

Manuscripts relating to the January 1830 samurai repulse of  
the piratically seized Van Diemen's Land colonial brig  
*Cyprus* from Mugi, Awa Province (Tokushima), Japan.

## Volume 3

# The Hayami Manuscript



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### 3. The Hayami Manuscript

Eight manuscripts relating to the January 1830 samurai repulse of the piratically seized Van Diemen's Land colonial brig *Cyprus* from Mugi, Awa Province (Tokushima), Japan.

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### 3. The Hayami Manuscript

**Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are advised that this translation contains a range of material which may be considered culturally sensitive including descriptions and images of people who have passed away.**

**Author:** Hayami Zenzaemon 速水善左衛門

**Title:** 'Kaifu Gun Mugi Ura e ikokusen hyōchaku ni tsuki sokuji shūchō uchiharai sōrō ikkan hikki' 海部郡牟岐浦江異国船漂着二付即時出張打払候一卷筆記 [Notes on the Immediate Deployment to Repulse the Foreign Ship that drifted to Mugi Ura, Kaifu Gun, in One Volume].

**Illustrator:** Unknown. Bound with illustrations in the hand of the Yamauchi and Mima manuscript. Not in the style of Hamaguchi Makita, who illustrated his own manuscript. However, judging from common elements and the composure of the subjects, it was drawn pre-repulsed by another member of the Hamaguchi spying mission which included Oka Kaishichi 岡介七, Takada Michinosuke 高田道之助, and Shōno Kihēta 庄野喜平太. It is labelled in the same hand as the Yamauchi and Mima manuscript, but neither of them was on the spying mission. The skipper can be identified from comparison with the Hamaguchi illustration. The difference in the colour of the jacket is probably due to the organic pigment indigo blue decomposing to brown. Hamaguchi appears to have used Prussian blue.

The other three pirates have not been identified from convict record descriptions. See supplementary notes.

**Date of completion:** January 1830.

**Location of author at time of writing:** Tokushima Castle Town.

**Current location of manuscript:** Private collection.

**Item number:** n/a.

**Transcription by:** Tokushima Old Manuscript Reading Group, Tokushima Prefectural Archive, Tokushima, Japan.

### 3. The Hayami Manuscript

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**Note:** Hayami Zenzaemon was the highest ranking of all the known manuscript writers. Bound with the Yamauchi and Mima manuscript and illustration in the hand of the Yamauchi and Mima manuscript.

**Online digital image:** n/a.

## Translation

[Cover]

The 12<sup>th</sup> month of the 12<sup>th</sup> year of Bunsei<sup>1</sup>

Never Sell or Lend [Different handwriting]

Notes on the Immediate Deployment to Repulse the Foreign Ship that drifted to  
Mugi Ura, Kaifu Gun, in One Volume

Including Four Illustrations [Different handwriting]

Keep for Perpetuity

Hayami Zenzaemon<sup>2</sup>

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Around midnight on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month, Nakao Sōbē and Katayama Inomata brought a report of one foreign ship arriving off Arashi, Hiwasa Ura, Kaifu Gun.<sup>3</sup> Suffering from colic of late and therefore not being on duty at night, I sent a letter asking about the situation. The foreign ship matched the description of the one that had recently appeared off Doshū [now Kochi Prefecture], but whose subsequent status was unknown. It was necessary to despatch a force. As his Lordship was in Edo, my colleague Murase Kahē and I

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immediately issued orders for prompt preparations.<sup>4</sup> Around the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], I attended to business and shortly thereafter, despite my

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<sup>1</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the 12<sup>th</sup> year of Bunsei was 6 January 1830.

<sup>2</sup> Hayami Zenzaemon 速水善左衛門.

<sup>3</sup> Nakao Sōbē 中尾宗兵衛, Katayama Inomata 片山猪又.

