

Report on the history of the arrival of the feral cat population in Western Australia

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SUMMARY

This investigation was commissioned by the CALMScience Division of the Western Australian Department of Conservation and Land Management with a view to understanding the spread of the feral cat population across the continent. It has been proposed that cats arrived in Western Australia via Dutch shipwrecks on the west coast in the 17th and 18th centuries; with Macassan trepangers on the north and north-west coasts; or overland from the east coast. This report examines the evidence for each of these possibilities, and considers others. Oral evidence from Aboriginal people suggests that the arrival of the cat pre-dates the arrival of both foxes and rabbits by some margin. Aboriginal people have also claimed that cats came from the west, which would tend to point toward the ships of the Dutch and/or other Europeans as the source of cats. With the exception of Matthew Flinders' *Investigator*, however, no definite evidence for cats on board vessels making landfall on the Western Australian coast until 1826 has been uncovered. Furthermore, a thorough examination of the available sources has revealed no evidence of cats being carried on board Macassan praus.

INTRODUCTION

This report sets out the discoveries made in relation to the question of when and how feral cats (*Felis catus*, Linn. 1758) first arrived in Western Australia (WA).

METHODS

Material relating to the history of feral cats was located through extensive searches of library catalogues, article databases and the internet, as well as bibliographies of relevant monographs and articles, and research notes at the Batty Library, Perth, WA. This research has been confined to published sources in the English language.

OVERVIEW OF CURRENT KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF CATS IN AUSTRALIA

The domestic cat (*Felis catus* Linn. 1758) is believed to be descended primarily from the wild cat of Africa and extreme south-western Asia (*F. sylvestris libyca*). It was domesticated in Egypt around 4000 years ago, and introduced into Europe around 2000 years ago, where some interbreeding occurred with the wild subspecies *F. sylvestris silvestris* (Nowak 1991). It is known that cats accompanied the first British settlers in Australia, and that they were established over the greater part, and perhaps all, of the Australian continent by the end of the nineteenth century. The first record of a feral cat in the Northern Territory was by one Mr Winnecke, who in 1883 saw a cat near the Queensland border, on what is now Tobermorey Station (Johnson 1991). Long (1988) notes that in WA, feral cats were recorded at Lake Prinsep between 1890 and 1896, and at Lake Darlot (north of Leonora) in 1894. In 1891, Wells reported a cat in the northern part of the Victoria Desert, approximately 400 miles from any European settlement (Finlayson 1961). Cats were reported in the north-west of South Australia by J. Carruthers in 1892 (Johnson 1991), and Long (1988) and Johnson (1991) both refer to D.W. Carnegie's 1897 report of meeting two Aboriginal women who had caught a black domestic cat in the Winnecke Hills, around 500 km west of Alice Springs. Long also notes the first recorded reports of cats on islands off the Western Australian coast: Monte Bello Is. 1912, Dirk Hartog Is. 1917, Bernier Is. 1906–07 (but absent in 1959), Pelsart Is. 1913. Historian Eric Rolls tells of how when Arthur Mason was sent by the West Australian Under-Secretary For Lands to look for rabbits in unmapped country east of Kalgoorlie in 1896, he reported that west of Eucla, there were more traces of domestic cats than rabbits (Rolls 1969, p.153). As the century drew to a close, cats were seen as a potential solution to the problem posed by rabbits, and they were deliberately released, sometimes in large numbers. For example, 200 cats from Adelaide were released between Eyre Patch and Mt Ragged on the south coast of WA in 1899, on the orders of the Colonial Secretary (Long 1988).

There remains, however, some uncertainty as to when and how cats first arrived on the continent, and several

authors have sought to explain how cats came to be found in areas remote from the frontier of white settlement. Several authors have proposed that the cats arrived via Macassans, who collected trepang (Holothurioidea) in the shallow waters on the coasts of the Kimberley, Arnhem Land and the Gulf of Carpentaria from the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier (Underhill 1987; Johnson 1991; McKinnon 1991). In 1965 Fred Russ, then owner of Gibb River Station in the Kimberley, told A.J. Marshall, who was on a Monash University expedition to the area, 'there was a faint possibility that, long before the white man came, Malays had traded domestic cats to the coastal populations of Aborigines' (Marshall 1966, p.172). Others have proposed that cats were often carried on board European ships in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as pets and for rodent control, and as evidence for the number of cats likely to be carried on a ship several cite the example of Captain Cook, who left 20 cats on Tahiti, as well as some on the islands Ulietea and Huaheine, in 1774 (see for example Fitzgerald 1990; Newsome 1991; Strahan 1995; original reference to be found in Beaglehole 1961, p.412). Strahan also notes that Banks' *Endeavour* journal lists 'catts' aboard in 1768 at the crossing into the Atlantic (Beaglehole 1962, p.174), although none are mentioned ashore at Endeavour River where the ship was careened for repairs. With reference to New Zealand, Fitzgerald (1990, p.335) also gives other examples of cats on board eighteenth-century European ships, noting, however, that despite ostensibly being introduced in the 1770s, 'cats apparently did not become feral until at least 50 years later' (notwithstanding which, by the 1830s they were reputedly valued by the Maori as food and for their skins). With regard to the Australian population of feral cats, several authors thus point to Dutch shipwrecks on the west coast of Australia as a likely early source for the feral cat population (Finlayson 1935; Burbidge *et al.* 1988; Johnson 1991; Newsome 1991; Burbidge in O'Neill 1994; Strahan 1995). Other authors mention neither of these theories, asserting merely that cats spread rapidly when introduced by British settlers, particularly when released in large numbers to control rabbits (Davies and Prentice 1980; Serventy 1980; Lever 1985, 1994). Paul Wagner, in the Department of Biological Sciences at Macquarie University, is in the final stages of writing up a thesis on the history of feral cats in Australia. This research has so far revealed no evidence of a Dutch or Portuguese origin for Australian cats, nor any confirmed archaeological evidence for the pre-European presence of cats, although a link with Sulawesi has been suggested (Wagner 1999 personal communication).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES (TERRESTRIAL)

