



SECTION ONE:

MARITIME

Nonja Peters

Between 1616 and 2016, the Dutch have at various times had maritime, military, migration or mercantile connections with Western Australia. The strong mercantile culture that had evolved in Europe by the late 16th Century, motivated the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), in competition with other European East India Companies, to venture into the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in hot pursuit of the lucrative Spice Trade. Known as the ‘Age of Exploration’ it played a central role in interconnecting the earth’s peoples, cultures, economies and politics, and begot the riches that stimulated the economic, technological, scientific and socio-cultural development of that period in Dutch history which we call ‘The Golden Age’. Two criteria emerged that also had the VOC attract the nomenclature world’s first multinational - it issued shares and operated in more than one country. In fact its trading posts sprang up all over Asia alongside those of the Chinese, Javanese, Tamils, Gujaratis, Armenians and others.



Adapting quickly, the Europeans learned the commercial *lingua franca* of the area and mastered the rules of the local market. They also entered into relations with local women, and many trading posts were soon peppered with their offspring. Most of these children remained in the country of their birth and were subsumed into the local community or else entered the service of the European merchants and companies. The VOC made good use of such people, born and brought up locally they could speak the language of their birth country and understood the conventions. As such they proved excellent middlemen for the Europeans. For the same reason, these Eurasians were also extremely useful to the Asian rulers. For indigenous populations, European exploration was often associated with violence and disempowerment. Even today, some of these groups in South Africa, Indonesia and Western Australia are reinventing their sense of identity and belonging with reference to a level of *Dutchness*.

The VOC eclipsed all of its rivals in the Asia trade. Between 1602 and 1796, it sent some 4,785 ships to various ports throughout Asia (around 653 were lost to shipwreck, fire or piracy). The VOC ships carried almost a million Europeans to work in Asian trade. Their efforts netted more than 2.5 million tons of Asian trade goods. By contrast, from 1500 to 1795 the rest of Europe combined sent only 882,412 people. The fleet of the English East India Company, the VOC's nearest competitor, was merely a distant second to its total traffic with only 2,690 ships and a mere one-fifth the tonnage of the goods carried by the VOC.

VOC activities in the IOR led to the first European 'encounter' with Australia – the *Duyfken* in 1606 and Dirk Hartog in Western Australia (WA) in 1616. These happenings literally put Australia (*Terra Australis Incognita*) onto world cartographic maps. The stories of WA coastal happenstances include the naming of Dirk Hartog Island, the *Zwaan Rivier* (Swan River) and *Rotte nest* (Rottnest) island by Willem de Vlamingh in 1697, the town of Guilderton in honour of *Vergulde Draek* (Gilt Dragon) shipwreck in 1656; the town of Leeman after the incredible survival story of Andrew Leeman 1658; the Leeuwin Lighthouse after the *Leeuwintje's* encounter with the coast in 1622 and the Geelvink Channel after the sister ship of Willem de Vlamingh (1696) - to mention but a few. The four VOC shipwrecks on the WA coast (the Batavia Coast) are noteworthy landmarks in our national historical narrative. They also contribute significantly to WA's heritage tourism.

The chapters and vignettes in this section by Wendy van Duivenvoorde, Rupert Gerritsen and Daniel Franklin provide a comprehensive overview of the 400-year maritime connection of the Dutch with Western Australia.

Four coins of the East India Company, 1644-1645, anonymous, 1700 - 1799
Courtesy: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



DIRK HARTOG WAS HERE! HIS 1616 INSCRIPTION PLATE AND DUTCH SHIP COMMUNICATIONS

Wendy van Duivenvoorde

Located at the northern tip of Dirk Hartog Island in Western Australia, Cape Inscription is one of the most significant recent cultural heritage sites in Australia.¹ It marks the landfall of Dutch skipper Dirk Hartog and his crew on 25 October 1616. Today, the historical events and the physical remains of Hartog's landing in Western Australia are firmly embedded within the context of European activity in the Indian Ocean region and, more specifically, Dutch exploration of the Australian coastline in the seventeenth century.²

This chapter provides an historic overview of Dirk Hartog's life and seafaring activities. It also places his arrival in Western Australia into the broader setting of seventeenth-century Dutch exploration. Finally, it investigates the archaeological and historical context of the Hartog Inscription Plate, emphasising the nature of similar monuments left by European explorers in the Indian Ocean region and contemporary ship communication practices.

THE PATRONYMIC HARTOGSZOON [HARTOOCHZ OR HARTOGSZ]

Dirk Hartog holds a place in the history of exploration, but only scant evidence testifies to his existence. What we know is derived from historic documents, an inscribed pewter plate, and charts and geographic names that credit his arrival with *Eendracht* on the western shores of Australia. No portraits of Dirk Hartog exist. The only tangible evidence that remains today is his signature on official documents. Hartog spelled his own name as *Dijrck Hartoochz[s]*, as seen on his marriage certificate (5 February 1611), a letter in the National Archives of the Netherlands (11 June 1616), freight contracts (3 March 1612, 11 December 1612, and 15 May 1615) and an affidavit (31 December 1618) (Figures 1–3).³ His contemporaries were less consistent—notaries, church officials, civil servants and the scribe of the pewter serving plate spelled it in a variety of ways. They wrote it as *Dirck Hertochsen*, *Dierck Hartoghcz*, *Dirck Hatichs*, *Dirck Hartoghcz*, *Dierick Hartogz*, *Dirck Hartogs*, and *Dirk Hartochsz*.⁴

His surname is the patronymic *Hartoochz* or *Hartogsz* (son of *Hartooch* or *Hartogs*), pronounced as *Hartogszoon* (transl. Hartog's son). Dirk's surname refers to the given name of his father and is, therefore, not a proper family name. Although his name as used in this chapter, then, is technically incorrect, the most common form found in modern scholarship.

Figure 1
Dirk Hartog's signature from his marriage certificate 5 February 1611. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwregisters 1565–1811, DTB 412, p. 476 (OTR00009000254).

Figure 2
Dirk Hartog's signature from a freight contract for his ship *Dolfijn*, 11 December 1612. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam, access no. 5075, inv. no. 8, (Jan Franssen Bruijningh), no. 130 (Minuutacten en afschriften: Band 68: 4 December 1612–4 May 1613), p. 6 (A20106000011).