<sup>4</sup> Murase Kahē 村瀬加兵衛.

condition, I visited the castle. I appeared before the honourable Council of House Elders and after the middle third of the hour of the snake [9.35-11.20 am] the order to depart was given. I informed Shinano-Dono that I had received the order to depart.<sup>5</sup> He responded that I should deal with the situation as calmly as possible

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and that water, etc. should be given if needed. He told me to have them make ready to sail promptly; and that in the event that our requirement of their departure was met with refusal, I was to order a repulse. I humbly accepted my orders and requested to borrow horses and for the arrangement of porters. Deploying in spite of my colic, I required a sedan chair and I consulted with the quartermaster about preparing one. A sedan chair and extra porters were promptly arranged, and we departed before noon. We made Oka Mura in Naka Gōri as the sun set and continued through the night by torch light arriving at Hiwasa Ura on the 22<sup>nd</sup> around the middle third of the hour of the tiger [3.40-6.05 am]. On my enquiring about the situation,

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the vassal Tano Hōemon reported that late in the afternoon on the 20<sup>th</sup> the foreign ship had moved down the coast towards Shimonada and anchored at Teba Jima, Mugi Ura, and that the two Kaifu Gun county samurai, Yamauchi Chūdayū and Mima Katsuzō, had gone to that cove.<sup>6</sup> When I enquired about the route by land I was informed that it was about 4 *ri* [16 km] on a bad road, but by sea it was about 3 *ri* [12 km], and that, thanks to there being no waves, the boathands could make good progress. So, boats were organized, and we set sail from there at around the hour of the rabbit [6.05-7.50 am], arriving in Mugi Ura at around the middle third of the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am].

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<sup>5</sup> Hachisuka Shinano 蜂須賀信濃.

<sup>6</sup> Tanoura Uemon 田野浦右衛門 [possibly misspelling of Tano Hōemon 田野甫右衛門], Yamauchi Chūdayū 山内忠大夫, Mima Katsuzō 三間勝藏.

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Looking around we saw that banners had been raised, enclosure curtains set up and many people had gathered.<sup>7</sup> District musketeers, hunters and musketeers were grouped on the beach.<sup>8</sup> The people of Teba Jima were in a similar state; they had raised banners here and there. The foreign ship was about 20 chō [2.2 km] off the land and had dropped anchor closer to Teba Jima. Both the county samurai were stationed at the Mugi Ura Fishery Tax Office. We went there and enquired about what had happened since the 20<sup>th</sup>. The ship had arrived off Arashi on the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup>.

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In the late afternoon of the same day, the ship had floated down to where it was now located and had dropped anchor. Agents were sent to see how they were doing. In the same way that they had while drifting off Doshū, the crew indicated with gestures that they were starving without rice or fresh water and that they were very physically distressed. However, this time, they did not look so because they appeared to be cooking. Lots of smoke was rising, etc. and they were keeping piglets, etc. on board the ship. They were also repainting the ship and scrubbing the decks. They looked very healthy. Among other things they were patching the sails, etc.

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Like monkeys they climbed up the mast via rope ladders, and by no means did they appear to be starving or thirsty. Through the telescope I could see them climb the foot of the sail, up the mast and out on the yards, painting and patching the ship. They looked very healthy. It was all very dubious. In any case, they looked

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<sup>7</sup> Banners resembled samurai battle standards in size and shape. Enclosure curtains were the fabric screen erected around a samurai tactical command post, but decorative ones were also used at local events.

<sup>8</sup> Most musketeers fired muskets, but some fired cannons.



like they were happily settling in. When people went out they were pleased. When they received water they especially rejoiced and most unexpectedly offered many kinds of items. As each was returned, they indicated supplies and their needs

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by gesturing. Everything was very peaceful. They did not look like they had been adrift, and it was difficult to fathom what they were doing here. First, we discussed and decided on negotiating peaceably. We initially dispatched two officials who shortly set out. Our officials communicated with gestures that they should promptly sail away. Despite being told to leave, they refused. They did not start to set their sails. About this time, it became clear I would have to order a repulse. I dealt with the official notice to the ship that they would be repulsed. I consulted with the county samurai and at that time we agreed upon and set our signals. Katsuzō was to go to Teba Jima

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with three of the Kaifu musketeers, a 300-*monme* [57 mm calibre] cannon and a 30-*monme* [27 mm calibre] musket, and 12 people consisting of some of Aoki Isuke's retainers with hunters and musketeers.<sup>9</sup> Chūdayū was to go to Shima-no-Hira with the same: three musketeers, 200-*monme* [50 mm calibre] balls and cannon, a 100-*monme* [40 mm calibre] cannon, as well as five district musketeers, hunters and musketeers. At Mugi Ura both of them, as well as Deputy Overseer Kurano Matagorō, Recorder Yamauchi Ryutarō, Kaifu Recorder Nimi Sawarō, and Kaifu Magistrate

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Hirota Hannosuke's son Kanzaemon, the county samurai's vassal Takada Michinosuke, and others all assembled on the beach in front of the Fishery Tax

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<sup>9</sup> Aoki Isuke 青木伊助.