The only reference to cats found in an archaeological context in WA occurred in a report on the contents of 'Thylacine Hole', in the Nullarbor region. This cave is an animal trap, with a near-vertical entrance shaft 0.9 m to 1.8 m in diameter and 12 m deep. On the cave floor were

found a large amount of owl-pellet deposit, as well as the carcasses, skeletons and scattered bones of animals which had died in the cave. These included snakes, lizards, birds, murids, bats, a cat, dogs (?dingoes), rabbits, possums, kangaroos, wallabies, thylacines, native cats, a wombat, and a Tasmanian devil (Lowry and Lowry 1967, p.26).

The Thylacine (Geological Survey of Western Australia Specimen F 6364) in the cave was radiocarbon dated to 3280 ± 90 years B.P., and a dog (presumably a dingo; Geological Survey of Western Australia Specimen F 6343) found in the cave to 2200 ± 96 years B.P. (Lowry and Merrilees 1969, p.15). However, the presence of rabbits indicates that not all of the specimens in the cave are of such great antiquity, and the cat has apparently not been radiocarbon dated.

ABORIGINAL SOURCES

With the exception of two references treated in the section on Macassans (below), the earliest of the direct references to Aboriginal perceptions of the arrival of cats in Australia comes from Fred Russ of Gibb River station, who reported to A.J. Marshall in 1965 that 'forty years ago tribal Aborigines told him that cats were native to the area' (Marshall 1966, p.172). In the most thorough study of Aboriginal knowledge of desert mammals to date, carried out from 1982–85, Andrew Burbidge, Ken Johnson, Phillip Fuller and R. Southgate visited many Aboriginal communities throughout the central deserts and surrounding regions, talking to groups of older people and showing them skins of desert mammals in an attempt to establish the historical distribution and population change for the various species. They found that '[a]ll people questioned regarded cats as always being present. Some indicated that they moved into central Australia from the west' (Burbidge *et al.* 1988, p.32). The researchers also noted that cats were a 'favoured food item'. In a later discussion with Graeme O'Neill, Andrew Burbidge compared this with the Aboriginal knowledge of the arrival of other feral animals:

When we talked to Aborigines about feral animals we got a pretty consistent picture that foxes, rabbits and camels had arrived quite recently ... But they said cats had been present for a long time – many Aborigines regarded them as part of the native fauna. (O'Neill 1994, p.49)

Johnson (1991, p.45) repeated these findings, including the idea that the cats came from the west, and added a reference to a personal communication from Bryan Walsh about an Aboriginal man in the Nhulunbuy area (of the NT) 'who was the keeper or owner of a feral cat dreaming and became most indignant when doubt was cast by a European on its veracity'. However, this incorporation of the cat into Aboriginal totemic systems does not necessarily signify great antiquity – in Groote Eylandt, for example, the totemic system has been modified by the introduction of the Ship totem, as a result of contact with Macassan trepangers (Worsley 1955).

There is perhaps some evidence for the incorporation of the cat into Aboriginal mythology in two myths collected from the Murngin (Wulamba) people of north-east Arnhem Land by W.L. Warner in the 1930s (Warner 1958). These myths, 'Pussy Cat and the Milky Way', and 'Pussy Cat and Crow', see Pussy Cat involved in the creation of star constellations. In the first myth, Warner has placed 'native wild cat' in brackets after the first use of the term 'pussy cat', which perhaps indicates that this was Warner's interpretation of the Aboriginal use of 'pussy cat' (or one of the Aboriginal derivations of the term, such as *puutji* in the Luritja and Pintupi languages). Vincent Serventy recalls that in the 1950s, Aboriginal people in the central desert region referred to feral cats as 'pussycat' (Serventy 1980). It is therefore intriguing that in the myths related by Warner, the use of the term 'pussy cat' – rather than 'native cat' or just 'cat' – is retained, but still assumed to refer to 'native cats'. This is particularly so as the only 'native cat' found in the area is *Santanellus hallucatus*, the Northern Quoll, which is significantly smaller than a cat (Cronin 1991, p.18), apart from their other differences. Warner provides no untranslated version of the myths, so this ambiguity is impossible to resolve. No cats appear in the extensive lists of camp names, sacred names, country names, totems or sign language given by Warner, and nor do they make an appearance in myths with important ritual significance. However, even if it could be confirmed that these myths in fact relate to *Felis catus*, this would still give no definite indication as to the timing of the cats' arrival.

It is interesting to note that in hypothesizing the disappearance of many species of small desert mammals, Burbidge and Fuller (1979) reported that when Aborigines of the Warburton region were questioned 'as to the reasons for the disappearance of the native mammals they often told [Burbidge and Fuller] it was due to predation by cats.' However, the research of Burbidge *et al.* from 1982–85 apparently elicited no similar response (Burbidge *et al.* 1988).