DIRK HARTOG'S PERSONAL LIFE AND CAREER

Born from the marriage of Griet Jans to skipper Hartog [Harich] Krijnen, Dirk Hartog was the couple's second son and one of at least four children; his older brother Willem was born around 1575, his sisters Trijntje around 1578 and Neeltje in 1584. The siblings grew up in the Smaksteeg near the Korte Nieuwendijk in Amsterdam. After the death of his father, his mother Griet raised her children alone and managed to teach them arithmetic, reading, and writing.⁵

Dirk Hartog was raised in a nautical family, all members of which had strong ties to the shipping industry. Brother Willem became a ship's carpenter, while both sisters married sailors.⁶ On 5 February 1611, Dirk Hartog married the 18-year-old Meijnsje Abels in the Calvinist Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Amsterdam.⁷ Their marriage certificate decree states: 'Dierik Hertoghzs varengselle oud 28 Jarens wonende bij de Nieuharlemmersluys geassisteert met Griet Jansdr zijn moeder ter eenre Ende Meijnsngen Abelsdr oud 18 Jaren woonende op de Lijnsbaensgrafft geassisteert met Abel Albertsz haer Vader ter andere zijde', which translated reads: 'Dirk Hartogson, skipper, 28 years of age, living at the Nieuw Haarlemmersluis [Haarlemmerstraat, Amsterdam], accompanied by his mother Griet Jan's daughter on one side, and Meijnsngen Abel's daughter, 18 years of age, residing at the Lijnbaansgracht [Amsterdam], accompanied by Abel Albertszoon, her father, on the other side'. Hartog and Meijnsje took up residence at the Brouwersgracht in Amsterdam.⁸ Assuming that his marriage certificate is correct and he was in fact only 28 years of age in 1611, then he was born in 1583. The only baptism record with his name states that Dirk Hartog was baptised in the Calvinist Oude Kerk (Old Church) of Amsterdam on 30 October 1580.⁹ The latter may have been an older brother and namesake who died in infancy—a frequent occurrence at the time.

Little is known of Hartog's training to become an able seamen and of his formative years at sea. Before his marriage to Meijnsje, he spent some years in Southeast Asia as a 'stuurman' (=navigator or steersman) for the Dutch East India Company, or VOC (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*). A notary document dated to 8 September 1609, authenticates that he had just returned from Bantam in north-west Java on VOC ship *Ter Veere*.¹⁰ A few weeks later, on 22 October, he made an official statement about the drowning of an Andries Mertens in Ternate. At the time of the incident Hartog served on VOC ship *Enkhuizen*, which ran aground off Halmahera Island in the

Figure 3
Dirk Hartog's signature from a letter written while en route to the Dutch East Indies on 11 June 1616. NA, Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, reference code 1.04.02, item number 1059, folio 329.

Moluccas on 1607.¹¹ He travelled on *Ter Veere* from Bantam to Wielingen between 16 November 1608 and 7 August 1609.¹²

In 1611, Hartog purchased the ship *Dolfijn* of 120 *lasten* (240 metric tonnes) and sailed as an independent shipowner for Wessel Schenck, a merchant of Amsterdam. His first voyage took him south to Dunkirk to collect a cargo of 140 *lasten* (280 tonnes) of salt from Brouages. From there he continued northwards into the Baltic to Danzig, after which he sailed to Genoa, Italy. This charter paid him 11 ducats of 11 Spanish reals per ducat per *last* (2 tonnes) of cargo.¹³ In his contract with Schenck, Hartog agreed to arm his ship with six iron cannon, four small swivel guns for stone shot, a shotgun, firelocks, spears, gunpowder, lead, bullets and other suitable armament.¹⁴ In 1612, he also freighted merchandise for Casper van Ceulen and Gijsbert Tholincx.¹⁵

Experienced in traversing European waters, Hartog made his last lengthy and dangerous voyage with *Dolfijn* to the harbour of Archangel in northern Russia (in the White Sea). On this trip, his 240-ton ship was fitted with eight iron cannon and five small swivel guns for stone shot.¹⁶ Dutch shipping and trade with Archangel required expert seamen who were willing to undertake the lengthy voyage around the northern Cape of Scandinavia to a harbour that was ice-bound for all but a brief period of time each year. The Dutch acquired agrarian and forestry products at Archangel, such as hemp, Russian leather and tallow, fur from sable, marten, and polar fox, moose skins, masts and sawn timber, potash and tar.¹⁷ Hartog sailed in the service of Margarieta Valckenburch – widow of Marcus de Vogelaer – and Adriaen Sybrecht Faes of Amsterdam with an unknown cargo valued at 2,660 Dutch guilders.¹⁸ In Archangel, Hartog loaded a cargo of wheat at the end of August for his homebound voyage to the Netherlands. Upon his return, he sold *Dolfijn* to Jelmer Jebbes, an Amsterdam merchant, on 7 November 1615.¹⁹

DIRK HARTOG'S JOURNEY TO THE INDIES IN 1616

A few months later, as part of a fleet of five ships, Hartog set sail as skipper of the 700-ton ship *Eendracht* in the employ of the Dutch East India Company.²⁰ *Eendracht* was a brand-new ship from the VOC's Amsterdam shipyard and proved the best sailing ship of the fleet. It carried a compliment of 200 men and was fitted with 32 cannon.²¹

Hartog and *Eendracht* set out from Texel on 23 January 1616 along with VOC ships *Trouw* (500 tonnes, Amsterdam Chamber) and *Bantam* (800 tonnes, Enkhuizen Chamber).²² Senior merchant Pieter de Carpentier, the future Governor-General of the East Indies, sailed aboard *Trouw*. They joined up with VOC ships *Gouden Leeuw* (500 tonnes, Rotterdam Chamber) on 31 January and *Westfriesland* (800 tonnes, Hoorn Chamber) on 1 February in the English Channel. *Gouden Leeuw* had departed from Rotterdam's Maas River on 21 January,²³ while *Westfriesland*, under the command of Kornelis Franszoon van der Beets, had made way a day later.²⁴

For several days prior to commencing their journey, *Eendracht*, *Trouw* and *Bantam* had been icebound while at anchor at Texel. A letter written on 3 February 1616 by Gillias Mibais and Joannes Steijns, *Eendracht*'s senior and junior merchant respectively, informs that twenty-one seamen and eight soldiers had deserted the icebound ship. The runaways included even the senior barber, which had caused much restlessness among the crew. To make amends, he was replaced by a junior barber serving aboard one of the other ships. The merchants deliberated that had *Eendracht* remained icebound for three or four days more, they would have been in peril of losing their entire crew and compliment of marines. Fortunately, however, the ice broke and the three ships managed to sail away on 23 January.²⁵

For nearly all the ships in this fleet, the journey was their maiden voyage in service of the VOC; only *Bantam* had made the trip previously. The ships all took the so-called Brouwer Route, which was soon to become the preferred route for all VOC ships sailing to Southeast Asia.²⁶

The fleet sailed south together, passing Madeira on 9 February, and arrived at Maio Island in the Cape Verde Archipelago on 21 March where the ships took on fresh water. By this time scurvy had broken out. The ships sighted the island of St Thomé (now São Tomé) on 20 May and arrived on 27 May at Cape Lopez in the Gulf of Guinea.²⁷ Here, *Gouden Leeuw* and *Westfriesland*

