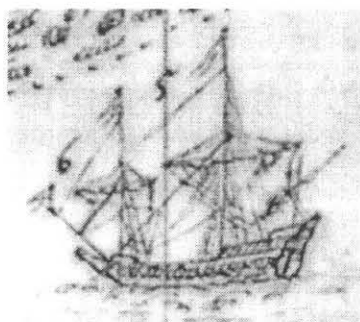


On the yacht *Duyfken* (1601):
The first European Ship known to explore the
Australian coast



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ON THE YACHT *DUYFKEN* (1601):

THE FIRST EUROPEAN SHIP KNOWN TO EXPLORE THE AUSTRALIAN COAST

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DUTCH YACHT *DUYFKEN* TO AUSTRALIAN HISTORY

In 1606 the *Duyfken*, under the command of Willem Jansz, was the first European ship to reach the Australian coast. During this voyage the vessel explored and mapped the Gulf of Carpentaria in northern Queensland. Although the relevance of this event for Australian history is obvious, interestingly, little is known about the ship and her crew because her logbook has never been found.

In the early phase of the Dutch expansion in the Indies there were more than one ship named *Duyfken*. This publication examines the history of the various ships named *Duyfken* in order to determine which one was actually involved in the exploration of Australia. Having identified the vessel, an account of her life in the Indies is given, which in turn provides evidence about the vessel and her equipment. This information is important because building plans were not used by Dutch shipwrights in the 17th century and this is therefore one of the limited sources of evidence about the construction and appearance of the vessel.

By viewing the *Duyfken* in her historical context one can obtain an insight into the way she was used and the world she was part of.

HOW MANY SHIPS WERE NAMED *DUYFKEN*?

The little yacht¹ *Duyfken* which explored the Australian coast in 1606 was not the only Dutch vessel to visit the Indies with that name. The list of ships that went to the East at the end of the 16th and in the 17th and 18th century, shows that there were 7 vessels named *Duyfken*, plus a White *Duyfken* and a *Duif*. It was a common name for a small vessel that accompanied the larger cargo-carriers in a fleet, and may have been a biblical allusion to Noah's dove sent out to search for new land or her use as a carrier of mail similar to a carrier pigeon. It has long been thought that the *Duyfken* which reached the Australian shore, and the *Duyfken* of the first fleet of the Dutch, which sailed to the Indies in 1595, was one and the same ship. However, archival research shows that the departure and arrival dates of the fleets and the ships reveal that this cannot be the case. Confusion is understandable because we now know that the *Duyfken* of the first fleet was renamed *Overijssel* after her first voyage. An account in German of the second voyage of the *Duyfken* (now named *Overijssel*), in the fleet under command of Van Neck in 1598 in translation reads:

...stayed together the following [ship], to wit the ship *Overijssel*, which one sometimes named *Duyfken* or *Däublein* [German word for little Dove], and which was the small yacht [of the fleet], and the ship *Hollandia* and the ship *Mauritius*...²

Because there are descriptions and illustrations of the first fleet, and therefore of the first *Duyfken*, it is essential not to confuse up the different ships. Thus the *Duyfken* that visited Australia was the second vessel named *Duyfken*.



Figure 1: The first fleet of the Dutch to the Indies left the Netherlands on 2 April 1595.

THE *DUYFKEN* OF THE FIRST FLEET TO THE INDIES

The first fleet of the Dutch sailed to the Indies on 2 April 1595. It was a small fleet of four ships, equipped by the Compagnie van Verre (Company from Far) of Amsterdam consisting of the three merchantmen *Mauritius*, *Hollandia* and *Amsterdam*, accompanied by a small *pinas* that was named *Duyfken*. This yacht was built in May 1594 in Amsterdam at a shipyard called Uylenburg. This first voyage which lasted two years was long and difficult and during the voyage many lives were lost. The fleet returned to the Netherlands on 11 August, 1597.

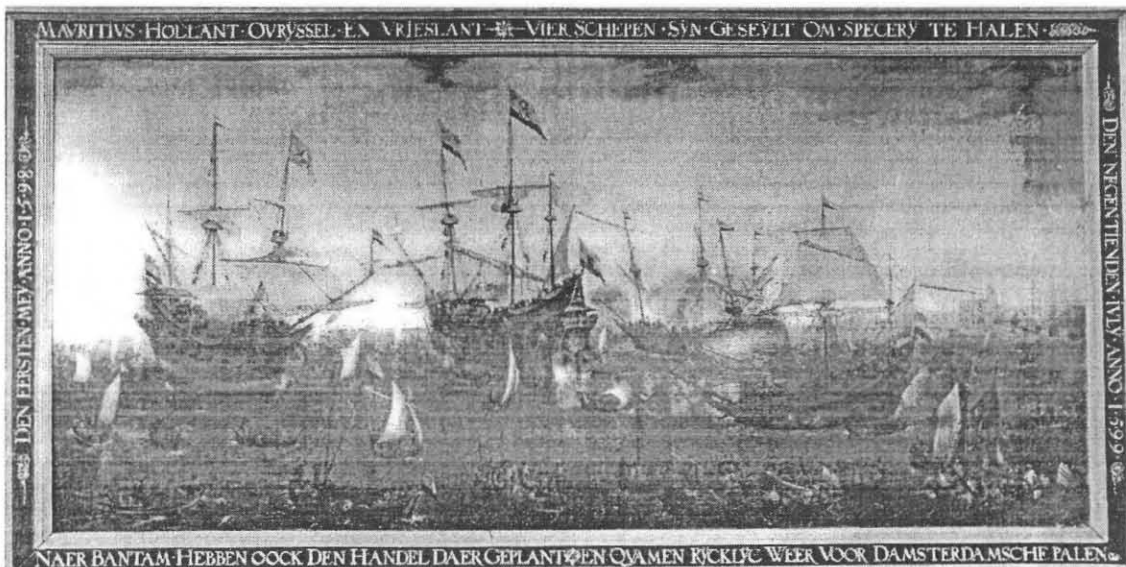


Figure 2: The return of the Van Neck Fleet in July 1599 (painting by Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom 1566-1640).

Following the return the *Duyfken* was renamed *Overijssel* and this vessel sailed to the Indies on 1 May 1598 in the fleet of Admiral Van Neck, which was equipped by the Oude Oost-Indische Compagnie (Old East India Company). Why was *Duyfken* renamed *Overijssel*? When van Neck's fleet sailed, it consisted of eight ships, seven of which were named after a province or a city of the Netherlands, and one was called the *Mauritius*, the name of the Prince Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. It is possible that the *Duyfken* was recruited for the fleet and renamed *Overijssel* to fit this policy. Van Neck's fleet departed from Bantam for the Netherlands on 12 January 1599, and arrived at the roads of Texel on 19 July of the same year.

The *Overijssel* departed the Texel roadstead on 21 December 1599 on her third and last voyage. She arrived at Bantam on 1 September 1600. After sailing in the Indies, the *Overijssel* left for the Netherlands on 9 September 1601, arriving in the roads of Texel again in June 1602.

However, more than a year earlier, on 23 April 1601, another yacht named *Duyfken* departed from Texel arriving at Bantam on 26 December 1601. This is almost certainly the *Duyfken* that was to sail to Australia in 1606.

A third *Duyfken* left the Netherlands on 29 December 1611 (she ran aground and was lost near Surat in 1617), but by this time the second *Duyfken* had already been lost in 1608 off Ternate, one of the Molucca's Spice Islands.

We know that the first *Duyfken* was built in 1594, if we assume that the second and third *Duyfken* were built in the same year as they set sail to the Indies for the first time, then all three ships reached an age of about 8 years before they were lost, abandoned or fell into disuse. The following table shows the departure and arrival dates of the ships involved³:

	Departure Netherlands	Arrival Indies	Departure Indies	Arrival Netherlands	Tonnage Type
Duyfken (1)	2-4-1595 Captain Simon L. Mau Texel (First Fleet)	6-6-1596 Engano	25-2-1597 Captain Cornelis Adriaansz. ⁴ Bali	11-8-1597 Texel	50 Pinas
Overijssel Duyfken (1)	1-5-1598 Captain Simon Jansz. Hoen Texel	26-11-1598 Bantam	12-1-1599 Captain Simon Jansz. Hoen Bantam	19-7-1599 Texel	50 Pinas
Overijssel Duyfken (1)	21-12-1599 Captain Thijmen Michielsz. Texel	1-9-1600 Bantam	8-9-1601 Captain Thijmen Michielsz. Bantam	June 1602 Texel	50 Pinas
Duyfken (2)	23-4-1601 Captain Willem Cornelisz. Schouten Texel	26-12-1601 Bantam	25-8-1602 Captain Willem Cornelisz. Schouten Bantam	17-2-1603 Vlissingen	60 Jacht
Duyfken (2)	18-12-1603 Captain Willem Jansz. Texel	11-12-1604 Bantam			60 Jacht
Duyfken (3)	29-12-1611 Captain Dirk Barendsz Serpent Texel	24-10-1612 Bantam			50 Jacht

Table 1: Departure and return dates of the first three vessels called *Duyfken*.⁴

THE VOYAGE OF THE *DUYFKEN* TO THE INDIES IN 1601

On April 23 1601 a large fleet of thirteen ships under command of Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck left Texel and set sail for the Indies. Part of the fleet was a smaller fleet of five ships under command of Admiral Wolfert Harmensz, consisting of the ships *Gelderland*, *Utrecht*, *Wachter*, *Zeelandia*, and the *Duyfken*, the last captained by Willem Cornelisz Schouten. It was the first time that this *Duyfken* sailed for the Indies.

Wolfert Harmensz's so-called Moluccan (Maluku) Fleet was equipped by the Oude Oost-Indische Compagnie and had cost 224.601 guilders. This was one of the so called Voorcompagniën (pre-companies), which were the predecessors of the VOC, or Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, the United East India Company. The Voorcompagniën equipped the ships for the Indies before the VOC was founded in 1602. After the foundation of the VOC other companies were no longer allowed to sail for the Indies. This is of special importance for research into the origins and the building of the *Duyfken*, as she left the Netherlands before, and returned after the founding of the VOC. The other eight ships of admiral Jacob van Heemskerck were equipped by the Eerste Verenigde Compagnie op Oost-Indie (First United Company to East India), which was in fact a joint enterprise of the Oude Oostindische Compagnie and the Nieuwe Brabantsche Compagnie (New Brabantine Company), both Amsterdam based companies. The account of the Wolfert Harmensz fleet was beyond "the scope and interferences of the VOC"⁵. The fact that the *Duyfken* was built and equipped at a time of transition from the pre-companies to the VOC makes it complicated to find information about her in the archives.

