupon Jeronimus went to fetch the cloth, saying joyfully to his folk that they now quite certainly had those folk surely in his hands. The next day Jeronimus went back with 5 of the principal murderers or followers, going ashore to the defenders with the cloth, which he handed out there, deceiving them with many lies, saying that he would harm none, that it had only been on account of the water that he had fought against them, that there was no need to distrust him because some had been killed, for those had been mutineers and scoundrels who had deserved it. But that he had left most of the people on the island *Batavia's* Graveyard, because he could not transport them in the 2 yawls.

Meanwhile, Davidt and the others who had come with Jeronimus, were engaged to buy over some of the stoutest, promising them six thousand guilders if they would take their side, also that they should have a share in the jewels, painting as bright as possible the luck lying [316 v] to their hands. Whereupon those put their

heads together because it looked like treason, saying that they would have to be careful, decided that they would capture them, the which they did, and started to tie them up, then one of them escaped. The murderers (who had been standing with weapons on a small island by the high land), seeing that their principal leaders had been captured, began to make themselves ready to attack and rescue them. Therefore, to make more sure that they would not be hindered by prisoners, killed four of the principals and kept Jeronimus Cornelissen bound, in whose place another captain was immediately chosen from the soldiers, named Wouter Loos, who 14 days after this happened, being then 17 September resolved to go again to fight the defenders. Although after 2 hours of fighting they did not gain any advantage than that they gravely wounded 4 men with 2 muskets that they had, of whom one later has died. At the same time or hour that they were fighting, we appeared with the yacht, whereupon a great joy arose amongst the defenders, whereas on the contrary the hearts of the murderers were smitten with fear, seeing that their chance had passed and their plan was ineffective. Hereon we, after the great joy which we had drawn from the smokes on the High Island<sup>135</sup> hoping to find a large party of people alive, had to learn with hearts' grief that more than 120 persons men, women, and children, had been miserably murdered, by drowning, as well as by strangling, hacking and throat-cutting, and also had in mind to do still more, which they would have put into action if the almighty God had not been aggrieved and thwarted their plan and all their intentions, moreover, has stopped them, submitting them to their well-earned punishment and God's just condemnation for the villainies they have so long committed and the very great lust they have had therein.

God the Almighty be thanked for the good outcome and the rescue of us all, *Amen*.

<sup>1</sup> One Dutch *mijl* is about 7400 m. In his *Remonstratie* Pelsaert uses *mijlen* or *mylen* in all land measurements, Moreland (*Jahangir's India*, 1925, p.2) gives a note, which says that the Holland mile was nearly three English miles. If Moreland's assessment is accepted, the positions given by here generally prove to be more correct than if reckoned by the Snellius mile, which equals approximately 3.85 British nautical miles.

<sup>2</sup> Continental countries were using the Gregorian 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.

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

<sup>4</sup> *Schuijt* in modern Dutch *schuit* : boat, but as Pelsaert uses this term for the smaller of the two boats carried by the *Batavia* (they would normally lay athwartship, the larger one over the smaller, in the waist) and refers to the other as the *boot* (i.e., boat) yawl, a type of jolly-boat capable of carrying eight to ten persons, appears to be the best translation. The larger boat was capable of carrying forty or more.

<sup>5</sup> A *pijlschot* is about 300 m (Roepel, 1993, pp 64), this can be taken to approximate 100 yards, as that was regarded as the distance at which great accuracy of aim could be expected, although targets could be hit at more than twice that distance.

<sup>6</sup> Either grind through the ship's bottom, or else the weight of it wedge the ship farther into the reef.

<sup>7</sup> *Broot* in modern Dutch *brood*, which means bread, however on this spot it means a hard bread like ship's biscuit, kept in casks.

<sup>8</sup> Measure containing about 120 Old English wine gallons, which would approximate to 100 Imperial gallons, a *legger* contains about 600 litre.

<sup>9</sup> Presumably the *schuijt* or yawl, there seems no evidence of a third boat, and a few lines farther on Pelsaert reverts to *schuijt*.

<sup>10</sup> The word *zwaard* always means leeboard and as far as I know never sweep, however both Drok in *Voyage to Disaster* and Willem Siebenhaar in his translation of the *Unlucky Voyage* translated it into that.

<sup>11</sup> A *kan* contains about 1.7 litre (Roeper, 1993, pp. 64), *Kan* (pl. *kannen*) is a measurement equivalent to 1 litre = 1 3/4 pints, approximately (Drok).

<sup>12</sup> This suggests some document drawn up and signed, later lost, as the one included was signed on 8th June. On the other hand, Pelsaert probably did not write this account until a few days later, and that may be the only resolution.