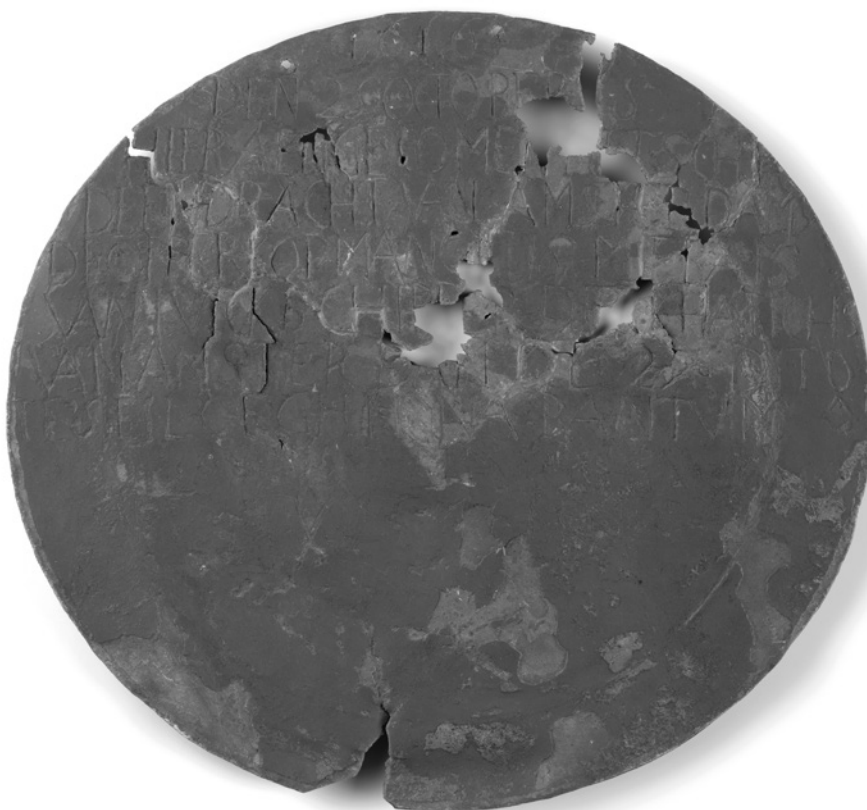


Figure 4
Hartog Inscription Plate, 1616. Rijksmuseum collection, object number NG-NM-825.

separated from the other ships. *Eendracht* continued to the island of Annaboa (modern-day Annobón), where the crew intended to take on fresh fruit, i.e. oranges and limes; Spanish wine; and other provisions.²⁸ *Eendracht* failed to anchor at Annaboa as the other vessels witnessed how it drifted out of sight.²⁹ Strong currents and lack of wind often delayed ships in the Gulf of Guinea and it took the ships three months to sail from Cape Lopez to the Cape of Good Hope. The heat, the poor living conditions aboard ship, and the endless delays waiting for favourable sailing conditions resulted in the death of 14 crew members. *Eendracht* and *Trouw* were the first ships of the fleet to reach the Cape, finally arriving at Cape Town on 5 August 1616.³⁰ *Eendracht* continued eastward on 27 August, but was slower on this leg of the journey and was the last ship to arrive in the Indonesian Archipelago. De Carpentier, for example, arrived at Bantam in north-west Java on 24 October 1616, by which time Hartog had only reached the Western Australian coast.³¹ Whether Hartog arrived there by accident or design is a matter of contention.

In 1617, the VOC officially endorsed the Brouwer's Route, a 'nautical highway' first encountered by Hendrik Brouwer five years earlier, as the preferred itinerary for its East Indiamen.³² From the Cape of Good Hope, ships headed south to between latitudes 35°S and 45°S, where they caught the strong westerly tail winds known as the Roaring Forties. With these winds astern, they followed this passage for some one thousand nautical miles before turning northward with the Southeast Trade Winds, which carried them directly into the Strait of Sunda. It is uncertain, however, whether Dutch navigators would have used the old German mile of 3,152 Amsterdam fathoms (c. 5,358 m) or the new Snellius mile (c. 7,158 m).³³ This route provided the shortest distance to the East Indies, expediting the sailing time by several months and allowing the ships to circumvent Portuguese territory in Asia.³⁴

Navigators were still unable to determine longitude, which could be problematic for ships following this route due to the earth's diminishing curvature. In addition to the varying strength of the trade winds and inability to calculate longitude, miscalculations often caused ships to miss the designated point to turn north. Hartog could have simply passed the right longitude or he may have sailed too far south before running with the Roaring Forties, leading to *Eendracht's* arrival on the shores of the Great South Land. The frequency of this occurrence played a major role in Dutch reconnaissance of the Australian coast, and led to the European discovery and exploration of this vast continent.

Hartog and his crew were the first Dutch seamen to experience the challenging sailing conditions close to the Western Australian coast, where treacherous reefs, strong currents, unpredictable winds, and shallow waters were at times coupled with a rough and inaccessible shore. Given such hazardous navigational conditions, it is surprising that so few VOC ships were lost in these waters in the nearly two hundred years of the company's existence, from 1602 to 1795. These shipwrecks include *Batavia* (1629), *Vergulde Draak* (1656), *Zuiddorp* (1712), and *Zeewijk* (1727).

Dirk Hartog and his crew found themselves on the Western Australian coast when they arrived at Shark Bay on 25 October 1616. They anchored *Eendracht* at the northern tip of the island now named after him (Dirk Hartog Island) and left an inscribed pewter serving plate with flattened rim nailed to a wooden post that they stood upright atop the cliff. The inscription (Figure 4) is legible over the entire width of the plate, however, the last three lines have all but eroded away. It is possible that the names of Joannes Steijns and Pieter Dooke were added to the inscription as they are inscribed much more lightly (Rijksmuseum collection, object number NG-NM-825). The inscription reads³⁵:

1616
 DEN 25 OCTOBER [I]S
 HIER AENGEKOMEN HET SCHI[P]
 DEENDRACHT VAN AMSTERDAM
 DE OPPERKOPMAN GILLIS MIBAIS
 VAN LVICK SCHIPPER DIRCK HATICHS
 VAN AMSTERDAM DE 27 DITO
 TE SEIL GEGHN NA BANTVM
 DE ONDERCOOPMAN IAN STINS
 DE OPPERSTIVIERMAN PIETR DOO
 KE VAN BILL

On the 25th of October 1616, the ship *Eendracht* of Amsterdam arrived here with senior merchant Gilles Mibais of Liege, skipper Dirck Hatichs of Amsterdam, the 27 [October], the ditto made sail for Bantam, the junior merchant J[o]an[nes] S[te]ij[n]s, the first steersman Piet[er] Dooke van Bill.