The directors of the Oude Oostindische Compagnie, which had equipped Harmensz's Maluku Fleet had been very specific in their "instruction for our fleet of five ships, destined under command of admiral Wolfert Hermenssen [Harmensz] to the Islands of the Moluccas, and Banda". The fleet was to set sail straight to Bantam, Java to get information about the affairs of the Dutch at Banda and Maluku. After having done this the ships were to sail eastward to either Jurtan, Tubon or Bali to buy rice, cotton and other fabrics, and other goods that could be of use in Maluku. Subsequently the Admiral with the ship *Gelderland* and the ship *Wachter* was to set sail to Ternate, and the Vice-admiral with the ships *Zeeland* and *Utrecht* was to set sail to Ambon and Banda. They were to stay as long together as was possible, depending of the winds. Concerning the *Duyfken* the instruction is even more specific:

Concerning the yacht called the Duyffgen [sic], [she] should stay with those [two] ships from which she could sail in the easiest way to the other [two] ships in order to bring news and to sail to Banda, and if there is apparently more cargo of nuts⁶ than the ships are able to take in, and to sail with it to Ternate. And if possible the same yacht should sail back from Ternate to Banda to bring the news on the Ternate trade to Banda in this way.

And in case at Ternate for some reason there won't be enough [crop], the same yacht should go to Ternate with the cargo of nuts⁷

In the instruction to Van Heemskerck it was stated that if one of his eight ships would arrive for some reason earlier in Maluku than Harmensz ships, they should wait till the five ships of the Maluku fleet were loaded first⁸.

The thirteen ships stayed together until 8 May, then Wolfert Harmensz, whose ships were faster sailing and more weatherly, separated from Jacob van Heemskerck in order to reach their destination as soon as possible. When Harmensz fired a parting-shot, Van Heemskerck's guns fired back three times, one of the guns exploded and caused a death,

and much damage aboard the *Amsterdam*. Harmensz stayed at the island of Mauritius from 27 September till 20 October 1601, and it was during this time that a very informative drawing was made of the five ships at anchor in a bay of the island. The following figure shows the drawing, which can be found in the diary kept by Symon Jacobsz.

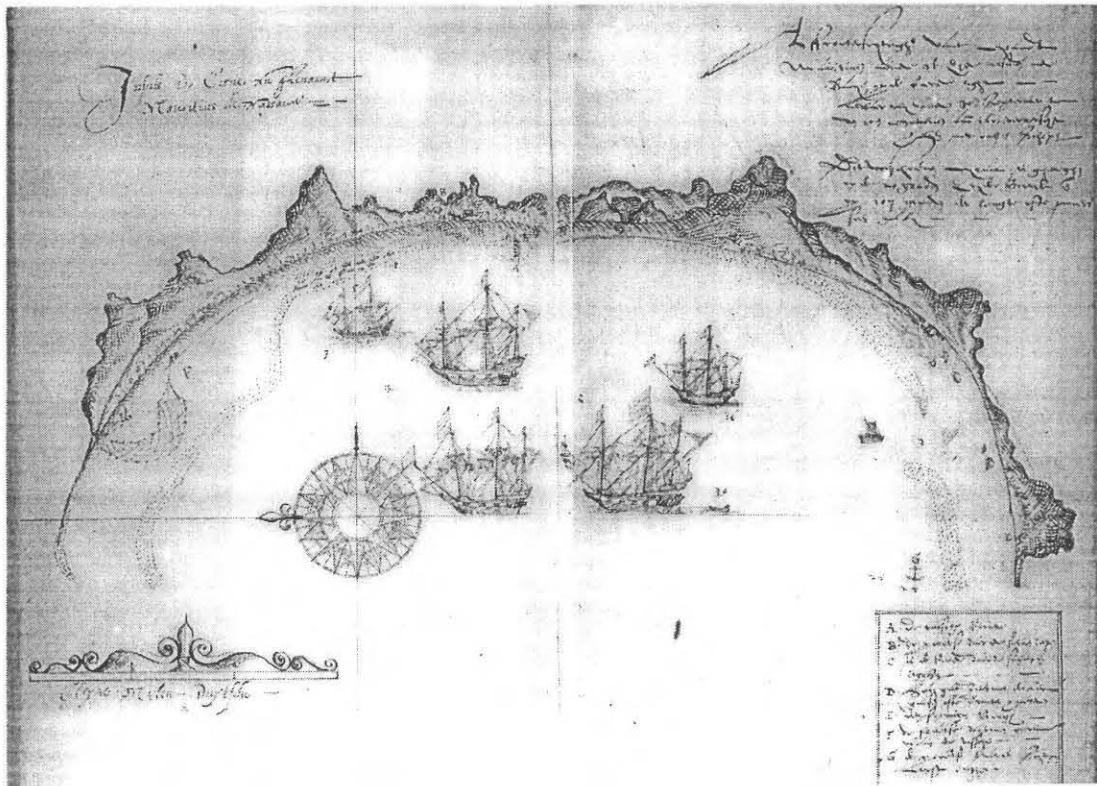


Figure 3: Drawing of the Harmensz Fleet in the Bay of Mauritius, the *Duyfken* is the smallest vessel in the top left corner.

An account of the Harmensz. voyage is also given in Commelin, however there are some inconsistencies in this text regarding dates and names of islands and ships, it nevertheless, provides interesting information about the Harmensz. voyage⁹.

The fleet arrived on 24 December in the Sunda Strait. As the five ships were sailing into the strait, a Chinaman [sic] in a small *prahu* came to warn them that a large Spanish-Portuguese armada, under command of Andrea Furtado de Mendoça, consisting of 30 sails, namely eight galleons, each of 500 *last* and 22 galleys and *fusta* (small galleys that were used by the Portuguese in the Indies) lay off Bantam blockading the town and with the intention to drive the Dutch from the Archipelago. Immediately the "Broad Council" arranged a meeting and it was decided "that, considering the importance and the interest of the United Provinces and her trade in the capturing or the ruining of the city Bantam, the Portuguese armada would be approached with courage, trusting on the help of the Most High"¹⁰.

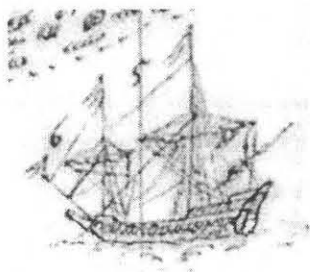


Figure 4: The *Duyfken* in the Harmensz picture enlarged.

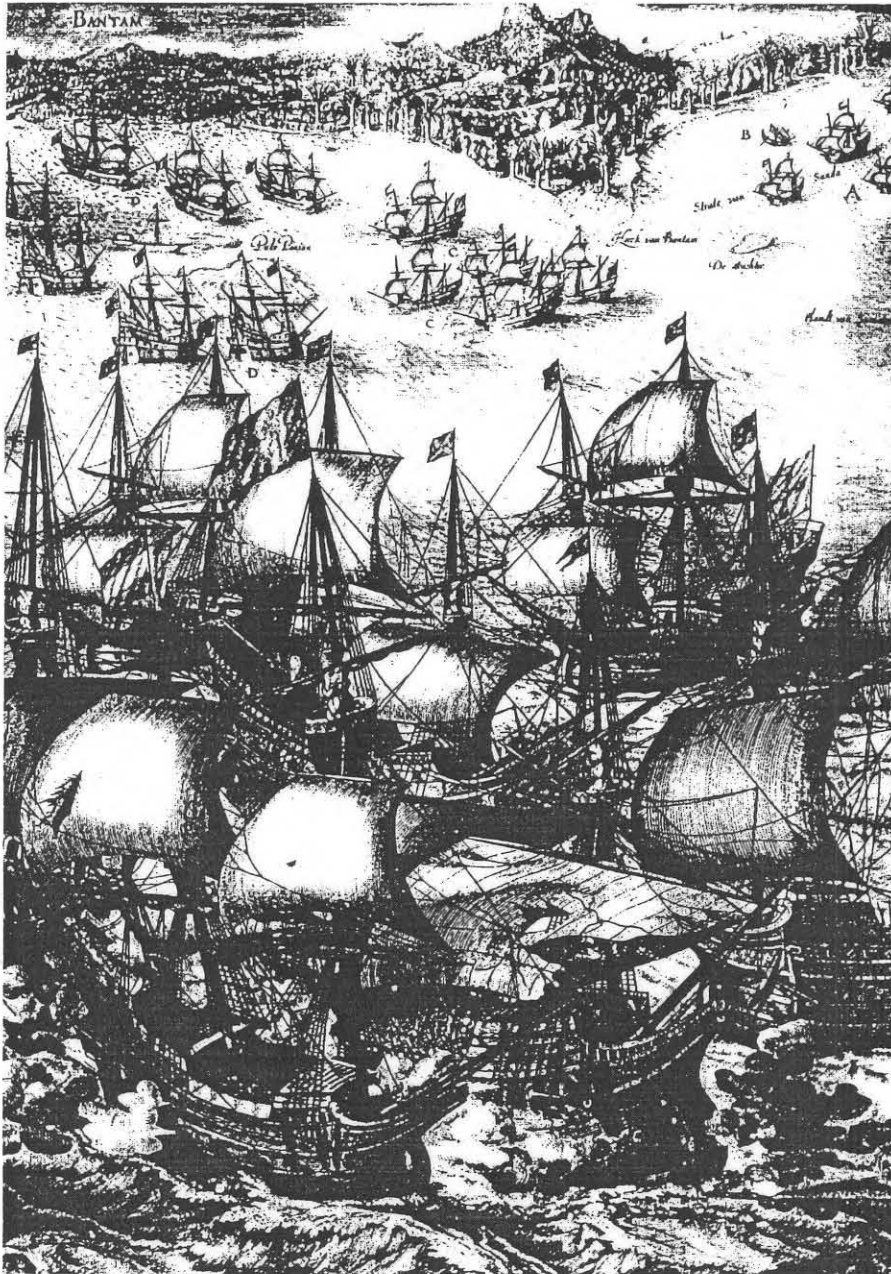


Figure 5: Battle at Bantam in December 1601 between the Wolfert Harmensz fleet and a Spanish-Portuguese armada under command of Andrea Furtado de Mendonça.

The ships were cleared for action, all surplus goods were thrown overboard, the guns were brought out of the holds, cleaned, mounted and made ready for battle (as it was policy to put the guns away, after passing the Cape Good Hope).

An unsigned letter written on board the *Duyfken* reads:

...everything being prepared accordingly have in the morning of 25 December 1601 two hours before dawn hoisted the sails and about sunrise had approached the Portuguese fleet and within range shooting with all guns and muskets aimed at them demonstrating all possible hostility, sailing through and again through the Portuguese fleet who were surprised unexpecting, weighed their anchors, made sail, hoisting the blood flag to fight back at us. And after the battle had lasted considerable time, the Portu-

guese settled their ships under an island, named Poelopenzang [Pulau Panjang], and ours under a certain other high island, repairing the damage the ships had suffered from the fighting, amongst it also our Admiral, due to the bursting of a half cannon (that had been cast at Utrecht).

