

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 6

The Hamaguchi One Manuscript



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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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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 of people who have passed away.

Author: Hamaguchi Makita 浜口巻太.

Title: 'Ikokusen Hakurai Banashi Narabini Zu' 異国船舶来話并図 [Illustrated Account of the Arrival of a Foreign Ship].

Illustrator: Hamaguchi Makita 浜口巻太.

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Note: Thought to be the original of the two known Hamaguchi manuscripts. The Hamaguchi Two Manuscript was referred to in a few places where wormhole damage had deleted a character.

Online digital image: Illustrations at

https://archive.bunmori.tokushima.jp/new_article/00000000156.html

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Translation

[Cover]

Illustrated Account of the Arrival of a Foreign Ship

[Page 1 front]

On the 11th day of the 12th month of the Year of the Earth Ox, the 12th year of Bunsei, a foreign ship appeared drifting off None Ura, Doshū [now Kōchi Prefecture], and Shishikui Ura officials sent a report to the Hiwasa Garrison.¹ County Samurai Mima Katsuzō-Dono, who was on duty there, forwarded it to County Samurai Yamauchi Chūdayū-Dono in Tokushima [Town], and he immediately dispatched Vassal Takada Michinosuke to Shishikui Ura.² A boat was then sent with some of the Kaifu musketeers, as well as Coastal Overseer Hase Shōbē and Asakawa Ura Village Head, Harada Sahē, and others, to Doshū to gather information.³ However, the foreign ship had already headed for the Shimonada [shipping lane] of that province.⁴ They were relieved to report that the ship had gone so far offshore that it was out of sight. The overseers and everyone who had been dispatched stopped there, and the coastal overseer's investigation report was as follows:

On the 12th day of this 12th month, the foreign ship was drifting toward Doshū. Early in the morning of the 13th, a report arrived from Shishikui Ura. I and the Asakawa Ura Village Head Harada Sahē boarded the same boat

¹ The 11th day of the 12th month of the Year of the Earth Ox, the 12th year of Bunsei was 5 January 1830; Hiwasa Garrison 和佐御陣家; Hiwasa is now Mihama.

² Mima Katsuzō 三間勝蔵; Yamauchi Chūdayū 山内忠太夫; Takada Michinosuke 高田道之助; Here Tokushima means Tokushima City.

³ Most musketeers fired muskets but some fired cannons; Hase Shōbē 長谷庄兵衛; Harada Sahē 原田佐兵衛.

⁴ Here Shimonada means the Doshū sea route heading west from Muroto Misaki. Elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, it means Southern Kaifu Gun.

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at Hiwasa Ura and made for Shishikui Ura. From there, on the following day the 14th, we set sail arriving in Tsuru Ura, Doshū in the final third of the hour of the snake [9.35-11.20 am]. After interviews, the situation there was found to be as follows.

Around sunset on the 12th day of the 12th month the ship was drifting 3-4 *ri* [12-16 km] off None Ura, Doshū. Before dawn the next day, the 13th, a beacon was lit on Kuzu Shima at Kan-no-Ura. At locations on the mainland between Kan-no-Ura and None, arrangements were made for standards to be raised, gongs and drums to be beaten, and conch horns to be sounded, and measures were taken to prevent the foreign ship from entering any port. On the same day around the final third of the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], off None, Ōdani the ship sailed down the coast and appeared to head for Higashidera Misaki around sunset.⁵

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However, the aforementioned ship was first spotted by a fishing boat that had gone out to work about 12-13 *ri* [47-51 km] off None. On seeing the lone foreign ship, the boat immediately returned and reported it to local officials. We heard how Doshū had handle the situation.

On the 13th in the final third of the hour of the snake [9.35-11.20 am], the foreign ship had arrived and dropped anchor in amongst five or six merchantmen roughly 5-6 *chō* [545-654 m] off Murotsu Ura Harbour. Small boats were deployed, and each merchantman was moved away. When gongs and drums were beaten and muskets discharged from the seafronts

⁵ Higashidera Misaki is now Muroto Misaki.

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at Murotsu and Tsuru, a 5-6 *shaku* [1.5-1.8 m] red-coloured ensign with some kind of letter on it was seen to be successfully raised at the stern. We surmised that the raising of the aforementioned ensign was an attempt to gain access to the harbour without incident.

After a while, they lowered a tender carrying six people who had changed their clothes. The one who appeared to be the skipper looked about 50 and was in a woollen garment the colour of a flower and edged with brass buttons. The other five people were all wearing white woollen garments. Into the tender, they also loaded five or six long-mouthed ceramic items and what appeared to be a dog. When with devices they sculled to the mouth of the harbour, from the seafront came relentless musket fire, and so they returned to their ship.⁶ Once again they raised what appeared to be a small 2 *shaku* [60 cm] ensign on the tender. As before, they approached and when muskets were fired again, one [possibly some] of them was seen to be pressing his hands together in prayer and shedding tears. From the seafront they were waved away, and thankfully they withdrew to their ship. Due to the aforementioned situation regarding the request for grain, firewood, and water, and in line with the Cove Office's instructions, only

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water was provided.

The people were overjoyed and rubbed their hands together, and then tasted the water. In addition, to convey the hunger of their empty stomachs, they put sugar in their mouths to demonstrate staving off starvation. They produced what looked like a coin and using gestures they indicated that

⁶ 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.

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they would return to the east if provided with grain.

The owner of a shop in Murotsu Ura called Ōgiya said he would despatch more than 10 *koku* [1,800 L] of rice, but officials withheld it. We heard that secretly they sent 6 *to* [108L] of white rice.

The people were handsome like those in the pictures of the Dutch. They had pudding-basin haircuts and looked taller than 6 *shaku* [1.8 m]. When by gesture they were asked as to their number, they indicated nine by counting their fingers, but we cannot say that we know their number with certainty. Their anchor rode was a well-made chain rope.

When I enquired about the state of the foreign ship regarding the previous turn of events, from the evening of the 13th to the morning of the 14th, the seafront was peaceful. On that day in the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], they appeared to have raised their anchor, set sail, and headed out to sea two hours before we arrived in Tsuru Ura. From there, by means of a spyglass, the ship could be seen sailing off the coast in the vicinity of Tano and Nahari.

However, from Tsuru the aforementioned places appeared to be 6-7 *ri* [24-27 km] away. As boats were strictly prohibited from approaching the foreign ship, our investigation was not a valid reason for us to approach it. When compared to Japanese ships, the foreign one looked as big as one of our 1,000-*koku* [180 m³] ships. It also resembled the illustrations of Dutch ships

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with some small but significant differences: we heard that its tender was shaped just like a *koban* coin and that Dutch letters were written across the

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outside of its stern.⁷ Due to our distance, it was difficult to identify the ship, and we could not fathom its mission. However, it is as illustrated in the Doshū drawing, which can be said to outline all the general features.

It was probably some sort of merchantman that drifted here while traveling abroad, and there were rumours in Doshū that the ship still had a small reserve of grain.

On the 15th in the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], a circular arrived at the Tsuru Village Office. Yesterday evening it was reported that the ship was drifting about 70 *chō* [7.6 km] off Yasuda Ura seafront. Shortly after that another circular arrived. At the same time, it was reported that the ship was sailing down the coast about 2 *ri* [7.9 km] off Aki Ura seafront. From this situation, it was reasonable to surmise that they were going to head for Ashizuri Misaki that night.

The morning of the same day, we went up to the Higashidera vantage point and looked out.⁸ There was a south-westerly wind and a cloudy sky, so we could not see in the direction of Ashizuri at all. We carefully looked out to sea, but as far as visibility permitted, we saw nothing that hinted of the foreign ship. When we descended, it was already around noon. We further heard that there had been a notification from the Hane Misaki lookout post to the Tsuru Village Office apparently stating that they had lost track of the ship by spyglass early that morning. Taking the above into account, it can be said that it was generally thought that they were heading for the Ashizuri

⁷ A long oval with almost flat sides.

⁸ Higashidera is now Muroto Misaki.

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area. From Tsurō to Hane Misaki is a good 4.5 *ri* [17.7 km].

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The same day from around noon the south-westerly wind became strong, and it started to rain, so it became difficult to confidently approximate the progress of the ship. Far offshore in the wind and rain, the sea was rough, and it was difficult to locate the ship. The boats stayed in port at Tsurō this day.

On the same day in the final third of the hour of the sheep [1.00-2.45 pm], we went to Tsurō. According to the crew of a merchantman, before they floated off Urado last night, there was an offshore breeze, and the foreign ship followed the coast. Around Kōchi [Town] military gongs, drums, conch horns, etc. were arrayed and resounded incessantly, and at the coves to the east and west of the castle a great number of cressets burned brightly amongst the great commotion.

On the morning of the 16th the rain cleared but there was a strong westerly wind and high waves with few passing ships. From morning until sunset there were but three to five ships sailing out at sea, so there was no way of investigating the whereabouts of the foreign ship, and no new information.