The plate that Hartog's crew left behind provides tangible material evidence of European arrival on the coast of Western Australia. Prior to Hartog, in 1606, the *Duyfken* expedition under the command of Dutch explorer Willem Janszoon had sailed from Indonesia into northern Australian waters. Despite some speculation on a possible earlier discovery of Australia, *Duyfken* made the first recorded European landfall on Australian soil. The journey may have been a planned expedition to the South Land or an opportunistic enterprise resulting from Dutch shipping and trade conditions in South East Asia.³⁶ Hartog's encounter, ten years later, however, was entirely accidental—at least, from the VOC's point of view.³⁷ Unlike the *Duyfken* crew who thought themselves in New Guinea, Hartog was probably aware that he set foot on the, until then hypothetical, Great South Land (or *Terra Australis Incognita*).

Hartog briefly explored Shark Bay with his senior merchant, Gilles Mibais, but they both seemed indifferent to their finding of the South Land. They anchored their ship at the northernmost point of the island, which is now called Dirk Hartog Island. VOC ships were typically manned by a skipper and senior merchant, the former being responsible for all nautical aspects of the journey (navigation, sailing, rigging, and manning the crew), while the latter was accountable for the profitability of the voyage. Ultimately though, the senior merchant out ranked the skipper in decision-making.³⁸

From Shark Bay, *Eendracht* continued its journey north and sailed into the Flores Sea through “the narrows between Bima and the land of Endea near Guno Api (Goenoeng Api) in the south of Java (Sapi Straits)”.³⁹ The ship finally arrived at Makassar on the Island of Celebes (Sulawesi) on 14 December 1616. Unaware of the current hostile status of Makassar, and the VOC’s decision to vacate this trading post eighteen months earlier, Hartog witnessed sixteen of his crew being massacred by the local ruler.⁴⁰ Two English ships assisted him and provided *Eendracht* with provisions and protection, although a subsequent Dutch inquest into the matter concluded that the English were actually to blame for the casualties.⁴¹ The ships escorted *Eendracht* from Makassar and Hartog arrived at the Banda Island in the Moluccas in the first days of January 1617.⁴²

The VOC Council of the Indies was unimpressed, maybe even disgruntled, with Hartog’s landing on Celebes. His late arrival had negative financial implications for the availability and distribution of funding.⁴³ On 22 August 1617, Director-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen sent a letter to the Netherlands from his seat in Bantam, in which he specifically states: “it is said that the skipper of *Eendracht* deliberately planned it, and it did not happen accidentally”.⁴⁴ He elaborates that *Eendracht* sailed some 800 to 1,000 miles from the Cape of Good Hope at 26° to 28° degrees south where its crew encountered “many islands, but did not observe the presence of people”.⁴⁵ He does not mention Hartog by name, simply referring to him as “the skipper” of *Eendracht*, which indicates his insignificant status.⁴⁶ Hartog’s arrival in Makassar, by accident or intention, is curious, since he indicated on the pewter plate left on Dirk Hartog Island that he was setting off for Bantam, where the other ships in his fleet had arrived.

During his time in the East Indies, Hartog was active in the intra-Asiatic trade. After *Eendracht*’s arrival in Banda it must have sailed to Bantam next, possibly via Ambon.⁴⁷ He then made a round trip to Ambon from Bantam.⁴⁸ In Indonesian waters, *Eendracht*’s hold carried such diverse cargoes as money, cloth, cloves, spelter (a mixture of lead and tin) and passengers. Documents mention specifically that *Eendracht* transported two women from Bantam to Ambon and a Portuguese prisoner who managed to escape.⁴⁹ In September 1617, the ship arrived in Bantam with a cargo of cloves from Ambon weighing 900 *bhaar*⁵⁰ (about 222 metric tonnes).⁵¹ On this trip, *Eendracht* was dangerously overloaded and barely made it to Bantam.⁵² *Eendracht* probably remained in Bantam from where Hartog and his crew departed to the Netherlands on 17 December. Hartog and his ship arrived in Zeeland on 16 October 1618.⁵³

Zuider Eendracht

In 1614, Isaïc le Maire established the Australian Company (*Australische Compagnie*), ostensibly to trade with the recently discovered *Terra Australis*. The true intent of the company, however, was to thwart the twenty-one-year trade monopoly granted to the VOC for the area east from the Cape

of Good Hope and west from the Strait of Magellan. He and other Dutch merchants begrudged their commercial exclusion from this expanse, which they deemed too large to be controlled by a single company.

On 14 June 1615, a ship also called *Eendracht* (360 tonnes) and the yacht *Hoorn* (110 tonnes) set sail from Texel on the only journey made by the new company. Their reported purpose was to establish trade relations with the inhabitants of the South Land, but in secret they were instructed to find the western route to the Indies around Cape Horn.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, *Hoorn* never made the Cape, as it caught fire on 19 December 1615 when its crew was careening its hull in Port Desire [modern-day Puerto Deseado, Argentina]. *Eendracht* continued the voyage to South East Asia, successfully navigating Cape Horn and arriving in Ternate in the Moluccas on 17 September 1616, one month before Hartog reached the Western Australian coast.

Having learned of the voyage's intent to trade in the East Indies, the VOC confiscated the ship on 2 November 1616 and renamed it *Zuider Eendracht*. The ship's crew were given the choice of working for the VOC or being sent back to the Netherlands.⁵⁵ Upon their return, a lengthy legal dispute ensued between the companies, which prevented the Australian Company from flourishing. The ship *Zuider Eendracht* remained in South East Asia and served in the intra-Asiatic trade; it capsized off Bantam in May 1620 and subsequently was burned.⁵⁶

Hartog's life upon return from the East Indies

After his return from the Indies, Hartog and his wife had their will notarized by Frederick van Banchem. Having 'contemplated the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour' and being without children, they appointed each other as legal heir on 28 December 1618. They declared to bestow their personal possessions on their immediate family. Hartog, for example, bequeathed all his linen and woollen clothes to his brother Willem, 25

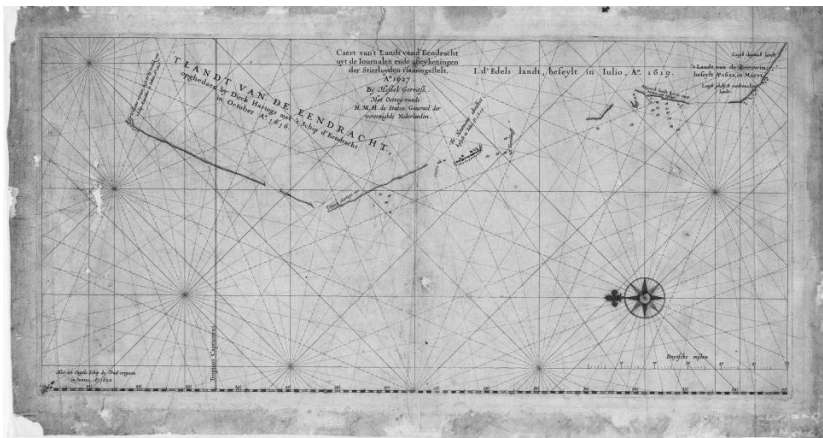


Figure 5

The land of *Eendracht*, discovered anno 1616 [*t' Land van d'Eendracht, ontdekt Ao 1616*], detail of the chart of the Malay Archipelago and the Dutch discoveries in Australia. Caert van't Landt van d'Eendracht uyt de Journalen ende afteykeningen der Stierluyden t'samengesteld. Cartographer: Hessel Gerritszoon, 1618–1627. National Library of Australia, MAP RM 749 (<http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm749>).