The 26th it was bad weather, such that the ships could not utilise sail nor guns.

The 27th being good weather, we again made sail and sailing in at the Portuguese fleet our admiral engaged and boarded the Portuguese Admiral. The ship *Seelant* another large carrack and the ship *Utrecht* and the ship *Wachter* a galley each, the small yacht too another galley, have taken-on the large ships bravely, the 2 galleys were boarded, captured, plundered and destroyed, the Portuguese having the advantage of wind and current set three of their galleys on fire and to cause us damage let them drift, but were evaded by our ships, and so drifting the battle lasted by day and night when the lay of the land and the current permitted such until the Portuguese resolved to leave from Bantam, with us being free of damage and feared, in pursuit until the first of January 1602, having put the Portuguese to rout, let them go¹¹

The siege of Bantam was lifted. If the abovementioned account is true this defeat of the Portuguese must have given enormous prestige to the Dutch in the Indies. According to the unsigned letter, the fleet returned on 23 January to the roads of Bantam, suggesting that they had followed the Portuguese for quite a while. However, in the same letter, it reads that the Dutch fleet left Bantam for Maluku on 12 January so there is some discrepancy with dates (possibly the date should be 2 or 3 January). Be that as it may, they were warmly welcomed by the people of Bantam according to the same letter. Having repaired the ships and refreshed the crew, the fleet departed Bantam and arrived on the 1 February at the island Kabaene, near Boeton southeast of Celebes. The five ships separated: the Admiral on the *Gelderland* and the two yachts sailed to Ternate and the *Zeeland* and *Utrecht* sailed to Banda. The Admiral and the three ships arrived at Ternate on 17 February, where they found the Dutch people there in good health. The Sultan of Ternate was very friendly and promised to keep the cloves only for the Dutch, as they were not yet ripe for picking. Therefore Admiral Harmensz left Ternate again on 7 March loaded with 20 *baren* nutmeg and sailed for Banda where he found his other two ships: the *Zeelandia* full with mace and nutmeg, and the *Utrecht* loaded with a bit of mace. Then at a rendezvous of the ships' officers in April, it was decided to send the *Duyfken* to Ceram, firstly, to load sago:

..which is a kind of bread, for the benefit of the citizens and our nation, who we decided to leave there in the land, which yacht in a month time, the said voyage has done¹²

And in another reference:

Secondly, whether there is anything to be had there besides sago, their way of doing business and in what places, what commodities had best be sent there, and to what limits their furthers navigation extends, also, whether they have any knowledge of Nova Guinea, whether they have sent ships there, or wether ships from Nova Guinea have ever come to Ceram. In the island of Banda, actum April the 10th, A.D. 1602, on board the ship *Gelderland*. God send his blessing unto salvation. Amen¹³

This was the first time the *Duyfken* was sent to explore new lands. The fact that the *Duyfken* was chosen for this purpose on this occasion and later in 1605, reinforces the impression that she was, like all ships in Harmensz' fleet, faster and more weatherly than the average ship. The *Duyfken* must have returned from her voyage to New Guinea in mid June. Then from Ambon people came fleeing to Banda to ask the Dutch with their ships for assistance against the Portuguese. Apparently the Portuguese fleet that was chased from Bantam by Wolfert Harmensz fleet earlier in December 1601, had gone to Ambon. According to the people newly arrived from Ambon, the Portuguese had done much damage to the nutmeg trees and the huts on the island and they had also harmed women and children. The Admiral however offered no further help because the ships *Gelderland*, *Zeeland* and the *Duyfken* were just fully laden with mace and nutmeg, and he didn't want to take the risk of losing such rich ships. He therefore decided to sail with his three ships to Bantam on 24 June, where they arrived on 1 August after having sailed first to Gresik. At Bantam they left the under-merchant Jan Lodewijcksz (Roosengin) behind, to wait for the ships *Utrecht* and *Wachter*.

On 25 August 1602 admiral Wolfert Harmensz set sail to the Netherlands with the ships *Duyfken*, *Gelderland* and *Zeeland*:

..., and this yacht the *Duyfgen* [sic] the 21 October at the height of Cabo der Aquilles [Cape Angulhas] was parted from the *Zeelant* and the *Gelderlant* by darkness and storm, and continued her voyage to this land, and the 17th of February [1603] arrived in Vlissingen *in salvo*, hoping that the other ships would reach St. Helena. The Lord let them arrive *in salvo*. Amen¹⁴

The other two ships arrived indeed safely two month later in April 1603 after having taken a rest at St Helena because the crew had scurvy.

On 20 April 1602 the VOC directors discussed the matter of the ships equipped by the *Oude Oostindische Compagnie*. It is obviously that they wanted to buy the smaller yachts, but exactly from whom, and why only the smaller yachts are mentioned, is not clear. The following instruction was given to Admiral van Warwijck¹⁵, regarding the purchase of ships from the earlier companies who traded on the Indies, one of those ships was the *Duyfken*:

The Amsterdam Chamber declares that she still has several small yachts in East India, to wit, the *Wachter*, the *Duyfken*, and such-like, therefore the Admiral and the "Broad Council" is allowed to buy some and to use them during this voyage, to buy them with commissions [it is not clear whether *commisen* means here: persons or money] from there, but should be very careful in all ways and only buy them for a reasonable price, provided that one shall pay the agreed price here from the first retour of these fourteen ships¹⁶

The *Duyfken* was bought by the VOC sometime before October 1603. A bookkeepers journal from this early period of the Amsterdam Chamber has survived: *Journaal van inkomsten en uitgaven, voornamelijk de equipage betreffende, 1602-1608* (Journal of receipts and expenditure mainly concerning equipment, 1602-1608)¹⁷. In this journal the costs for the ships and the equipment is listed. The journal contains under no. 406 at 31 October 1603 the following item:

The yacht called the *Duyfken* owes *Cassa* two thousand two hundred guilders, paid by the collector to Pieter Evertsz. Hulff, for (over) the purchase of the yacht and all that appertains to the compensation of this voyage bought from him and received in accordance with the ordinate and the receipt. f 2200-00-0

The second time the ship appears in the bookkeepers journal is on 8 November 1603. Further research for another contract with perhaps more information could provide clarification on the purchase and sale of the *Duyfken*, and should be continued at the *Notarieel Archief* in Amsterdam.

THE VOYAGE OF THE *DUYFKEN* TO THE INDIES IN 1603

The *Duyfken*, now under captain Willem Jansz, set sail again for the Indies on 18 December 1603. This time she was part of a fleet under command of Admiral Steven van der Haghen, aboard the ship *Geunieerde Provincien*. Van der Haghen's fleet of twelve ships was the first fleet fully equipped by the VOC. The ships were heavily armed and it was obvious that they were not only meant for trade, they were ordered to attack the Portuguese where possible, but it was only after opening the secret instructions on the open sea Admiral Van der Haghen knew fully the bellicose intentions of the Company. Announcement of these instructions brought upheaval amongst the crew, most of whom had not mustered to fight¹⁸. The ships are listed as follows:

On account of the Chamber of Amsterdam:

1. The ship the *Vereenichde Provincien* [United Provinces], size 350 lasten, skipper Simon Hoen
2. *Amsterdam*, 250 lasten, skipper Arent Claesz Calckhuys
3. *Gelderlandt*, 250 lasten, skipper Ian Iansz Mol
4. *'t Hof van Hollandt*, 180 lasten, skipper Willem Cornelisz Schout¹⁹
5. *Delft*, 150 lasten, skipper Willem Lock
6. The *Duyfken*, 30. lasten, skipper Willem Iansz

On account of the Chamber of Zeeland:

7. *Dordrecht*, 350 lasten, skipper Hans Rymelandt
8. *Zeelandia*, 250 lasten, skipper Cryn Pietersz

On account of the Chamber of Hoorn and Enkhuizen

9. *Hoorn*, 350 lasten, skipper Jan Cornelisz Avenhorn
 10. *Medenblick*, 125 lasten, skipper Dirrick Claesz Moylieves
 11. *West-Vrieslandt*, 350 lasten, skipper Iacob Iacobsz Clunt
 12. *Enckhuysen*, 150 lasten, skipper Claes Thijsz Cul.
- altogether 1200 eaters²⁰

The instructions to Van der Haghen were that he should patrol in Mozambique Channel, in order to wait there for the Spanish-Portuguese carracks that would come from Lisbon and to attack them. Having done this Van der Haghen should set sail to the "Malay archipelago" via the west coast of the Indian subcontinent, in order, if possible to burn the ships of the enemy.

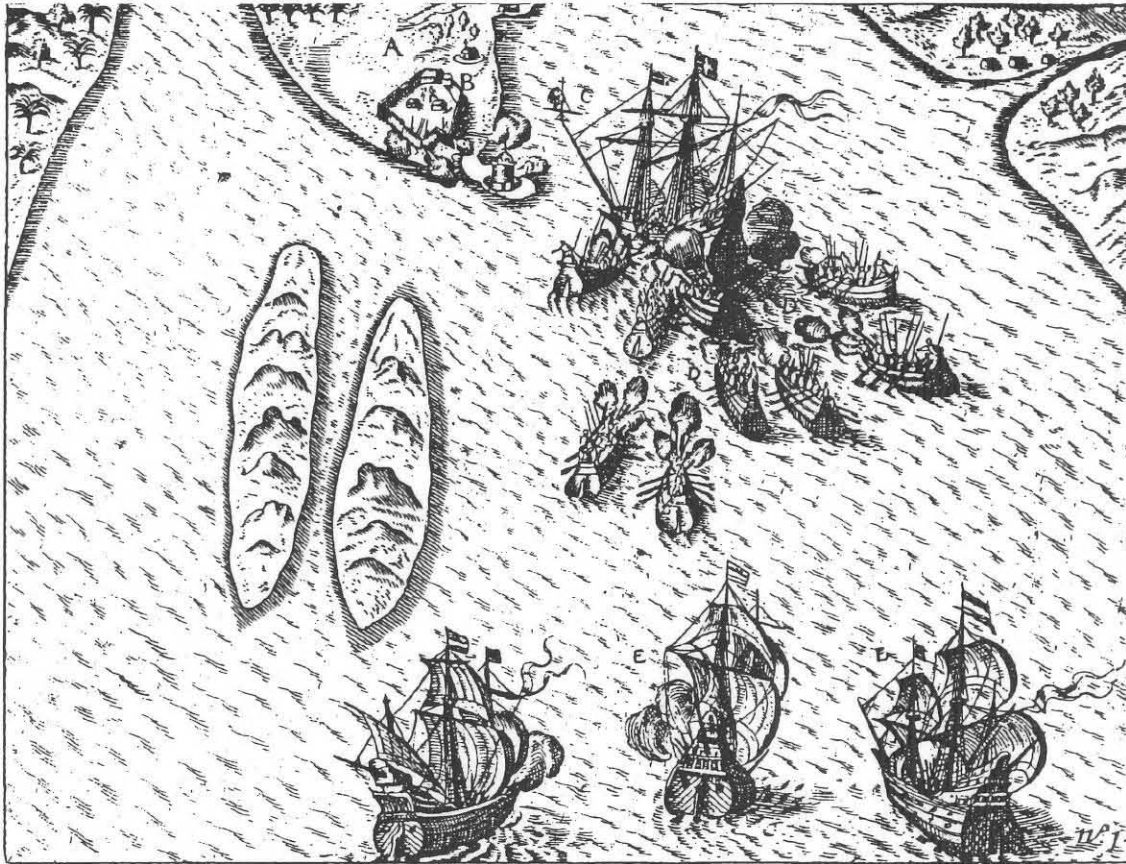


Figure 6: How the Dutch captured the Portuguese carrack off Mosambique in June 1604. A is Mosambique, B is the Portuguese castle, C is the carrack, D are the sloops of the Dutch and E are the Dutch ships.