In addition to Carnegie's 1897 report of Aboriginal women in the Winnecke Hills having killed cats for food, in 1900 the *Illustrated handbook of WA* included a reference to cats as an Aboriginal food item (Aytoun 1900). Finlayson (1935) made a similar observation during field work in the central desert region in the early 1930s, as did Thompson (1985) for the east coast of Arnhem Land in 1933. More recently, references have been made to the inclusion of cats in the Aboriginal diet in the central deserts (Finlayson 1961; Serventy 1980; Burbidge *et al.* 1988); Arnhem Land (Meehan 1977); and the Western Desert region (Greenway 1972). However, given the apparent rapidity with which cats were incorporated into the Maori diet in New Zealand (Fitzgerald 1990), and the similarly rapid inclusion of European foods in the Aboriginal diet following the British invasion, even evidence which points to a relatively early inclusion of cats in the diet of some Aboriginal groups would not necessarily indicate that cats had been present in the region for a long time. Furthermore, other studies of Aboriginal diets have omitted cats as a food item: the published work

of the Australian-American Expedition to Arnhem Land in the late 1950s does not refer to cats (Mountford 1960); nor do they appear in Sara Meagher's study of the traditional diet of Aboriginal groups in the south-west of WA, which includes a survey of both the archaeological evidence and written accounts of contemporary white observers between 1831 and 1884 (Meagher 1973, 1974–75).

Burbidge *et al.* (1988) list the names given to cats in eight Aboriginal dialects. Of these, several (such as *anngthathaka*, *nyarapingi*, and *nyumpunypa*) appear novel, while others appear derivative or imitative. For example, *wilyka*, which is common to four of the dialects, could be derivative of the English 'wild cat', and *miiyawu* (common to three of the dialects) would appear to be imitative of the noise made by cats. A linguist would be able to draw more firm conclusions on this matter. However, Finlayson (1935) claimed that it 'is significant that the cat affords the single example of a non-indigenous mammal which has had a Luritja name applied to it', concluding that this may be taken as evidence that the cats had been in the centre of Australia long before white people.

SOURCES ON MACASSANS

Overview

'Macassans' is a term usually taken to refer to those people from present-day Indonesia, who from the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier, came annually to the northern coasts of Australia to collect trepang – edible holothurians – which were processed in Australia before being taken back to island South-East Asia for sale to the Chinese. The trepangers visited two parts of the northern Australian coast: an area they called Marege', which extended from Melville Island, across the coast of Arnhem Land to the Wellesley Islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria; and a section of the Kimberley coast of WA which they called Kaya Jawa, extending from the east side of Napier Broome Bay south-west to Cape Leveque. It is well-documented that on several occasions, Macassans took Aboriginal people back to Macassar, some of whom stayed for years, or perhaps even their entire lives. No reference to cats was found in any of the sources consulted, with the exception of two Aboriginal sources. In order to ascertain whether any older trends, which may have fallen through the gaps in the written record, continued to the present day, Australian Customs and Coastwatch were contacted and asked whether Indonesian fishers or illegal immigrant vessels carried cats. Both denied having seen or heard of cats on board either type of vessel, although poultry were seen on the former.

Records

Macknight (1986) notes that there exists an exceptionally 'complete and detailed' documentary record for trade in Indonesian Archipelago in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, referring in particular to the 'exhaustive and well-informed' account of trade in the

region by Cornelius Speelman in 1670, as well as the accounts of Tomé Pires (early sixteenth century) and Godhino de Erédia (early seventeenth century). From its inception in 1602, the VOC (Nederlandse Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, commonly known as the Dutch East India Company) also kept detailed records, some of which are now held in the Public Records Office in the Hague, and others in Jakarta. Few of the original sources have been translated and published, but surveys of the material have been carried out by many contemporary authors, on whose work I have drawn. Macknight has also drawn on material held in the South Australian Archives, relating to Macassans at Marege' from the 1870s to 1900s. Macassarese and Bugis sources, although worked on extensively by A.A. Cense, J. Noorduyn and local scholars, have not yielded any information on Macassan trepanging in Australia (Macknight 1976). Ronald and Catherine Berndt have recorded descriptions of the Macassans given to them by Aboriginal people in Arnhem Land during field work there in 1946–47 and 1949–50. Contemporary descriptions of the Macassans at work in Australia can be obtained from the journal of Matthew Flinders, who encountered a fleet of praus (Macassan sailing vessels) on the Arnhem Land coast in 1803, and various nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works by authors based in Australia and South-East Asia.

Commencement of Visits

There has been some debate over when the Macassan trepanging began. The earliest date so far has been provided by Ronald and Catherine Berndt (1947, 1954), who estimated that visits by Macassans would probably have commenced some time in the early sixteenth century, to account for the level of influence they achieved on Aboriginal cultures. In his 1969 University of London PhD thesis, 'Late prehistoric changes in Aboriginal culture in Kimberley, Western Australia', Ian Crawford concluded that visits by Macassans commenced some time between 1669 and 1763 (Morwood and Hobbs 1997, p.198). Macknight (1976) initially suggested between 1650 and 1750, but most likely not before 1675. However, on the basis of documentary and archaeological sources, he later brought this estimate forward, placing the commencement of the industry in the 1710s–1720s without, however, ruling out earlier irregular visits (Macknight 1986). Carbon dating of charcoal from Macassan trepang-boiling fireplaces returned a date of around 800 years before present, but Macknight and subsequent authors have challenged this date, citing problems with the dating of mangrove wood, and the need for an oceanic reservoir correction factor. The first reliable record of Macassan trepanging in Australia dates from 1754: in 1751, the Dutch resident of Timor wrote to the authorities in Batavia about a Chinese trader who had set out from Timor to search for turtle-horn on 'the large sand-plate behind Rotti'. After seven days at sea, the trader reached a land to the south, inhabited by people matching the description of Australian Aboriginals. The VOC directors in Amsterdam, upon hearing of the incident, asked for more information

about the Southland, to which authorities in Batavia responded: 'The Southland which is in the Southeast of Timor not far from thence is made now and then from Timor and Makassar, but produces so far [as] we know nothing but trepang, being dried jelly-fish, and wax' (Macknight 1976, p.95).

