

Pra-Survey at Sagori Island, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, the Scene of the Loss of a Dutch East India Company Fleet in 1650

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The survey here to be described was guided by a document held in the National Archives of the Netherlands [NANL], entitled ‘Copie daghregister gehouden bij d’opperhoofden der verongeluckte schepen Tijger, Bergen op Zoom, Aechtekercke, Luijpaert ende de fluijt de Juffrouw op ‘t eijlandeken Sagorij^[1] omtrent Bouton 23 Februarij tot 28 Maij 1650’ (“Copy [of the] journal kept by the leaders of the lost ships [...] on the island of Sagori near Buton, [...]”, hereafter CDR). The text is registered under access number VOC 1.04.02.1179A/B: 296-340;² A is part of the ‘very damaged’ third volume of reports that in 1651 had arrived in the Netherlands and was examined by Liebner (2005, 2007) for a first account of the affair, B an apparently³ eighteenth-century verbatim⁴ copy of A, scans of which the present authors used during this survey. The extant manuscripts are part of the ‘Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam’, the “letters and papers” despatched from the Dutch Asian headquarters to the council of directors and the Amsterdam chamber of the nation’s East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC).

We cannot ascertain the whereabouts of the original of the text: The respective entries on the website of the NANL group the chronicle under the reports of the VOC’s Makassar post; in the journal, however, no mention is made of a sojourn of the shipwrecked there, thus outruling the possibility that the original text had ever reached that port. The diary is not noted in the available indices of the surviving archives at the National Archives of Indonesia (ANRI), while the volumes for 1650/51 of the *Dagh-Registers van ‘t Casteel Batavia* (DRB), the “Daily Journals” kept by the VOC’s Asian administration and our best possible source for the events of those years, were already in the late nineteenth century found missing.⁵

The journal itself does not reveal its author’s identity. Several entries⁶ mention a certain Leendert Jansz. (Schaapsvacht⁷), the *boekhouder* (“bookkeeper”) of the vessel *Tijger*, and folios 296-302r, covering the events between the ship’s departure from Batavia and 1650-03-10, are titled ‘In’t schip den Tijger adj [#] maart 1650’, “In the ship the *Tijger* [date] March 1650”. Following Dutch seventeenth-century practice,

¹ The island today known by the local people as Sagori or Segori is spelled variously in the available sources. The contemporary Indonesian nautical chart (INC) 318 notes it as Sogori.

² We will use such shortcuts for the “official” entry ‘Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), nummer toegang *n.nn.nn*, inventarisnummer *nnnn*[X/Y] (source: *xyz*, paginas *nn-nn*)’.

³ The archive entry notes the volume as ‘hedendagse copie’, “modern copy”; the neat Italian hand, however, implies an eighteenth-century copyist.

⁴ The pages we compared sport the same folio numbering, with identical page- and even line-breaks. The references here used thus apply to both versions of the text.

⁵ https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/daily_journals_volumes/, last accessed 2016-06-13.

⁶ E.g., 1650-04-23, CDR, folio 329r, 1650-05-05, folio 335r, or 1650-05-11, folio 337v.

⁷ We found the cognomen ‘Schaapsvacht’ only on folios 329r, 335r and 337v.

the *boekhouder* would have been in charge of at least overseeing the composition of a vessel's journal, if not actually writing it.⁸ For the time frame under question, ca. 1630-1650, we though could not find a Leendert Jansz. in the various electronic versions of the VOC's *scheepssoldijboeken*, "ships' payrolls", available to us⁹ – but the same stands for his more famous namesake, the junior merchant who in 1647/8 was in command of the first, if temporary, Dutch outpost at the Cape of Good Hope,¹⁰ or a number of the VOC's senior employees evidently present on Sagori.¹¹ However, *Tijger's* master, Cornelis Claesz. Cleijn, the ship's junior merchant Cornelis Crackouw as well as a number of sailors, soldiers and administrative personnel are mentioned in both the muster roll of the ship's last passage from Europe (from where she had arrived only a short two months before her foundering¹²) and the journal of the affairs at Sagori, indicating that at least some of the vessel's original complement were still aboard her last unlucky cruise.¹³

Tijger's and her companions' final voyage had commenced on 1650-02-23. The ships were tasked to carry a consignment of 'soldiers, victuals and accoutrements to Ternate' (MacLeod 1921: 940): the engagement of a good number of the VOC's assets in the ongoing struggles in Ambon¹⁴ had called for reinforcement of the company's northern Moluccan station. The fleet sighted the south-western coast of Sulawesi on 2 March, and the following day proceeded through the Straits of Selayar (see Map 1). Just beyond the Straits, a suspicious ship was made out somewhat north of their course, and *Aechtekercke*,¹⁵ the smallest and fastest vessel in the convoy, was dispatched to inspect the stranger. In the heat of the

⁸ Alphen 2014: 136f; <http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/functies.html>, last accessed 2016-06-17. The narrative of the events between 1650-03-11/14 (folio 304r/v) and on 1650-03-17 (folio 307r/v) makes it unlikely that a second *boekhouder* mentioned in the journal, a certain Abercelies(?) Hackendonck, at least at that time had much impact on its composition. However, no *boekhouder* is mentioned in the list of *Tijger's* company on her last voyage from Europe (for source see next fn.).

⁹ Velsen and Gaastra 2008-; <http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/index/download/NT00344> and <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/search>, both last accessed 2016-06-17. We are aware of the fragmentary nature of the seventeenth-century data: thus are, e.g., figures for the voyagers on *Tijger's* passage to Asia in 1643/4 noted in the digital version of Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer 1979-1987 (DAS), but the voyage itself is not included in the data extracted from the *scheepssoldijboeken* – while, vice-versa, a list of the vessel's complement on her last intercontinental voyage in 1649 is found in the muster roll data, but not in the DAS database.

¹⁰ On 1649-07-26, this second Leendert Jansz. presented his *Remonstrantie* on the advantages of a Cape colony to the directors of the VOC in Amsterdam, and thus could not have been in Asian waters in the first months of 1650; see, e.g., Hunt and Campbell 2005: 8f, or Villiers 2012: unpg..

¹¹ Officers involved in the affair we couldn't locate include, e.g., the *koopman* ('merchant') Philips van Arts, (mentioned on 1650-03-18, folio 308v, or 1650-05-07, folio 336r), the junior merchant of the *Juffer*, Thomas van Iperen, the master of *Bergen op Zoom*, Harmen Arentsz van Kraijschon (both mentioned on, amongst other pages, 1650-03-11, folio 303r) or Dirck Eeckhoff, master of another, unnamed vessel (1650-03-18, folio 308v).

¹² For the time being we could not access the *Grootboek en Journaal* ("Ledger and Journal"; NANL, VOC 1.04.02.5282) of that voyage as it presently is due for digitalisation.

¹³ For a preliminary list of people identifiable in both the CDR and the *scheepssoldijboeken* see Appendix 1.

¹⁴ For an eye-witness account of de Vlaming van Oudshoorn's campaign at and around Ambon see Bor 1663; cf. Knaap 2002.

¹⁵ Instead of the often inconsistent spelling in the manuscripts and other original sources we for the names of ship follow the orthography used in the archival record of the journal. Thus, e.g., 'Aechtekercke' instead of 'Aegtekerke', or 'Juffer', the abbreviation for 'Juffrouw', "Damsel, Lady", instead of the 'd'Joff' or 'Joffer' often used in the text.

chase, *Aechtekercke* ran far ahead of her company, maintaining a northeasterly course; her crew apparently disregarded return calls, and the other ships, trying to make up, for some time had to follow this bearing. When the main body of the fleet again caught up with the *Aechtekercke* in the late afternoon, course was changed more to south, probably to avoid the Butonese Islands which were known to lie in their way.¹⁶

Though shortening sail throughout the night, the ships made good progress, covering the roughly 70 nautical miles [nm] between Sagori reef and our estimate of the fleet's last position before dusk in about 10 hours. 'An hour before daybreak', as we assume, ca. 0430hrs on 1650-03-04, the flotilla thus 'concurrently ran onto the Reef of the isle of Comboina'.¹⁷ The flute *Juffer*, since the previous evening leading the fleet and the first to run aground, 'made the mandatory sign, but, alas, too languid and too long abiding'; aboard *Tijger* the rudder was 'laid to portside' to head the vessel up. A first throw of the plumbline found no ground – yet,

when the line was up, threw again, and had then 10 to 12 fathoms, whereupon the master stood up and quick-wittedly hewed away an anchor [that] fell before the bow without gripping, lying with its stock above water, and so they stuck fast the first time and [the ship] bumped so violently that they could hardly stand on deck. (CDR 298r/v)

The boats were lowered, and a stream anchor was set; but as the reef was found to be steep-to, the anchor 'could hardly be brought out a-half' of *Tijger's* hull's length. When the tide topped at around noon,¹⁸ the ship's company did their best to warp the vessel off the reef; yet, with waves and wind increasing, the crew's arduous efforts proved fruitless: pounding heavily in the rising surf, by afternoon *Tijger* had sprung a leak, and at around 1600hrs was 'up to her decks full of water', 'soo datten met malcanderen de moedt verlooren gaven' ("so that they all together gave lost [their] courage").