The fleet stayed from 10 January till 12 February 1604 in Plymouth, and stayed from 10 March till 30 May at Majo Island which is one of the Cape Verde Islands. According to Commelin they reached Mozambique already in May but Bruijn²¹ mentions 28 July till 15 August as the dates for this stop-over. At Mozambique they captured a Portuguese carrack and another smaller vessel, which they took with them and named *Mosambique*. On 12 August they burnt the carrack and departed except for the ships *Delft*, *Enkhuysen* and the *Duyfken*, which were ordered to stay at Mozambique to take care of more Portuguese carracks that were expected to arrive soon.

Five days later the three ships that stayed behind set sail as well and rejoined the fleet at Comoro Island near Madagascar. Between September and October the fleet harassed the Portuguese off Goa in India, but nothing substantial happened and the Dutch left after 23 days and sailed further south along the coast of the Kingdom of Malabar in India till 14 November 1604. Then the fleet parted from the ships *Zeeland* and *Enkhuizen*. On 31 December Van der Haghen arrived at Bantam with 106 people. There they found the ship *Medemblik* again, which together with the *Hof van Holland* had left the fleet for Mauritius at the Cape the Good Hope in order to look for the missing ship *Wachter*, one of the ships of Harmensz fleet that apparently never had made it back to the Netherlands.

Van der Haghen departed again a month later on 17 January 1605 to sail for Maluku. On arrival at Ambon, four days later, he immediately laid siege to the Portuguese fortress which surrendered in two days. The fleet then split in two, Van der Haghen sailing with the

Geunieerde Provincien and the *Duyfken* to Banda.

In May 1605 five ships sailed for Tidore to attack the castle of the Portuguese, but the *Duyfken* is not mentioned in the records as one of them²³. In September 1605 Steven van der Haghen returned with his ship *Geunieerde Provincien* and the *Duyfken* to Bantam. The following month he sailed for the Netherlands and the *Duyfken* stayed at Bantam to be equipped for her historical voyage to Australia.

THE VOYAGE OF THE *DUYFKEN* TO AUSTRALIA

The directors of the VOC had instructed Steven van der Haghen that he should leave the four yachts *Delft*, *Medenblick*, *Enkhuysen* and *Duyfken*, or at least three of them in the Indies for at least three years, “to sail from one place to another and to act as be instructed by the upper-merchants who stay there”²⁴. According to this, there appears good reason to believe that the voyage of the *Duyfken* for the discovery of New Guinea was ordered by Steven van der Haghen. As he left almost immediately for Holland in October 1605, the responsibility for its execution would devolve to someone else. At that time the headquarters of the Dutch in the Indies was at Ambon, and Frederik de Houtman had been appointed Governor²⁵. In 1605 the yacht *Duyfken* with captain Willem Jansz was placed at the disposal of Governor de Houtman by Admiral Steven van der Haghen. De Houtman gave orders for the expedition to the so-called “southern lands” to captain Willem Jansz, “but as Jansz had to obtain some very necessary provisions and ship’s stores before he could sail”, De Houtman sent him to Bantam with orders to the VOC agent Jan Willem Verschoor, asking him to assist the captain²⁶.

We do not know the exact movements of the *Duyfken* directly from the Dutch records. However on 26 October 1605 the English Captain Saris of the English East India Company at Bantam made the following entry in his diary:

The sixe and twentieth, Admirall Vanhagen [sic] of Utricke departed for Holland, with two ships more in company, by whom we advised the Company of all matters at large

A month later he added the following information in his record:

The eighteenth [November], heere departed a small pinnasse of the Flemmings, for the discovery of the Island called Nova ginnea, which, as it is said, affordeth great store of Gold²⁷

He receives more news about the *Duyfken* half a year later, when he writes:

The fifteenth of June [1606] have arrived Nockhoda Tingall a Cling-man from Banda, in a Java Junk, laden with mace and nutmeg, the which he sold to the Guzerats; he told me that the Flemmings Pinnasse which went upon discovery for Nova Ginny, was returned to Banda, having found the Iland: but in sending their men on shoare to intreate of Trade, there were nine of them killed by the Heathens, which are men-eaters: so they were constrained to returne, finding no good to be doene there²⁸

The sources do not mention the exact dates of the voyage of the *Duyfken* to Australia or her return. According to Saris’ quotation they left on 18 November in 1605 and were back in June 1606. Several contemporary 17th century documents in Dutch refer to the voyage

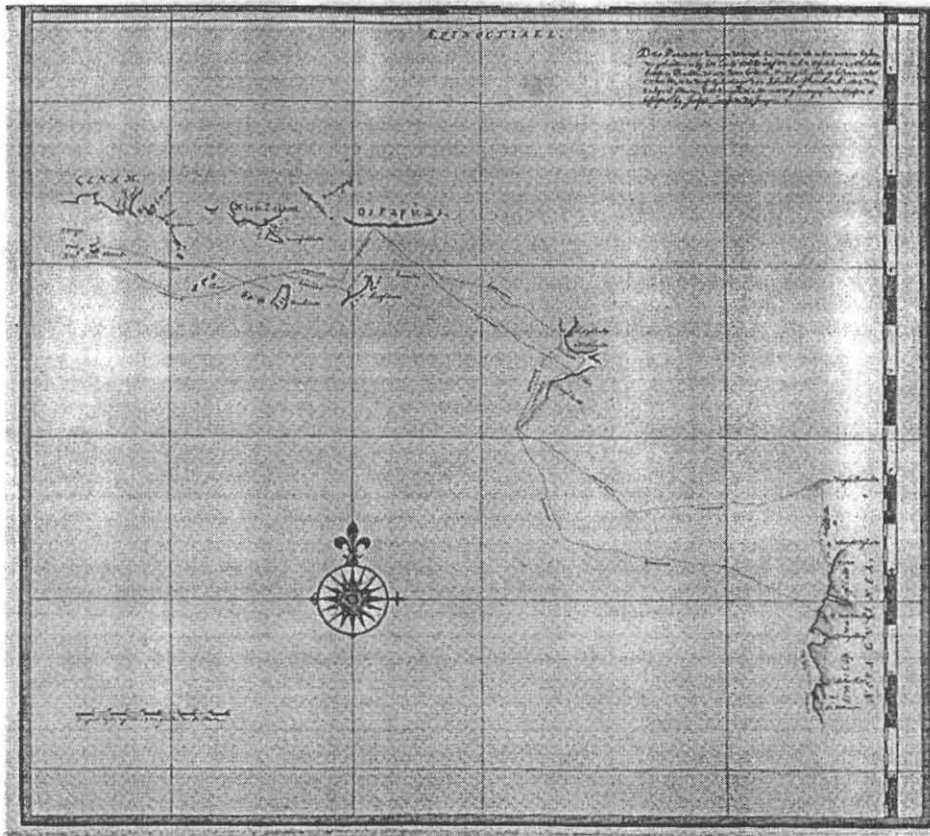


Figure 7: The Duifken Chart (a copy which can be found in the secret Atlas of the VOC).

of the *Duifken*, the captain Willem Jansz and sub-cargo Jan Lodewijck Roossengin, including the “Instruction to Commander Abel Jansen Tasman” written in 1644. But the most important document is the copy of the Duifken Chart which was found in 1933 in Vienna. The chart is extremely informative, as it shows the whole course of the vessel from Banda on the outward and the homeward voyages; it shows that the *Duifken* visited the Kei and the Aru Islands, it shows the actual landfall on the coast of Australia, and it locates the position of Cape Keerweer where the *Duifken* turned back to Banda. The legend on the map reads: “This map shows the route taken by the yacht Duifien (sic) on the outward as well as on the return voyage when she visited the countries east of Banda up to New Guinea”.

For further information about the discovery of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the chart of the *Duifken*, the map of Hessel Gerritsz of 1622, and for references in other VOC documents, see Mutch²⁹, Schilder³⁰, Heeres³¹.

It should be noted that, according to Bruijn³², a captain Willem Jansz of Amsterdam was appointed as captain of the ship *Westfriesland*, this ship of 700 tons left Bantam on 25 August 1605 and sailed for the Netherlands. The *Westfriesland* ran ashore on the coast of Madagascar in 1606 and its crew returned to Bantam in a yacht built by them. If these dates are correct Willem Jansz of the *Duifken* cannot be the same Willem Jansz of Amsterdam of the *Westfriesland* as the *Duifken* was on her voyage of discovery in Australia at the same time³³. More research into this matter is needed.