There is, however, a Macassarese legend with a possible basis in fact, relating to an early Macassarese voyage to Australia. In 1667, after the Macassarese were defeated by the Dutch, it is said that a few praus escaped and ultimately reached the Gulf of Carpentaria. Various landforms and places in the area were named after the leaders of the party, who eventually returned to Macassar, taking with them the first cargo of trepang (Macknight 1976). The significance of the tale lies in the continued use by Macassans of the place-names given in the legend.

Port of Origin

Most of the Macassan praus, and the trepang collectors on them, were Macassarese, a distinct linguistic group occupying the far south-west of the island of Sulawesi (Celebes), and Macassar (or Makassar, now Ujung Pandang), was the port of origin for most voyages to Arnhem Land (Macknight 1976). However, some voyages were also carried out by Bugis craft, and references to crew including a 'papua' or native of New Guinea, Javanese and Seramese also exist (Macknight 1976). Praus also came from areas other than Macassar. Of 13 praus observed by G.W. Earl in Port Essington in 1840, 11 came from Macassar, two 'small' ones from the island of Sumbawa, and one belonged to the Bajau, who are described by Earl as 'without any fixed home, living constantly on board their prahus, numbers of which congregate among the small islands near the southern coasts of Celebes' (Earl 1846, p.65).

Elsewhere, Earl also writes that the Bajau visited Kaya Jawa more often than Marege' (Macknight 1976). Macknight notes in his 1986 paper that '[t]he position in Western Australia is much more complex than in the Northern Territory since there is good written evidence for contact with the lesser Sunda Islands' (1986, p.71), although he neglects to give a source for this evidence. In discussing the history of the trepang industry in the Kimberley, Morwood and Hobbs (1997) claim that 'Makassarese, Bugise, Butonese and Bajau people, from islands such as Sulawesi, Madura, Flores, Timor and Roti' visited the northern coast to collect marine resources including trepang, although the Macassarese dominated the enterprise in both areas prior to 1900 (Morwood and Hobbs 1997).

Route

Pterological and micropore studies of minerals in pottery sherds excavated from a trepanging site at Tamarinda on the Kimberley coast suggested that the sherds originated in Kei Island or Flores, whereas similar analysis of sherds from Arnhem Land suggested a Sulawesi origin. Subsequent analysis of sherds from other Kimberley sites

indicated a similar origin to that of the Tamarinda samples (Burns 1990). These results imply that a different route was taken by Macassans visiting the Arnhem Land coast to those visiting the Kimberley coast, with the voyage to Marege' proceeding via the north-east end of Timor, and praus bound for Kaya Jawa often passing Flores, and between Timor and Roti. Mulvaney (1966) also notes that some praus took this latter route. Macknight describes the route to Marege' in some detail:

From Macassar it lay around the southwest corner of Celebes [Sulawesi], down past Salayar and then southeast towards Timor and the islands fronting it. Dugout fishing canoes were often obtained from the island of Tanahjampea, which was passed on the way. The anchorage on the south of this island is still known as Labuan Marege' (1976, pp.33–34).

He also notes that praus passing around the north-east end of Timor sometimes stopped to take on fresh water, and to collect 'spare parts' in the form of bamboo and rattan from the neighbouring island of Kisar. In a later work, Macknight (1986) discerned from Dutch archives that in the late seventeenth century, praus on their way to Marege' stopped first at the island of Bonerate. Taking a linguistic perspective on the issue, M.J. Walsh (1986, p.47) has produced a map (based on J. Urry's calculation of 'Macassan' influence on languages at Port Keats) showing possible routes taken by Macassarese and Buginese which resulted in loan words in the Murinypata language.

The crossing from Timor to Melville Island usually took four days, and the entire one-way journey from Macassar 10–15 days (Macknight 1976). Praus were occasionally caught in storms and wrecked; Macknight (1976) provides a table showing that on average one or two praus were wrecked or went missing every year on the voyage to Marege' between 1881 and 1900.

Life on Board and in Australia

The most extensive work so far on Aboriginal traditions relating to the Macassans was carried out in Arnhem Land by the Berndts in the late 1940s. The Macassans are seen by the Aboriginal people in an historic context, as opposed to pre-Macassan visitors, called the *Bainii*, or *Bajjini*, who in Aboriginal mythology appear after the peopling of the land, but still contemporaneous with some dreamtime Ancestral Beings. In Aboriginal myths, the Macassans established more or less permanent settlements on the coast, built houses on stilts, planted tamarind trees and coconut palms, and manufactured knives, cloth, sails and pottery. They also 'kept fowls (*gerauwul*), tied to the posts of their huts by one leg, around which a ring was fastened: and in the praus they brought cats (*miu*) as well' (Berndt and Berndt 1954, p.43). This word for cat is similar to the Macassarese word (see below), although both are clearly imitative of the noise made by cats. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) library catalogue also lists a publication by Peter White (White 1968), which is annotated as referring to 'Arnhem Land and Macassan influence on art, myth,

ceremonial; introduction of tamarind and bamboo, domestic fowls and cats'. The inclusion of fowls alongside cats arouses the suspicion that this work quite probably refers back to the Berndts. However, attempts to view this publication, categorized by AIATSIS as 'restricted use', have not been successful. In an apparent change of mind, White later declared that 'there is no certain record of animal introductions by Macassans', and indeed with the exception of the dingo, 'no definite evidence for the introduction of animals into Australia in the prehistoric period' (White 1971, pp.188–189). In a still more recent publication, *A prehistory of Australia, New Guinea and Sahul*, White makes no mention of cats, except to note that feral cats now exist (White and O'Connell 1982).