Gradually, the officials who had been dispatched withdrew, and we heard no more details to report. On the same day, the 17th, in the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], we withdrew from the area. On the boat back, out at sea, we sculled up to a small coastal cargo boat coming up from Urado and asked about the foreign ship. From the evening of the 15th off the cape it had received water from a fishing boat and was making good sail for Ashizuri. It was some way from land as it had been relentlessly repulsed, so

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it was said to already be sailing away from the Doshū sea lanes. However, from the Tsurō area to Ashizuri is about 50 *ri* [197 km] by sea.

Please accept the above as a rough outline of what happened. The end.

The 12th month of the Year of the Ox.

Hase Shōbē

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As reported above, finally the whereabouts were unknown. However, on the 20th in the hour of the snake [9.35-11.20 am], between Hiwasa Ura and Akimaru Nada, at Arashi-no-Isobe (at a distance of about 20 *chō* [2.2 km] from Hiwasa river mouth) the foreign ship had drifted well in. The fisherfolk of the aforementioned coves and Ebisu Hama caught sight of the ship when they went out. They immediately reported it to the Hiwasa Garrison.

County Samurai Mima Katsuzō-Dono was on duty, and he prepared and sent an express message to Tokushima. Also, Mori Jingobē-Dono, Chief Magistrate Hama Shōsuke-Dono of Okukawachi Mura, Chief Magistrate Yoneda Jinbē-Dono of Higashi Yuki Ura, the recorder deputy magistrates of Kaifu, and other village and cove officials were all informed.⁹ Mima-Dono, the Vassals Oka Kaishichi, Nakajima Takejirō, Takada Michinosuke, and others immediately set sail from the river mouth to go and inspect the situation of the barbarian ship.¹⁰ For a while it was drifting at sea, gradually heading towards Shimonada. It lowered its anchor outside Mugi Harbour near Teba Jima in the hour of the monkey [2.45-4.30 pm].

Already, Cove officials had been putting up enclosure curtains and banners here

⁹ Mima Katsuzō 三間勝藏; Mori Jingobē 森 甚五兵衛; Hama Shōsuke 浜庄助; Yoneda Jinbē 米田 甚兵衛.

¹⁰ Oka Kaishichi 岡介七; Nakajima Takejirō 中島武次郎; Takada Michinosuke 高田道之助.

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and there between the trees.¹¹

(The enclosure curtains were from the Buddhist temple and a puppet show, so were emblazoned with the temple's name and others with various colourful pictures. The banners were from the Boy's Day and other local deity festivals, etc. Oddly, the Hachiman Shrine had seen the incident as an opportunity, and there was even a scarlet banner depicting Shōki the Plague-Queller. Be that as it may, it would be good if the barbarians saw them and thought of weapons.)

Gongs, drums, and conch horns were sounded, guns were fired and promptly a strong show of defence was made. Preparations were made at the coves, and that same night Mima-Dono deployed to Mugi Ura leading the vassals Oka Kaishichi and Takada Michinosuke, among others.

At Hiwasa Ura, Cove Magistrates Umazume Zentabē and Hirose Teizō; the County Samurai Vassals Tano Hozaemon, Nagae Kanjirō, Kume Keizō, and Takahashi Tamejirō; and Chief Musketeer Hamada Jinsuke and Musketeers Takagi Toragorō

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Hase Shōbē, Takeoka Shōzō, Satō Kichizaemon, Yasuda Jinzō, Satō Hidenojō, Tomura Yagorō, and Tomura Saisuke, two official seals, nine district musketeers, 60 hunters.¹² (The hunters had already been chosen and positioned by each

¹¹ Enclosure curtains were the fabric screens erected around samurai tactical command posts, but decorative ones were also used at local events. The banners resembled samurai battle standards in size and shape.

¹² Umazume Zentabē 馬詰善太兵衛, Hirose Teizō 広瀬程蔵, Tano Hozaemon 田野甫左衛門 (probable misspelling of Hōemon 甫右衛門), Nagae Kanjirō 長江関次郎, Kume Keizō 久米慶蔵, Takahashi Tamejirō 高橋為次郎, Hamada Jinsuke 浜田甚助, Takagi Toragorō 高木屑五郎, Hase

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village in their immediate temporary deployment.) Preparations for a repulse to prevent invasion of the open sandy ground in front of Hachiman Shrine of the same cove and the harbour area of the neighbouring cove of Ebisu Hama. Cannons: one 500-*monme* bore [68 mm calibre], one 200-*monme* bore [50 mm calibre], one 100-*monme* bore [40 mm calibre], 30 and 20-*monme* bore [27 and 23 mm calibre], 30 smaller pieces, etc.

At Ebisu Hama, Cove Magistrate Hirota Shichizaemon, Musketeer Kubo Kaemon, two local samurai from the village, three district musketeers, five hunters.¹³

At Kiki Ura, Cove Magistrate Wada Genzaemon, Musketeer Takagi Ryūta, ten hunters.¹⁴

At the five coves of Izari, Abu, Shiwagi, Higashi Yuki and Nishi Yuki, Cove Magistrate Ikeuchi Sōjibē, the musketeers: Inoue Taturō, Yamamoto Zenemon, Nagae Ryūnosuke, Kitaoka Gisaburō; thirty-one district musketeers and eight hunters.¹⁵

At Uchizuma Mura Hama, eleven hunters.

At Asakawa, Cove Magistrate Gotō Jyutta, the County Samurai Vassal Nakajima

Shōbē 長谷庄兵衛, Takeoka Shōzō 武岡庄藏, Satō Kichizaemon 佐藤吉左衛門, Yasuda Jinzō 安田甚藏, Satō Hidenojō 佐藤秀之丞, Tomura Yagorō 戸村弥五郎, Tomura Saisuke 戸村才助.

¹³ Hirota Shichizaemon 広田七左衛門, Kubo Kaemon 久保嘉右衛門.

¹⁴ Wada Genzaemon 和田源左衛門, Takagi Ryūta 高木立太.

¹⁵ Ikeuchi Sōjibē 池内宗次兵衛, Inoue Taturō 井上辰郎, Yamamoto Zenemon 山本善右衛門, Nagae Ryūnosuke 長江龍之助, Kitaoka Gisaburō 北岡義三郎.

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Takejirō, Chief Musketeer Satō Tamezō, Musketeers Yoshida Takesaku, Kawashima Sūbē, Hashimoto Kingo, Ikeuchi Rikitarō, Hashimoto Naemon.¹⁶

At Kashima of the same cove, Musketeer Hase Saisuke, one district musketeer, forty hunters.¹⁷

At Tomo Ura and Ōzato Mura, Deputy Magistrates Kiuchi Yajibē, Takeda Masuzō, Hirose Teizō and his son and heir, Hirose Rikusaburō,

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County Samurai Vassal Hashimoto Yasuke.¹⁸

At Tomo Minato Guchi Hama, Musketeers Takagi Chūemon, Kume Sōsaku, Hamada Ganjirō, Ogawa Minetarō, Okazawa Tomozō, Takagi Teizō, Satō Toraemon, Takeoka Ruizō, Katsuura Shinkurō, Satō Hanzō, Hashimoto Mokuemon, Amō Isaburō, Okazaki Yozaemon and others, one 100-*monme* bore, one 50-*monme* bore [31 mm calibre], cannons and nine smaller bore pieces were deployed.¹⁹

¹⁶ Gotō Jyutta 後藤述太, Satō Tamezō 佐藤為藏, Yoshida Takesaku 吉田武作, Kawashima Sūbē 川島数兵衛, Hashimoto Kingo 橋本金五, Ikeuchi Rikitarō 池内力太郎, Hashimoto Naemon 橋本那右衛門.

¹⁷ Hase Saisuke 長谷才助.

¹⁸ Kiuchi Yajibē 木内弥次兵衛, Takeda Masuzō 武田益藏, Hirose Teizō 広瀬程藏, Hirose Rikusaburō 広瀬陸三郎, Hashimoto Yasuke 橋本弥助.

¹⁹ Takagi Chūemon 高木仲右衛門, Kume Sōsaku 久米宗作, Hamada Ganjirō 浜田岩次郎, Ogawa Minetarō 小川岑太郎, Okazawa Tomozō 岡沢友藏, Takagi Teizō 高木貞藏, Satō Toraemon 佐藤寅右衛門, Takeoka Ruizō 武岡類藏, Katsuura Shinkurō 勝浦真九郎, Satō Hanzō 佐藤伴藏, Hashimoto Mokuemon 橋本左右衛門, Amō Isaburō 天羽伊三郎, Okazaki Yozaemon 岡崎与左衛門.