THE *DUYFKEN* AFTER 1606

According to Saris, the *Duyfken* returned to Banda in June 1606. What she did for the rest of the year 1606 is not known, but the last two years of the *Duyfken* are relatively well documented in the archives. The *Duyfken* was mentioned by Admiral Matelieff in January 1607:

On the 29, ditto [January, 1607]

The Admiral understood that apart from the ship *Delft* two other yachts were still about in Maluku, namely *Medemblik* and the *Duyfken*³⁴

And the journal of Paulus van Solt, upper merchant under Steven van der Haghen reads:

On 4 do. [March, 1607] arrived, thank God, at the castle [of Ambon], and anchored the ship there at 7 fathoms still having 1.5 *legger*³⁵ of stinking water in the hold. We found here the yacht *Enckhuysen* full with cloves, and the yacht *Duyfken*, that had come from Nova Guinea³⁶

This is a peculiar remark as the *Duyfken* had already returned from New Guinea in June 1606. Because of this, some historians believe that the *Duyfken* made two voyages to Australia, the first in 1605/1606 and the second in 1606/1607. No other sources have been found to confirm this, however, these dates found in Van Solt's journal together with the information about the return of a captain Willem Jansz aboard *Westfriesland* and a Willem Jansz at the same time shipping the *Duyfken*, warrants further research. Van Solt met Matelieff in Ambon and writes:

On the 17 do. [April] we arrived again before the castle of Ambon, where we found the Admiral [Matelieff] with 5 of his ships, to wit, *Orange*, *Mauritius*, *Erasmus*, *Swarten Leeuw*, *Kleyne Sonne*, and the ship *Enckhuysen* together with the yacht *Duyfken*³⁷

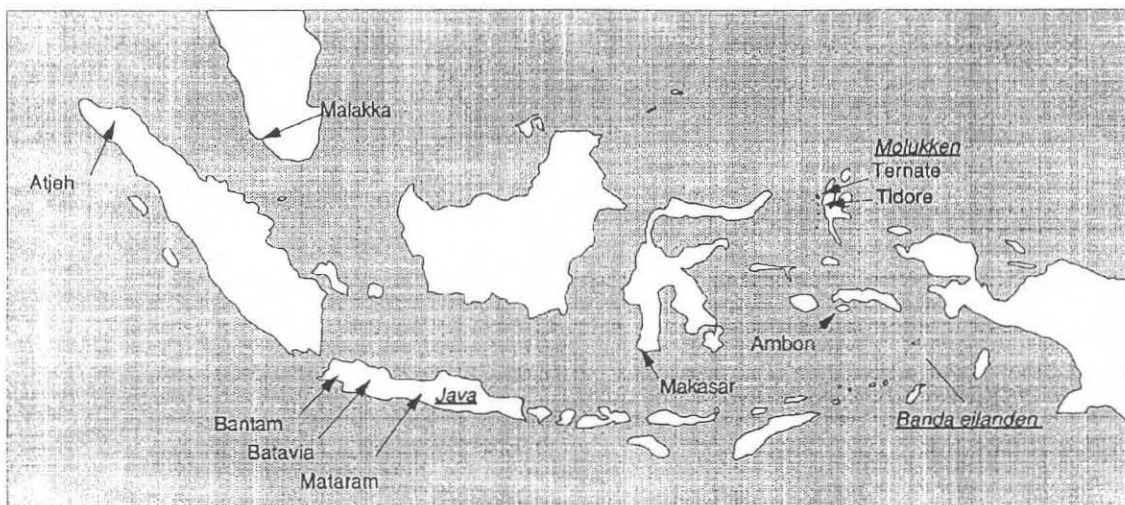


Figure 8: Map of Indonesia.

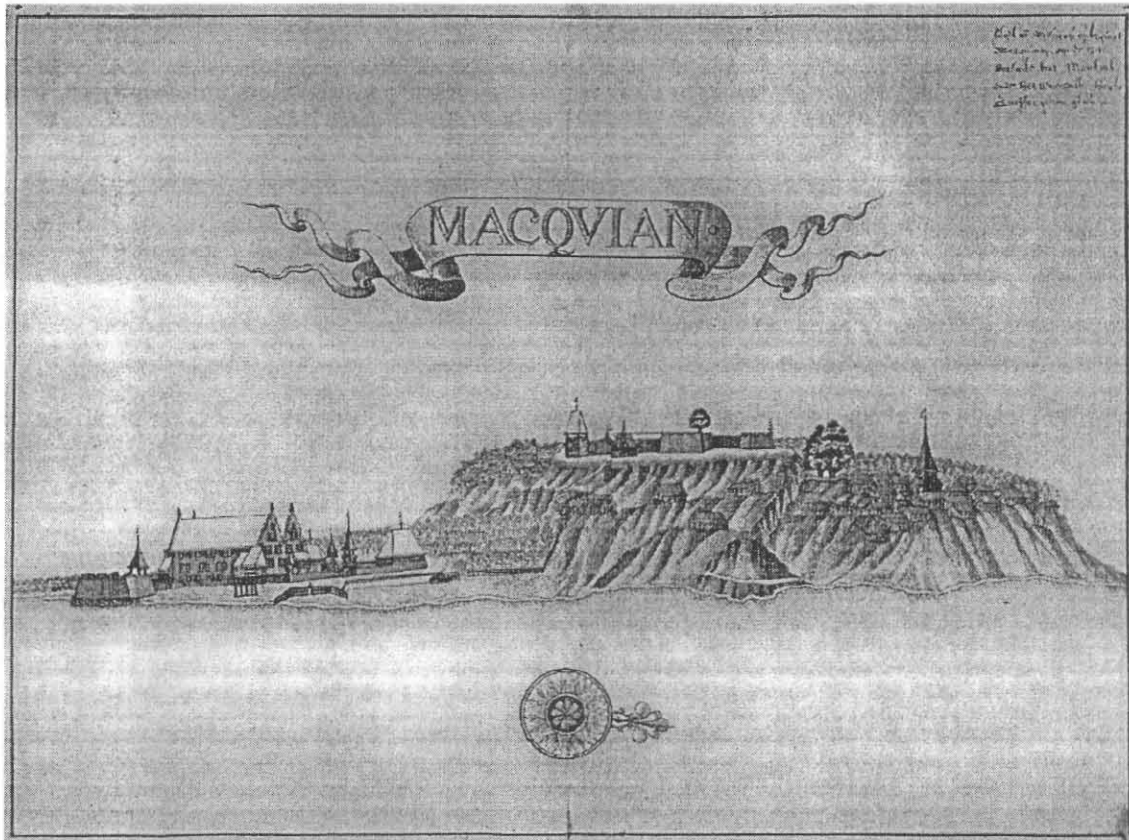


Figure 9: Makian Island.

Admiral Matelieff heard about the problems in Maluku and therefore decided to sail to Ternate. He called back the yacht *Delft*, which had just departed for Banda and replaced it by the ship *Vereenigde Provinciën* (also called *Geunieerde Provinciën*), because he preferred to operate with fast sailing ships which had a shallow draft. For the same reason he added to his fleet the *Enkhuizen* and the *Duyfken* of the fleet of Steven van der Haghen, but sent the ships *Medemblik* and *Zwarte Leeuw* to Bantam. Although the *Medemblik* is mentioned as a yacht, Matelieff obviously was of the opinion that she was not fast or shallow enough to be of use for him on this occasion.

May 3, the admiral left [Ambon] for Ternate with 8 ships, to wit *Orangie*, *Mauritius*, *Erasmus*, *Enkhuysen*, *Delft*, *Kleyne Son*, *Duyfken*, and the *Yacht*, having on them 481 whites, small and large, and 15 black *eters* [EATERS]. Being on intent to help the Ternatens and to capture a fort on Tidore. On 10 May arrival in Bachian, where the admiral divided the weapons between the men and to choose officers and Captain Lieutenants and the Sergeants...

The 11 do., arrived before Machian, which island was occupied by the Spaniards as well, one side belonging to Ternate and the other to Tidore³⁸

Matelieff believed, optimistically, that it would not be difficult to drive away the Portuguese again and that the sight of his fleet would be enough to restore Dutch authority on Tidore and Makian. But he was soon disappointed, because while the Dutch were away the Spanish and Portuguese had used the time to fortify themselves on Ternate and Tidore. The Admiral quickly abandoned the idea of trying to drive them away by force of arms and attempted to burn the fortress on Tidore without success. After much consideration, Matelieff

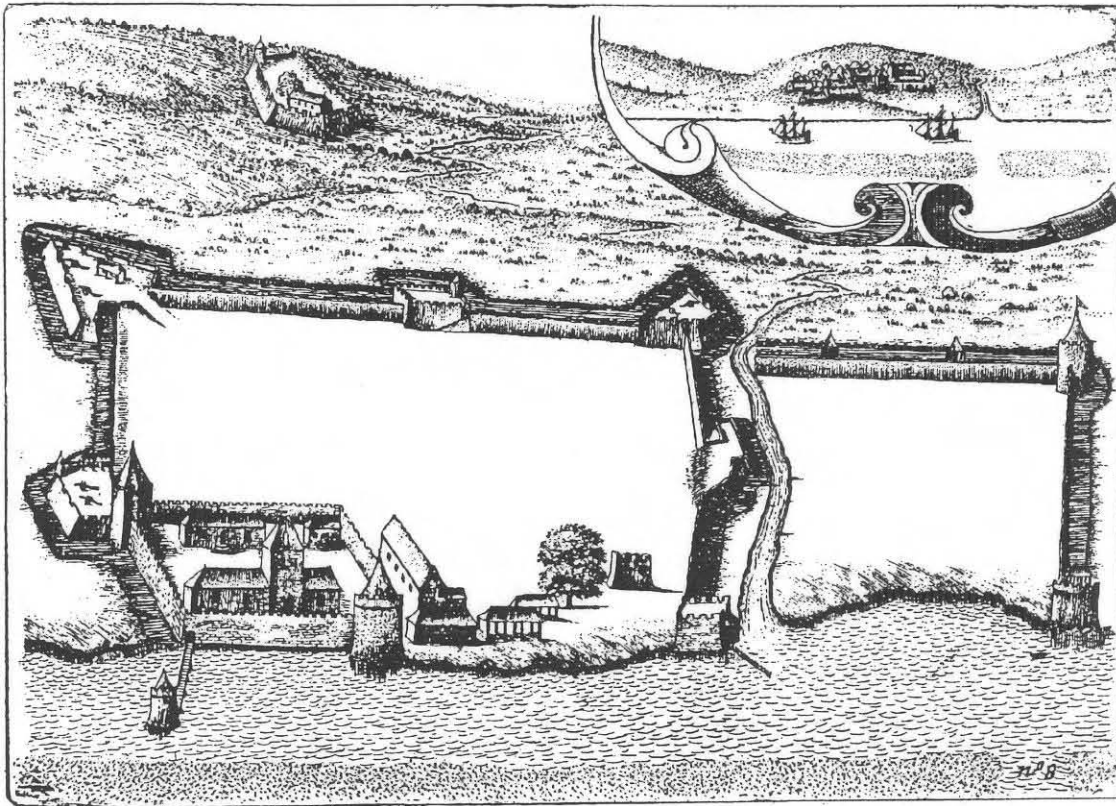


Figure 10: The town Gamma Lamma at Ternate.

decided to establish a new fortification on the island Ternate near the town of Malayo. There he put a garrison of European soldiers (who were by no means all Dutch) employed by the VOC to support the Sultan and the administrator of Ternate against the Portuguese. There were other reasons also: Malayo was much more the centre of the spice plantations than the old capital of Gamma Lamma, and Matelieff knew that the Dutch would probably get more cloves there than they would in Gamma Lamma.