The Aboriginal evidence cannot be ignored, however it must be treated with some caution. Although the reference to fowls is verified to some extent by other sources, including European ones, the assertion that the Macassans made pottery in Australia out of termite mound clay has been challenged by Mulvaney (1966) and Macknight (1972), on the grounds that it would be unusual for pottery to be made on a trepaning expedition; the absence of archaeological evidence of pottery wheels, paddles, kilns and so on; the difficulty of making any pottery from termite mounds; and microscopic examination of sherds which has revealed the presence of volcanic minerals not found in northern Australia. Subsequent analysis of pottery sherds has placed their origin in Sulawesi and Flores or Kei Island (see above). Mulvaney (1966) and Macknight (1972, 1976) also challenge the Aboriginal assertion that the Macassans set up semi-permanent settlements.

The Berndts divide Macassan trepaning into two distinct periods: the first lasting from the sixteenth century to the 1820s, and the second, characterized by more fractious relations between the Macassans and Aboriginal people (as well as Europeans, in the latter part of the period), from the 1820s to the end of the industry in 1907, when the visits were prohibited by the Commonwealth Government. It is possible that, although there is no documentary or archaeological evidence for contact beginning before the eighteenth century (with the exception of the equivocal carbon dating mentioned above), if such earlier contact did occur, the building of semi-permanent settlements, and the transportation of cats, may have been two of the differences between the undocumented early period, and the way the industry operated in the later period. Alternately, the inclusion of cats in the Aboriginal myths may be explained with reference to the way in which the latter are constructed. Kenneth Maddock has analysed Aboriginal myths relating to both Captain Cook and the Macassans, in order to test the relationship between myth and history as it has occurred in Australia. He suggests that the value of the stories 'lies less in enabling the past to be reconstructed as in giving a 'reading' of an Aboriginal sense of themselves, or of their past, in relation to the outside world' (Maddock 1988, p.21). If the inclusion of cats in Aboriginal tradition is interpreted in this way, it could be seen to represent

evidence that cats were regarded as something which arrived from 'outside', contemporaneously with that other major 'outside' influence, the Macassans, but not necessarily arriving on board their praus. Unless cats are regarded as a later embellishment of the myths, these stories would therefore indicate that cats arrived prior to the British invasion, most likely via early explorers or shipwrecks.

Of those non-Aboriginal authors who had contact with the Macassans, and wrote of conditions aboard their praus, none mention cats. The earliest reference consulted – *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* – (c.1515), refers to the praus of the traders and pirates of the islands of Macassar, but makes no mention of either trepang or cats. Nearly three hundred years later Flinders (1966), meeting with a fleet of Macassan praus on 17 February 1803, recorded conditions on the praus in more detail: 'They carry a month's water, in joints of bamboo; and their food is rice, cocoa nuts, and dried fish, with a few fowls for the chiefs' (Flinders 1966, p.231). A similar description is given by Peter Good, the Gardener on board Flinders' voyage (Good 1981). King (1827), who encountered a fleet of Macassan praus at Coepang (now Kupang) in Timor in 1818, similarly makes no mention of cats, and nor does J. Crawford (1820), in his extensive *History of the Indian Archipelago* (written subsequent to a nine-year stay in the region from 1808). Earl, observing Macassan praus in Port Essington in 1840 referred to poultry on board the vessels, but not cats (Earl 1846, p.65).

A.R. Wallace, a naturalist who spent several years in the archipelago, arriving back in England with 310 species of mammals in 1862, wrote an extensive work on the archipelago that was published in 1869. The only species of *Felis* mentioned in the work is *F. megalotis*, 'a tiger cat, said to be peculiar to Timor, where it exists only in the interior, and is very rare' (Wallace 1869, p.208). In the only reference discovered so far in the non-Aboriginal Asian literature to carnivores of any description being transported, Wallace mentions that the Malay civet, *Viverra zibethica*, a species relatively common throughout the archipelago, was

made captive by the Malays, who procure civet from it ... an animal very restless and untamable, and therefore likely to escape. This view is rendered still more probable by what Antonio de Morga tells us was the custom in the Philippines in 1602. He says that 'the natives of Mindanao carry about civet-cats in cages, and sell them in the islands; and they take the civet from them, and let them go again' (Wallace 1869, p.392).

In his survey of the mammals of the south-west Pacific and Moluccan Islands, Tim Flannery (1995) notes that the palm civet (*Paradoxurus hermaphroditus*) was possibly introduced to the North Moluccas to help control rodents. Nowak (1991, p.1154) refers to this animal being carried by people from island to island for use as a rat catcher – a practice probably accounting for its presence on Sulawesi and Timor. Flannery also notes that although *Felis catus* is found on 'most larger islands in the region', its exact distribution is unclear. It is possible, therefore, that

historically, civets have largely replaced cats for rodent control in the region, which would explain the paucity of reference to cats (on land and on boats) in the historical sources.

In describing his travels throughout the region, including a detailed description of a voyage on a 'native prau' (in which he travelled from Macassar to the Aru Islands over 14 days in December 1856), Wallace refers to almost every species of domestic animal, including dogs, but not to domestic cats. Nor do they appear in his description of the bustling trade centre of Dobbo, in the Aru Islands. In a more recent work by Alfred Searcy (1909), who was stationed at Port Darwin as sub-collector of Customs for 14 years from June 1882, there is still no mention of cats, although Searcy is clearly interested in the fauna of the region, speculating that 'the animal from which the dingo has sprung' may have come from Chinese stock, via Portuguese traders (an hypothesis which we now know to be untrue). As a customs officer, Searcy regularly boarded praus, and it is unlikely that he would have overlooked the presence of cats on them (particularly as his first vessel, the cutter *Flying Cloud*, was itself infested with rats and cockroaches). The only published manifest for a Macassan prau was taken by Macknight (1976) from South Australian archives, for a prau departing for Marege' in 1886. Cats are not included in the list.