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At Tekura Yama of the same place, Chief Musketeer Ogawa Gohē and his son, the musketeers Ogawa Naoya, Okazaki Shūsuke, Takada Ikurō and eighteen hunters.²⁰

At Ōzato Sanbonmatsu Hama, Chief musketeer Ogawa Teibē, musketeers Satō Tajiemon, Tomura Yahē, Inoue Tōzaemon, Iwasa Minenōjō, Tada Kyūzaemon, Hashimoto Gisuke, Tsuchikabe Toyoji, Inai Shinsaku, Satō Kumanosuke, Ogawa Kihē, Tsuruwa Yūtarō, Satō Rokuzaemon, Okazaki Torakichi, Satō Shinnosuke, Shiga Torahachi, Amō Kiyota, and others. one 200-*monme* bore, one 20-*monme* bore, one 6-*monme* bore [16 mm calibre] and eleven smaller bore pieces.²¹

At Kinomoto of the same place, two local samurai of the village, one forest overseer, and twenty-three hunters.

At Shishikui Ura, Cove Magistrate Kiuchi Taminosuke, Musketeers Okazawa Heibē, Ogawa Seiemon, Shigenari Tomozaemon, Tōjō Naoemon, Tai Shintarō and Sagawa Makisaburō, seventeen official seals, and eleven district musketeers.²²

²⁰ Ogawa Gohē 小川五兵衛, Ogawa Naoya 小川尚弥, Okazaki Shūsuke 岡崎周助, Takada Ikurō 高田幾郎.

²¹ Ogawa Teibē 小川禎平, Satō Tajiemon 佐藤多次右衛門, Tomura Yahē 戸村弥兵衛, Inoue Tōzaemon 井上藤左衛門, Iwasa Minenōjō 岩佐峯之丞, Tada Kyūzaemon 多田久左衛門, Hashimoto Gisuke 橋本儀助, Tsuchikabe Toyoji 土壁豊次, Inai Shinsaku 稲井新作, Satō Kumanosuke 佐藤熊之助, Ogawa Kihē 小川記兵衛, Tsuruwa Yūtarō 鶴和友太郎, Satō Rokuzaemon 佐藤六左衛門, Okazaki Torakichi 岡崎寅吉, Satō Shinnosuke 佐藤森之助, Shiga Torahachi 志賀席八, Amō Kiyota 天羽喜四太.

²² Kiuchi Taminosuke 木内民之助, Okazawa Heibē 岡沢平兵衛, Ogawa Seiemon 小川清右衛門,

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Three 100-*monme* bores deployed.

At Takegashima of the same place, Musketeer Satō Naokichi, one official seal, and thirteen hunters.²³

At Kaneme of the same place, two official seals.

From Denjigahana of the same place, Musketeer Sagawa Sōsuke, one official seal, and eight hunters.²⁴

In the hour of the dog [6.15-8.35 pm] on the evening of the 20th, the first express messenger arrived in Tokushima from Hiwasa. The report was delivered to Yamauchi Chūdayū-Dono's house. He promptly went to the castle and, with county samurai gradually falling in on both sides, the second and third messengers arrived in succession. In the hour of the cock's crow [1.15-3.40 am], there was a report that the foreign ship had moored at Mugi.

Before long, day broke, and on the 21st around the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], Yamauchi-Dono left the castle. As previously arranged, Vassal Shōno Kihēta had been despatched to check preparations [for porters to relay the baggage train from village to village] along the road from Kaneuchisakamoto to

Shigenari Tomozaemon 重成友左衛門, Tōjō Naoemon 東条直右衛門, Tai Shintarō 田井信太郎, Sagawa Makisaburō 佐川牧三郎.

²³ Satō Naokichi 佐藤直吉.

²⁴ Sagawa Sōsuke 佐川惣助

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Hiwasa.²⁵

Before the hour of the snake [9.35-11.20 am], Yamauchi-Dono's upper and lower vassals, Hamaguchi Makita, Law Officer Mihashi Gohē, Lower Foreperson Kahachi and others departed as the vanguard, and reached Shimo Fukui as dusk fell.²⁶ Continuing by the light of many torches through Kaneuchisakamoto and over the pass at Matsuzaka, we could see that the coves of Kaminada had lit up the sky with big cressets, and as their battle standards fluttered in the wind, they looked like an army.

Without stopping, we descended to Nishi Yuki Ura, where the official boats were moored in a line along the harbour breakwater. District Head of Villages Hatta Shōzaemon and other officials gave orders to local boat hands who crewed the boats.²⁷ Yamauchi-Dono and everyone else got on board, and as swiftly as arrows, we reached Hiwasa before the hour of the dog [6.15-8.35 pm]. Yamauchi-Dono and everyone rested for a while at Kōbōji Temple. One by one the subordinate officials stationed in Hiwasa had audiences and provided every minute detail [about what had happened] since the previous day.

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Kihēta had already arrived here by way of the new road. From here, Yamauchi-Dono and his subordinates went by boat. A 300-*monme* [57 mm calibre] cannon was loaded into Makita and Kihēta's boat, and the boat hands started sculling. (This was the gun that was to be fired from Teba Jima.) Beyond Akimaru Nada, near where we passed Nadamura Hama, in the moonlight we could faintly see the dark barbarian ship. Shortly thereafter, we arrived in Mugi around the hour of the ox [1.15-3.40 am]. Mima-Dono was stationed at the Nishi Mugi Fishery Tax

²⁵ Shōno Kihēta 庄野喜平太

²⁶ Hamaguchi Makita 浜口卷太 (this author), Mihashi Gohē 三橋五兵衛, Kahachi 嘉八.

²⁷ Hatta Shōzaemon 八田庄左衛門.

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Office. Yamauchi-Dono held a meeting with him to hear the details about the barbarian ship.

Mima-Dono said, 'I've been very suspicious of that ship since it arrived yesterday evening and its colour changed. Through my spyglass, I can see a floor halfway up the mast where they climb to look out. And the people working on the ship, they do not look a bit hungry. Especially, it is suspicious that they dive off the stern and after a while climb back up and the like. It is abhorrent that they so mock us. It is exceedingly strange that since yesterday all, even Nīmi Sawarō (with the rank of recorder and living in Mugi), who approach the barbarian ship return feeling pity.²⁸ ~~I am certain this is Christian trickery.~~ Anyway, the ship does not appear to be a ship that drifted here at all. Without doubt, they must be some kind of pirates and we should swiftly crush them.' etc.

The previous afternoon, while the barbarian ship was still drifting off Akimaru Nada, Sawarō had taken his musket in one hand and been sculled out in a fishing boat toward the ship. The barbarians appeared waving at the gunwale and did not appear to be at all thirsty. Finally, as they drew closer to look, one person held up a well-bucket and pointed to its opening, indicating 'Give us water.' Then they showed firewood and begged for it. When he gave them a little firewood and water
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in compensation the barbarians brought out a picture of a woman, like a Dutchwoman, painted on glass.

After looking it over he returned it with a wave of his hand. Next, gunpowder, a little twisted in paper, was offered. On seeing that Sawarō was suspicious of it, they pointed to and mimicked using the musket he had brought. When he returned this, they produced what he thought to be a gold coated bell. It was so beautiful that he took it in his hand and looked at it. After, as he went to give it back, it hit

²⁸ Nīmi Sawarō 新見佐和郎.

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the side of the ship and fell into the sea. Then, they became angry and abusive, so his crew sculled quickly away. He did not see any firearms, but he thought they were putting up some kind of enclosure curtain along the side of their ship. Sawarō said he did not know what went on behind it.

Yamauchi-Dono and Mima-Dono discussed preparing for a repulse and made the arrangements. Then, Yamauchi-Dono said, ‘Make a large lead ball, have someone take it out to that ship and make them set sail. If they hesitate, indicate that they will be smashed with the ball from our positions on Teba. Even if they comply and set sail promptly, we should still fire into their wake. If they continue to resist setting sail, we will have no choice but to blast them to smithereens.’ As they talked on into the night, dawn broke.

On the morning of the 22nd, Makita was ordered as follows, ‘Disguise yourself as a fisherman, and get close to the barbarian ship. Look for anything on board resembling an armament and draw me a detailed picture of it.’ To this Oka Kaishichi, Takada Michinosuke, Shōno Kihēta and others said, ‘Well, we too must go.’ Taking Cove Official Seizaburō with us, we boarded our boat. We hid our swords under a mat, and like the local people we donned fisherfolk’s jackets, tied small towels around our heads and sculled out. Before long, we approached the barbarian ship, and a black spotted dog appeared at the gunwale,

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looked at us, wagged its tail and whined. Its appearance was as depicted. It did not look like food but rather a wholly beloved pet.

They were working at different tasks: some painting the outside of the ship with tar, another going up the mast, others patching ripped sails, etc. They all stopped what they were doing. From about 30 *ken* [54 m] away, the foreigners started to wave us in. Moreover, as they did not appear to be hostile, we gradually sculled closer to get a better look.