These dramatic events obviously arrested our chronicler's attentions: the journal does not tell us much about the immediate fate of the other four vessels. *Luijpaert's* and *Juffer's* hulls apparently had broken on first impact on the reef, 'became entirely filled with water and were on that day largely shattered by the seas'. At an emergency meeting of the fleet's officers, held at some time around high tide aboard *Tijger*, it was decided to divert *Juffer's* crew plus some spare hands of *Tijger* to warp *Bergen op Zoom*, 'still sitting sound on the cliffs', into deeper water; by nightfall, however, the cable the crews had taken out broke, and the vessel 'went onto the cliffs [...], smashed until bursting and immediately ran full of water'.¹⁹

The last hope of the nearly 600 shipwrecked now lay with the small *Aechtekerke*. Her hull hadn't breached during stranding; in order to lighten the vessel, early the next day the ships' council thus resolved to discharge her cargo of rice. Unloading took until 7 March, when shortly after noon the ship

¹⁶ CDR, folios 297v-298r.

¹⁷ This and the following, the entry for 1650-03-04, CDR, folios 298r-299r. 'Comboina', apparently, notes present-day Kabaena.

¹⁸ See below: indicating, thus, that *Tijger* had first touched ground shortly before low tide.

¹⁹ It was argued later that if the ships' officers 'had in place of a warping anchor carried out a main anchor, as the boatswain said should well be done, *Bergen* [...] would have been left preserved' (CDR 332r/v).

could be taken into deeper water and anchored at '2½ fathoms depth on the edge of the reef'. However, returning from a reconnaissance tour in search of 'a suitable place [... that could] allow to somewhat repair the *jacht*²⁰⁾, the masters of *Tijger* and *Bergen op Zoom* found *Aechtekerke*

sitting against the cliffs, without any cable being broken, the master and his mate being at odds, the mate saying that it was the master's culpability that the *jacht* again hit the cliffs, whereupon our beforehand gladdened hearts altogether were crushed, [and] it took not long until the mentioned *jacht* sprang and [ran] full of water, God Almighty be praised that still some dry rice had been salvaged, it otherwise would have appeared very desolate. (CDR 300r)

The loss severed the shipwrecked's last means of communicating their plight – hence, we assume, next morning's decision to have the fleet's carpenters raise the freeboard of *Juffer's* boat²¹ with a number of planks and despatch the small vessel to report 'the whereabouts of the whole Ternatan fleet' to the Dutch command at Ambon, on the way calling at Buton 'to see whether something advantageous for the needs of the Honourable Company could be done' there. Yet, worse was still to come: in the late afternoon of that day the wind again increased to

a strong gale from the westerly hand, by which [the crew] was forced to cut overboard the masts of the ship the *Tijger* so that the wreck not would break away completely into pieces, so some of the company's goods, as much as possible, could still be salvaged, [yet] while doing [this] the ship broke with a half-blow in the middle into pieces and remained thus sitting in between the cliffs, when the master and the merchant [attempted to rescue] their goods, which were still aft in the great cabin, in the evening at nightfall some could still be got at and [were] taken ashore. (CDR 301r/v)

The squall apparently also accounted for the *Juffer*: on 9 March the journal notes that the vessel had been 'pounded entirely by the sea into pieces[,] completely gone with the strong wind'. It now was time for the fleet's officers, many of whom were still holding out on their respective bottoms, to 'be transported to land', leaving only a small guard on *Tijger*, *Bergen op Zoom* and *Aechtekerke*, 'so that no blacks would come there during the night' (CDR 302r) – already after *Luijpaert* was 'utterly lost' on 7 March some local people in 'smallish praus' had come to the ship 'to fish for ironworks' (CDR 300v).

All five ships had been used by the Company for some years. The *retourschip*²² *Tijger*, a massive, 50-meter-long East-Indiaman of a carrying capacity of 500 *last*, around 1,000 metric tons [t],²³ that served as the fleet's flagship, was commissioned into the VOC's service in 1641. By 1650, she had made three return voyages between Europe and the Malay Archipelago, and only on 4 January, to the day two

²⁰ See below: a fast ship for both combat and transport, here referring to the *Aechtekerke*.

²¹ Cf. Dijkstra 2014: especially if intended for loading purposes, a ship's boat was not necessarily the small affair of a dinghy, and in most cases carried a mast, spars and sails, and often even leeboards.

²² "Returnship" or "homeward-bounder" (Parthesius 2010: 65), a vessel designed for intercontinental voyaging. For the types of ships in use by the VOC see, e.g., Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer 1979-1987, I: 37ff; Haalmeijer and Vuik 2002; Jong 2010; Parthesius 2010: 65ff.

²³ Carrying capacities here mentioned are based on the DAS database and the list found in Parthesius 2010: 189ff. A detailed discussion of the *lastmaat*, the notation for the carrying capacity of VOC vessels, is found in Parthesius 2010: 17f; for the relation of length and carrying capacity of VOC ships see, e.g., Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer 1979-1987, I: 37-8, 43.

months before the accident, again had arrived from the Netherlands²⁴ – on her passages to and from patria alone,²⁵ *Tijger* had so covered around 100,000 nautical miles [nm], two-and-a-half times the earth's circumference, of open sea. Still, the hapless voyage of early 1650 was not *Tijger's* first cruise in the waters south of Sulawesi: when the available cargoes not warranted her partaking in the home-bound fleet of December 1644, the ship was 'held ready' for any ensuing additional freight;²⁶ as such, it seems, didn't materialise, yet other urgencies arose, she and eight other vessels, 'reinforced with 708 seafaring and 150 military persons', were assigned 'to punish the rebels on Kapaha under Telukabesi and other malcontents' (DRB 1644/5: 12) who since 1641 were harassing the VOC's Ambon station.²⁷ The fleet left Batavia on 1645-02-04, ordered to take the northerly route 'through Buton Strait'. On 15 February one of the smaller vessels, *de Roch*,

in the early evening with the rise of the moon remained on the shallows on the southern side of the Broad or Laars Bank^[28] [with all hands] and the whole cargo. On three cannon-shot done by the foresaid *Roch* as advertisement, found the ships *Frederick Hendrick*, *Tijger* and *Snoeck* themselves also in the surf [on the edge of the reef], but laid by and (God be praised) still came clear (DRB 1644/5: 26)

– an early reminder of the dangers of the but rudimentary charted waters to the south of Sulawesi, one imagines. The military action on Ambon, commencing on 5 April, proved indecisive at best, and on 16 May *Tijger*, carrying a copious cargo of cloves, was back in Batavia.²⁹ Our sources fall silent until 1645-12-18, when the ship and the 'comprehensive Indian retour shipment' (GM II: 277) in her hold set out for yet another passage to Europe.

Intended for inter-Asian commerce and combat, the other four vessels had done the seven- to eight-months' crossing to Java only once. The *fluijt* or *fluyt*, "flute" or "fly-ship",³⁰ *De Juffer*, a 480-ton round-sterned trading vessel, reached Asian waters in 1645; the *jachten* – "yachts", fast ships for trade and war alike – *Bergen op Zoom* (300t), *Luijpaert* (320t) and *Aechtekercke* (120t) arrived in 1641, 1642 and 1644, respectively. True to her design as a purposeful merchantman, *Juffer*, "the Damsel", quickly found herself comprehensively employed throughout the VOC's Asia-wide trading network. Best documented are her voyages throughout 1647 and 1648: in March of the former year sent to Mocha (where much of her freight of Indian-bought cloth 'did not fetch more than 7½ per cent in revenues, but the spices [carried from Batavia] were vended with good benefit' [GM II: 316]), she loaded a return cargo of Yemenite coffee that could 'en passant be carried to Gamron [today's Bandar Abbas] and there with about 60 per cent advance be sold', so generating an, overall, 'nonetheless reasonable' profit of 'around

²⁴ Voyage nos. 576.1, 613.2, 680.3, 709.4, 5309.1, 5333.2, 5356.3 in Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer 1979-1987: Vls. II-III and the DAS database.

²⁵ For the sake of round numbers, this estimation does not yet include a further, approximately 10,000nm *Tijger* sailed when in May 1644 tasked from Batavia 'to the Cape of Good Hope to collect from there the people and the rescued goods of the wrecked ship *Mauritius Eijland*' (DRB 1643/4: 83).

²⁶ GM II: 243-4

²⁷ A short description of these conflicts is found in Knaap 2002: 268f, 2003: 179f..

²⁸ See Map 1.

²⁹ DRB 1644/5: 12.pp

³⁰ For the development of the flute see, besides the sources mentioned in fn.22, Unger 1994.

70,000 guilders' (*ibid.*³¹); back in Batavia on 1648-06-20, *Juffer* on 4 August sailed on with 'this year's last sending [of] what was requested for Tonkin and also some provisions and necessities for Tayouan' (DRB 1647/8: 132), the Dutch stronghold on Formosa. On these two trips alone, the ship had thus made more than 12,000 nautical miles, and in some eighteen months covered both the western and eastern termini of the company's seventeenth-century operations. Except for some luckless cruising with *Luijpaert* in the Moluccas we do not know much of her activities throughout the following year; in any case, *Juffer* was at Batavia in time to join the unfortunate voyage to Ternate, assumedly readied to assist in distributing the goods and personnel that were expected with 1649's Easter Fleet, in which *Tijger* in May of that year had left the Netherlands.