guilders to the child of his older sister, and 12 guilders each to his sisters Trijntje and Neeltje. His wife Meijnsje conferred all her linen and woollen clothes and her golden and silver jewellery to her two sisters. To her three brothers, she bequeathed 12 guilders each.⁵⁷

Upon return in Amsterdam, Hartog also signed an affidavit on 31 December 1618 to confirm the paralysis of Claes Ellerts, steersman of VOC ship *Dolfijn*, after an accidental fall in ‘Kasteel Amboina’ in Ambon, the Moluccas.⁵⁸ Then, in September 1619, Hartog entered the service of Jacques Nicquet and Elias Trip, for whom he set sail to the Adriatic Sea with his newly acquired ship *Gelukkige Leeuw*. There he aided in the defence of the city of Venice against Hapsburg, Spanish, and Uscocs attacks.⁵⁹

Hartog died young, in his late thirties, and was buried in the New Church of Amsterdam on 11 October 1621.⁶⁰ He may have fallen ill on his last homeward voyage, because he passed away shortly after his return.⁶¹ His ship *Gelukkige Leeuw* was sold on 23 October 1621 to pay for an outstanding advance of 1,800 Florins.⁶²

His widow Meijnsje remarried on 25 March 1623 to Jelis Claeszoon of Weesp, also a seaman and skipper of an inland trading vessel, with whom she had at least three or four children: Abel, Anna, Annetje, and Claes. The name Abel occurs three times in the Amsterdam baptism registers and Claes twice, perhaps indicating additional children that died in infancy.⁶³ Meijnsje passed away at the age of 63 and was buried in the New Church in Amsterdam on 18 September 1656.

Ship logs, crew manifests, and charts of Hartog’s 1616 voyage

The ship logs of *Eendracht*’s voyage to Asia and its intra-Asiatic movements no longer exist, nor do its crew manifests.⁶⁴ The latter are mentioned in the correspondence sent by the Director-General to the Netherlands. Coen commends the manifests of both *Eendracht* and *Westfriesland* and considers them in “perfect” order.⁶⁵

Historic information about the 1616 journey of *Eendracht* to Southeast Asia mainly comes from four letters written variously by Dirk Hartog, senior merchant Gilles Mibais, and/or the junior steersman, Joannes Steijns, and part of a ship’s log by Steijns detailing events from 10 to 30 December 1616. These letters and the log, all in the collection of the Dutch East India Company archives of the Netherlands National Archives,⁶⁶ were transcribed and published by Hermanus Hartogh Heys van Zouteveen in 1888 for the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad*.⁶⁷

VOC policy required its skippers to keep extensive journals and notes, which upon arrival were handed over to the authorities. The company had a special unit that would extract useful data from these classified records for charts and pilots. VOC cartographer, Hessel Gerritszoon used Hartog’s ship journal and notes when creating the first chart detailing the west coast of Australia from 1618 to 1628.⁶⁸ He noted Hartog’s initial landing site and coastal

explorations on the chart and labelled that region of the north-western coast “The Land of *Eendracht*” (*'t Land van d'Eendracht*) (Figure 5).

In the years following Hartog’s three-day exploration of Western Australia, the VOC dispatched several expeditions to further explore the Australian west and south coasts for the creation of accurate nautical charts and instructions.⁶⁹ Navigational knowledge of this perilous coast was of paramount interest to the VOC, since so many of its ships would pass this vast continent when sailing between the Cape of Good Hope and Southeast Asia. The company ordered the commanders of these exploration fleets to attempt contact with the indigenous inhabitants of the South Land and to explore and evaluate the resources of the region.

Hartog Inscription Plate: Postal Stones, Tablets, and Trees

While exploring new regions or while travelling over the world’s oceans, European seafarers often left formal inscriptions to mark their presence on distant shores, either in the form of landmarks to assert their nation’s claim to the land or as postal stones to convey messages and intelligence to other ships.⁷⁰ The text on Hartog’s pewter plate did not make any direct claim to the discovered land, but merely confirmed Hartog’s encounter with the new land and served as proof to subsequent seamen that he had visited Shark Bay. The text is consistent with inscriptions found elsewhere on postal stones, tablets and trees; it provides a short account of Hartog’s voyage in case *Eendracht* should suffer some misadventure and its crew be unable to return to civilization and report on the voyage themselves.⁷¹

Archaeological remains of postal stones are found on St Helena Island in the South Atlantic, the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and Nosy Mangabé in the Bay of Antongil in Madagascar. All of these date to the seventeenth century, between 1601 and 1657.⁷² Messages left by Dutch, English, and French seafarers include details such as names of the ship, skipper, senior merchant, company officials or higher-ranking crewmembers, dates of arrival and departure, and other particulars. Postal stones were basically rupestrian letters for crews of other ships. They are visual reminders of the earliest Dutch voyages into the Indian Ocean, as well as tangible links to individual ships, voyages and persons.

The European postal stones from St Helena Island and Cape of Good Hope survive as large chunks removed from their original location—many more undoubtedly have been reused as building material.⁷³ In contrast, the postal stone inscriptions at Nosy Mangabé in Madagascar remain in situ and are exclusively Dutch.⁷⁴ It is the only known in situ European poste restante in the Indian Ocean.

In his 1726 book on the Cape of Good Hope, François Valentijn describes the early common practice of leaving letters underneath stones, the locations of which were supposed to be known only to Dutch seamen. This practice was well known to Hartog and his crew. In the letter written during their

time at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa (August 1616), for example, Dirk Hartog, Gilles Mibais, and Joannes Steijns state how they found two letters underneath a large stone on the beach, in the vicinity of a river. They included copies of both letters in their own correspondence; one was left by the crew of the vessel *Hart* on its way to Bantam and the other by the men from the ship *Mauritius* en route to the Netherlands.⁷⁵ The Dutch, however, soon realized that other nationalities arriving at the same location were confiscating the Dutch mail and the intelligence it contained. The VOC then resorted to using the local population for the exchange of company mail.⁷⁶

Soon, however, trading posts like Batavia (1619) and Cape Town (1652) grew into well-organized communities with permanent populations, facilities for re-provisioning ships, proper shipyards for maintaining and repairing vessels, and designated postal services for crews and company officials.⁷⁷ Thereafter, the need for the more remote and uninhabited anchorages, which served also as post restante, waned and ships visited them less frequently—and, then, generally only in emergencies.