Office.<sup>10</sup> The district musketeers', hunters' and musketeers' muskets were also packed on to the beach. I gave the order to stop boats going out to sea. When boats had been despatched up and down the coast to Shimonada and Kaminada, officials were sent to the foreign ship. Our previous negotiations had ended with the elderly skipper, who was organizing repainting the ship and patching up the sails, gesturing that the ship would be anchored there for 3 days until they were finished.

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That could not be agreed to, and it was dismissed with a wave of the hand, at which they requested one more day with gestures. That could not be arranged either and when it too was dismissed with a wave of the hand, the youth who had been watching the negotiations while patching the sails became angry and spoke rudely. Our officials returned and went to Shima-no-Hira where they reported what had happened to Chūdayū. From there the smoke signal was given, and as a cannon fired, lobbing a ball from Teba Jima, Kaifu musketeers embarked and sculled out four small boats, each with one large bore gun, between 100-*monme* and a 20-*monme* [23 mm calibre],

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and two smaller muskets. At the same time and in the same way, they took turns lobbing cannon balls.<sup>11</sup> As I had instructed, they purposely avoided hitting the ship. Without having moved, it was after the hour of the sheep [1.00-2.45 pm] that the foreign ship's crew set another sail. They were not especially concerned. However, under the gradually escalating repulsive fire their concern increased. They turned

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<sup>10</sup> Deputy Domain Overseer Kurano Matagorō 倉野又五郎 [possible misspelling of Kurabayashi 倉林], Domain Recorder Yamauchi Ryutarō 山内隆太郎, Nimi Sawarō 新見佐和郎, Hirota Hannosuke 広田半之助, Hirota Kanzaemon 広田勘左衛門, Takada Michinosuke 高田道之助.

<sup>11</sup> To scull is to propel a boat with an oar designed to move from side to side while never leaving the water. The OED definition refers only to stern mounted oars, but larger Japanese sculling boats also had side-mounted oars with their thole pins set in outriggers. Awa Province samurai patrol boats had seven oars in this configuration.

toward the outside of Teba Jima, but the wind was bad and difficult to catch, so we relaxed our repulsive fire. From Teba they headed towards Asakawa and we pursued

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them with repulsive fire. There was not much wind and the ship moved slowly. Eventually around 7 tolls of the bell [2.45 pm] the ship was reported arriving in the vicinity of Asakawa.

As described above, the ship moved down into the vicinity of Asakawa. Katsuzō and the musketeers from Teba Jima continued repulsive fire from their small boat. The wind, however, was bad, and it was difficult for the foreigners to catch. Slowly they sailed back toward Mugi Ura. Chūdayū was ready on the off chance they were blown back [toward Asakawa] again.

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He ordered the 100-*monme* fired at their stern. It hit perfectly, and the foreigners were greatly surprised and became panicked. They all leaned over the gunwales, took off their hats, and prostrated themselves begging for their lives. They waved their hands requesting a cease fire. They indicated going out to sea and setting the sails as quickly as possible. They gestured that despite their efforts, the ship did not move forward. When Chūdayū asked his boat hand about it, he was informed that the wind was such that it was making it extremely difficult for them to sail away toward Shimonada. We eased off our repulse. From Mugi [worm damage]

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we ordered them to set sail and with gestures to change direction. Moreover, when the ship sailed back to the inside of Teba, the wind was blowing them toward Kaminada, but the conditions were difficult to assess. We gestured for them to drop anchor, but they did not comply. They pointed out to sea and to the sails

implying they were prepared to set sail, but the wind was bad. It was difficult to resolve the situation using gestures and by trimming the sails in various ways. As luck would have it, an offshore breeze blew up and caught the ship directly from scull [probable misspelling of astern] around sunset. The ship sailed south beyond Teba Jima

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and shortly after sunset the sail disappeared from view. The accompanying patrol boats broke off and returned, as did the repulsive-fire gun boats, all without incident according to Chūdayū and Katsuzō.

I have recorded above noting how the repulse went based on my experience and observations. However, the report submitted by the county samurai will contain minor differences.