The exploits of the other vessels were of a more belligerent nature. Christened after a town in the southern Netherlands and in the sources variously labelled *schip* – a smaller version of the square-sterned *retourschip*³² – or *oorloghs-*, "war-", *jacht*,³³ *Bergen op Zoom* saw much of the VOC's protracted engagements in India. Between 1642 and 1645 she joined the yearly blockades of Portuguese Goa, took part in various bombardments of Lusitanian strongholds on Ceylon, and was present at the recapture of Negombo that eventually would lead to a temporary armistice between the Estado da India and the Dutch Company.³⁴ The ship made herself a name as 'de beste beseijlste', "best sailing", vessel of the 1643/4 blockade fleet³⁵ – yet in less bellicose times also took her share in transport and trade, and after the Dutch-Portuguese truce conveyed cargoes of Japanese silver, Chinese tea, Malayan tin and Indian pepper, chemicals and rice between Ceylon and Gujarat, carried Sri Lankan cinnamon to Batavia,³⁶ or sailed with unspecified yet adequately profitable³⁷ 'coopmanschappen', "merchandises", from Siam to Surat, a main entrepôt of the Mughal Empire. In August 1648 setting out with 'the naval might [sent] to the coast of India, Persia, Surat, Ceylon etc.' (DRB 1647/8: 133), by February 1649 *Bergen op Zoom* again was at Negombo.³⁸ Some time later that year she must have left India for Java, to eventually join the ill-starred fleet of 1650.

Ample record remains of *Luijpaert's* ("Leopard"), activities in the East. Her baptism of fire came a little over a month after her arrival in Batavia: under way with a squadron of seven ships tasked to stimulate 'more reputation and awe'³⁹ for the VOC's policies on the part of the southern Sumatran realms of Palembang and Jambi, the Dutch bottoms on 1642-10-05 fell in with a Javanese fleet of '60 to 70 vessels'

³¹ The GM maintain that such ventures 'should be followed up in disadvantage of the English, who according to their saying made much of a loss'.

³² Cf., e.g., Parthesius 2010: 72ff.

³³ E.g., GM II: 247, 274, 338; DRB 1643/4: 201, 220, 240; the last even names her an *oorloghschip*.

³⁴ See, e.g., Mac Leod 1921: 702f, 706f, 709f; DRB 1641/2: 248f, 252; 1643-4: 201; 1644/5: 275f, 282f.

³⁵ DRB 1644/5: 282. Already *Bergen op Zoom's* voyage from Europe had taken only '5 months and 12 days' (DRB 1640/1: 389), two-and-a-half months less than the average sailing time for east-bound vessels of her time.

³⁶ DRB 1644/5: 241, 297, 305, 306-7.

³⁷ GM II: 274: together with the winnings of the factory at Surat, the company expected from *Bergen's* freight and another cargo from Taiwan, to be conveyed by the ship *Schiedam*, a profit of no less than Fl.280,000.-.

³⁸ Mac Leod 1921: 884.

³⁹ This and the following, Mac Leod 1921: 806f, who quotes unreferenced original sources.

that had just left Palembang, and in due course sank several of their lighter armed opponents. Predictably, the company's ensuing show of force along the river Musi achieved its goals with comparative ease – already on '20th October anno 1642' an advantageous agreement could be signed aboard 'the ship *Luijpaert* in the River in front of Palembang' (Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: 112). Negotiations in Jambi proved more trying, if not fruitless,⁴⁰ and after an outing to Malacca, *Luijpaert* in early January of the next year was back in Batavia. Our sources are silent about the ship's undertakings in the first half of 1643; in June, however, the vessel once more was commissioned for Jambi, where now an agreement could be reached, and from there sailed on to northern Sumatra, 'so to the continuation of the old alliance, between the State of the Company and the realm of Aceh' (*ibid.*: 141). Returning via Sumatra's western coast on 15 November, *Luijpaert* not only brought a cargo of pepper, but also 'a missive of the Aceh Queen [... that] reconfirmed all former privileges and granted advantages' (*ibid.*) the VOC enjoyed there.

Another, now more mercantile than diplomatic mission commenced in January 1644, when *Luijpaert* and an unnamed sloop were despatched to the Lesser Sundas to, amongst other duties, collect a debt of '12,000 real of eight in sandalwood, so diverse Portuguese of Larantuka were owing to the Company' (DRB 1643/4: 7). The sum could be collected 'not without great fastidiousness and trouble [...] as [they] had general great displeasure with the Portuguese, until [they] could get to the payment of the Company's dues' (*ibid.*: 87). December of that year found *Luijpaert* at the VOC's station in Ambon, where she, together with *Tijger* and five other vessels, in April 1645 joined in the abortive Kapaha campaign,⁴¹ supplying, at least by the end of the operations, lodgings and council chambers for the Dutch command.⁴² In the following year *Luijpaert* went again to the Straits of Malacca, calling at Jambi and patrolling the waters between Sumatra and Malaya, by now claimed under the company's sovereignty, for interlopers.⁴³ 1648 once more began with loading pepper at Jambi, where her crew assisted an English vessel there detained by a dire need for sailors and a ship's boat. Her voyage back to Java had to consider that 'the strongest of the monsoon first should be let blow out' (DRB 1647/8: 17), and the ship only on the last day of February made Batavia; when the British called some days later, the borrowed boat and excess crew were dutifully returned.⁴⁴

A truly bellicose assignment, however, came in May of that year with Abel Tasman's anticipated raid on Manila and the Spanish shipping between the Philippines and Mexico. Leaving Batavia at noon of 1648-05-15 in the company of seven other ships, it soon was established that the yearly galleon bound for Acapulco had sailed some time before the arrival of the Dutch squadron; consequently, the vessels' attention was directed at intercepting any Spanish 'silver ships' heading for Manila.⁴⁵ While cruising off

⁴⁰ See Mac Leod 1921: 809.

⁴¹ Mac Leod 1921: 647; DRB 1644/5: 12.

⁴² See Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: 259.

⁴³ Mac Leod 1921: 869.

⁴⁴ DRB 1647/8: 17, 32, 34, 38.

⁴⁵ Where not noted otherwise, this and the following Heeres 1898 [1965]: 122ff.

San Bernardino Strait without much success, the Dutch fleet end June was but scattered by a typhoon, with *Luijpaert* 'on the 27th in the hottest of the tempest [...] utterly desolate and beyond any human help mast- and sparless seen drifting' (DRB 1647/8: 176). Only in September commander Tasman, with his remaining ships now busy burning and looting Spanish settlements on Luzon, came to know that *Luijpaert* had made Formosa, where she was being overhauled and readied to join the fleet for their second task, assisting the king of Siam in an attack on the Sultanate of Singora, today's Songkhla.⁴⁶ Arriving off the Chao Phraya in the second week of November with shattered ships and ailing crews, the Dutch to their great relief were informed that the Siamese 'siege before S[i]ngora, with little reputation and to no advantage, was lifted, and that the resumption of the war this year was postponed' (Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: 375). For the company, not having to go to war meant that 'costs have been saved'; the fleet's mere presence, however, left such a good impression that, additional to a considerable amount of victuals, Siam's ruler presented Tasman with 'an extraordinary big elephant, tall more than 10 feet, besides three other smaller [ones] for the officers' (*ibid.*: 376).

At some time after her return to Batavia in January 1649, *Luijpaert*, now in company of *de Juffer*, was once again in the Moluccas: during an unauthorised reconnaissance in March or April, the boats and thirteen crew of the two vessels and the *jacht Lis* found their 'retreat cut off by 5 Tidorese praus lying under the wall, and so fell into the hands' of the VOC's main opponent in the ongoing struggle for supremacy in the clove-bearing islands (Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: 445). Apparently, the ships also failed in their task of patrolling the Moluccan waters, and thus 'the Spanish succours from Manila this year again escaped our cruisers, and on 12 February last arrived safe and sound [...] two stout vessels with 36 and 25, and a yacht with 12 pieces of cannon', reinforcing the Tidoran forces with '200 natural Spanish soldiers and 100 Pampangers' (*ibid.*) that soon were to lay a bloody ambush for the Dutch.⁴⁷ We do not know when *Luijpaert* returned to Java; by August, however, she was tasked with a mission to Aceh, where an envoy had to explain the VOC's policies regarding the tin trade and the doings of two Genoese ships that under a Dutch flag had harassed Sumatra's west coast.⁴⁸ Returning to Batavia in the end of November, it would now be a little less than three months until sails were set for the unfortunate voyage to Ternate.

Carrying the name of a village in Zeeland, *Aechtekercke*, the smallest and newest vessel of 1650's fleet, left fewer traces in the sources available to us. Her first major task we know of was 'to cruise for the Spanish succours coming from Nova Hispania to Manila' (DRB 1644/5: 1): departing Batavia on 1644-11-22 to join a squadron of two *retourschepen* under command of Maerten Gerritsz. de Vries⁴⁹ that had left Java three weeks before, the ships sailed in February next year from Ternate along the northern coast of New Guinea to the Ladrões, today's Mariana Islands; as stated in their orders, they here, 'between 11½

⁴⁶ See NANL 1.04.02.1170: 466-72, 474-6.

⁴⁷ Cf. Mac Leod 1921: 933-4.

⁴⁸ Mac Leod 1921: 864f; Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: LIIf..