Language

The tendency for several Aboriginal linguistic groups to use imitative names for 'cat' (see above) could make it difficult to distinguish whether they borrowed Macassan names: the regular Macassarese word for 'cat' is *miong* (Cense 1979), and forms given by nineteenth-century travellers include *miao* for South Sulawesi and *miau* for Bajau (Wallace 1869), and *meyung* for both Macassar and Bugis dialects and *maioh* for a Roti dialect (Crawford 1820). Furthermore, even if such a link could be established, it would not necessarily indicate that the cats arrived on board the Macassan praus, merely that they appeared in the area contemporaneously. In an article which appeared in *Aboriginal History* in 1981, Alan Walker and R. David Zorc offered a list of words recognizably 'borrowed' from Macassarese and other Austronesian languages by Aboriginal speakers of Yolngu-Matha, who live mainly in north-eastern Arnhem Land. It is perhaps pertinent that the list contained the words for pig, sheep/goat, buffalo, horse, dog, prawn, mudcrab, and jellyfish, but not cat. Although the list is not fully comprehensive, the authors were assisted by 11 Yolngu-Matha speakers, and it would be surprising if the word for cat was inadvertently overlooked.

Conclusion

No reference to cats was found in any of the sources relating to Macassans, with the exception of two references to Aboriginal traditions, which must not necessarily be taken to mean that the Macassans were the source of the cats. Although there is always the potential that as a commonplace their presence was overlooked, that they

travelled only occasionally on praus, or that they accompanied Macassans only in the very early stages of the industry, the overwhelming absence of cats in the historical sources relating to Macassans makes it very unlikely that they were introduced from Sulawesi or other Indonesian islands by Macassan trepangers (although it is possible that they may have been introduced from Batavia [Jakarta] or other ports by European vessels).

OTHER POTENTIAL SOURCES OF CATS: THE BAIJINI, ARABS, CHINESE AND PORTUGUESE

Several authors have pointed to the possibility of people other than the Dutch, French, English and Macassans landing on Australian soil. Most of these proposals are based on much conjecture and relatively little evidence, and can therefore not be pinpointed with any certainty as the source of feral cats in Australia. In the interests of comprehensiveness, however, I have provided a brief survey of the available evidence.

Several references occur in the literature to accidental 'drift voyages' from Timor and other islands in the archipelago. As well as the case of the Chinese trader who sailed and drifted his way from Timor to Australia, referred to in the Dutch records of 1751 (see above), Erédia, writing in the 1600s, recorded several examples of native and Portuguese craft, as well as a Chinese junk, being blown southward of various islands by the north-west monsoon. Similarly, in the 1840s, G.W. Earl noted that nearly every Timorese village mourned the loss of praus blown to the south-east (Mulvaney 1975). The Berndts (1954) also refer to Aboriginal stories of 'spirit canoes' – sometimes containing people – which were blown onto Arnhem Land shores, and Colin Jack-Hinton (1989, p.41) proposes that 'drift voyages have almost as great an antiquity as the populations of Timor, Tanimbar and the Aru Islands'. On a different note, Walker and Zorc (1981, p.109) refer to 'Philippine Lanaw pirates (who apparently operated off the coast of northern Australia)'.

The same Arnhem Land Aboriginal song cycles that refer to the Macassans also refer to a group of people called the *Baijini*, or *Bainii*, a light-skinned people who arrived before the Macassans. The *Baijini* were said to have built stone houses, cultivated the land, made cloth and collected trepang. The presence of *Baijini* women is an important feature of the tales, and possibly points to the Bajau as the source of the myths: among the Bajau – sea nomads based around the islands south of Sulawesi – it was usual for women to travel on praus along with the men (Berndt and Berndt 1954). Pires, writing in 1512–15, refers to these people – whom he portrays as pirates based in the islands around Macassar – and in particular their taking women to sea (Pires c.1515). However, the Aboriginal tradition does not refer to the *Baijini* bringing cats.

Jack-Hinton (1989) has surveyed other possible early contacts with Australia. He notes that Chinese trade with

south-east Asia can be dated to at least the third century AD, and that in the first three decades of the fifteenth century Admiral Ch'eng Ho travelled – with a large entourage – to Indonesia, Ceylon, India the Persian Gulf and the east coast of Africa. Similarly, Muslim traders had been active in the archipelago since the eighth century AD. It is possible that either a Chinese junk or Arab dhow made a landfall in Australia – by design or accident – at some time. However, there is no documentary evidence that this occurred, and very little archaeological evidence: in 1879, a carved figure of the Taoist immortal Shou Lao, tentatively dated to the fourteenth century, was found buried in the roots of a Banyan tree; and during World War II, a soldier in the Wessel Islands discovered several coins near the island's only fresh water spring: three Dutch coins dated from 1690 to 1784, and five coins from Kilwa, Tanzania, dated between the thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries.