<sup>13</sup> Jan Evertsz of Monnikendam, later hanged at Batavia for his share in the assault on Lucretia Jansz.

<sup>14</sup> A book consisting of some tables, or leaves, joined together for the purpose of taking notes.

<sup>15</sup> From the smallest islet.

<sup>16</sup> East and west Wallabi, the latter is the larger, and later became "the island of Wiebbe Hayes". With the exception of north Island these are the only islets of any size or height in the whole archipelago. Fresh water, as described by Pelsaert later, is to be found on both, as also the wallabies which he also described later and to which the castaways gave the name of "cats".

<sup>17</sup> *Halffwaack* is the third steersman. (Roeper, 1993, pp 69), this was the understeersman on the *Batavia*. There were two of these officers, the other was Jacob Jansz. One of them was also brother-in-law to the skipper Ariaen Jacobsz, but which remains undisclosed.

<sup>18</sup> 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, uppersteersman, joiner or carpenter replacing another merchant officer, understeersman J. Jansz later returned with Pelsaert in the *Sardam*. The three on the left appear to be extra witnesses to general willingness.

<sup>19</sup> *Mutsken* in modern dutch *mutsje*: one-eighth of a bottle, taking a bottle as holding 1 1/4 pints, this suggests they were not receiving more than 1/2 pint per man per day.

<sup>20</sup> A *musketschot* was about 400 meter (Roeper, 1993, pp 64).

<sup>21</sup> Present-day Yardie Creek.

<sup>22</sup> From 28°20' (their estimated wreck site) to 22°17' is 363 miles taking Pelsaert's mile as equal to 3 English miles (or 121: i.e., "more than 100 miles"). It is almost exactly 370 miles from Noon Reef to Yardie Creek.

<sup>23</sup> The manuscript is very indistinct at this spot, Roeper (1993) makes out 17 miles, *Ongelukkige Voyagie* (1647) seven miles. Seven miles is not very far when comparing it with the sailed distances on the other days (15, 10, 7/17, 22, 23 miles).

<sup>24</sup> Seaweed torn from rocks, generally a sign of land, bladderkelp.

<sup>25</sup> Nusa Kambangan.

<sup>26</sup> After the second watch, about 4.00 pm.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> Raemborch: Crijn van Raemburch, Extraordinaris Councillor of India 1630-1633

<sup>29</sup> Grijph: around 1628 merchant at Surat, present when earlier Pelsaert and Ariaen Jacobsz, skipper of the *Batavia* quarrelled at Surat, aboard the *Dordrecht*.

<sup>30</sup> Pieter van den Broecke (1585-1640), upper merchant at Surat and director until 1629. He was on the ship *Utrecht*, arrived *Batavia* 19th June,

<sup>31</sup> "With the arrival of the ship *Leyden*, which through a long delay in Sierra Liona, 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 Liona, 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 uppermerchant 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* but as 57 but, as indicated, the digit after 5 is left blank in the report. The town of Celebar (also Celeber, Selebar, Silbe) lies on the west coast near Benkulen, but is not shown on maps published after 1900.

<sup>32</sup> Jacques Specx: Extraordinaris Councillor of India 1622-1627, Governor-General of India 1629.

<sup>33</sup> Pelsaert wrote 45 first, then substituted a 3 over the 4.

<sup>34</sup> At that latitude they would observe Point Moore.

<sup>35</sup> This could be either Little north Island (so named by the fishermen) off the Easter Group, or Hummock Island, or King Reef, off the Pelsart Group. The first appears the most likely.

<sup>36</sup> Pelsaert Island, exact position of wreck point is given.

<sup>37</sup> Could be southern reefs of Easter Group.

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

<sup>39</sup> *Adelborst* : now naval rank of midshipman, but then applied to a young man of better class, appointed by the Company in capacity of very junior officer of naval or military rank, ensign, appointee.

<sup>40</sup> A fine woollen material in which the Company traded in India.

<sup>41</sup> French trimming of gold or silver lace.

<sup>42</sup> It is not clear to me if *jongers* refers to children in general or to boys only. Van Dale (1970) says that it is dialectical and means children.

<sup>43</sup> Here in the margin Pelsaert has written: *Note: That the ring has been recovered hereafter.*

<sup>44</sup> *Bottelier*: Butler, aboard a ship a steward.

<sup>45</sup> Refers to the scoundrels, *sij*.

<sup>46</sup> Soldier with rank approximating to lance-corporal.

<sup>47</sup> *Cassiacken* : in Modern Dutch overjassen, which means overcoats.