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The ship was about 10 *ken* [18 m] in length, 4 *ken* [7.2 m] wide and 1 *jō* [3.0 m] high, with all the rigging painted in work that had been done since the morning of the 21st. As in the illustration there was a 2 *shaku* [60 cm] or so wide red-tar stripe along the side. The stern crests and parts that glinted like a red stone were all sheathed in copper.

(The various changes in colour that were seen were due to them polishing the green copper rust red, as well as the ship moving in and out of the water polishing it. The enclosure curtain Sawarō mistakenly saw was streaks of black tar running down over the copper rust.)

The bow, 8 *shaku* by 2 *shaku* [2.4 m x 60 cm], was shaped like a bracken sprout. Lower down there were European letters, two at a time, made of brass and hammered into both sides of the hull. Above the bracken sprout on both sides there were two iron poles attached as the ships rail with palm rope stretched like netting. On the stern there were chrysanthemum crests and below two windows about 5 *sun* [15 cm] high by 1 *shaku* [30 cm] wide that could be opened, two on each side as illustrated. They seemed to be the only potential firing positions. (When under sail, they could fire from here.) There was nothing suspicious looking along either side. Between the red stripe and taffrail, there were small holes through which we could peer in to see the gally. It had a tarred roof and something like a cooking pot. Nearby was what looked like a locker with a draw, and therein was meat being prepared. Loaded at the front of the ship was a tender shaped like a *koban* coin, 2 *ken* [3.6 m] long by a *ken* [1.8 m] wide, and painted blue with a red stripe.²⁹

The ship had all wooden decking. We knew not what was below, but as far as we

²⁹ A long oval with almost flat sides.

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could see there were no weapons of any kind.

The rudder was 3 *shaku* [90 cm] wide by 1 *shaku* [30 cm] thick and very narrow. It was all sheathed in copper, and only 3 *shaku* [90 cm] was above the water line.

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It was attached with butterfly hinges. It looked as if it could only be moved from left to right. As in my illustration, there were poles sticking out 3-4 *shaku* [90-120 cm] over both corners of the stern.

(As we suspected, and according to those who had seen Dutch ships, the poles were for hanging the tender off the stern. That was their purpose.)

There was no damage on the outside of the hull or to the frame of the ship. Her draft was extremely shallow. It seemed to be just 3 *shaku* [90 cm], like that of an empty ship.'

'The fore and aft masts were two in total, as illustrated, and were made of 3 sections held together with metal rings.

(Dutch ships have three-section masts, too, and in high winds their sails come down. This ship's sails were permanently attached, but certainly could be raised and lowered freely at will.)

The masts were painted white, but the paint was peeling in places. The foremast was about 10 *kan* [18 m] high and the main mast about 11 *kan* [20 m], atop which a magnetic needle about 2 *shaku* [60 cm] long could be seen.

As illustrated, from the square flange near the top, clewlines attached the corners of the sails and all of the blocks were part of the contrivance: all in the way of the Southern Barbarians.³⁰

Next there was a floor 3 *shaku* [90 cm] deep by 4 *shaku* [120 cm] wide. There was

³⁰ Southern Barbarians were Spanish and Portuguese traders who arrived via South-East Asia.

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a go-board like grid assembly. They climbed up there to look out, or go out on the yards, etc. From this floor there were rope ladders. On the bow of the ship there was an 8-*shaku* [2.4 m] bowsprit. The aft boom stuck out 1 *jō* [3 m] over the stern and could be lowered or raised. There was an ensign stitched to a line stretched from the aft boom to the stern rail. It was not spread out by hanging it from a cross piece, and when there was no wind, it just hung limp hiding their crest. When the wind blew, it would flutter and become visible.

The sails were of thick cotton with indigo lettering, but it was too faded to make out. The yards did not lower, and the sails were furled and tied to them and left in place. Both clews of each sail had ropes attached and with the spars were set according to the wind. It appeared that the sideways-facing bow sail and the square-facing stern sails could be trimmed to catch the wind as desired. In the vicinity of the ship there was an indescribable stink that pierced our noses.

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Courtesy Tokushima Prefectural Archive.

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Pipe. Well bucket. Headwear. (Courtesy of Tokushima Prefectural Archive.)

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(Courtesy of Tokushima Prefectural Archive.)

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All the people had headwear. Most were made of leather. One was of wound red cotton cloth and another a farmer's hat made of something like mountain reeds. Their clothes generally had tubular sleeves. They were all wearing 2 to 3 buttoned layers of tightly-woven wool fabric and their trousers were of soft leather.

They lined the side of the boat, and, with both hands open, indicated that they were 10 in number. Like the face in my illustration, they all had long pointed noses. Their eyes were big and blue and their eyebrows red, as was their hair, which was about 3 *sun* [9 cm] long. The ends were curled tight. Their beards were red tinged with a little black. Their language was medium pitch, not high.

One of them brought out a well bucket like the one illustrated and saying 'Pēsu! Pēsu!', pointed to his mouth and rubbed his chest. They exchanged words amongst themselves but sounded like birds twittering. One of them brought out some firewood and requested it. We waved our hands at them and gave them just a little water.

(Interestingly, waving one's hands or shaking one's head for something that is impossible is internationally seen as the normal way to refuse).

The one who appeared to be the skipper looked about 50 (the others all looked more like 25 or 26), was wearing a black fur hat with tightly woven wool fabric hanging down at the back and seemed to be the only one giving instructions to others. To see their heads, we removed the towels wrapped around ours. They thought we were being polite, so they all removed their hats and most of them had bald heads.

Their skipper brought out a 1 *shaku* [30 cm] long 2 *sun* [6 cm] round dark red rope-like thing, and, with a small knife, trimmed off three slices from the cut end, kneaded it in the palm of his hand, placed it in a suspicious looking object, sucked and then breathed out smoke.

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As the shape was strange, I asked to see the object and he threw it to me. As in the illustration it had the stem of a bird's feather stuck in as the mouthpiece. One of the crew even had one made in the shape of an octagon. Then, he was asked for the tobacco by another of the crew, who cut it especially coarsely. They did not take the tobacco to smoke, but picking up some with their little finger, rolled it and ate it. This was strange and suspicious.

(According to Kōmō Zatsuwa there is nowhere in the world tobacco is not used.³¹ The name is the same in every country, and here it is called 'betomu'. 'Tabako' is the name of a small island in North America.³² From the island a barbarian called 'Yohanesu Niyutto' brought seed potatoes to plant in Europe, and from there they spread to various countries. The start of tobacco consumption progressed a little differently, but generally it was at the same period. While it should be called strange, this way of using it and shaping it is different. Eating it with ease, the way they do, is due to a difference in climate. Hiding it in their mouth and chewing it should indeed be regarded as suspicious.)

Towards the bow there was some kind of white meat on a string floating on the surface of the water and before long they pulled it up. It looked like food. One of them grabbed a piglet by the scruff, held it against the gunwale and, while pointing to the shore, said 'Pekē, pekē.' which we further understood to mean that they were asking for more piglets and that it was food. He tossed it back into the bottom of the ship from where, judging by the squealing noise, there seemed to be several animals kept. Another of them stuck a forked metal chopstick into some of this meat that appeared to have been steamed and pointed to his mouth indicating that

³¹ Morishima Chūryō 森島中良. 'Kōmō Zatsuwa' 紅毛雜話 [Red Haired Chitchat]. 1787.

³² Tobacco Island, N 37° 46'00", W 75° 46'50".

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it was indeed something to be eaten.

Next the skipper brought out a tightly-woven scarlet woollen coat to show us. It was longer than the jackets they were wearing and had 5 coattails, and as illustrated the cuffs were stitched with gold thread and it was fastened with silver plated buttons. Again, as in the illustration, he held it up to his shoulders to show us. This was a thing of great beauty. It was most showy.'

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We could not see a single weapon. One of them took off his shoes for us to see. He rolled down his white socks from above the knee revealing his leg covered with fine red leg hair. He then showed us a 3-*shaku* [90 cm] square of thick black leather, pointed to his shoes, and indicated that they were made of it.

Next, one of them opened the front of his top to show us the front-view half-body of a beautiful woman tattooed above his left breast. Then, another brought out a glass container filled with what appeared to be an alcoholic drink. He held a 'gyaman koppu' [glass] in his hand and encouraged us to drink. When we all waved our hands, each of them took a drink, tapped their head, appeared to feel good, and passed it to the next, until they had drunk it all.

Then at the place for boarding the ship they cleared space for a plank and strongly encouraged us to go aboard. If we had boarded, there would have been various unusual things to see. However, not wanting to find out what kind of plot was afoot, all of us waved our hands. As above we had been warned that anyone who fraternized with the barbarians seemed to become compassionate. Our refusal of their various kind urgings showed we had already taken what Katsuzō-Dono said to heart. Suddenly we were expressing the importance of this among ourselves, so it was time to return our boat.

Shortly thereafter we reached the shore. It was around 12 noon. We had an audience with both field commanders [Yamauchi and Mima] and reported in detail.