⁴⁹ See Leupe and von Siebold 1858: a Dutch explorer who in 1643 had led one of the rare explorations into the northern Pacific Ocean and, once more in command, was to perish in 1646's utterly unsuccessful raid on the Philippines.

and 12½° northerly latitude',⁵⁰ lay in ambush for the expected silver fleet from Acapulco. However, no Spanish galleons showed up, and the squadron after some time of fruitless cruising proceeded to Formosa to deliver their cargo of Moluccan cloves.⁵¹ *Aechtekercke* went on to the VOC's Japanese trading post Dejima, where she arrived end September.⁵² Leaving Japan after a two-month's stay, she apparently returned to the Taiwan station: in December 1645 we are informed that by February next year

shall the outing to Manila take place with the *fluit de Salm* and the *jachts Leeuwerk, Lilli* and *Aechtekercke* under command of [...] Cornelis Caesar, which is a reasonable might, thereby hoping that [...] Manila's] communications will be hampered and as well a good booty be obtained. (GM II: 280)

Caesar's expedition –and, indeed, all of that year's extensive efforts to overpower the Spanish Philippines⁵³– met with a valiant defence: on March 15 (as was later argued, 'because of disagreement between the commanding officers' [Roessingh 1968: 490]) he was shamefully beaten by a small Iberian squadron off the western coasts of Luzon, and retreated to Taiwan without further exertions. Here we lose *Aechtekercke's* trail until August of the following year, when she was tasked with a diplomatic mission in Ceylon.⁵⁴ By December 1647 the ship, burdened with a cargo of Sri Lankan cinnamon, was back in Batavia,⁵⁵ yet appears to have been due for a substantial overhaul: when in August 1648 scheduled to leave with a fleet under Arend Baerendsen to 'redress with weapons' (Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: LII) a number of unsolved discords with the merchants of Surat, she 'was still for long in Onrust [the Dutch shipyards at Batavia] busy with planking work and repairs' (DRB 1647/8), and hence could set out only five days after the departure of the main squadron,

commandeered to do her best to hurriedly reach the aforesaid fleet under which [she] was placed, so as to appear in the mentioned quarters combinedly and more substantial as well as to be able to accomplish the Company's designs more purposefully. (*ibid.*)

Our sources do not tell us much of the details of *Aechtekercke's* ensuing endeavours. The crossing to Surat took much longer than expected, and the fleet arrived too late to effect a blockade on the monsoon-bound trade from Mocha, 'of which so much consequence had been anticipated'. For the time being, 'all appearance of hostility was forborne' (Mac Leod 1921: 899), and Baerendsen, leaving behind four of his ships, on his way back to Batavia visited the company's Indian and Sri Lankan offices. With the onset of the southwest-monsoon of 1649, however, the remaining Dutch squadron dealt their blow: in September 'per *Sluijs* and *Aechtekercke* were taken over in freight 4½ tons' (Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, III: 456) of bullion that together with a, reportedly, further '11 tons'⁵⁶ of coin had been ransacked from

⁵⁰ Mac Leod 1921: 658, quoting unreferenced original sources.

⁵¹ DRB 1644/5: 11, 176; GM II: 268.

⁵² Clulow (ed.) 1997-2007: Vol. IX, <http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/tokushu/kaigai/Diaries/Volumes/E41071C3-553F-49FA-B5A0-E145FA27F0F4.html>, last accessed 2016-07-19.

⁵³ See, e.g., Mac Leod 1921: 872ff; Rossingh 1968: 488ff.

⁵⁴ Mac Leod 1921: 883.

⁵⁵ DRB 1647/8: 3.

⁵⁶ Tiele and Heeres *op.cit.*; 'ton' here 'merely means 100,000 guilders' worth of anything' (Boxer 1965 [1973]: 341), thus

two richly laden Gujerati vessels and were used as leverage for the upcoming negotiations; and indeed, Dutch impunity effected on the part of 'all the Moorish merchants [of Surat] such a frightful alteration and humble submission' (*ibid.*) that a favourable settlement could be reached without further ado. News of the accomplishments arrived in Batavia by end of the year – well possible so together with *Aechtekercke*, in early March 1650 the last but devastated hope of the shipwrecked on Sagori.

While –as we have seen, eventually unsuccessful– toiling with refloating *Bergen op Zoom*, 'to free some room' aboard the fleet's council in the afternoon of the fateful 4 March 1650 decided to confine 'the soldiers on a certain small island to the west of the reef lying about 2½ miles^[57] from the island of Cambona, by guessing one kartouwe-shot from the stranded ships' (CDR 299r). The next day our chronicler comes to know that 'the island, where our people were placed, is named [...] Sangorij' – with the ships gradually breaking apart, the only immediate succours for the nearly 600 soldiers, sailors and merchants now unescapably marooned in virtually unrevealed lands. The first call was to establish a reasonably organised cantonment: however occupied with unloading *Aechtekercke*, on 6 March still some time was spared to set up a number of tents on Sagori, professedly 'to lodge the soldiers who at the moment are very affected with drinking drinks [and] almost want to play the boss as well as the sailors'. Nonetheless, with the fleet's senior leadership still aboard the stranded ships, morale and restraint on the island reached a trough on 8 March:

Had so much to do with trying to calm the people, as many of them were drunken, could despite striving with all diligence not keep the people off the barrels [of liquor] that now and then came drifting [from the wrecked ships onto the island], buried these [barrels] away under the sand. (CDR 300v)

As related above, on the 9th the officers, last of all, arrived on Sagori; on the 10th the camp was rearranged, paying special attention to 'keep the people more orderly with one another, so that the lager under a few yet careful guards may be more secure' (CDR 302r/v). However, lacking discipline appears to have coloured the days to come: on 16 March the ships' council found it necessary to

by placard interdict [that] nobody of the soldiers or sailors should forward himself without consent or by knowledge of the Corporals of the watch, be it by day or night[,] beyond the marked-out square [...] on penance the transgressor be lashed for the first instance without simulation with 50 and on the second with 100 beatings, while the third time will be chastised arbitrational on his body.

It remains unnoted whether such severe punishments were actually administered; if so, they failed to still all recalcitrance, much of which transpired from an excessive leaning to Dutch courage. More than a month later the ships' council still 'had daily as much to do as possible, to keep away the officers,^[58] let

confirming Mac Leod's estimate of 'fl. 1,550,000.- in goods and money' (1921: 900).

⁵⁷ Here, apparently not the *mijl* of 7.4km referred to by e.g. Parthesius (2010: 178 n.59), but the Dutch *zeemijl* of ¹/₂₀ degree; 3 nautical miles [... or] 5555 meters' (<http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/research/online-publications/guide-to-seventeenth-century-dutch-coins-weights-and-measures/>, last accessed 2016-08-14): the distance between the Sagori of 1650 to the nearest point on Kabaena's mainland is about 6.5nm.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., the escapades of the second mate of *Joffer* or the boatswain of *Bergen op Zoom* on 1650-04-22, 26 and 27, (folios 328r/v, 329v-330r and 331vf). Alcohol aboard ship always tendered temptations: arriving 1645 at Ambon, *Tijger's* stock of

alone the common man who none the less wants to play the boss, from drinking' – by then not so much the contents of the barrels of alcohol in the stranded ships' holds, but local palm-wine that 'the inhabitants of Buton daily bring [...] from the island of Kabaena, by which our people day by day much begin to crumple up' (1650-04-22, CDR 328r/v).

Several perpetrators, and especially so those involved in brawls and snickersees, eventually found themselves in chains, awaiting 'further liability at Batavia by our betters' (CDR 323v);⁵⁹ and just the same was meted out to two ships' boys and a boatswain who had enmeshed themselves in a case of suspected 'sodomyen',⁶⁰ a transgression that under other circumstances would have entailed a death sentence.⁶¹ Indeed, when it came to tackling with the hundreds of unruly soldiers and sailors, only a policy of caution and leniency could win the day. An incident on 27 March graphically illustrates how 'heavy [it was] to here set up the law' (CDR 315r): when

all hands were busy with drying the Honourable Company's salvaged yard goods [...] could hardly keep the soldiers off the draperies, stealing these while [the officers] were standing thereby, whereupon a certain Wouter Jacobsz van der Broeck from Amsterdam, soldier, by the masters of the *Tijger* and *Bergen op Zoom* was ordered to be placed in fetters, [yet] all the common soldiers stood up against this, desiring that Wouter, who had stolen the cloth, not go in chains (CDR 314r)

, arguing that the officers were bound to 'set the people up against one another'. Already in the first days after the stranding the various textiles in the fleet's cargo had furnished the soundest means of exchange for victuals produced by local visitors⁶² – yet, as the ships' council observed on the occasion of an offer of 'some goats and fowls' on 24 March, the vendors of such provisions 'were very pricey therewith, whereby our common people had their troubles with bartering' (CDR 312v). Living only meagrely off a twice-weekly 'ordinary ration of bacon and beef besides half a pint of oil and vinegar' (CDR 305v),⁶³ the soldiers' reaction to the possibility of a crackdown on cloth-pilfering is not overly surprising;⁶⁴ for the leading firebrands of the 27th, however, the commotion ended in drunkenness and

arrack was found '3½ barrels short' (DRB 1644/5: 13), possibly a more blatant contravention than that effected by the master of *Zutphen* who on the same voyage later that year 'had all the barrels of arrack tapped by five fingers [height of content] to make up for his consumption' (*ibid.*: 11).

⁵⁹ Thus, Claes Jacobsz of Haarlem, 'in kettingh geslagen', "placed in chains" for having stabbed on '28 March bygone the boatswain of the *Tijger* very impishly with a knife in his ribs up to the hilt' (CDR 323r); or Claes Been, gunner on *Juffer*, who on 28 April did the same to his fellow gunner Hendrick Coerten, 'so that it was thought he would die of it, yet God the Almighty let it come to a better end' (CDR 332v-333r).

⁶⁰ ... or possible blackmailing? Cf. CDR 311v/312r and 314v/315r.

⁶¹ Despite regularly being punished by drowning the transgressors, 'bound back to back' (van Rossum 2014: 329), homosexual or -erotic acts were not an overly unusual behavior on especially inter-Asian voyages (*ibid.*: 323ff).

⁶² See, e.g., 9 March, where local hawkers of 'some fowls and goats [...] therefore solely desire clothings' (folio 302r).