There have also been several works dealing with likely Portuguese voyages to Australia. One of these voyages, possibly undertaken in 1599 or 1600, is referred to in a vague account by Erédia and on a map dated 1602, discovered in the Brazilian National Library in 1946, which shows a voyage from Timor, south to 'Ouro' ('Isle of Gold', possibly a point on the Western Australian Coast near Brunswick and Collier bays), then north to Flores, south to Ashmore Reef and Cartier Island, then north again to Sawu (Ward 1987). This 'voyage', however, has been dismissed by McIntyre (1982) as a fantasy on the part of Erédia. It is also conceivable that Gomes de Sequeira, in 1525, and Cristavãvo de Mendonça, in 1521, landed on Australian shores, although the latter voyage was ignored by contemporary chroniclers, (possibly owing to a policy of secrecy resulting from Spanish-Portuguese rivalry). There is, however, another more certain source which suggests that the Portuguese knew of the Australian continent: on the maps which appeared out of the Dieppe school of cartography between 1536 and 1566, a Portuguese discovery, 'Java-la-grande', was marked as a land mass in about the same position, and about the same size, as Australia. A further possible piece of evidence for Portuguese landing in Australia is the so-called 'Mahogany Ship': a wreck in the sand hills behind the beach about halfway between present-day Port Fairy and Warnambool. This wreck, which was first reported by sealers in 1836, and 25 Europeans subsequently, was regarded by the Aboriginal people as having always been there. The remaining descriptions of the ship fit those of a Portuguese caravel, although the remains of the wreck were buried by a sandstorm in 1890 and have never been recovered (Ward 1987). In spite of much conjecture on the subject, none of the available evidence points unequivocally to a Portuguese landing on Australian shores, and scholars such as W.A.R. Richardson (1989) remain unconvinced that any European contact with Australia occurred before the early seventeenth century.

EUROPEAN SOURCES

Overview

The first recorded European voyage to the southern continent was instigated by the director of the Dutch Factory at Bantam, Jan Willemsz Verschoor, who sent Willem Jansz in the *Duyfken* to 'Nova Guinea, and other east- and south-lands' (Schilder 1989, p.72). Unfortunately, the log of this voyage has been lost. However, much Dutch contact with the coast resulted from Frederick Brouwer's discovery in 1610 of a fast route to the East Indies, which took advantage of the westerly winds between lat. 35° and 45°S before setting a northerly course for the Indies. The route was officially adopted by the VOC in 1616. As longitude was estimated at the time by distance travelled, the error by the end of the Indian Ocean crossing was often great, and several Dutch trading vessels thus came across the Southland: some landed, some turned immediately to the North, some were wrecked. The VOC Resolution of 1616 also included an article stating that 'the koopman, schipper and stuyrman of the ships that call into any other place than Tafelbaey (unless in an emergency) whereby delaying their voyage, will have to pay an amends of six hundred guilders to the profits of the Company' (Green 1977, p.4). However, by no means all vessels stopped at Table Bay (one of the bays at the Cape of Good Hope). For example, all Dutch vessels sent on voyages of exploration sailed from the Indies, (with the exception of de Vlamingh, who sailed from the Netherlands), and the Englishman William Dampier sailed via the Philippines and other Asian islands in 1688, and in 1699 via Brazil. Many of the early journals and other relevant documents have been lost, and for some voyages the only known documents are charts or maps, or a reference in VOC correspondence or instructions. A list of all known non-Macassan vessels making landfall on the Western Australian coast, with details of ports of departure and available sources, *inter alia*, is given below.

Cats (and Dogs) in European Tradition, and European Sources

As no record of cats aboard ships could be found in the available journals or manifests (with one exception, detailed below), other sources were surveyed in order to ascertain the likelihood that cats were on the ships, without their presence being recorded. A survey of the indexes of the *Mariner's Mirror*, journal of the London-based Society for Nautical Research, revealed great variation in superstition relating to cats on board ships. In 1911 (1:319), 'A' suggested that 'A black cat is proverbially lucky on board ship', whereas in 1913 (3:317), 'R.M.N.' regarded cats as 'taboo' afloat, but lucky when left on shore in fishers' houses. More recently, in 1959, Edgar K. Thompson asked why Charles Darwin, in the journal of his voyage on HMS *Beagle*, wrote on 20 December 1831: 'The sailors declare that there is somebody on shore keeping a black cat under a tub, which it stands to reason

must keep us in harbour' (45:82). In reply (45:347), Henning Henningsen observed that this statement would seem to imply that a cat gave favourable winds, but in Danish superstition, the opposite is the case. Quoting from Jens Kamp, *Danske Folkeminder* (Odense, 1877, p.203), he writes:

When a skipper wants a favourable and good wind he should have no cat onboard [sic]. Old sailors often tell about how contrary the wind used to be, when such an animal was found onboard [sic]. But if they threw the cat into the sea it would help immediately.

In 1987 (73:202) Andrew T. Lloyd wrote to the *Mariner's Mirror* calling for evidence by which to quantify the truth of the statement that ships carry cats: in particular he asked whether all or some sailing ships carried cats and why; whether the custom declined with the advent of steam, and whether any particular variety or sex was preferred. Unfortunately, no informative response was published.

There is perhaps some reason to suspect that the Dutch may have carried dogs on board their ships rather than cats. Masselman (1963, p.13) relates the legend of the founding of Amsterdam by a shipwrecked Viking, a Frisian and his dog, who went out in the Frisian's fishing boat and were driven by a storm to shore at the present site of Amsterdam:

From this modest beginning, with two men and a dog, Amsterdam, according to the legend, grew [footnote: Jan Mens, *Amsterdam: paradijs der herinnering* (Amsterdam, 1947)]. Of the three, only the dog gained a lasting place in history - it became a tradition for all ships to carry a dog on board. Eventually the dog became a symbol of ownership, and no vessel could be considered abandoned so long as the animal was still on board.