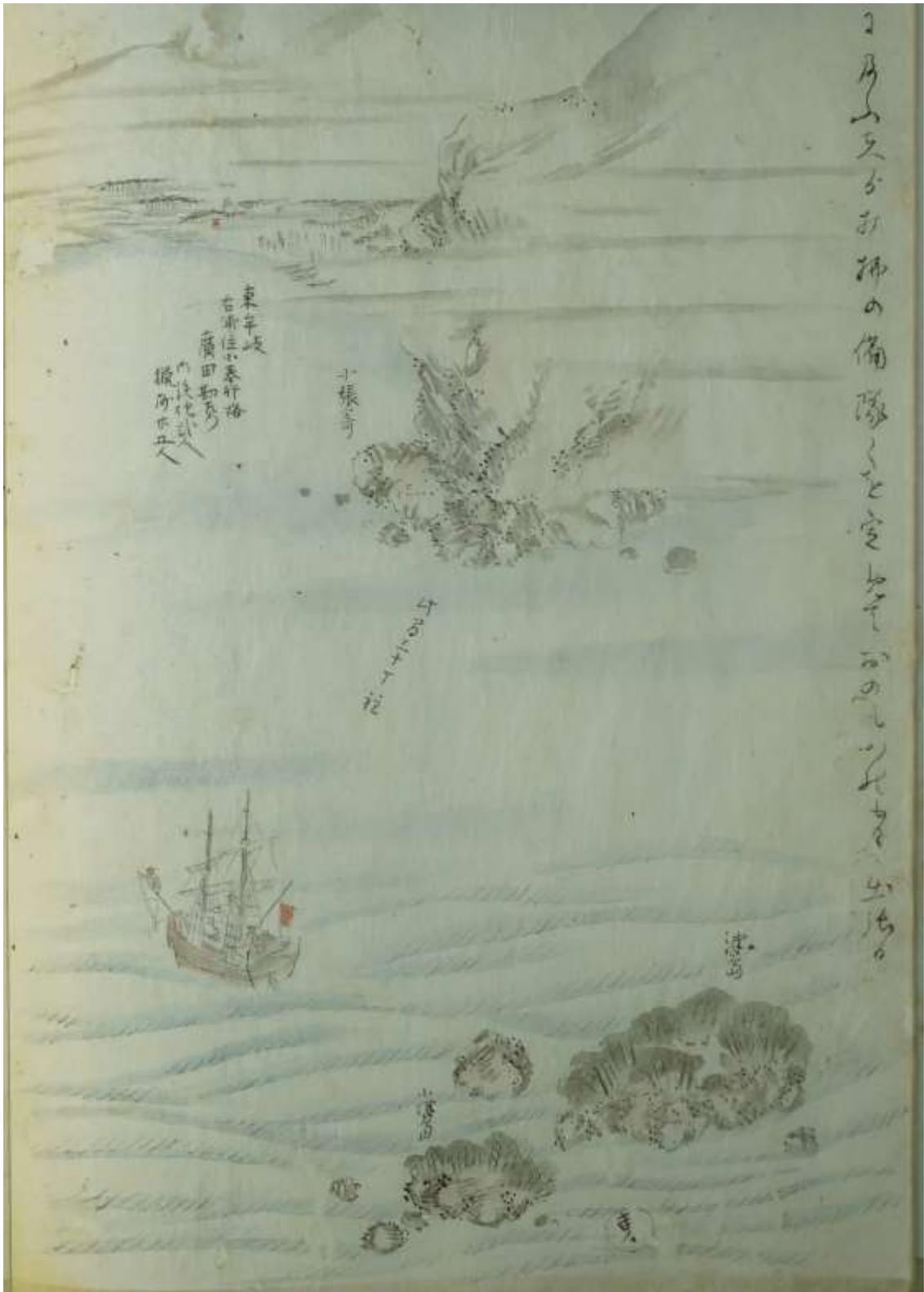
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[Domain] Overseers Hayami Zenzaemon-Dono and Murase Kahē-Dono, Deputy Overseer Kurano Matagorō, Recorder Yamauchi Ryūtarō, and others arrived around the hour of the snake [9.35-11.20 am].³³ The overseers set up at the Fishery Tax Office. They referred to the illustrated scroll of barbarian ship ensigns that had previously been given to the Hiwasa Garrison. Ensign number 20 was no different [from that of the barbarian ship]. The country name for each ensign was listed separately. They found it was governed by ‘Angeria’ and that it consisted of the flags of three countries. ‘Angeria’ was not a country we had heard of, but they had red hair and it could be argued that it must be near Holland. While we had been doing all this, it had reached early afternoon.

³³ Hayami Zenzaemon 速水善左衛門, Yamauchi Ryūtarō 山内隆太郎, Kurano Matagorō 倉野又五郎.

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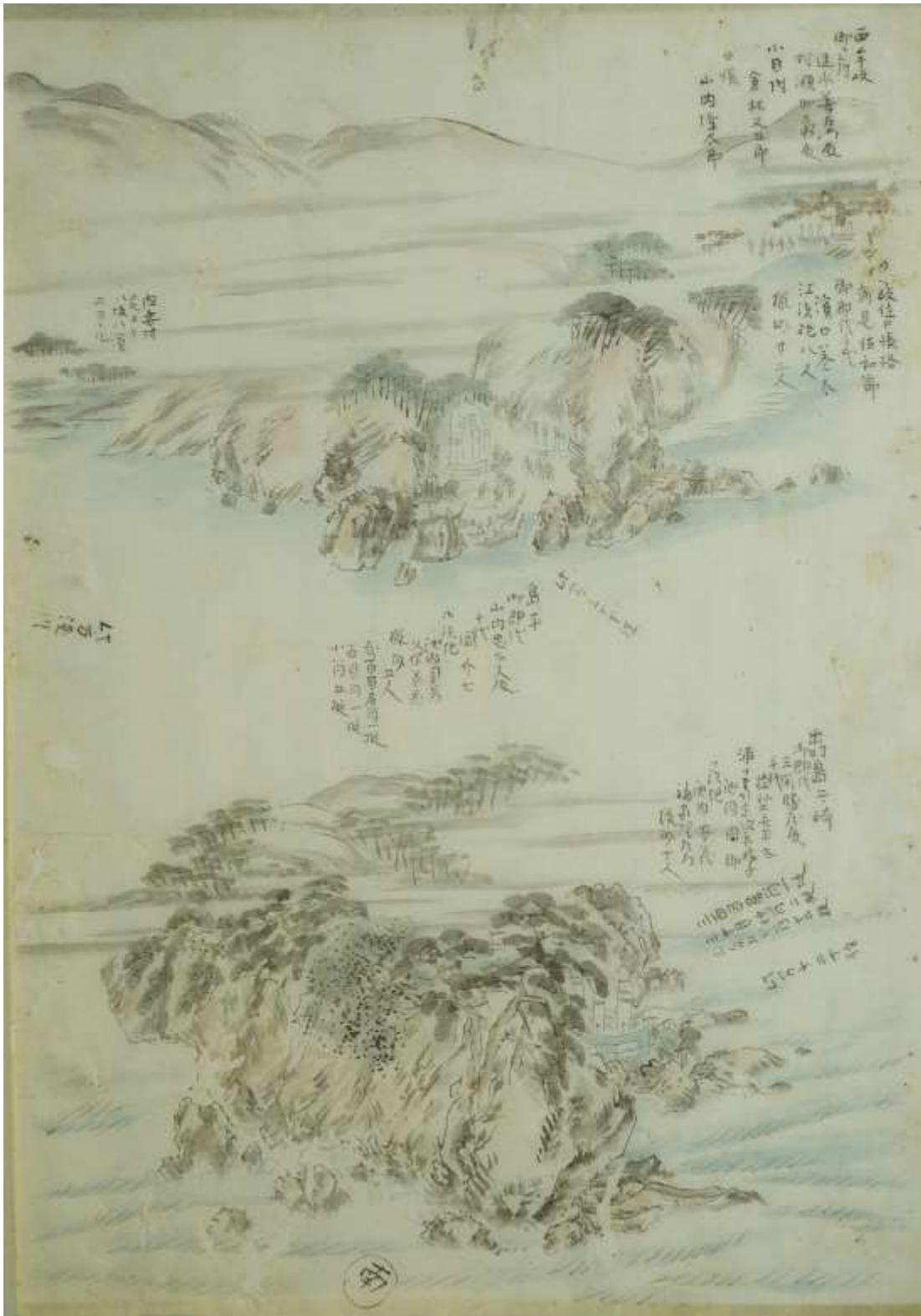
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We prepared the repulse by deciding on the teams and deploying each of them.