At the moment that the aforementioned ship sailed round the eastern edge of Teba Jima, ten of the hunters' guns

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were fired at once. There was the light of a flame on the ship and immediately after a large bore report, said to be the sound of about a 30-*monme* musket. In response the ten guns again fired at once, and after that, not another sound was heard as the ship sailed out to sea. This account was confirmed by Kaifu Musketeer Fukunaga Rizaemon who returned from Teba Jima according to the county samurai.<sup>12</sup>

It cannot be said with certainty whether the large bore weapon discharged from the foreign ship was with ball, and it is conjecture whether it was even from a gun on the departing ship.

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<sup>12</sup> Fukunaga Rizaemon 福永理左衛門

On the night of the 22<sup>nd</sup> I stayed at the house of the Mugi Ura District Samurai Aoki Isuke.

Before dawn on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, I dispatched lookout boats but on their return, none reported sighting the foreign ship's sail. The previous night's official reports from the Kaminada and Shimonada coves also said nothing had been seen. Ships traveling along the coast were questioned, but also reported no sightings. The foreign ship's whereabouts was reported as unknown.

On the same day until after the hour of the sheep [1.00-2.45 pm], I remained at the same place receiving status reports from the Kaminada and Shimonada coves,

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none of which reported sightings. The ship's whereabouts was undoubtedly unknown, so I was to withdraw to Hiwasa Ura. After consultations, around the hour of the monkey [2.45-4.30 pm], I departed from Mugi Ura and inspected the Shima-no-Hira and Teba Jima firing positions. I looked at the place where the foreign ship tied up and arrived in Hiwasa Ura around the hour of the cock [4.30-6.15 pm]. I stayed at Jōkōji Temple of the same cove.

The order of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, to withdraw and return to the castle if the foreign ship had not been sighted again, arrived by express messenger on the 24<sup>th</sup> before the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am].

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Before withdrawing I sent word to the inns informing our billeted minions of the withdrawal. We delayed until around the hour of the sheep [1.30-2.45 pm] for the status reports and, beyond doubt, the whereabouts of the foreign ship had not been reported. There were no sightings whatsoever. Before the hour of the monkey [2.45-4.30 pm] we departed Hiwasa Ura and got as far as Kitagawachi Mura by sunset and made Shimofukui Mura. After the middle third of the hour of the dog [6.15-8.35 pm], the county samurai retainer Koide Mitsuemon came to

Shimofukui to report that the Yuki Ura official and village head, Hatta Shōzaemon had said that the foreign ship had been spotted at Abu Ura.<sup>13</sup>

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I listened, not knowing if it was true or false. I asked him if he had sent an express messenger to confirm it. He answered that he had. I waited until around the hour of the ox [1.15-3.40 am] when the express messenger came to inform me that Hatta Shōzaemon said it was a completely groundless rumour. We left there and arrived back on the 25<sup>th</sup> around the hour of the sheep [1.00-2.45 pm].

I went directly to see Shinano Dono, but he had just left for the castle. I reported to his secretary that the repulse was over. We rejoiced at the news from Edo.<sup>14</sup> I immediately followed Shinano and reported.

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I presented myself at the castle and I explained all the particulars of the repulse. I returned to my house after the hour of the monkey [2.45-4.30pm].

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The clothes and food that I took, and the clothes for my people were as follows.

My haori [overcoat] without breast plate, hakama pants with stripes,

Lacquerware stand and lacquerware riding crop

One horse, on loan

Two horse catchers

[worm damage]

Lacquerware armour

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<sup>13</sup> Koide Mitsuemon 小出満右衛門, Hatta Shōzaemon 八田庄左衛門

<sup>14</sup> Lord Hachisuka Narimasa had received a promotion 4 days previously.

A rain hat

Long underwear

Three musketeer guards

Nouda I\_rō [worm damage]

Edagawa Yashichirō

Satō Otogorō<sup>15</sup>

One riding overcoat (in the shape of the one just mentioned)

One lacquerware riding rainhat and long john

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Hands [men]

Two footmen

Hitomi Gonnojoyō

Kadota Kakurō<sup>16</sup>

Dress same as above

Three batmen

A pike carrier, first batman, Wasuke<sup>17</sup>

A footwear servant, second batman, Jisuke<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Nouda I\_rō 納田伊□郎 [worm damage], Edagawa Yashichirō 枝川弥七郎, Satō Otogorō 佐藤音五郎.

<sup>16</sup> Hitomi Gonnojoyō 人見権之丞, Kadota Kakurō 門田覚郎.