<sup>48</sup> *Dominij* : form of address to a predicant.

<sup>49</sup> Back to the *Sardam*.

<sup>50</sup> *Clatergout*: in Modern Dutch klatergoud.

<sup>51</sup> *Gouratse duijckers*: divers from Gujarat in India.

<sup>52</sup> Sound reckoning, the *Sardam* carried a crew of 26.

<sup>53</sup> *int largo*: as is written down extensively.

<sup>54</sup> The figure 2 has been erased, and a figure 1 is written above it. Soon after arrival at Batavia, Haijes' monthly salary was lifted to 40 guilders per month on appointment to the rank of cornet.

<sup>55</sup> Here is open space, obvious for the signature of Salamon Deschamps.

<sup>56</sup> Visch was probably a sailor, who was unable to write. Pelsaert has written his name for him and made him attach his mark. This will happen every following time when his signature is needed.

<sup>57</sup> Part of lock that held the priming in obsoletetypes of guns.

<sup>58</sup> A gallery overhanging the sea on each side, astern, at the level of the Great Cabin, was a new feature of shipbuilding at this date, and was considered a great advance in comfort and convenience, officer's privies, baggage, etc., were so situated.

<sup>59</sup> One of the ships in Pelsaert's fleet.

<sup>60</sup> Warship in the fleet.

<sup>61</sup> Torturing by pouring water into a person's mouth.

<sup>62</sup> *Boontien*: in Modern Dutch boontje, little bean.

<sup>63</sup> *Steenhouwer* : stone-cutter is a profession, but is also a very common surname, as is the case with many surnames.

<sup>64</sup> Pelsaert left Surat aboard the Dordrecht in December 1627.

<sup>65</sup> The upperbarber was also the ship's surgeon.

<sup>66</sup> This is the catering skipper of the *Sardam*.

<sup>67</sup> In Modern Dutch: Durgerdam, a small village at the IJsselmeer near Amsterdam.

<sup>68</sup> Young maid to the minister's wife

<sup>69</sup> Maria Schepens. See Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten, C.A.L. van Troostenburgh de Bruijn, p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> Indication that the the so called High Island was not the island on which Wiebe Haijes was camped.

<sup>71</sup> Batavia's Graveyard.

<sup>72</sup>

<sup>73</sup> That Hendricxsz classes these two as soldiers definitely ends the supposition that *edelborst* can be assumed to mean midshipman, and establishes its use in these Journals as referring to a Company cadet, or appointee.

<sup>74</sup> There is an open spot on this place in the document.

<sup>75</sup> In the evidence given before, Jan Pinten English soldier is killed on this date.

<sup>76</sup> A *morgensterre* [MORNING-STAR] was a spiked club.

<sup>77</sup> Here it can be seen why Anneken Jansz is distinguished as Annelken Bosschieters, she is the wife of Jan Carstensz Bosschieter [GUNNER], who was on Wiebbe Hayes. The second Annelken was the wife of Jans Hardens, soldier.

<sup>78</sup> This paragraphe has been added later.

<sup>79</sup> Prince here means something like ringleader.

<sup>80</sup> According to Drake-Brockman mutton birds, which come ashore on these islands at night-time and burrow in the sand, and are good eating.

<sup>81</sup> Jan Evertsz, Allert Jansz, Rijchert Woutersz, Cornelis Jansz, Dirck Gerrotsz, Jan Jansz Purmer, Abraham Hendricxsz, Herman Nannings.

<sup>82</sup> The next paragraphe has been added later

<sup>83</sup> This passage has been added later in the manuscript.

<sup>84</sup> A follower of the philosophy of Epicurus (341-271 B.C.), who thought lust and pleasure the highest goods.

<sup>85</sup> A *nettebraijer* is net-maker or net-knitter, but here it means something like a crawler.

<sup>86</sup> Obvious a mistake.

<sup>87</sup> The plan to conquer those on the High Island, and to seize the first coming yacht.

<sup>88</sup> Veneetse tijackel: a medicine of a complex composition, that was made in Venece. The components were among other things opium and sugar. The medicine was used as a castor-oil, and as a antidote as well.

<sup>89</sup> Torrentian (1588-1644) was sentenced 20 year imprisonment because of his blasphemous behaviour in 1628, he was seen as a putative Rosicrucian.

<sup>90</sup> Guns were jettisoned, these apparently stuck.

<sup>91</sup> This must be wallabies, which they took wrongly for cats.

<sup>92</sup> Here is clearly shown the differentiation between the two high islands.

<sup>93</sup> This were the men who serched the island for water unsuccessfully just after the wrecking, before they left for *Java*.