In a contract made between Admiral Matelieff and the “King” of Ternate from 26 May, 1607, it reads among other things (freedom of religion) that the ships *Enkhuizen*, *Kleine Zon*, *Delft* and the yacht *Duyfken* should stay at Ternate at any time. On May 30 the journal of Matelieff reads:

At night a deserter came from the castle [of Ternate], who told us that there was a Chinese Junk loaded with cloves ready to sail off.(...) Resolved to send immediately the ships the *Son*, *Enkhuyzen*, *Delft* and *Duyfken* thither, and to give command to Marten Aep and gave him the order either to take the junk or to burn her...

June the fourth at night the four ships arrived back with the Pelo of China, aboard were 25 Chinese and 500 quintael cloves³⁹

On 8 June 1607 Matelieff formally established the fortress and garrison at Malayo: Gerrit Gerritsz van der Buys was appointed “Captain of the Castle” and Jan Roosengin was appointed “Captain of the Naval Force”, consisting of the 3 ships *Enkhuizen*, *Kleine Zon*, *Delft* and the yacht *Duyfken* with a total of 170 men on board, 20 of whom were the crew of the *Duyfken*. Matelieff himself then departed for China and not much later on 15 July

the enemy attacked the new, still weak, fort at Malayo. The Dutch withstand the attack for the moment, but the situation stayed precarious, and therefore it was decided to send the *Duyfken* to Bantam in order to get help as soon as possible:

On 5 September [1607 at Bantam] the yacht *Duyfken* came from Ternate, bringing the tiding that Admiral Matelieff on the same island on request of the Ternatens had taken a place called Malayo..., to secure this same place the Admiral had ordered the ships *Delft*, *Enckhuysen*, *Kleyne Sonne*, and this yacht [the *Duyfken*], to get rice and other victuals, of which they are in much need there⁴⁰

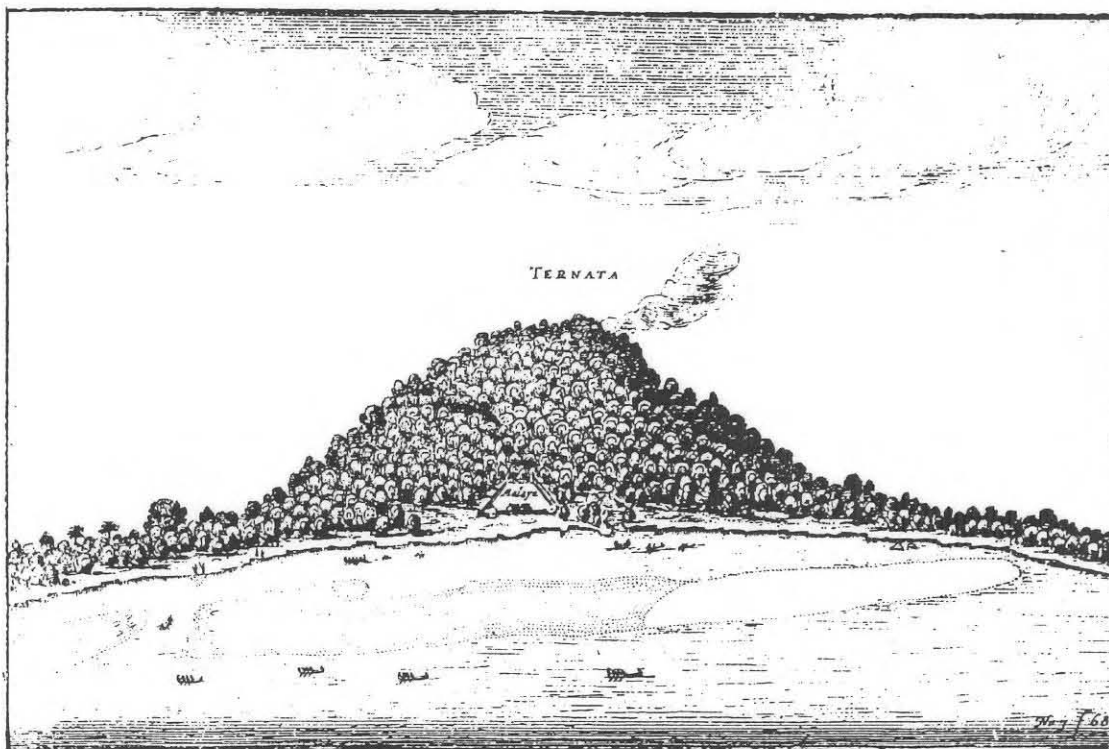


Figure 11: The island of Ternate and fort Malayo.

On 17 September 1607 it was decided to send the *Duyfken* back to Ternate again:

On the 17. ditto, as there was no cargo for the ship the *Sonne*; and being aware of the needs of those in Ternate, have decided to make the same ship ready to sail back to Ternate; and the yacht *Duyfken*, which underwent some very necessary repairs, all the carpenters were working hard on it, one should sent it thither, with as much as it could take, and it can bring also the news of the coming arrival of the *Groote Sonne* which would give much courage to ours there⁴¹

The *Duyfken* sailed to Ternate only in the beginning of November:

On the 6 November [1607] the yacht the *Duyfken* has left Bantam for Ternate, loaded with 10 lasts of rice and 7 *leggers* Arack, and is ordered to sail to Gresik [Grece] in order to get there a full load of rice and beans, and after this to sail as quickly as possible to Maluku again⁴²

In December the yacht *Enkhuizen* ran aground on a beach at Tjau and was lost. The cargo was salvaged by the yacht *Delft* which then was not able to sail back to Ternate, although Jan Roossengin thought the yacht was trying to avoid its responsibility. The troubled Roossengin had to defend Ternate almost on his own now with two ships lost, with much to little men, and Spanish Portuguese troops arriving from Manilla.

..so that one misfortune came after another, and there were people aboard [the *Delft*] who love mischief, therefore we believe that they did it on purpose⁴³

On 20 January 1608 the *Duyfken* arrived in Ternate again. She had left Bantam as is mentioned before on 6 November 1607 Jan Roossengin writes in his letter:

..the yacht *Duyfken* arrived off Ternate coming from Bantam and was loaded with rice, beans and a bit of arack, which brought much joy amongst our people and gave courage to the Ternatens as well, because we are greatly lacking in these things;
29 do. I sailed off with the aforesaid yacht and captured a prahu, which came from the island Makian and was on its way to Ternate, with about 2.5 last cloves, about which we came to blows with the enemy the next day with two galleys and a small frigate [a smaller type of galley], about 5 hours, and they fired more than 80 shots to us, but God be praised no injury was done to us⁴⁴

More Portuguese ship arrived in Ternate from Manilla, and the Dutch could not attack them, much to their regret, because their small number of ships were not sufficiently manned. The yachts *Duyfken* and *Kleine Son* were sent to attempt to lure the Portuguese ships which were laying very close under the Spanish fortress, they spent three days sailing in the vicinity attempting to draw them into the open sea, but the Portuguese would not engage. In May 1608 Admiral Paulus van Caerden writes:

On 18 do., saw 3 galleys and some junks of the Portuguese laying off Ternate, and arrived towards evening under Ternate, and cast anchor off Malayo, we found there the ships *Gelderland*, the *Kleine Son* and the *Duyfken*, and the frigate which had been taken at Celebes...

On 24 do. we saw two sails offshore, assumed that they were Spanish ships, therefore the *Duyfken* and the *Kleine Son* and the frigate went there to reconnoitre, they came back the 25th with the tidings that the galleys had brought in a Spanish ship with victuals...

On 28 do. arrived on the roads the ship *China* and the yacht *Jager*... The same day the *Duyfken* and the frigate sailed to Gilolo and Sebue, to pick up the blacks, who were out on a trip. On 30 do. the frigate arrived with some corecore and about 300 blacks...

On 3 do. [June] the *Duyfken* came back accompanied by several corecores with blacks who were mustered, found them about 400 strong...

On 7 do. the mates set sail on the frigate, and the Admiral coming aboard, appointed the commissioner Jan Rosegein [Roossengin] for captain... towards evening resolved to sail to the town of Ternate⁴⁵

What is probably the last document⁴⁶ written aboard the *Duyfken* that has survived is the resolution taken by the ship's or the fleet's council on 8 June 1608, one of the signatories was Jan Roossengin (the second). They decided to send the ships *Kleine Son* and *Duyfken*

to Gamma Lamma on Ternate to see if they could capture of a ship that was anchored at the roads there or to set it on fire. Cornelis Laurensz and Dirck Allertsz, the captains of *Duyfken* and *Patani*, who are mentioned by Van Caerden in his journal signed the resolution as well.

De elre op *Ruydij* des 8^{en} Junij anno 1608
 Ven verlyadert sye y dooclept int *Facet* *Duyfken*
 om mit maebanden te verpennen want ons voortad
 te doen stonde, ondenkste de yaelijes aert gibelick
 is yelij mode is hadden om de fruygatta ady te
 tasten, gelyc de gelyc goet y bouwel, alingefich
 de yaelijc nu te te tijt argeter die goet van
Cidow *Lagdy*, De fruygatta gide seer de *Belijne*
 somer midtgedes het *Duyfken* naar *Gamma*
Lamma te seelen om by so velle gde moegderck is
 gde seer dat *Belijne* op de *Belijne* *Belijne*
 was daer te gelyc of gde *Belijne* *Belijne*
Belijne gelyc gelyc aly want te *Belijne*,
 Day by gelyc de yaelijc voor de *Belijne*
 want fruygatta *Belijne* gde seer gelyc *Belijne*
 gelyc sy y *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne*
 gelyc *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne*
 gelyc *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne*
 gelyc *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne* *Belijne*

Jan Bruijn
Jan Grooten
Jan Grooten
Melis Anderson
 Comment 5 stop
Cornelis Laurensz
Jan Faar
Dirck Allertsz

Figure 12: What is probably one of the last documents written aboard the *Duyfken* on 8 June, 1608.