⁶³ For an outbound East Indiaman of the early eighteenth century the 'ordinary' ration of salt pork and beef would be in the range of 1,200 grams / week, divided into three allotments; one *mutskén*, here translated as "pint", is 0.15 litre (Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffner 1979-87, I: 214).

⁶⁴ Apparently, such a prohibition proved unattainable: on 18 April, a 'visitation' of the salvaged cloth stored in 'the *Tijger's* tent' alone showed that 'by our people stolen [were] about more than 120 pieces' (CDR 325r); on the 22nd, the officers found 'more than 100 pieces of muslins as well as dresses that had mostly been furled up dry and pertinently secretive laid aside' by a number of guards on the wreck of *Tijger* (CDR 327r/v).

the successive penance ‘to walk up and down until further orders’ (CDR 314v).

One major problem, access to fresh water for nearly 600 thirsty throats, could be solved with relative ease. Sagori itself proved waterless – but, ‘daily because of the big extreme heat about three barrels [of drinking water] are consumed and not more than only eight’ (CDR 301v) were left on 8 March. Early the next morning, thus, ‘two boats and a prau’ were despatched to the mainland; returning in the approaching evening, the boats landed ten filled barrels. While the water was ‘a little brackish’, its source appeared to be ‘a substantial stream, [having] good water if it just were fetched a little higher up, wherefore our tempers were somewhat relieved, [as] it would have appeared very grievously had no water been obtained’ (*ibid.*).

The small river –we assume, the Lakambula, the only waterway in the vicinity of Sagori deep enough to be ‘up to a short *mijl*^[65] upstreams navigable for barges and boats’ (CDR 303v; Map 2)– now saw nearly daily visits by water-fetching parties; and when in the first days of April the shipwrecked were informed by ‘zealous natives’ (Mac Leod 1921: 941) that ‘the small island where we now [... have found] our lives’ salvage’ might ‘completely inundate [...] with a hard SE wind and rain’ (CDR 318r), it appeared only common-sense to look in its vicinity for ‘a convenient place [...] where to in urgent distress [we] could retire’ (CDR 319v). Once a reconnaissance party returned with intelligence of such a locale, the ships’ council decided to send

the first mate of the *Tijger* to the fresh river together with 23 persons, according to resolution ordained to continue there and keep all under good guard, taking with them two stone-guns for defence and 20 man with their full armour. (CDR 320v)

Yet, even when in the night of 7 April the wind increased so much that ‘all our tents would have been blown apart’ (CDR 321r) hadn’t they been weighed down with cannon and reinforced by ropes, the island was not flooded. The small detachment’s tent and bulwark at the Lakambula, however, now not only made for a convenient sojourn for watering parties, but soon was to become a busy laundry for the piece goods salvaged out of the wrecks, many of which ‘were much rotten by the prolonged time lying in the ships and the great stench of the rice’ (CDR 314r) remaining in the vessels’ holds.

Notwithstanding disciplinary glitches, ‘aan ijver ontbraak het niet’ (“there was no lack of zeal”; Mac Leod 1921: 941) on Sagori: to make up for the ‘sad occurrence of the ignominious whereabouts of the Ternatan fleet’ (CDR 335v), officers and merchants ‘did forward all devoir they could employ to the recovery of the Honourable Company’s goods’ (CDR 327v), arduously engaging the ships’ boats and men in salvaging whatsoever the sea not had devoured. Except for a number of days in the first half of April when ‘because of the hard surf of the sea not much could be done’ (CDR 320r), the journal almost daily notes the yields of the crews’ hauls: thus were on, e.g., 24 March ‘26 packs of garments and 2 metal guns together with some shot’ (CDR 312r) landed on Sagori; 3 April saw ‘3 packs of rotten cloth and several

⁶⁵ For the Dutch *mijl* see fn. 57.

sails' (CDR: 319v); on the 15th it was '2 anchors, 5 vats arrack besides two half-kegs^[66] of oil of olives' (CDR 323v); on the 25th, '14 pieces Guinean linen, 4 anchors, 3 barrels meat, 2 vats of arrack and 1 heavy canon which was dived up from the ground' (CDR 329r/v). To, we assume, limit its allures to the ravenous crews, the 'contanten', "cash", carried aboard the vessels were apparently taken to land in sufficient silence: the journal does not note more than that on 19 April were ready to be embarked, together with the salvaged guns and garments now 'pleated and packed [...]' at the befitting occasion of some Dutch ship coming here' (CDR 325r).

Already in the very first days after the accident the shipwrecked had endeavoured to 'bring to land [...] to dry and as much as possible conserve from perdition' (CDR 302r/v) the various yard goods in the ships' holds, a key merchandise that at the fleet's wished-for destination would have been 'mostly intended to be traded for cloves, directly or indirectly' (Parthesius 2010: 53). The VOC's faithful servants did not refrain from salvaging cloth that 'nearly two months in the stinking hold had lain' (CDR 333r), and it soon became clear that the textiles 'by lying so long in salt water had become subject to corruption' (CDR 321v); now boatloads of 'the Company's garments to the fresh river were sent to rinse these out thither' (CDR 329r) before the cloth could be dried, folded and packed on Sagori, taxing toils that had to be executed under a constant watch to prevent poaching by hungry sealords.⁶⁷

Salvage of the ships' heavy ordnance must have posed a major logistical problem: still without his carriage, a nine-ponder weighs at least 1.25t, an 18-ponder (of which, as we will see, at least *Tijger* carried several) more than 2t.⁶⁸ The first artillery pieces could probably be taken right off the vessels' gun decks – the boats on 23 March thus landed '6 pcs iron cannon that were on *Tijger*, and 2 metal pieces from the *jacht Aechtekercke*' (311v), on the 26th '9 pieces heavy cannon' (313v), and on the 28th even 13 guns (CDR 314v). However, the squalls that throughout the first two weeks of April caused such concern apparently also broke up much of the remaining superstructure of the ships: all of the cannon salvaged after the swells risen by the winds had calmed down had to, as we assume, rather laboriously, be 'dived up from the ground' (CDR 325v⁶⁹). Regardless of the obstacles they faced, the shipwreck yet eventually salvaged around 90⁷⁰ guns plus an unknown amount of ammunition, a figure that very well

⁶⁶ '2 halve aemen', here a measure of volume of standardised kegs, where 1 *aam* = 153.6 litres (Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer 1979-87 I: 215).

⁶⁷ When it came to guarding the garments, however, not all members of the ships' senior leadership proved overly dependable: on 26 April, e.g., the second mate of *Joffer*

as supervision of a boat of the Hon. Companies garments sent to the fresh river, at night drunken and full came back, [and] when the said dresses were laid on the island to dry, several were missed, so that [one] could not think otherwise [than that they] were stolen in the boat. (CDR 329v).

By now sufficiently disgruntled with such quandaries, his fellow officers, rather unsurprisingly, judged the steersman's reasoning that the cloth was not 'furnished piecewise [...] but in bales in the boat was loaded' as 'spits vinnige woorden', "quibbling talk".

⁶⁸ Here following specifications for the British navy; cf. Irleand 2000: 167f, Meide 2002: 10.

⁶⁹ Cf., e.g., CDR 324v, 325r, 327r. Folio 331r mentions that 'an iron cannon from the seabed was lashed under the boat and taken to land', intimating a possible method of salvaging heavy guns.

⁷⁰ See below: 87 heavy cannon were on Sagori when relief arrived on 1650-05-14, while 'two small metal pieces' (*ibid.*) were embarked before our chronicler left the island; at least two smaller guns had been sent to the guard-post at the watering place, and an unknown number transferred to Buton.

could account for all of the fleets' heavy weaponry.⁷¹

The efforts of the Company's assiduous servants, it seems, paid out: compared to the shortfall of fl.181,737.- caused by the foundering of the two flutes *Witte Duyf* and *Potvis* in July of the same year, the reported deficit of fl.116,970.- inflicted by an accident involving five (!) laden ships appears not desperately high.⁷² Nevertheless, the loss of precious shipping space was hard to make up – the vessels foundered at Sagori comprised a little less than one-tenth of the company's whole naval strength in Asian waters.⁷³ *Tijger* alone, a massive ship of the first rank, a type of which only 28 were built throughout the first half of the seventeenth century,⁷⁴ represented a major machine of war and trade urgently needed by the VOC's fleet, which just then was campaigning vigorously to secure control over the Moluccan Islands.

Throughout her years of consolidation in the East Indies, conflicts with the peoples of the Malay Archipelago had been a constant threat for the Dutch company, and we should not be overly surprised over the shipwrecked's apprehensions in facing a local population that, notionally, could be both more numerous and better armed than were they. Unsurprisingly, thus, did the 'zealous natives'' advice re the possibility of Sagori being overrun by waves raise the suspicion that they were attempting to 'bring [...] the company's goods and the souls of [our] people [...] into their power on the island of Kabaena which is rather big' (CDR 318v) – when until early May the small island still was high and dry, the ships' council judged, accordingly, the locals and their counsel as utterly 'deceitful' (CDR 334r). Indeed, the stranded ships' gear and cargo posed temptation enough to attract flotillas of small boats whose sailors were 'seen on every day' diving for whatever they could redeem, 'what by us hardly can be prevented' (CDR 329r).