Tsushima

East

Distance approximately 30 *chō* [3.3 km]

Kozushima

Kobari Saki

Higashi Mugi

With the rank of Deputy Magistrate and living at this cove

Hirota Kanzaemon

District Musketeers 2

Hunters 25

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Nishi Mugi

Overseer

Hayami Zenzaemon-Dono

Murase Kahē-Dono

Deputy Overseer

Kurabayashi Matagorō

Recorder

Yamauchi Ryūtarō

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With the rank of recorder and living in Mugi

Nimi Sawarō

Vassal to County Samurai

Hamaguchi Makita

District Musketeers 8

Hunters 22

Teba Jima Ni-no-Saki

County Samurai

Mima Katsuzō-Dono

Vassal to County Samurai

Shōno Kihēta

Cove Magistrate Sōjibē's son and heir

Ikeuchi Shūsuke

Musketeers

Ikeuchi Yasuzō

Fukuya Rizaemon

Hunters 10

300-*monme* bore 1 ground-laid piece

30-*monme* bore 2 handheld pieces

3.5-*monme* bore [13 mm calibre] 12 pieces

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Distance approximately 12 *chō* [1.3 km]

Distance approximately 30 *chō* [3.3 km]

Shima-no-Hira

County Samurai

Yamauchi Chūdayū

Vassal

Oka Kaishichi

Musketeers

Ikeuchi Okuzaemon

Kubo Shinzō

Hunters 5

200-*monme* bore 1 piece

100-*monme* bore 1 piece

Small bores 5 pieces³⁴

Uchitsuma Mura

And Yasaka Yahama³⁵

To Asakawa

South

³⁴ Ikeuchi Okuzaemon 池内奥左衛門, Kubo Shinzō 久保秦蔵.

³⁵ Yasaka Yahama, Eight Hills and Eight Beaches.

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While we were doing that, the large cast ball (about 1 *kan* 800 *monme* [104 mm calibre]) was handed to Noe Mura Village Head and Chief Pledge Okazawa Yahē and the Mugi Ura Chief Pledge Seizaburō.³⁶ Yamauchi-Dono ordered them as follows, ‘Board the barbarian ship and get them to leave quickly. Convey it by way of gestures. If they refuse, show them this ball, and indicate that from our positions on Teba Jima that we are able to crush them. If they comply by promptly raising their anchor and we see their sails well set, you must give them a little firewood and water. Whatever happens, you must report to the people at Shima-no-Hira.’

Both of them humbly accepted their orders and quickly sculled out. The barbarians received them and pointed out rips here and there in the sails, the ships unfinished paintwork, etc. They said something in gibberish and held up an open hand while making the other into a fist like a pillow. Then, they cupped one hand and blew into it. Their meaning was ‘Let us moor here for five days’ then ‘If you grant us that, these repairs will be finished, and we will set sail.’ So, our people sculled back to Shima-no-Hira to report.

Yamauchi-Dono said ‘They have already had time. You must tell them to set sail promptly.’ Both of them sculled out again and on seeing their hands waving, in the same way as before, the barbarians gestured ‘In that case, three days.’

When both of our people waved their hands repeatedly indicating their request would never be granted, one of the people repairing a sail became abusive with a very angry voice and was held back by the skipper. To our two people, the skipper indicated they would set sail quickly in gibberish, so they gave him the firewood and water, then, similar to the writing on his clothes, [possible spelling mistake for ‘with that he started to write and’] he handed them an 8-*sun* [24 cm] square

³⁶ Okazawa Yahē 岡沢弥兵衛, Seizaburō 清三郎.

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piece of paper with sideways letters on it. Our people took this, quickly sculled back, and reported what had happened.

Yamauchi-Dono

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said ‘Receiving this puts us in a very awkward situation. Return it at once.’ And with that they sculled out once again, threw the letter back into the ship and hurriedly returned.

Meanwhile on the barbarian ship, they did not appear to hurriedly raise their anchor; instead they seemed calm. Thus, as the earlier arranged smoke signal from Shima-no-Hira rose, on Teba Jima Ikeuchi Yasuzō lit the fuse and a 300-*monme* [57 mm diameter] ball was fired.³⁷ It flew between the masts of the barbarian ship reverberating like a thunderclap.

(Because the ball had been cast many years before, it was full of holes as if worm eaten and it made a high-pitched screech. It was a most eerie thing.)

However, they were not particularly surprised, and after a short while they raised one sail. They appeared to hesitate, which caused extreme irritation, and due to this, fire continued from Shima-no-Hira with the 200 and 100-*monme*.

They put up a second sail, but the ship did not move. The situation was even more irritating, and from Yamauchi-Dono’s forces, four patrol boats, each with seven sculls set out:

In patrol boat No.1 was Musketeer Nishizawa Toranosuke armed with a 100-*monme* bore and Kuribayashi Takuzaeon with a small bore; in No.2 Satō Tokinosuke on a 30-*monme* bore and Takagi Genshichi on a small bore; in No.3 Satō Sōjirō on a 30-*monme* bore Tomura Heibē on a small bore; in No.4 Ishii

³⁷ Ikeuchi Yasuzō 池内安蔵.

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Makita on a 20-*monme* bore and Inoi Suketarō on a small bore.³⁸ On bearing their arms each team boarded and departed.

If they were not concerned by the first shots, the endless barrage from each boat circling back to continue firing tens of times finally resulted in them raising anchor and setting all their sails.

Meanwhile on land, Murase-Dono was examining the country names in the illustrated [guide to] barbarian country ensigns. He found in the second volume a flag for the king of Angeria (a white anchor on a red background), and noticed that to the left

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it was labelled 'Igirisu'. 'This is one of those troublesome British vassal states.' he said showing his companion Hayami-Dono. 'Since the shooting started, the range seems too long. We must hurry to get in closer, be less considerate and more severe in our repulse. Make this known to the people at Shima-no-Hira and on Teba Jima.' And with this Takada Michinosuke excused himself and went at once to Shima-no-Hira, and in this way the order was conveyed.

Yamauchi-Dono said, 'It's time!', handed a large gun to Musketeer Tani Wataemon, jumped into a boat, and commanded zealously.³⁹

At this time, on this day there was a southerly wind blowing from out at sea, and although the barbarian ship had to set sail it was difficult for them to sail out to sea. We think it was due to this that they did not go out past the southern flank of Teba, nor balk at the hail of balls flying at them; instead, they headed between Shima-no-Hira and Teba.

³⁸ Nishizawa Toranosuke 西沢帟之助, Kuribayashi Takuzaemon 栗林宅左衛門, Satō Tokinosuke 佐藤時之助, Takagi Genshichi 高木源七, Satō Sōjirō 佐藤惣次郎, Tomura Heibē 戸村平兵衛, Ishii Makita 石井間喜太, Inoi Suketarō 猪井助太郎.

³⁹ Tani Wataemon 谷渡右衛門.

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Then, when Mima's people also heard that the ship was British, he said, 'It's time!' and, leaving Musketeer Fukuya Rizaemon at Ni-no-Saki, Teba Jima, he took Musketeer Ikeuchi Yasuzō with a 30-*monme* bore and the Cove Magistrate Ikeuchi Sōjibē's son and heir Shūsuke with another 30-*monme* bore and headed to Teba Jima harbour, from where they could follow the barbarian ship to whichever beach it went.⁴⁰ 'They are within range. Fire at the water line of the copper-coloured part.' Mima ordered. Yasuzō's shot was true punching a hole that let water into the bottom of the ship. Shūsuke shot true too, but it was not enough to let in water.

These two shots severely shook the ship, and the barbarians made a din. We counted

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14 people. Before long, like sailing to the south of Teba, it became difficult for them to sail out and it seemed that heading for Asakawa harbour was their intention. Briefly they hesitated. Yonder, preparations were ready. It was time for four [more] patrol boats: in No.1 Musketeer Yasuda Ryōzaemon on a 20-*monme* bore and Kuribayashi Hēroku on a small bore; in No.2 Tsuchikabe Fusanosuke on a 20-*monme* bore and Shigenari Tsunezaemon on a small bore; in No.3 Kuribayashi Gizō on a 30-*monme* bore and Kuribayashi Hanzō on a small bore; in No.4 Ikeuchi Kajūrō on a 20-*monme* bore and Kuribayashi Tarōshirō on a small bore.⁴¹ Each boat sped to Asakawa river mouth, where they lay in wait to repulse the barbarian ship should it approach Asakawa or Ōzato.

When the barbarian ship finally showed its intention to head for Asakawa, Yamauchi-Dono ordered the starboard side of the stern to be smashed and

⁴⁰ Fukuya Rizaemon 福家理左衛門, Ikeuchi Shūsuke 池内周助.

⁴¹ Yasuda Ryōzaemon 安田量左衛門, Kuribayashi Hēroku 栗林平六, Tsuchikabe Fusanosuke 土壁房之助, Shigenari Tsunezaemon 重成恒左衛門, Kuribayashi Gizō 栗林儀藏, Kuribayashi Hanzō 栗林半藏, Ikeuchi Kajūrō 池内嘉十郎, Kuribayashi Tarōshirō 栗林太郎四郎.