<sup>17</sup> Wasuke 和助

<sup>18</sup> Jisuke 次助

An armour box carrier, hired batman

The equipment carried by the porters were as follows:

One travel chest

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One flagpole

One enclosure curtain and boxed lantern

One bundle of enclosure-curtain poles

One lantern stand

One shoulder pole and pair of carry chests

One shoulder pole and field kitchen set

Also, one sedan chair

The end.

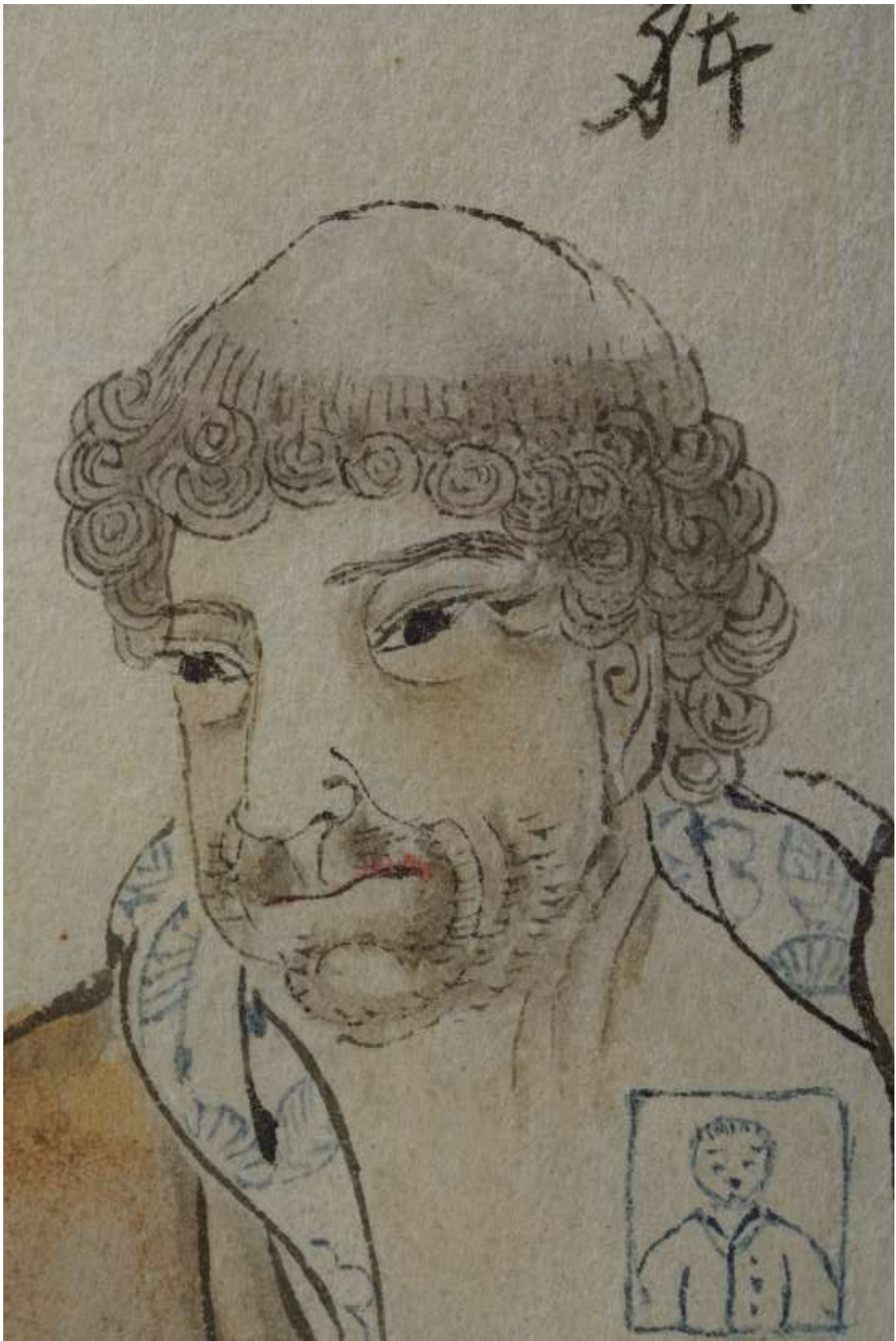
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The county samurais' report of the proceedings with the correct family names is in this same binding.

Also, there are various separate pictures of the ship and the foreigners, as well as a map of the location of the repulse.







[Courtesy of private collection.]



[Courtesy of private collection.]



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[Courtesy of private collection.]