<sup>94</sup> It is moer likely that the wreck was meant here, and not the *Sardam*.

<sup>95</sup> According to Drake-Brockman this is a excellent picture of north Island.

<sup>96</sup> The uppersteersman was Claas Gerritsz, as it already been stated that Jcop Jansz held the rank of understeersman. The high boatswain of the *Sardam* was Symon IJopzoon, as appears from the order of signatures already noted, and the fact that Jacob Jansz has been stated to hold the rank of understeersman.

<sup>97</sup> It is here noticeable that Pelsaert has slopped into caling the largest of the remaining ship's craft boat the boat, and the next in size the yawl.

<sup>98</sup> The distance between the Abrolhos Island and the mainland is about 30 miles.

<sup>99</sup> One chest they had been unable to lift because of the cannon on it, the other had been opened by Jean Thiriou after the wreck.

<sup>100</sup> Although *schadeloos* normally means: without harm, not dangerous, here Pelsaert seems to mean the opposite: with much harm.

<sup>101</sup> *geleerst*: flogged with a rope on the pants.

<sup>102</sup> Pelsaert mentioned earlier Abraham Gerritsz, Hendricx is a mistake.

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

<sup>104</sup> The above examination was made before the executions, the one that follows, after.

<sup>105</sup> All now aboard the *Sardam* ready to sail. Once more, it is an extraordinary fact that Deschamps is called to witness this declaratio, himself condemned to suffer the day before.

<sup>106</sup> *Verbeden* from *verbidden* means to beg very strongly.

<sup>107</sup> Pelsaert uses the word *champan* probabably to refer to one of the flat-bottomed yawl, made at the islands, but considered safe enough for the men to sail along the coast. *Schuijdt*, in Modern Dutch *schuit*.

<sup>108</sup> Estimates here given make it quite clear that Pelsaert's myle, or mile, cannot be approximated to mean the same distance as one minute. On this date, 16th November, as will later be seen, they had decided that they were on approximately 27° 51'. Taking Pelsaert's mile to equal 3 English miles, his 50, i.e. 150, north would give the position of approximately 25° 20'. He is using

round figures, and also giving positions "by guessing", thus precision is not to be expected. 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 150 or more miles north.

<sup>109</sup> At this time cheap wooden toys and trifles from Nuremberg were sold all over Europe.

<sup>110</sup> Medicine or poison containing mercury.

<sup>111</sup> This document, following after the Instructions for Wouter Loos and his trial evidence, bears an earlier than that of the sentences already noted, on the men concerned.

<sup>112</sup> *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.

<sup>113</sup> The Dutch *el* was about **HAVE A LOOK THIS MARIT!!!**

<sup>114</sup> 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.

<sup>115</sup> Undoubtedly the Brush Bronzewing.

<sup>116</sup> *Cortouw schot = kartouwschot* is a cannon shot over a distance of about 2000 meter with a cannon firing a ball of 48 pounds.

<sup>117</sup> See footnote 107.

<sup>118</sup> See note 27.

<sup>119</sup> The island of Wiebe Hayes, here the distinction between that island and the island the yacht *sardam* anchored beneath.

<sup>120</sup> July 18 has been changed into July 15.

<sup>121</sup> The knowledge of Van der Mijlen's death is displayed in this assessment, in their evidence the men tried earlier would not have known of this fact, although it was known in Batavia.

<sup>122</sup> *Stuurplecht* in Modern Dutch means quarter-deck, but at this period the rudder was still moved by a whipstaff from this deck.

<sup>123</sup> *Coffer*: in Modern Dutch *koffer*, this was a kind of chest/case to put in personal belongings, the word means now usually just suitcase.

<sup>124</sup> This is Prince Krederik Hendrik, the Stadholder.

<sup>125</sup> *Joncker*: nobleman, member of exclusive aristocracy.

<sup>126</sup> This is Wiebe Hayes island.

<sup>127</sup> Executed has been changed into sentenced to.

<sup>128</sup> 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.

<sup>129</sup> See note MARIT VERGEET NIET DIT UIT TE ZOEKEN!

<sup>130</sup> *Kamphaan*: Claes Compaen, pirate who was active in this period.

<sup>131</sup> *Woutersz* was probably referring to the departure of the skipper without him.

<sup>132</sup> *Straat ofte Spangnien*: is Strait of Gibraltar.

<sup>133</sup> Above *volk* [FOLK] is written *mannen* [MEN].

<sup>134</sup> Gijsbert Bastiaensz.

<sup>135</sup> Wiebe Hayes's 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.