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instructed Toranosuke to fire one of his 100-*monme* [40 mm diameter] balls. Despite the sound build of the ship, the ball immediately obliterated an area 2 *shaku* [60 cm] square and sent the person on the helm flying diagonally. If it had been where they had lain, one or two of them would have probably been killed. (After this they seemed to warn each other.) The reverberation damaged the whole ship and there was a great uproar, people screaming and dashing about in confusion. Facing Yamauchi-Dono's boat they all took off their hats and put their hands together in prayer. They pointed to the sail and sang in unison 'Rōbin, rōbin, rō.' We saw them all cup the palms of their hands and blow into them. In this way they conveyed that the wind was bad and that it would be difficult to set sail. Putting himself in their extremely dangerous situation, Yamauchi-Dono asked his boathands,

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'Will this wind work?' and they explained, 'It is very difficult to head out to sea. Although it is possible just after dusk. When the sun sets there should be an offshore breeze. However, the Asakawa coast is too far away, and it will be difficult for the breeze to reach here. If they return to the outside of Mugi harbour, it will be good for their departure.'

Using gestures, Yamauchi-Dono conveyed the above information to them. The barbarians quickly understood and sailed the ship back over there.

(From first to last the way the ship handled and turned was extremely fast. This is not the case with large Japanese ships. Though that be so, the claims that barbarian nations' ships could sail into the wind was utterly groundless. That much was known from the spectacle of this ship. It was clear that going into the wind was in fact what we know as sailing diagonally across it. There was no special magical technique.)

Already before this all the guns had ceased. By now, including both the field commanders, musketeers, and others, many boats surrounded the barbarian ship.

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We attached to the ropes that they had hung down the side of the ship. We had our guns ready to instantly shoot them to pieces if there was any interference. During this time, the stink of the barbarian ship penetrated our noses.

From time-to-time Nishizawa Toranosuke put his big gun to his cheek in a show of courage, then the barbarians were very afraid. They put their heads in their hands and cried out or fell down pointing to their side and put their hands together in prayer. It was thought that this meant one of his balls had taken a life. Also, they showed us buckets of water being taken out and bailed. It should be said that, by the ball Ikeuchi Yasuzō had fired, a lot of water had gotten into the bottom of the hull.

(Yasuzō and others said that they had seen that this cannon ball-damaged area was letting in a lot of sea water each time the ship moved; and that the damage caused by Shūsuke's ball was letting water in and out of the ship.)

Shortly thereafter on returning to Shima-no-Hira around dusk, several times we heard the eerie sound of a whistle from the barbarian ship. The sound was that of the penny whistles that children taking part in festival processions amuse themselves with. It did not sound like

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a real whistle at all. Later, everyone commented how strange it was, but we had no idea about it.

(At a later date, the chief priest of Godaisan Myōkōji [Temple], Kōchi, Tosa came to visit, and when I told him about this, he said that four or five years ago a Channan [Cantonese] ship that drifted to his country had sounded whistles and drums when celebrating their festival for good winds. He said it may well have been something similar, and I too thought it might have been that.)

Anyway, on the offshore breeze from Mugi, the ship at last sailed out to sea.

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Accordingly, both field commanders and all the musketeers withdrew to the land; only Nishizawa Toranosuke was seen to stay out. He followed the barbarian ship as night's darkness fell. As he arrived off Ni-no-Saki, Teba, there was the unexpected sound of a cannon firing from Teba.

Toranosuke had not anticipated this and was caught by surprise. He lost his pluck and turned back.

(The next morning Fukuya Rizaemon returned from the island and was asked 'What happened?' According to Rizaemon, he saw everyone withdraw to the mainland. He had ordered the hunters to load their 3.5-*monme* bores well and discharge all ten at once. He said it was not a cannon at all. For Toranosuke it certainly had been a narrow escape. He was very lucky.)

As the barbarian ship dodged the ends of Teba and Tsushima, towards the stern a light was seen. The report of a cannon discharging was heard from the ship.

(Rizaemon said it was a blank round that sounded like a 30-*monme*)

Rizaemon led the hunters to the end of Teba and again their ten pieces were fired in unison, but the barbarian ship did not fire again. They ran east until their sail was out of sight. Their one shot from a 'franki' [a breach-loading swivel gun] was not intended to hit us, their enemy. It must have been just to make them move along.

Anyway, the same as the night before, large cressets were lit at all the locations on the mainland and several fishing boats sculled out to look for the ship. All of them went a long way out and gradually sculled back after the moon had set, so it can be said that no sail has been seen out at sea near or far.

On the morning of the 23rd around the hour of the dragon [7.50-9.35 am], the

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Hōjutsu [Gunnery] Master Kitajima Genzō arrived here.⁴² On the same day, the First Gunnery Team Chiefs Nagai Ryūzō-Dono

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and Sano Mannojo-Dono led all their teams to Hiwasa [from Tokushima].⁴³ They included Commander and Deputy House Elder Yamazaki Shōgen-Dono and team members Shimojō Kanbē-Dono, Yamaoka Tatazō-Dono, Hirase Ryūjirō-Dono, Watanabe Rokuzaemon-Dono, Nagasaka Bungorō-Dono, Shinomiya Yohē-Dono, Ōshio Toyokichi-Dono, Misawa Takenojō-Dono, Tsuda Hachitarō-Dono, Katō Saihachirō-Dono, Inoko Kinosuke-Dono, Hirose Rikitarō-Dono, Sasabe Chūsuke-Dono, Tsubota Sadayūemon-Dono and his adopted son Tsubota Ryūjirō-Dono, Ogura Tsugisaku-Dono, Makino Michitarō-Dono, Okajima Genzaemon-Dono, Miki Hikonosuke-Dono, Akai Sōkichi-Dono, Toitomi Daitarō-Dono, Mutsuda Saizaburō-Dono, Adachi Chōzō-Dono and others leading the lower ranking soldiers.⁴⁴

Because the barbarian ship could no longer be seen off the coast, around noon of the same day the overseers, County Samurai Yamauchi-Dono and Vassal Shōno Kihēta withdrew from Mugi for Hiwasa.

From the next day, the 24th, the people deployed to Hiwasa were also withdrawn one after another. On the 25th day of the same month, Mima and Vassals Oka

⁴² Kitajima Genzō 北島源藏.

⁴³ Nagai Ryūzō 長井龍藏, Sano Mannojo 佐野万之丞.

⁴⁴ Yamazaki Shōgen 山崎将監, Shimojō Kanbē 下條勘兵衛, Yamaoka Tatazō 山岡多太藏, Hirase Ryūjirō 平瀬龍次郎, Watanabe Rokuzaemon 渡辺六左衛門, Nagasaka Bungorō 長坂文五郎, Shinomiya Yohē 四宮与兵衛, Ōshio Toyokichi 大塩豊吉, Misawa Takenojō 三沢雄之丞, Tsuda Hachitarō 津田八太郎, Katō Saihachirō 加藤才八郎, Inoko Kinosuke 猪子騏之介, Hirose Rikitarō 広瀬力太郎, Sasabe Chūsuke 笹部忠助, Tsubota Sadayūemon 坪田左太右衛門, Tsubota Ryūjirō 坪田龍次郎, Ogura Tsugisaku 小倉次作, Makino Michitarō 牧野道太郎, Okajima Genzaemon 岡島源左衛門, Miki Hikonosuke 三木彦之助, Akai Sōkichi 赤井莊吉, Toitomi Daitarō 樋富大太郎, Mutsuda Saizaburō 六田才三郎, Adachi Chōzō 足立長藏.

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Kaishichi, Takada Michinosuke, and Hamaguchi Makita completely withdrew from Mugi to Hiwasa.

After that, there were rumours that the ship had been sighted off Hidaka, Kishū [Kī Province now Wakayama and Mie Prefectures] and finally wrecked around Shima. The following spring, we asked the skippers of the light cargo ships returning from Edo if they had heard any rumours. They said, 'At sea we saw nothing from Izu to Kī, but there were rumours of the repulse in the area of Toba Harbour.' So, no one knew the whereabouts of the barbarian ship.

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It was generally said that this ship was just drifting, but when the details are considered, there are many suspicious facts, and it quite possibly may not have simply been blown off course. It is said that the country of 'Angeria' is a major island of the Western Occident, one of the five continents. It is separate from Holland in the Africa sea. The sea route from Holland first goes out into the European Sea and covers the distance of 300 to 400 *ri* [1180-1570 km] to Africa. By way of the Southern Ocean ships sail towards the Eastern Ocean. Even if increasingly favourable winds continue, more than nine months elapse before a ship arrives off Japan. The number of *ri* is more than 4,300 *ri* [16,890 km], which, also according to the Kōmō Zatsuwa, would be difficult for a small ship to cross to here.⁴⁵

This ship should not be thought of as one that went to and traded with distant countries; rather it would have been one that traded with nearby countries. If they had drifted for hundreds of days along distant sea lanes and run out of food, being relieved to see any land, they would have rushed ashore despite the gunfire from Doshū. Rather than starving to death in the waves at the end of their drift, if there was a chance of survival, they would beg to land regardless of the risk to their lives from guns. Such a pitiful condition would evoke our compassion even if we could

⁴⁵ Morishima Chūryō 森島中良. 'Kōmō Zatsuwa' 紅毛雜話 [Red Haired Chitchat]. 1787.