In early March 1650, however, Sagori itself appeared uninhabited. Our chronicler fails to note any natives' dwellings, let alone their mere presence ashore – hence the rice taken out of *Aechtekerke* and 'other provisions of bacon and meat' intended for the soldiers on the island could be 'stored in a tent of sail-cloth that had been set up there' (CDR 299v) without interferences by other occupants. Yet, already in the very first days after the accident 'appear[ed] here from the island Kabaena many small praus to fish something'; and while these fishermen 'had few companionship with us' (CDR 302r), they produced welcome contributions to the sustenance of the shipwrecked: on 10 March, thus, were the fish landed by 'some small praus [...] mostly served on the officers' table [and] consumed with great appetite and taste' (CDR 302v). Soon after the Dutch crews had left the stranded vessels for good and Sagori, the same people though 'came aboard to search to their liking on the ships and plunder these' (CDR 307r), exhibiting considerable skills in 'diving up much ironworks' (CDR 329r). Unsurprisingly, the partialities of

⁷¹ We only know for sure that with the four cannon savaged from the wreck of *Aechtekercke* on 05 March now 'were all her guns on land' (CDR 335r).

⁷² Numbers reported in the missive of 1661-01-20, GM II: 417.

⁷³ See Schmitt, Schleich and Beck (eds.) 1988: 87, Table 10.

⁷⁴ Bruijn, Gaastra and Schöffer 1979-1987, I: 53.

these 'poor and bleak folks who feed themselves only by fishing' (CDR 306r) for the stranded ships' fittings (and, if retrievable without opposition by Dutch guards, the vessels' cargoes and armament), became a reason for constant strains and complaints: on, e.g., the 16th the '21 small vessels from the fast land [... only] leave, one by one, in silence' after decisive remonstrances by a Dutch party; 'nevertheless, caught one of the blacks in the *jacht Bergen*, took him on land and the whole day held him here hostage' (CDR 307r), only to find that on the morrow 'all the people and their small praus were off the beach and had left' the cove on Kabaena where they until then had gathered (CDR 307v). Such recurrent descriptions of small boats manned by vastly mobile fishermen talented at diving point, one would assume, onto a band of Sama-Bajau sea-nomads that roamed between Sagori reef and the mainland, not a people claiming a permanent residency on either the island or Kabaena.⁷⁵

Attempts to reach some higher authority on Kabaena itself proved fruitless. When after some confusion and misunderstandings on 15 March eventually chancing upon what they thought to be 'the King on the big island', the Dutch found him to be 'a person of little dignity [...] without much splendour or solemnities' (CDR 306r) who could not contribute more than some fowls and goats to the redemption of the shipwrecked. Worse even, when the ships' council two days later dispatched a number of emissaries 'with sword buckled on' to forward complaints that 'his subjects obviously without his knowledge with great numbers of boats proceed on board and plunder the ships' (CDR 307v), neither the king, his henchmen nor 'the smallest preparation for his arrival' could be found – not overly unreasonably, as the Dutch

conclude, because one of their people by us was held up a little, and [now they] were afraid that therefore something might be done to them, to add that [one] can be confident that those who on the beach find their livelihood are poachers, and also as no king showed up, the land but by a headman is ruled, who apparently is a vassal of the King of Buton.' (CDR 307v/308v).

News of the accident had reached the seat of the Sultan at Bau-Bau on the neighbouring island of Buton with *Juffer's* boat for Ambon and the fleet's translator Craan Leendertz., who 'en passant [... was] thither set ashore to see whether something could be done at the King's' (CDR 302r⁷⁶). 'Three hours before daybreak' (CDR 308r) of 18 March, Leendertz. was back,

relating [that] his Majesty on Buton himself in person with two *kora-kora*^[77] and five other vessels about two hours from [Sagori] was resting[, bound to] arrive tomorrow morning much affection to help us he showed, forwarding for this end himself hither thus to even more assert his good will towards us. (CDR 308r/v)

To 'greet his majesty and escort him magnificently with appropriate splendour in the land's manners', the overjoyed Dutch lost no time to prepare the ships' boats; back on Sagori around noon, the sultan, 'as he was disinclined to go on land on the hottest [time] of the day', by nightfall was received 'with fitting

⁷⁵ Cf. the description of the people met on 1650-03-12, CDR 303v. For the Sama-Bajau people of the area under discussion see, e.g., Liebner 1998, 2012, 2015; Mead and Lee 2007; Nolde 2009, 2014, 2015.

⁷⁶ Cf. pg. 4.

⁷⁷ A local type of boat; see, e.g. Horridge 1978: 9ff for a number of historic descriptions of such vessels.

solemnities, discharging of musquets and cannon, and other signs of joy' (CDR 308v). Sufficiently impressed, the Sultan offered liberal assistance and his hospitality at Bau-Bau, an invitation that the shipwrecked, now without much suspicion, happily accepted. On 22 March about 150 soldiers, sailors and officers plus a boatload of provisions accompanied the sultan's small fleet back to Buton; on the 25th followed a belated *kora-kora* with more victuals and a further 18 persons. The transfer of more than a quarter of the shipwrecked to Bau-Bau conspicuously relieved the camp of some of the difficulties in administering nearly 600 folks, and one suspects that on 2 April akin motives reasoned dispatch of a further group consisting of 'all the married women as well as the slave girls, except the Dutch woman,^[78] together with as many seamen and soldiers up to 60 persons' (CDR 318r). Though the journal on the last day of March notes that the 'friends on Buton [...] according to their missive much complain that outright all [...] of the King's promises transpired contrarily', their affairs were soon to change: reports received on 20 April relate that 'our people on Buton merry themselves daily with riding the horses that the King has bestowed on them there, so that it seems that His Majesty according to their letter wants to show [that he] to us is very inclined' (CDR 326r/v).

Ample reason the Sultan had. Situated right on the border between Makassar and Ternate, the two leading powers in the area, his small principality hitherto had been at their mercy – 'during West Monsoon, Makassar fleets would raid Buton; in the East Monsoon, it was Ternate's turn to demand her dues' (Mukhlis 2015: unpg.). Compared to the aggressively expanding power of close-by Makassar, the rulers at Bau-Bau might have felt better off in a loose relationship to far-away Ternate, the VOC's ally in the Spice Islands: already in the first treaty with the VOC in 1613, promises of military co-operation and protection against Buton's foes were bartered against trade monopolies and pledges of eternal fealty to Ternate. However, a case of forcing capital punishment upon a native defector and obscure, if not outright corrupt, dealings by two senior servants of the company at Bau-Bau⁷⁹ were soon to transgress both the sultan's and the company's patience; and though the iron fist of a superior Dutch official could calm the tensed relations for the moment, the VOC's management quickly opined that 'daer niet en is can men niet vandaen halen' ("where there is nothing, nothing can be taken from"⁸⁰) and only two years later closed the outpost.

Still trusting in the treaty of 1613, in 1624 the sultan asked for the VOC's assistance in facing mounting Makassan pressure; the company, busy with others affairs, did not respond – and thus by 1634 received reports that the small realm had become a fief of South Sulawesi's foremost power. As became obvious

⁷⁸ The latter was, apparently, the wife of a company's servant at Ternate (CDR 336v); the former, then, would be local women. For the parts of females aboard VOC vessels see van Rossum 2014: 322ff.

⁷⁹ To say, Hendrick van Raey and Abraham van den Broeck, these two beasts, who both in course of a year [ended], one under the gallows, declared as knave and thief, a defiler of young girls whom no one can like [...]; the other commanded on the stake to be harquebused for the vexation he had caused. (Tiele and Heeres 1886-95, I: 37; cf. Schoorl 1991:27, 2003:22-23)

Van Raey found himself hanged on the very gallows he had set up for the mentioned renegade.

⁸⁰ The Dutch Admiral van der Hagen on the occasion of the closure of the Dutch factory; Kielstra 1908: 455; cf. Ligtoet 1878. The islands' only 'produce' mentioned with consistency in Dutch sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth century were a rather small number of slaves (Schoorl 2003: 115-7).

throughout the next two years, in Buton itself the situation proved more intricate: a pro-Makassar party under the *sapati*, the sultanate's senior minister, was said to have supported or even machinated detention and alleged torture and murder of (some⁸¹ of) the sailors of the country ship *Velzen* that had called at Bau-Bau;⁸² the sultan, on the other hand, protected six European crew and sheltered the vessel's owner's wife in his own household, where she 'lodged as a guest [and] was treated well' (Schoorl 2003: 30-31). In March 1636, a Dutch squadron demanding retribution 'made strange use' of an invitation by the sultan to negotiate the affairs – to assure deliverance of the captives and goods appropriated from *Velzen*, the fleet's commander 'took captive 76 Butonese, what could not be accomplished without 35 others losing their lives' (MacLeod 1921: 609⁸³). Though the respective hostages were eventually exchanged, future relationships, rather unsurprisingly, strained; and when in the following year another VOC fleet appeared to claim the lost vessel's cargoes and guns, armed confrontation was unavoidable. The Dutch, however, found it imprudent to push an attack on the newly built Butonese fort located 'on an unclimbable height' (*ibid.*: 622) above the roads of Bau-Bau, and after some destruction work in the vicinity (amongst other installations 'vandalising a bathhouse of the raja' [*ibid.*⁸⁴]) withdrew empty handed. Returning in early 1638 with a stronger might and the 'intention [...] to lay [the town] in ashes as revenge and example for such ugly murders',⁸⁵ the hill on which Wolio castle still stands 'hadn't become more climbable and the place was even better fortified'. After a show of force that included a circumambulation of the Butonese stronghold and the habitual devastations laid upon fishing traps, fields and deserted villages the Dutch forces left the final resolve to a better day and the sultan with the impression 'that from the Company he had not much to fear' (*ibid.*: 623). In the few encounters throughout the years to come 'both parties showed a careful attitude' (Schoorl 2003: 32⁸⁶) – until the events of 1650, the circumstances of which were to become a truly inspiring caesura in Dutch-Butonese relationships.⁸⁷

On Sagori, however, mistrust still prevailed. Preventing the wrecked ships' arms and ammunition from falling into the hands of the Butonese soon became a bigger issue than the vessels' cargoes and gear – hence were the '25 heavy cannonballs' found on 26 March in the lodgings of a number of noblemen

⁸¹ Three of the apprehended Dutch sailors who had intended to flee on an English vessel calling at Bau-Bau were 'with arms spread tied up, dashed with water over their naked bodies, beset with a multitude of red ants to let [them] bite, and in this manner the whole day in the sun left standing' (DRB 1635/6: 144). Kielstra (1908: 456; probably referring to Valentijn 1724, III.2: 146) mentions a 'mate and 4 or 5 other Dutchmen treacherously murdered' not found in other sources available to us.