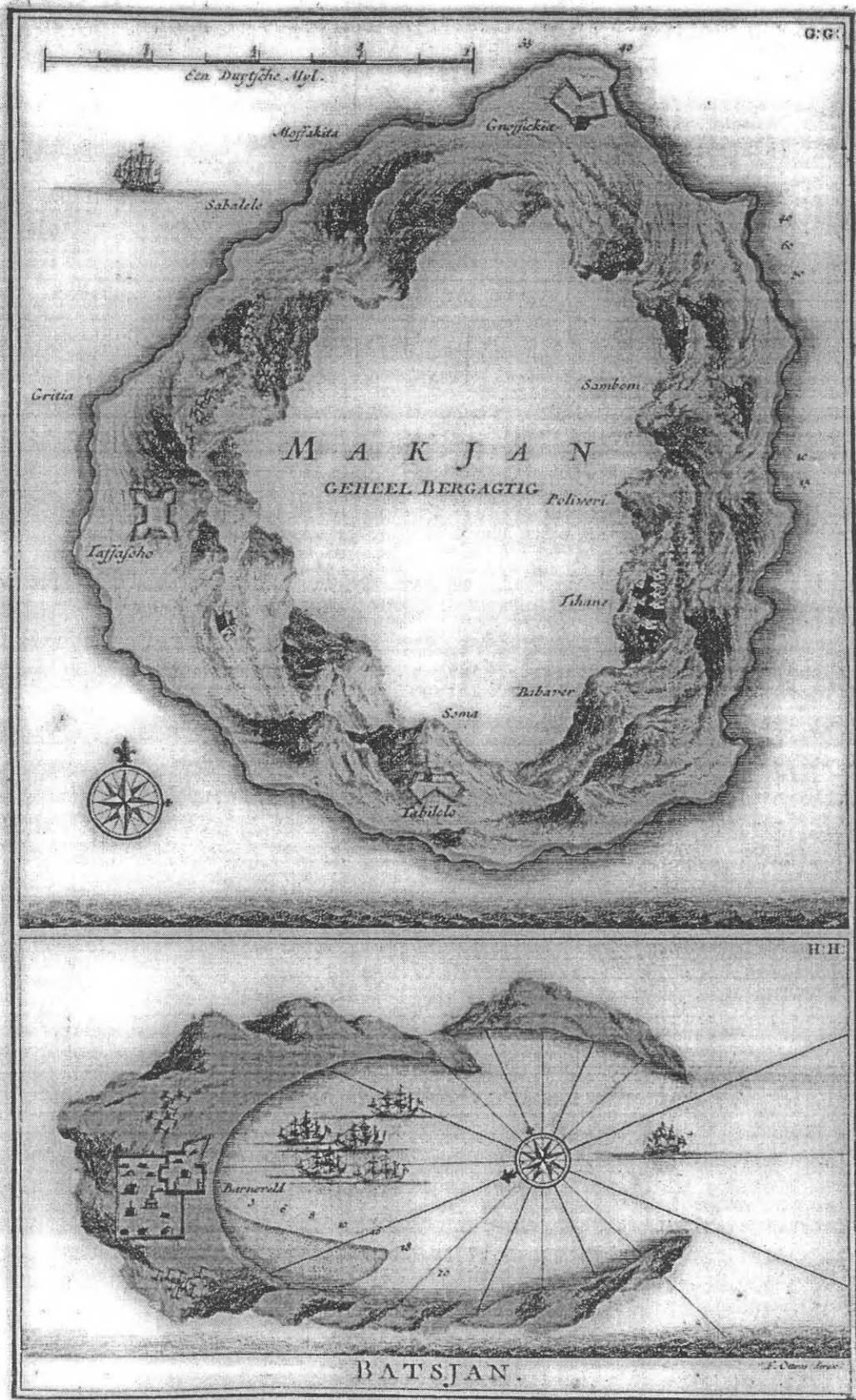


Figure 13. The island Makian and Bakian in Valentijn (1724).

Then a few days later it is decided to attack the island Tidore:

On 14 June it was decided to attack Tidore, we are strong 10 sails and a few corecore, 500 Dutchmen and 600 blacks.

The 16th the Governor of Malayo and our captain went in a corecore and inspected the fortress, then when being ashore 5 corecore of Tidore attacked ours... [battle]⁴⁷

The attack on Tidore was apparently not successful, because on 18 June Van Caerden decided to leave Tidore for Makian intending now to seize the fortification at the town of Taffaso. The ship *Patani*, the yachts *Duyfken* and *Jager*, the big sloop of the *Walcheren*, and the frigate of the ship *Gelderland*, were manned by crews of the large ships. They arrived at Makian on 20 June and seized the fortification at Taffaso on the following day. A message was sent to the larger ships that they could now sail for Makian. The captains Dirck Allertsen and Cornelis Lourensen of the *Patani* and the *Duyfken* were sent out to sound the roads of Taffaso⁴⁸. On 25 June the 5 ships from Tidore arrived at Makian and anchored off Taffaso.

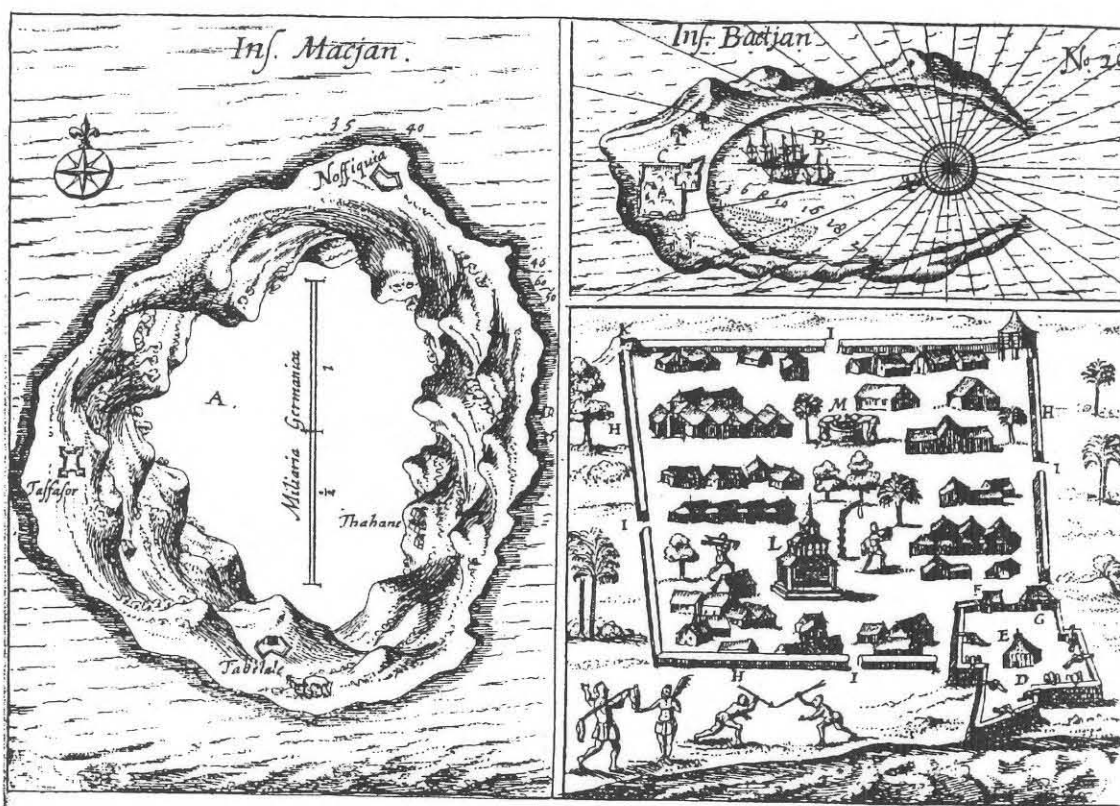


Figure 14: Makian and Bakian in Commelin (1646).

Then, according to Commelin, on 4 July, and according to Van Caerden on the first of July, there was a terrible sea without any wind, therefore the ships could not sail away from the shore, and due to this “extraordinary weather” the ships *Walcheren* and *China* of the Chamber of Hoorn were driven ashore and wrecked.

..., on the first of July the *Walcheren* and the *China* shipwrecked and driven ashore against the reef, of which crew, money, guns and some rigging and sails are salvaged. This accident causing the loss of the ships did not happen during a terrible or big gale, but by a swelling and surfing of terrific high seas, caused by a storm that blew at sea, or had blown, and all other ships were in great peril⁴⁹

It could have been an earthquake (seaquake) that caused the enormous swell, and the area is known for its volcanic activity. All the islands in Maluku are in fact tops of volcanic mountains. Van Caerden's assumption of a storm is another possibility that can have caused the unusual conditions. The different sources are not consistent about off which island the *China* and *Walcheren* were lost. Both Bruyn⁵⁰ and Commelin⁵¹ mention Ternate as the island where the ships were wrecked. However, after reading Commelin and other references carefully it is obvious that it must have been the island Makian. More confusing is the following record that can be found in the diary of Captain Saris:

The first of September, arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Mackian, by whom we understood of two ships called the *China* and the *Dove* were cast away, riding at anchor afore Mackian, with very litle wind at West, which makes such Sea, that it is not possible for ships to ride there, by reason it is foule ground, and very deepe water, as seventy and eightie fathomes. Item, that they had taken Mackian and Taffasal without the losse of a man, and had left each place, one hundred and twenty Flemmings: in like manner they had strengthened the Castle at Malayo⁵²

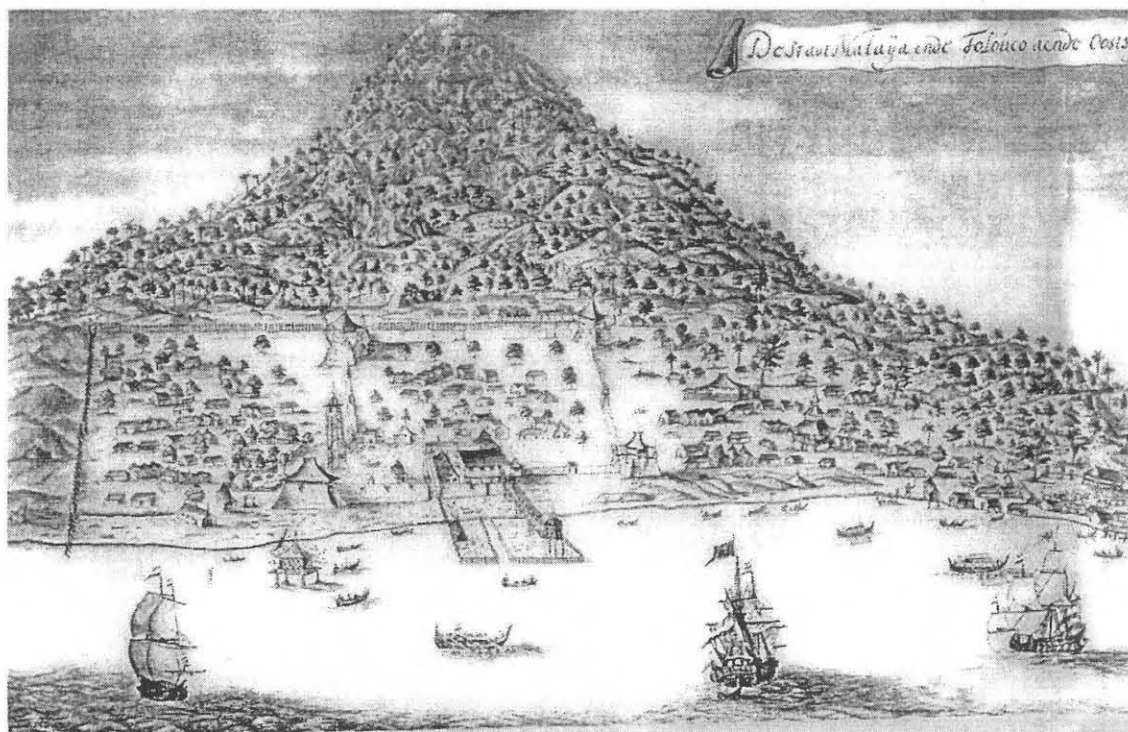


Figure 15: The Island of Ternate in 1615.