The post restante at Nosy Mangabé remained an important remote anchorage. It provided shelter, fresh water, and pineapples when in season. Here, on a small beach, still known today as *Plage des Hollandais*, crewmembers with masonry skills cleared and prepared rock faces and chiselled messages. At the base of these rocks, they also left letters, carefully wrapped in layers of canvas and tar and sealed inside lead envelopes. The crew of the next Dutch ship to anchor in that place would note the message on the rock and collect the letters.

Amongst all inscriptions found on postal stones, four Dutch and two English inscriptions refer specifically to paper letters deposited under the stone or in the immediate vicinity. The following inscription from Nosy Mangabé, for example, states that a letter was placed beneath it. The actual letter was collected by the crew of a subsequent Dutch ship and taken back to the Netherlands, where it now resides in the National Archive in The Hague.

The ship *Goes* arrived
here in September 1610
and departed on
24 September,
heading to Mauritius,
with merchant Steven Coteels
and skipper
Cornelis Reynierszoon.
Hereunder [lies a letter].

1610
HIER GEARIVT
SEPTEMB
HET SCHIP DER GOES
EN VERTROCK DEN
24 NAER MA[URITIUS]
COOPM STEV[EN]
COTEELS SCHI[PPER]
CORNS REY[NIERSZ]
HIER OND[ER]

These inscriptions are part of a communication system, and they show how European ships relayed information about their whereabouts when far from home. They are the forerunners of the modern-day mailbox. In absence of

stone, other materials were used. When François Leguat and his companions arrived on the Island of Rodrigues, east of Mauritius, in 1693, for example, they found:

...the Names of some Dutchmen, who had Landed there before, Written on the Bark of some Trees, with the date of the Time; and this put us in mind of doing the same when we left it. We therefore wrote an Abridgment of our History in French and Dutch with the date of our Arrival, the time of our Abode, and our Departure.⁷⁸

By the same token, in 1749, Michel Adanson described baobab trees on the Magdalene Islands off Cape Verde on the Senegal coast bearing the names of Europeans carved deeply in their bark. His companions added their own information to the trees, while he contented himself:

For my part, I was satisfied with repairing two of them, which were old enough to deserve the trouble: one was dated to the fifteenth and the other the sixteenth century. The letters were about six inches long; but in breadth they occupied only a very small part of the circumference of the trunk.⁷⁹

Such trees probably no longer exist and undoubtedly have been felled and, like many of the postal stones, used as construction material. Trees, wooden tablets, or pewter plates, like the Hartog Inscription Plate, were thus suitable alternatives when stone was unavailable.

Other Dutch Postal Inscriptions along the Australian Coast

Hartog was not the only Dutch seafarer to leave a postal inscription along the Australian coast in the seventeenth century. Jan Carstenszoon's expedition of 1623, for example, erected a wooden tablet somewhere in the south-eastern corner of the Gulf of Carpentaria.⁸⁰ In January 1623, Carstenszoon had set sail with the ships *Pera* and *Arnem* from Ambon Island in the Moluccas to explore the South Land.⁸¹ His ships took a route similar to that of *Duyfken* in 1606 and, like Janszoon before them, also failed to find the Torres Strait. From 12 April 1623, Carstenszoon sailed down the west coast of Cape York, travelling farther south than Janszoon.⁸² The account of his journey is the earliest surviving journal of a Dutch explorer and gives us the first European description of any part of Australia. Carstenszoon reached a river on 24 April that he named Staten River, after the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. In his journal, he states:

...since by resolution it has been determined to begin the return-voyage at this point, we have, in default of stone caused a wooden tablet to be nailed to a tree, the said tablet having the following words carved into it: "Anno 1623 den 24n April sijn hier aen gecomen twee jachten wegen de Hooge Mogende Heeren Staten Gen." [A.D. 1623, on the 24th of April, there



Figure 6
Cliff top at Cape Inscription with the two modern wooden posts that mark the approximate location of where Hartog and De Vlaming left their posts and plates, northern end of Dirk Hartog Island.

Photographer: Patrick Baker, Western Australian Museum.

arrived here two yachts dispatched by their High Mightinesses the States-General].⁸³

Some have suggested that the tablet was erected in the vicinity of what is now known as the Gilbert River and *not* the present-day Staaten River, which runs slightly to the north.⁸⁴ The wooden tablet left by Carstenszoon has not survived, probably because it was placed on inhabited land. Likewise, the natural environment here, especially the moist climate and white ants, is detrimental to the preservation of wooden artefacts. Similar to the formula of other ship communications, the tablet included the mention (if not the actual names) of the vessels, the date of their arrival, and other particulars.

De Vlaming's Crew Find the Hartog Inscription Plate in 1697

The Hartog Inscription Plate survived because, unlike Carstenszoon's wooden tablet, it was placed on an unpopulated island away from human activity. More than eighty years later, on 3 February 1697, Willem de Vlaming's crew found the plate, which had fallen from its deteriorating wooden post.⁸⁵

De Vlaming had set out from Texel on 3 May 1696 with a fleet of three ships—*Geelvink*, *Nijptang*, and *Wezeltje*—to explore the Western Australian coast and to search for the lost ship *Ridderschap van Holland*.⁸⁶ The fleet anchored at Dirk Hartog Island on 1 February of the following year, upon which some of the crews set out in the ship's boats to explore ashore and to erect a wooden postal tablet to mark their passage. The journal kept on the ship *Nyptang* provides the following details:

On the 3rd, Vlaming's chief pilot [Michiel Bloem from Bremen] returned on board; he reported that he had explored eighteen leagues, and that it was an island. He brought with him a tin plate, which in the lapse of time had fallen from a post to which it had been attached, and on which was cut the

Figure 7
The Departure of a Dignitary from Middelburg,
Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne, 1615.
Courtesy: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



name of the captain, Dirk Hatichs, as well as the names of the first and second merchants, and of the chief pilot of the vessel *Eendracht*, which arrived here in the year 1616, on the 25th October, and left for Bantam on the 27th of the same month.⁸⁷

On 11 February, the crew replaced Hartog's flattened pewter plate with a new one inscribed with Hartog's original words along with new text detailing the arrival and departure of the De Vlaming expedition (Figure 6).⁸⁸ The 1697 plate states:

1616
OCTOBER 25TH HERE
ARRIVED THE SHIP EENDRACHT
FROM AMSTERDAM, THE SUPERCARGO GILLIS
MIEBAIS OF LUIK, SKIPPER DIRCK HATICHS
OF AMSTERDAM, THE 27 DITO LEFT FOR BANTAM
THE JUNIOR MERCHANT JAN STINS, THE FIRST STEERS-
MAN PIETER DOOKES OF BIL, ANNO 1616.
1697 FEBRUARY 4TH HAS HERE ARRIVED THE SHIP
GEELVINK OF AMSTERDAM, THE COMMANDER AND SKIPPER
WILLEM DE VLAMING OF VLIELAND, ASSISTANT JOANNES
BREMER OF COPENHAGEN, FIRST STEERSMAN MICHIL
BLOEM OF THE BISHOPRIC BREMEN, THE HOOKER NIJPTANG
SKIPPER COLAART OF AMSTERDAM, ASSISTANT THEODORIS
HERIMANS OF DITO, FIRST STEERSMAN GERRIT
GERITSEN OF BREMEN, THE GALLIOT
WESELTJE, COMMANDER CORNELIS DE VLAMING
OF VLIELAND, STEERSMAN COERT GERRITSEN
OF BREMEN AND SET SAIL FROM HERE WITH OUR
FLEET AS FORESAID, THE SOUTH LAND
TO EXPLORE FURTHER AND DESTINED
FOR BATAVIA
XX12A
VOC⁸⁹

During their voyage to the South Land and prior to placing the new marker at Cape Inscription, De Vlaming's crew had left several wooden tablets with similar inscriptions along the coasts of Tristan de Cunha Island and on Amsterdam and Saint Paul islands.⁹⁰ This was much like Carstenszoon's practice—and undoubtedly that of many other Dutch seafarers—from decades prior of leaving wooden tablet markers. Skipper Jan Jacobszoon of VOC ship *Nachtglas*, for example, wrote in his journal that on 10 January 1656 he had set an inscribed wooden tablet to confirm his arrival and departure on Tristan de Cunha.⁹¹ The two tablets that De Vlaming left on the islands of Saint Paul and Amsterdam were recorded by the crew of another ship in his fleet that was following a day behind. The tablet on Saint Paul Island read:



Figure 8
The Two Plates, commemorative plaque,
Dirk Hartog Island, Shark Bay.
Courtesy Alec Coles.



Figure 9
Detail of the South Land as discovered by Willem de Vlaming showing the location of where his expedition found the Hartog Inscription Plate (alhier de tinnen schootel gevonden=found a pewter plate here). Orientation: North is left.

Cartographer: Victor Victorsz, 1697.
Nationaal Archief, 4, Vel 509.

Figure 10
Coastal profile of the northern end of Dirk Hartog Island as observed during Willem de Vlaming's expedition. On the right, the location is marked where the expedition members found the Hartog Inscription Plate (Een d'tinnen schootel gevonden=found a pewter plate).

Cartographer: Victor Victorsz, 1696. Maritiem Museum Rotterdam, object number K268-5.



Eastward: Ship the *Geelvink*, Skipper Willem de Vlaming, Ao 1696

Westward: The Hooker the *Nyptang*, and the Galion the *Wezeltje*, on the way to the South-land
November 29 [1696].⁹²

The inscription on the tablet posted on Amsterdam Island read:

The Ship the *Geelvink*. [16]96. Willem de Vlaming. The Hooker the *Nyptang*, and the Galion the *Wezel*, the three ships on their way to the South-land, the 3rd December.⁹³

De Vlaming recognised the historical significance of the 1616 Hartog Inscription Plate and chose the exact same location to erect his own post and inscription plate; the existing crevice in the cliff rock providing the perfect location for such a marker. His chief cartographer, Victor Victorszoon, recorded the location of the Hartog Cape Inscription on a chart and a coastal view of their exploration along the Western Australian coast (Figures 7–8). He marked the location of where the pewter plate was found with cross on the chart and a small post on the coastal view, and labelled both with the text “*een tinnen schotel gevonden*” (a pewter plate found here).⁹⁴

De Vlaming took the Hartog Inscription Plate to Batavia, wherefrom it was sent to VOC authorities in Amsterdam. In the accompanying letter, Governor-General Willem van Outhoorn details the find and expresses his astonishment that the plate survived so well, being subject to the influences of the natural elements.⁹⁵ The Hartog Inscription Plate is listed on the cargo manifest of the great cabin of VOC ship *Lands Welvaren*:

1 pewter plate found on a post at the South Land, which according to its inscription was affixed to it by the authority of the ship *Eendracht* anno 1616.⁹⁶

Lands Welvaren set sail from Batavia to the Netherlands on 30 November 1697 as part of a fleet under Commander Klaas Bichon.⁹⁷ In the Netherlands, the Hartog Inscription Plate was eventually accessioned into the collection of the Rijksmuseum in 1883.⁹⁸ The story of the Hartog Inscription Plate and its

loss and recovery between its retrieval by De Vlaming and its accessioning in the museum has been recorded elsewhere.⁹⁹

Cultural Heritage in the Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century World

De Vlaming's recognition of the cultural heritage value of Hartog's pewter plate is noteworthy, and should be considered alongside other examples of a growing recognition of the value of such objects for historical record. The aforementioned example of Michel Adanson restoring the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century carved tree inscriptions can be considered in the same light. During his visit in 1710, the Dutch naturalist François Valentijn happened across a postal stone at the Cape of Good Hope. It was displayed in a public street and bore the following inscription:

Jacob Dedel, councillor of the Indies, Martinus Sonck, treasurer,
Jacob Lodesteyn, skipper, arrived with the ship *Amsterdam* on
20 May, departed to Batavia on 14 June [1619].¹⁰⁰

Valentijn highlights the historical significance of the stone and states that, had the stone been lighter, he would have taken it with him in order to preserve it as an antiquity from the Cape.¹⁰¹ The inscription refers to the historic voyage in which Jacob Dedel and his *Amsterdam* crew had set sail from the Cape and came upon the south-western coast of Australia, which they explored. That region subsequently was named after him, becoming known as *d'Edelsland* (Figure 5).¹⁰² Valentijn's words testify to a growing appreciation for the value of postal stones as cultural heritage objects of historical significance regarding early European contact with and exploration of newly discovered lands.

Inscriptions to Assert Territorial Claims

Carstenszoon's wooden tablet and the Hartog and Vlaming pewter plates do not specifically make any claim on behalf of the VOC to the land upon which they were posted. They functioned only as confirmation of that particular expedition's presence in Australia—testimony to their ships anchoring at Staaten River and the Dirk Hartog Island anchorage.