⁸² ... or ran aground on Wowoni: the sources available to us contradict one another re the interpretation of the pieces of information available (cf. DRB 1635/6: 143f, 146 ['the freeman's flute *Velsen*'] or 1636/7: 272ff [guns of *Velzen* loaned to the vessel's owner, a 'particular freeman', by the company] vs. Schoorl 2003: 30 and Stapel 1922: 31 the sources there quoted).

⁸³ Cf. DRB 1635/6: 143-4.

⁸⁴ Cf. DRB 1636/7: 278.

⁸⁵ Kielstra 1908: 456, quoting an unidentified contemporary source. We assume that 'murder' here refers to the crews of 'so many private vessels taken by surprise under pretense of friendship whose wives and children still today were looking after and were left weeping' (DRB 1636/7: 273) that had been the reason to reject Buton's peaceful overtures in 1637. As far as it regards Dutch vessels ambushed by Butonese subjects, however, we for the time being could only find the *Velzen* case.

⁸⁶ For these events see Schoorl 1991: 34-38, 2003: 31-38; Kielstra 1908: 457f.

⁸⁷ For the ensuing developments, see Kielstra 1908: 458ff.

whom the sultan had tasked with representing his might and will on Sagori expeditiously carried to the Dutch tents, 'whereupon [the Butonese] appeared not overly pleased' (CDR 313v). Receiving a request by the sultan himself for 'some heavy guns [...] to be of service of [the Dutch] people' at Bau-Bau, the ships' council decided that they 'cannot not find it good to forward artillery under the power of that pagan nation' (CDR 316v), and answered with the barely diplomatic written reply that their 'betters and masters' could not be answerable for such an undertaking. The sultan's fears for his and his guests' safety though were not without cause: on 26 April rumours were heard of a squadron of 30 Makassar ships cruising off Buton's coasts, reportedly the vanguard of a fleet of 'more than 200 vessels' bound to attack the Moluccan Sula islands⁸⁸ that 'when again returning en passant, according to the inhabitants [of Buton], will touch upon this island [Sagori]'. The shipwrecked, sufficiently alarmed ('God Almighty may grant that no further disasters may come over us, as presently in this desolate state [we] have so much to do since [we] could barely save ourselves'), added 'for further defence [...] some more heavy cannon to the ramparts' (CDR 330r) they meanwhile had built around their camp, and in a consignment of victuals bound to be shipped to Bau-Bau the next day included two bundles of wicks and six musquets. The inhabitants of Buton and Kabaena saw other agendas. First of all, 'while we [the Dutch] with those from Buton and Ternate were friends, [they] ought to be permitted to give up some iron from the ships' (CDR 315v); secondly, that if they came visiting with presents of victuals and drinks, it would be only 'good manners [...] to honour [the visitors] with gifts' (CDR 324r); and thirdly, that even if the ships' council did not consent on the local people selling, for example, palm-wine to sailors and soldiers,⁸⁹ 'the island where [the shipwrecked] to their great chagrin now are on, their land is, and that [they] do desire from us no rules to be introduced as to what they should sell' (CDR 328v). Regarding the last appeal, the company's servants had to conclude that without force 'it seems not well [possible] to prohibit [...] that unhealthy drink' (*ibid.*); the answer on the two other demands, i.e., that the VOC's assiduous servants

had lost all in the sea, and that all that daily is salvaged is but the Company's goods and could not be given away, and that [to] our superior the Honourable Governor General in due time will have to be given account (CDR 324r),

must have left a rather avaricious and penny-pinching impression facing the multitude of recovered merchandise, the cloth, guns and victuals amassed on Sagori. For the local people, the accord with the authorities at Bau-Bau in end March asserted that salvage of at least the wreck's metal implements was to be permitted;⁹⁰ the Dutch, realising that, again, only force could prevent what they saw as outright looting of the company's property yet not eager 'to reap over-all discontent, also [because the natives]

⁸⁸ On first view this squadron could be the unreferenced '30 praus complete with arms' that, allegedly under a certain Daeng ri Bulekang, were sent to Sula in 1650 to join in the coup d'état against the Ternatan ruler Mandar Syah (see, amongst many others, e.g., <http://www.wacana.co/2014/11/kesultanan-gowa/>, last accessed 2016-08-22); the revolt, however, took place later that year, while the Makassar Annals note voyages to Buton and the East by a Daeng ri Bulekang only on 1639-04-03 and 1652-11-29 (Cummings 2011: 55, 77; cf. Ligtoet 1880: 112). We also could not find mention of the 200 further ships in the sources available to us (see, for a possible eyewitness, Bor 1663; cf. Ligtoet 1878: 37f or Valentijn 1724 I.3: 284f, 304).

⁸⁹ See pg. 11.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., CDR 315r.

are a people who cannot be trusted' (CDR 324r), attempted to impede visits of Butonese to the wrecks by a more or less tactful policy of bestowing small presents upon the local gentry. Yet, already by 4 April the endless disputes around the differences between rightful salvage and felonious pillaging caused the sultan's representatives to withdraw from Sagori to the mainland of Kabaena (and, apparently, some days later back to Bau-Bau), leaving the irritated Dutch to their own resources and, regarding procurement of fresh victuals and questions around the various leftovers of the ships' fittings and cargo, with the local subordinate of the sultan – right that 'person of little dignity' they but a fortnight ago had so vainly asked for help.⁹¹ It thus is hardly surprising that by end April 'any day the inhabitants of Buton from the sunken wrecks of *Luijpaert* and *Joffer* lots of ironworks d[o]ve up [...] what by us can hardly be prevented' (CDR 329r). While the company's principals probably felt adequately contented with the exertions their faithful servants put into the recovery of the fleets' goods and gear, they though may have seen other affairs –and especially so the journal's recurrent and unenthusiastic judgments re 'the untrustworthy pagans' (CDR 326v⁹²)– in a different light: when the VOC's superintendent of Ambon and the Moluccas, de Vlaming, later that year eventually 'called at Buton to greet the land's ruler', an eyewitness⁹³ knows to report that 'the regal fidelity' the sultan had displayed towards the shipwreck was

honestly rewarded. [...] Between the two [the sultan and de Vlaming] was tied, by handshake, a close friendship [...]. Ali, so was the prince named, visited us [the Dutch] first, we himself, on an enthusiastic bidding, again the next day, whereafter the voyage, via Sagori, where some of the remaining goods and people were taken aboard, to Batavia was continued. [...] Buton many years had been enemy with us [...] and] trusting in her stood dangerously, the king distrustful, vicious[, yet] he had visited us first, without any signs of timidity, on board. De Vlaming saw, for the company, in his friendship not a small advantage; through distrust could this not be won. (Bor 1663: 15-6)

It was the 'Noble Gentleman governor de Vlaming in Ambon' to whom the shipwrecked had endeavoured to 'make known [their] misfortune and asked for succours' – on 9 March with *Juffer's* enlarged boat,⁹⁴ and, five days later, through a letter, the first assistant Hendrick Martensz. and the surprising appearance of a country ship owned by the 'free burgher Michiel Kemp [...], coming from Batavia and intending to press on to Ambon' (CDR 304v). While Kemp's vessel 'could not win her voyage' (CDR 326r⁹⁵), *Juffer's* boat 'safely, God be praised, came to arrive' in Ambon in mid-April, whereupon De Vlamingh, to make up for the ships and cargo lost at Sagori, dispatched two bottoms of his fleet 'directly

⁹¹ See pg.15.

⁹² Here in a comment on the news of their mates on Buton having a reasonably amusing stay (see pg.16), continuing that only 'time will further teach' how the Butonese's purported 'affection' for the Dutch will transpire.

⁹³ ... about whom, however, his contemporaries had to say that he 'in Moluccas soo traegh ende vol ondeuchten gewesen, datter geen beterschap te verwachten was' ("[was] in the Moluccas so dull and full of bad habits, that no betterment was to hope for"; DRB 1644/5: 10).

⁹⁴ See pg.4.

⁹⁵ Apparently for some technical defect: her mate on 20 April turned up on Sagori in search for 'a little rope and a grapnel in urgent need' (CDR 326r); however, the crew of the *kora-kora* he had come with felt that they could not encumber their small vessel with the load, and he returned 'fruitlessly' to Bau-Bau.

with a full load of victuals and other additional merchandise to Ternate' (335v). To assure that the 'tidings of our sad accident of the remaining of the whole fleet shall be received' (CDR 317v) also by the VOC's governor-general in Batavia, the shipwrecked meanwhile on 1 April had sent two senior officers and seven sailors with another of the ships' boats to Makassar, from where they hoped to fetch a company's vessel to Java; our chronicler, however, does not relate the outcome of this venture.