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not understand their language.

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Although imperfect, on considering the situation, we would finally decide to repatriate them.

They had been waved away from the land, readily accepted our demand, and set sail promptly [from Doshū]. They went to the far end of Ashizuri and after that, we lost track of their whereabouts for a while. Again, they came back to the sea off Kaifu. Then, seeing the topography of Teba Jima, Shima-no-Hira and Kobari Saki and within range of our cannons, they anchored without hurriedly trying to land and worked repairing the ship while none of them seemed to have the countenance of starvation.

In Tosa their answer to the number of people on board was nine, in Mugi they said ten, finally after many falsehoods 14 appeared, so they can be thought of as having wholly scheming minds. We have heard that people of that country are decisive and strong, and that they fight well.

It did not look the slightest bit like a warship, but no one knows for sure that they did not have hidden weapons. If one considers the dubious points, possibly a larger mother ship was waiting far away in the Southern Ocean. By sailing out in large numbers in small ships like this one that are easy to advance or withdraw, they can board merchantmen underway out at sea, show their military strength and steal cargos. Or, if running with the wind they approach a coast, they can climb and plunder undefended islands and the like. On observing prepared defences, they masquerade as the crew of an ordinary drifting ship which the

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local people who approach become familiar with and take pity on. When districts feel peace of mind and neglect the opportunity to prepare defences, they can land suddenly and plunder. There was a rumour that on the night of the 19th when they

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came to Akimaru Nada, out at sea a merchantman heading down to Ōsaka barely escaped being boarded by running out to the open sea. Also, from the evening of the 20th Mugi Chief Pledge Seizaburō was on a boat that continuously patrolled near the barbarian ship. He was shown a small barbarian box. On the lid green paper was pasted, at the top in clerical script ‘上品’ [jōhin, high quality] was inscribed, at the bottom in bold brown serif letters ‘茶’ [cha, tea] was written. What looked like green tea was inside the box. Seizaburō thought they were begging for tea, so he waved it away. In hindsight, this might have been what they stole. We have heard that that country’s ships come to trade in the Kanton Territory, but we have never heard of such a small ship coming, so it is suspicious. The ship left heading east, but after that its whereabouts was unknown. Beyond the direction of the southeast there is nothing more. Whether the ship returned to the mother ship is difficult to gauge. The bandits after all did not fight back at all and showed their fear for Nishizawa and other skilful

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men, but this was a feint. They pretended to be afraid. As the first report of the 300-*monme* bore continued to reverberate, the bandits lack of surprise, due to their familiarity with such circumstance, was their true audacity. The head professor of Occidental studies told me that all Occidental bandit ships were skilled in the use of firearms. From their sides they fire broadsides and from their gun turrets they fired poisonous flames at will; and that they were indeed formidable.

This would have definitely been the case if they had returned to the mother ship. Anyway, defence preparations for an island nation must be robust. Hayashi Shihei teaches this.⁴⁶ I am afraid it has to be so. It is always difficult to be effective without

⁴⁶ Hayashi Shihei 林子平, author of the banned Kaikoku Heidan, 『海国兵談』 (Military Defense of a Maritime Nation), 1787, which called for a more robust maritime defence of the Japan and an end to Sakoku to facilitate the adoption of Western military science.

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training. Even if a small piece of our land falls into their hands, it will long be to the shame of Imperial Japan. When the likes of Nishizawa is our frontline and unexpectedly has to board a boat, go out and load his gun; we rejoice that he has kept his unused powder dry in a tiered box and thus ready for any grave eventuality.

Later, I talked to my friend Gotōen about this, and as far as I could, I designed a rapid recharging device for big guns.⁴⁷ This might be a useful tool when caught in a difficult situation. Somehow, taking this unusual incident as a precedent and example,

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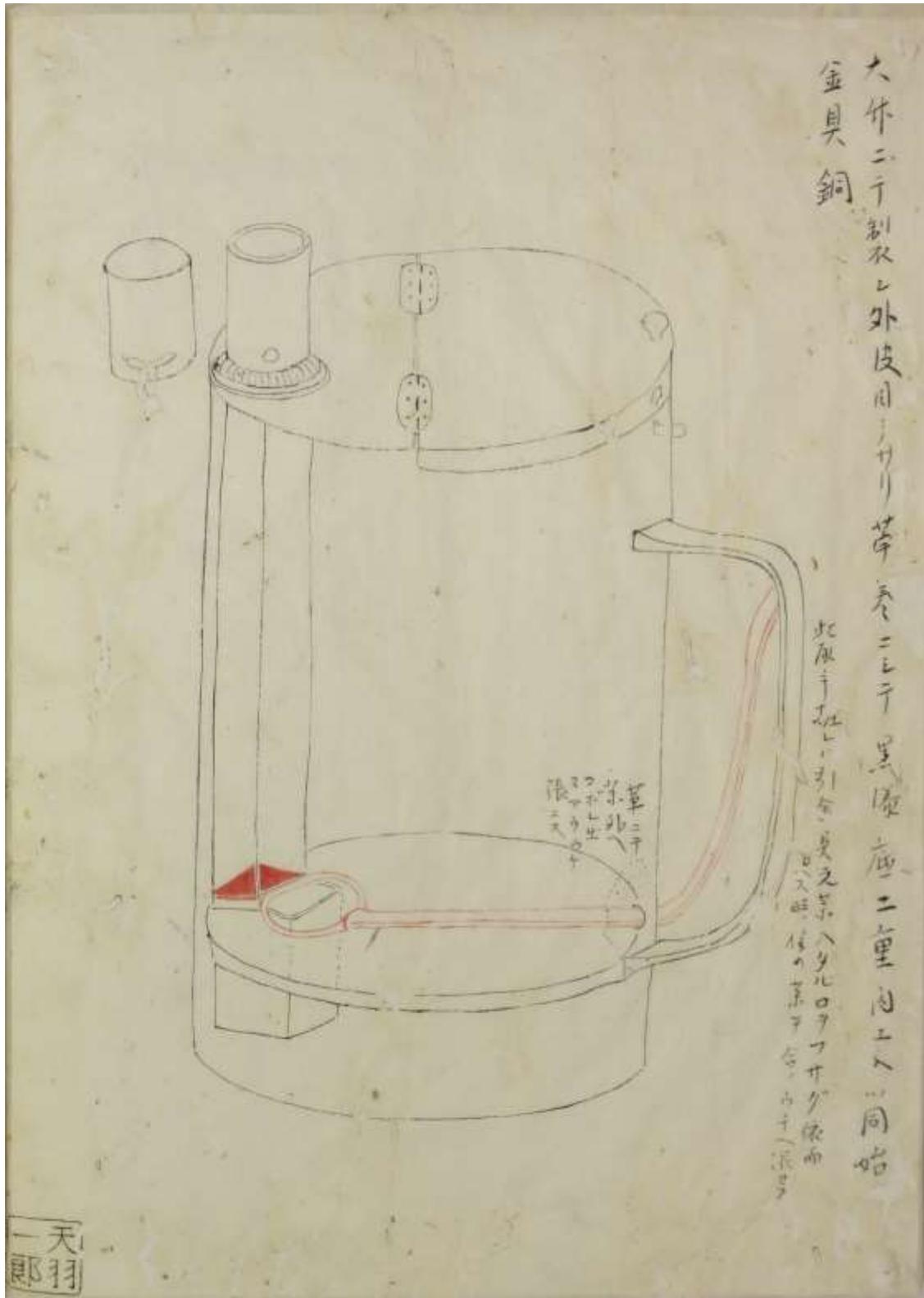
one who does their duty can create a useful device that the people of Imperial Japan may treasure for a long time, and in its heart the country will bless the 13th year of Bunsei for its peace of mind and being able to rest at ease. In the middle of the 5th month of this year Hamaguchi Gyoboku leaves a record of this for his firstborn son.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Gotōen 梧桐園

⁴⁸ The middle of the 5th month of the 13th year of Bunsei was the beginning of July 1830; Hamaguchi Gyoboku 浜口御牧 is Hamaguchi Makita's nom de guerre.

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Courtesy Tokushima Prefectural Archive.

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Made from giant bamboo, the outside is covered with bound hemp fibres and black lacquer. The bottom is two-tiered and the tubular part inside is of copper.

By grasping the handle of the trigger mechanism, the mouth to the powder reservoir is closed. Therefore, when charging, the remaining powder is not mixed in.

As the leather is stretched, the powder does not spill out.