Interestingly Saris mentions the *Dove* here as one of the ships involved, but he must have understood wrongly. It is possibly that he had heard about the loss of the *Duyfken* at the same time and that he had mixed up different names and events. As a consequence it has been assumed for a long time that the *Duyfken* was lost at Makian.

Saris speaks of a westerly wind, only at Tafasso on Makian this would mean that the ships *Walcheren* and *China* were borne down upon the lee shore, as this town is situated on the west side of the island. The site can be conclusively identified from the actions Van Caerden took when he heard about the loss. Both towns mentioned in the following quotation, Taffaso and Noffaquia, are Makian towns and therefore it must have been Makian where the two ships were lost and not Ternate:

After the loss of the ships, I immediately went from the other side of the island to Tafasso..., and went in search for a better roadstead, and found this before a town called Noffaquia, where to we took the ships⁵³

THE END OF THE *DUYFKEN*

Paulus van Caerden left Makian on 20 July and sailed to the town of Malayo on Ternate where he arrived the following day. According to Van Caerden, much work had to be carried out there, including repair to the *Duyfken*:

We have brought the *Duyfken* here inside the *recyff* (reef) having made great efforts and having done much work, found that her whole body had broken down/gave way, and because of her old age could not sail again, the knees have completely come lose, caused by putting her ashore, two beams are burst in the hold, and the sides have bulged out totally, therefore there is nothing we can do for her and she must remain as a wreck⁵⁴

Another source that mentions problems with the *Duyfken* is a letter from Jacque l'Hermitte, who was upper merchant at Bantam, to the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber in November 1608. Ships meant to sail to the Indies were built with double planking below the waterline:

The *Duyfgen* is burst in the doubling [*in't verdubbelen* - lining of extra planks], so that it is necessary to send some ships thither with food and other things⁵⁵

So this was the end of the *Duyfken*, she could not be repaired, though people had obviously tried to save her. She was probably stripped of fittings and broken up, and it seems unlikely, though not impossible, that remains of the ship can still be found at Ternate.

CONCLUSION

The historical evidence has shown that the *Duyfken* was used for a wide range of tasks while she was in the Indies: she was used for carrying small cargoes of provisions and relief to embattled outposts in Maluku; she was used to transport troops of black or white soldiers; she was used, as her name suggests, to carry messages; and she was even used on several occasions as a warship. For Australian history most significantly, *Duyfken* was used for exploratory voyages.

Several instructions concerning the *Duyfken* show clearly that she was valued by the commanders of VOC operations in the Indies, and by the direction of the companies that owned her at home in the Netherlands, as a fast and capable sailer.

It is remarkable how many times the *Duyfken* is mentioned in the documents. She was a ship of small *lasten* and dimensions with about 20 people on board, but still she played an important role in the early days of the Dutch presence in the Indian Ocean.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am very grateful to the following persons: to Frank Broeze of the University of Western Australian and Jeremy Green of the Western Australian Maritime Museum for supervising me during the preparation of this report; to Nick Burningham of the Maritime Museum for his assistance in general; to Adriaan de Jong for discussing in length some of the Dutch issues and for some translational work; to Michael Young for his support; and in the Netherlands: to Robert Parthesius, who provided me with important archival information, and to Philippe Lach de Bère.

NOTES

- ¹ The *Duyfken* has always been described as a yacht (*jacht*) or a pinnace (*pinnas*), but those descriptions have no direct relation (in both English and Dutch) to the modern use of those terms. I will use the term yacht for matters of convenience.
- ² Van Linschoten Vereeniging, *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck*, 1598-1600, book no XLIV, Volume 2, page 13. See for more information on the renaming also: Van Linschoten Vereeniging, book no XXVLL, *Tresoor der Zee en Landreizen*, register of words, page 524, and Van Linschoten Vereeniging, book no XLII, Volume 1, page LXI.
- ³ All departing and arrival dates according to: Bruijn, J.R., Gaastra, F.S. and Schöffner, I., *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries*, Volume II and Volume III, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1979.
- ⁴ Adriaansz, Jansz, etc. are abbreviations of Adriaanszoon, Janszoon which translates in English into Adriaanson and Johnson.
- ⁵ Dam, Pieter van, *Beschyvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, Volume I, Part 1, uitgegeven door Dr. F.W. Stapel, Martinus Nyhoff, 1927, a note on page 4.
- ⁶ Nuts means nutmeg here.
- ⁷ Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*, (1595-1610), Volume II, 's-Gravenhage, Amsterdam, 1864, page 528.
- ⁸ Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*, (1595-1610), Volume II, 's-Gravenhage, Amsterdam, 1864, page 500.
- ⁹ Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de Vereenigde Neederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Volume II, 1646: the Part on Wolfhart Harmenssen [Wolfert Harmensz], page 1 - 25.
- ¹⁰ Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst...*, Volume II, page 262.
- ¹¹ Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst...*, Volume II, page 531-532: Unsigned letter written aboard the yacht *Duyfken* [translation Adriaan de Jong].
- ¹² Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst...*, Volume II, page 534: Unsigned letter written aboard the yacht *Duyfken*.
- ¹³ Heeres, J.E., *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia*, London, 1899, page 3 [translation Heeres].
- ¹⁴ Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De Opkomst...*, Volume II, page 536: unsigned letter written aboard the *Duyfken*.
- ¹⁵ Van Warwijck sailed to the Indies in 1602 (17-6) with 12 ships, six of them were Amsterdam ships under the direction of the VOC.
- ¹⁶ Dam, Pieter van, *Beschyvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, Volume I, Part 1, page 24.
- ¹⁷ ARA VOC: 7142. ARA satnds for Algemeen Rijksarchief (State Archives) in the Hague, the Netherlands.
- ¹⁸ Westra, Bert, 'Geld en geweld', in: *Batavia, Herbouw van een Oostindiëvaarder*, ed. by Robert Parthesius, Batavia Cahier 5, page 43-56.
- ¹⁹ According to Bruyn the master was Willem Lok and the master of the Delft was Willem Schouten.
- ²⁰ Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de Vereenigde Neederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Volume III, Tweede deel, 1646: the part that is called Beschrijvinghe van de tweede Voyagie, Ghedaen met 12. Schepen naer d'Oost-Indien. Onder den Heer Admiraal Steven vander Hagen, page 2.
- ²¹ Bruijn, Volume II, page 19.
- ²³ Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Steven vander Hagen, till page 39.
- ²⁴ Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst...*, Volume 3, p 147: Instruction for Steven van der Haghen.
- ²⁵ Mutch, T.D., *The first Discovery of Australia*, Privately Printed, Sydney, 1942, page 19.
- ²⁶ Leupe, P.A. *De reizen der Nederlanders naar het Suidland of Nieuw Holland*, 1668, page 7.
- ²⁷ Purchas, Samuel, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimis*, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others, Volume III, Glasgow, 1905, page 491.
- ²⁸ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimis*, Volume III, page 492.
- ²⁹ Mutch, T.D., *The first Discovery of Australia*, Privately Printed, Sydney, 1942.
- ³⁰ Schilder, Günther, *Australia Unveiled, The share of the Dutch navigators in the discovery of Australia*, Amsterdam, 1976.
- ³¹ Heeres, J.E., *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia*, London, 1899.
- ³² Bruijn, Volume III, page 11.

- 33 It should be kept in mind that the journal of captain Saris in *Purchas his Pilgrimus* is comparable with Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh...*, both are not original manuscripts and should be referred to with some care. The authors however used the original documents for their books and did not make up stories, they are therefore a reliable source of information.
- 34 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: in the part on Cornelis Matelief de Jonge with 11 ships in the year 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, page 51.
- 35 *Legger*: leaguer, is usually a volume measure for wine, brandy, vinegar or *arak*; 1 *legger* is about 600 litre.
- 36 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: in the part of Commelin that is named Verhael ende Journael vande Voyagie Gedaen van Bantam, naer de Custe van Choromandel, ende andere quartieren van Indien Door de Opper-coopman Paulus van Solt inden Jaere 1605.1606.1607.1608, page 78.
- 37 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: the admiral is Cornelis Matelieff, who sailed as commander of a fleet to the Indies in May 1605, arriving there in May 1606. In the part of Commelin that is named Verhael ende Journael vande Voyagie Gedaen van Bantam, naer de Custe van Choromandel, ende andere quartieren van Indien Door de Opper-coopman Paulus van Solt inden Jaere 1605.1606.1607.1608, page 79.
- 38 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: in the chapter on Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, page 63.
- 39 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: in the chapter on Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, page 69.
- 40 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Paulus Van Solt, page 85.
- 41 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Paulus Van Solt, page 86.
- 42 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, page 63.
- 43 Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De Opkomst...*, Volume III, p 230: Letter by Jan Rossingein, dd 8 May 1608.
- 44 Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst...*, Volume III, p 230.
- 45 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Paulus van Caerden, page 44-46.
- 46 ARA VOC 515: Resolutie of the ship's council of the yacht *Duyfken* to salve the VOC ship off Gamalamo at Ternate, 1608 June 8, 1 piece.
- 47 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Paulus van Caerden, page 46.
- 48 Linschoten Vereeniging: book nr. LXX, Volume I, *De tweede reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder admiraal Paulus van Caerden in 1606*, page 180.
- 49 Linschoten Vereeniging: book nr. LXX, Volume I, page 182.
- 50 Bruijn, Volume II, page 23.
- 51 Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgang van de...*, Volume III: on Paulus van Caerden, page 46.
- 52 Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimis*, Volume III, page 499.
- 53 Linschoten Ver., book no. LXX, Volume I, page 182.
- 54 Linschoten Ver., book no. LXX, Volume I, page 185.
- 55 Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De Opkomst...*, Volume III, page 253.