Reasonably immediate means to 'once and for good escape out of this sad and miserable state' (CDR 334v) though lay with the shipwrecked themselves. On 14 March the ships' council decided

to set up a *jacht* of about 100 feet keel's length and 20 such beam, shall [use] the boats continuously as long as weather and wind allow to go to the stranded vessels, especially to the *jacht Aechtekercke*, for there to fetch or knock off such necessary timber as by competent judgement could be useful. (CDR 305r)

The weeks to come thus found the ships' carpenters busy 'with raising the vessel, wherefore the respective masters [of the stranded ships] on manifold occasions, one here and the other there' lend a hand and their judgement, leaving 'the merchants to drying the Company's garments and then storing these in the godown' (CDR 306v) they had erected on the small island. It soon proofed that 'the carpenters very sluggishly are getting to [their] work, as here the sand is so mighty hot that our people become completely powerless and cannot do half-a-work' (CDR 324v) – in 1650, Sagori appears to have been not much more than an unshaded sandbank. Supply of fitting timbers was not as easy as the shipwrecked may have imagined: when on 19 March trying to collect 'some planks' off the wrecks, it showed that 'the deckplanks of the ships were to one another nailed too firmly' (310r) to allow for more than pieces of the planking to be undone, while timber for many of the futtocks and floor timbers had to be collected from the forests on Kabaena.⁹⁶ Despite such complications work went on steadily – on 13 April framing was fitted into the hull;⁹⁷ only four days later the carpenters began to lay the deck, and the new ship was deemed 'almost half clear' (CDR 324v); on the 29th her watertightness was tried by 'pouring into the built-up vessel some seawater', and though the hull was found 'around the keel leaking' (333r), there was hope enough that the planks would swell when eventually in their element. On 22 April the ships' council had judged the vessel to be ready in three weeks – yet already on 2 May, a little over six weeks since work had commenced,

with all hands the *jacht* on the beach with the bows was brought into water, to be with rising tide taken into the deep, what at midnight, ordering the drums be beaten throughout the whole camp to get the people out of the tents, took place. (CDR 333v)

The next day the ship was towed to the mouth of the river on Kabaena, where the masters of *Tijger* and *Bergen op Zoom* took charge of her being properly ballasted and rigged. High time it was indeed: already on 27 April news had been received from Kabaena that the small garrison there 'heavily began to fall ill [... with] hot fevers [...] what by us is presumed to develop through [drinking of] palmwine and the

⁹⁶ See, e.g., the entries for 26 March (CDR 313v) or 6 April (CDR 320r/v).

⁹⁷ The new vessel obviously was 'built according to the Dutch "shell-first" method, a revolutionary construction technique that called for a ship's external planking to be assembled and nailed together before the internal ribs and frames were added' (Dash 2003: 67; cf., e.g., Jong 2010: *passim*.; Unger 1994: 123f).

excessive heat on the island' (CDR 331r); when on 3 May of the 25 soldiers only five were still in acceptable health, it was decided that they 'from there were to be lifted and to us here on the island be brought' (CDR 334v). The disease thus soon spread on Sagori itself – and while throughout all of the preceding weeks only one person had perished,⁹⁸ now deaths were occurring nearly daily, eventually in little over a week claiming the lives of seven of the ships' company.⁹⁹

Well aware that their newly built vessel could not accommodate the salvaged cargo and the nearly 250 people still trapped on the island, the shipwrecked placed much confidence in the timely arrival of west-bound transports from Ambon or the Moluccas. To 'guide in [...] any ships from Ambon [that] here might come into sight' (CDR 319r), already on 3 April master and mate of *Tijger* had 'sounded back and forth' the straits between Sagori and the mainland; further survey to south, 'to the cape where the three small islands lie',¹⁰⁰ on the 20th of that month indicated that

if God so gives [and] some Ambon ship shall come hither, piloted by us here [these bottoms] well could [sail] in between Kabaena and the reef [of Sagori?], yet by the masters it was as better judged to take in any ship outside of the reef and between the island with the trees and the sandbank [... as such a vessel] with a SE wind that now continually is blowing [from there] could sail out [again], may the Almighty give [that] in short an Ambonese relief may come to appear. (CDR 326v/327r)

When until end April neither news nor ships from the East had arrived, various contingency plans were devised. In case that *Juffer's* boat had not won her voyage and thus help from Ambon could not be hoped for, their best prospects lay with sending the new *jacht* to Batavia; then, many of the people and most of the recovered guns and cargo for an undeterminable time would have to remain where they were. On 29 April the ships' council thus found it but prudent foresight to further fortify Sogori, and 'began to fabricate a palisade transversely over the island so that in the instance of some here remaining servants of the Company' these would be better protected (333r¹⁰¹).

Most of such measures and provisions were soon becoming pointless. On the evening of 4 May appeared from Buton a 'galley with the pleasing verbal report that on the 2nd of this month there two [Dutch] ships, unknown whether from Ambon or Banda, had arrived' (CDR 334v); any lingering doubts were put to rest when in the early morning of the 7th 'came here to land the boats of the flute-ship *de Trouw* from Buton, reporting to lie there in company of the flute *Overschie*, awaiting any day the [ship] *Koning van Polen*'. Delightful news, yet not without an unexpected stint:

[we] understood that these 2 Ambon flutes-ships [...] about 1,200 *bahar*¹⁰² of cloves had laden, so that it can be assumed that en passant together with the *Koning van Polen* which also not without fruit from there would be coming, not much of the here being recovered goods of the Hon. Company could be taken in, and that also by the commanders at Buton great difficulties were raised [regarding] coming to anchor

⁹⁸ A certain 'Symon Jansz. van Monickendam', gunner on *Tijger*, on 20 March (CDR 310v/r).

⁹⁹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁰ Presumably Cape Kokoi, the SW extremity of Kabaena (see Map xxx).

¹⁰¹ The eighteenth century text here has a lacuna, and the following word, *bevrijden*, 'to liberate, set free, rescue, redeem' does not necessarily make sense. In the copy of the seventeenth century's original available to us, this part is unreadable.

¹⁰² 1 Ambonese *bahar* = 272 kg (Bulbeck et al. 1998: 182).

with these richly laden ships here at the island. (CDR 336r)

The first call now was to convey to Bau-Bau as many as possible of the deprived folks on Sagori; hence on the next day the *Trouw*'s boats left with '24 persons, so sick and disabled, including 6 wrongdoers who were in fetters' (CDR 336v), on the 9th followed by a further ten sailors and soldiers and the Dutch woman still safeguarded on the island in local 'galleys'.¹⁰³ Urgent entreats that the boats and praus going to Buton should carry some of the recovered cargo were, however, bluntly rejected, the skippers 'saying that their vessels were too small to convey much goods' (CDR 337r). In the meantime, salvage works went on in even greater haste: on 5 May '4 heavy guns of the *jacht Aechtekercke* were dived up and taken on land, now being all [her] artillery on land' (CDR 335r), and a boatload of cloth was washed in the river on Kabaena; both the next day and on the 10th, two further cannon each were retrieved from the seabed; also on the latter day, another '100 pieces blankets' (CDR 337r) were taken to the river.

On the 11th the shipwrecked received note that ships were on their way from Bau-Bau to Sagori, where they, 'as long as weather and wind such allows' (CDR 337v), would embark as many people and goods as possible – and indeed, early the next morning three Dutch flute-ships, *Berchoudt*, *Salm* and *Overschie*, 'setting a course as near to the reef of Kabaena as reasonably possible' (CDR 338r), came in sight. The boats remaining on Sagori were readied, and 'with people as well as the Company's cloth laden sent to the drifting ships' (338r). Of first importance were, apparently, 'de contanten', the ten money chests that had been readied on 19 April,¹⁰⁴ all of which by evening were safely stowed on *Berchout* and *Overschie*. The ships' masters were 'well earnestly commandeered' to keep their vessels tacking back and forth throughout the night to continue loading the next day, 'wherefore the *jacht Aechtekercke* that still with some upperworks above the water [was] sitting, was set on fire so to be seen from the ships as a beacon' (*ibid.*). The next day all readily packed garments, some victuals, two small cannon and around 160 people, 'officers as well as sailors and soldiers' (CDR 337v), went aboard the flutes; insisting appeals to also load the heavy artillery pieces, of which 87 were still on the island, were nonetheless rejected on grounds of the ships being fully laden.

The three vessels left in the evening of that day. The missive received on the 11th had, however, also stipulated

that it was found good [that] the master Harmen Arentsz. here with the bookkeeper Leendert Jansz. and the second mate Jeurriaen Claesz., both from the unsuccessful *Tijger*, besides the sergeant Matthijs Vos [who] had been on the *Luijpaert*, with around 100 people so soldiers and sailors shall continue [on Sagori] to guard the here remaining goods of the Hon. Company until further succours by any Dutch ship that [...] might come through the straits of Buton. (CDR 337v)

The various figures for the shipwrecked' numbers found in the journal about agree with this directive¹⁰⁵ –

¹⁰³ For whom see pg.16.

¹⁰⁴ See pg.13.

¹⁰⁵ 581 people overall on the fleet – 235 persons reportedly at Bau-Bau on 22 April (CDR 328r) – 35 people sent to Bau-Bau on 7 and 9 May – 5 senior officers to Bau-Bau on 7 May – 7 deaths – 160 persons embarked on rescue ships = 139 persons (– crew on newly built yacht).

we though wonder, how much consent such orders found with those now left behind with the bare hope that 'God Almighty may give [us] strength wherefrom [we] may once win to get away from this sad island' (CDR 338r). Our unnamed chronicler, however, had made his way aboard *Berchout*, and, westbound, passed through Selayar Straits on the morrow.