Historic examples of inscription markers that assert territorial claims demonstrate a much different nature. For example, Carstenszoon claimed Aru Island in the Indonesian Archipelago while his ships *Arnhem* and *Pera* were en route to the South Land. His journal clearly states that a wooden column was erected on 1 February 1623:

It was decided and allowed that a wooden column, for lack of stone, be nailed to the bailiff's office in the village *Wodgier* on said island; and carved into it the following words:

"Anno 1623 primo Febr. the yachts *Pera* and *Arnem* arrived here in *Aru*, commander Jan Carstensz., merchants Jan Bruwel and Pieter Lintges, skippers Jan Sluijs and Dirck

Melisz., navigating officers Arent Martensz. and Jan Jansz., by order and commission of Ed. Hr. Gener. Jan Pietersen Coen, in name of the High Mightinesses the States-General, of his Excellency the Prince of Orange etc. and of the Lords Managers of the United East India Company of the United Provinces, and also on the 4th the island is taken into possession of the aforementioned Lords; also they, the orancais and the people, pledged obedience and subjection to the aforementioned Lords and have received the Prince's flag."¹⁰³

The wooden tablet declared specifically that the VOC of the United Provinces of the Netherlands claimed Aru Island in Indonesia, and served as notice and record of possession of the land. According to Peter Sigmond, references to territorial claims were not a standard element of Dutch seafarers' instructions, and he states that no such provisions can be traced to the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ Such instructions do exist, however, as exemplified by the 29 September 1622 instructions for the yachts *Haring* and *Hazewind*, which stipulate the following regarding their exploration of the South Land:

Of all which places, lands and islands, the commander and officers of these yachts, by order and pursuant to the commission of the Worshipful Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen, sent out to India by their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands, and by the Lords Managers of the General Chartered United East India Company established in the same, will, by solemn declaration signed by the ships' councils, take formal possession, and in sign thereof, besides, erect a stone column in such places as shall be taken possession of; the said column recording in bold, legible characters the year, the month, the day of the week and the date, the persons by whom and the hour of the day when such possession has been taken on behalf of the States-General above mentioned.¹⁰⁵

Similar instructions were given to Abel Tasman when he commenced his 1642 and 1644 expeditions to Australia. On the first voyage, Tasman sailed around Australia and discovered New Zealand and Staten Island, which, subsequent to his discovery, was later named Tasmania. His instructions were to take possession of all lands and islands that he should discover, call upon, or set foot on, in the name of the States-General as the sovereign of the United Provinces.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, he was required to erect a stone in commemoration of such. The orders for Tasman's second journey, to the north coast of Australia, also included specific instructions to erect a stone or wood displaying the arms of the Company and inscriptions, cut or carved, detailing the year and date that each land was discovered and claimed in the name of the Netherlands.¹⁰⁷

In the first half of the seventeenth century, VOC instructions to at least three known voyages of exploration to the South Land conveyed explicit orders to claim discovered lands. It is obvious as well that these instructions would have

led to the erection of marker inscriptions that detailed the company's specific assertion of title to the land. Such inscriptions were of a different nature than the Hartog Cape Inscription and all other postal inscriptions on stones, trees, and wooden tablets from both archaeological and historical contexts.

This chapter clearly demonstrated that the Hartog Cape Inscription was part of a maritime communication system employed by Dutch seafarers in the seventeenth century. While there have been numerous papers and discussions published regarding the inscribed pewter plate left by Dirk Hartog, this chapter sought to lay out the historical or archaeological evidence of other wooden tablets, postal stones, and inscribed trees of similar purpose. The Hartog Plate is the humble, tangible evidence of the short visit by *Eendracht's* crew to an uninhabited island off the Unknown South Land. If Hartog had erected his inscription on the inhabited mainland and on a wooden tablet, like so many others did, it almost certainly would not have survived. De Vlaming's landing on Dirk Hartog Island and his discovery of the inscription plate has reinforced the importance of Dirk Hartog's discovery and allowed the plate to enter into the archaeological record and, eventually, the museum system. The plate and other such artefacts are important to understanding the early communication methods of sailors far from home before more official means of communication were established.

The Cape Inscription Site on National Heritage List

In 1991, Dirk Hartog Island was included in the Shark Bay World Heritage Area in recognition of its outstanding natural universal values. Some fifteen years later, on 6 April 2006, the site of the Hartog and De Vlaming Inscription Plates was added and declared to the Australian National Heritage List. The site is unique, as modern-day visitors can locate the site precisely and stand in the exact spot where Dirk Hartog, Willem de Vlaming, their crews and other European explorers once stood. This characteristic is what gives this site such a special heritage value beyond its historical significance.

In the Amsterdam neighbourhood of seafaring heroes, a street named after Hartog - Dirk Hartogh Straat - honours the skipper's legacy (Figure 10).



Figure 11
Brett Mason Australian Ambassador to NL standing in front of the street sign of 'Dirk Hartogh Straat' in the so-called seafaring-heroes neighbourhood, Amsterdam's Westerpark area, Netherlands.
Courtesy: Australian Embassy in The Hague.

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Figure 12
 'The Golden Age' *Man Handing a Letter to a Woman in the Entrance Hall of a House*, Pieter de Hooch, 1670.
 Courtesy: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

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- 43 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 1, pp. 264–65; Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 2, pp. 288 and 331.
- 44 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 1, pp. 264–65.
- 45 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 1, p. 265.
- 46 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 1, p. 256.
- 47 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 1, p. 249; Hartogh Heys van Zouteveen, 'Dirk Hartog', p. 123.
- 48 Between January and March 1617, the ship *Eendracht* must have arrived in Bantam, northwest Java, Indonesia. Letters dated 4 and 17 April 1617 both state that *Eendracht* had sailed from Bantam to Ambon. Director-General Coen in Bantam mentions that the ship was sent 'to Ambon' (4 April), and sailed from 'here' (17 April). He also mentioned that *Eendracht* was expected to be battling prevailing easterly winds (=monsoon winds from November to March, is consistent with winds that the ship would encounter when sailing from Bantam). On 16 May 1617, *Eendracht* is in Ambon, Maluku Islands, Indonesia. It is not clear when it arrived how long it staid here. Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 2, pp. 221 and 228; IJzerman and Steijns, 'Het schip *Eendracht* voor Makassar in December 1616', p. 349.
- 49 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 2, pp. 221, 306, and 308.
- 50 1 *bhaar* or *bahar* equalled 500 Amsterdam pounds. It was a local measure of capacity which approximately equalled 500 Amsterdam pounds of spices; the weight was dependent on specific spices and regional differences (on the Moluccas, for example, the Portuguese *bahar* was used, which corresponded to 550 Dutch pounds, and mention is made, for example, of the Moluccan *bahar* being 625 Amsterdam pounds and the Ambon *bahar* being 550 Amsterdam pounds). One Amsterdam or Troyes pound weighed 0.494kg. See: Kooijmans and Schooneveld-Oosterling, *VOC Glossarium*, *bahar* and pond.
- 51 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 2, p. 274.
- 52 Coen, *Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, vol. 2, p. 283–84, 286.
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Figure 13
Dorpskermis (Village Fair) ca. 1610 – During Dirk Hartog's lifetime. Willem Isaacsz. van Swanenburg, after David Vinckboons, 1595 - 1612 Courtesy: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