Although Masselman does not mention dogs (or cats) again, it is clear that the Dutch maintained some tradition of dogs on board their boats, with a particular kind of dog, the Keeshond, being kept as a watchdog on river and canal vessels (Perry *et al.* 1996). This dog was very popular until the late seventeenth century, when it fell from favour through its association with the Patriot Party and in particular its leader, Cornelius 'Kees' de Gyzelaar (who had a Keeshond as his constant companion), who failed in a revolt against the reigning House of Orange. Of the 290 illustrations in a collection of sixteenth–nineteenth century maritime prints by the Dutch masters, 15 depict dogs (although, perhaps significantly, they are all on jetties or foreshores), but none show cats (de Groot and Vorstman 1980).

On further consideration, cats appear remarkably absent from Dutch records. In an attempt to establish whether cats were prevalent at Cape Town, and where these cats may have originated, the first volume of the journal of Jan Van Riebeeck, covering the years 1651–1656, was read. The journal begins with Riebeeck preparing to depart from the Netherlands on 14th December 1651 with a fleet to establish a refreshment

station – Cape Town – at Table Bay, on the Cape of Good Hope. The fleet departed on the 24th December 1651 from Texel, and arrived at the Cape on the 7th April 1652. The journal then covers Riebeeck's day-to-day management of the station: construction of a fort, creation of gardens, and dealings with the 'natives'. However, not once in this journal does Riebeeck refer to cats; mention is made of all manner of domestic animals – including dogs – and to predatory wildlife, but the only 'cats' noted by Riebeeck are civet-cats, which are looked on as both a potential economic resource:

It is definite, at any rate, that there are civet-cats here, but how abundant they are, time will have to show. If one had people with knowledge of taking the civet from the cats, one could even keep civet-cats for the Hon. Company (Riebeeck 1952, p.38).

and as a nuisance to people and livestock:

Last night a civet-cat entered the Commander's room, and after much trouble it was caught and killed. These cats abound here to such an extent that it is difficult to protect pigeons, ducks or fowls against them (Riebeeck 1952, p.318).

If cats were, however, usually carried on Dutch ships (for which there is apparently no evidence), it is possible that they may have arrived at the Cape with earlier Dutch navigators who put in to Table Bay, or with Dutch shipwrecks at Table Bay (such as that of the *Mauritius*, which foundered at the Cape in 1643, or the *Haerlem*, which was stranded in Table Bay in March 1647, the survivors living there for a whole year). They may also have arrived with navigators from other nations who put in at the Cape (such as Englishmen Shillinge and Fitzherbert in 1620, and their countryman Captain Johnson in 1622). Certainly by the early nineteenth century there were feral black cats at the Cape. In *The Cat: Past and Present*, M. Champfleury quotes from the 1824 *Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères* of Frédéric Cuvier, of 'a black Cape cat':

The Cape cat had the eyes and the disposition of the common domestic cat. It had been tamed, and left to itself on board the vessel that brought it to Europe; like the domestic cat it made war on rats, with all the more success on account of its size and strength. ... Only for its repugnance to being lifted up, or even touched, it might have been taken for a domestic cat (Champfleury 1885, p.176).

Cats do not appear in published examples of provisions and cargoes of VOC vessels. Bruijn *et al.* have published a list of victuals specified by the Heren XVII for all Chambers of the VOC as of 12 December 1695, as amended by resolutions adopted in 1702, 1706, 1712, 1713 and 1724. The list includes '4 live fullsize sows or 12 young pigs for large ships of 145 ft length, for smaller ships less' (amended in 1731 to specify hogs instead of sows – 18 for ships or 160 ft and 12 for ships of 130 ft), and '40 hens for a large ship, fewer for smaller ships', as well as quantities of utility articles such as candles (Bruijn *et al.* 1979:I pp.217–218). Cats are not mentioned. Bruijn *et al.* also provide, by way of example, lists of two cargoes

of outward-bound East Indiamen, which also omit cats (1979, pp.219–222).

Several sources also refer generally to life and conditions on board Dutch East Indiamen (Boxer 1963; Bruijn *et al.* 1979, pp.157–161), the vessels of the French explorers (Taillemite 1990), and English shipping from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries (Thrower 1972). None mention cats. We know, however, that cats were aboard the *Endeavour* 1768–1771 (Beaglehole 1962, pp.175–176), and the *Resolution* 1772–1775 (Beaglehole 1961, p.135n, 412). There is also definite evidence that some English and French voyagers carried dogs on board their ships, as they are recorded in the journals of Dampier (in 1687), D'Entrecasteaux, Vancouver, Baudin (in 1803) and King, as well as Banks' *Endeavour* Journal. They also appear on the 'Spyall' (fictionalized *Investigator*) in Matthew Flinders' story *Trim* (Flinders 1977).

Trim is Matthew Flinders' story of his favourite cat: a black and white male which was born on board the *Reliance*, in between the Cape of Good Hope and Botany Bay, in 1799. Trim was 'a favourite with everybody on board', and '[b]eing brought up amongst sailors, his manner acquired a peculiarity of cast which rendered them as different from those of other cats' (Flinders 1977, p.7). Trim learned to swim, and had 'no dread of water'. As well as entertaining the crew and providing companionship for Flinders, however, Trim was clearly on board to catch 'the enemies of king and country' – rats. His catching was by no means confined to the ship, however. As Flinders euphemistically puts it:

Trim, besides his other voyages, completed the tour of the globe. Many and curious are the observations which he made in various branches of science, particularly in the natural history of small quadrupeds, birds, and flying fish, for which he had much taste (Flinders 1977, p.21).

Trim, however, proved somewhat unsuited to long periods at sea: 'In the Gulf of Carpentaria, from the unhealthiness of the climate, the want of his usual fresh food ... this worthy creature became almost grey, lost much of weight, and seemed to be threatened with a premature old age' (Flinders 1977, p.26). Does this perhaps suggest that cats would be unlikely to earn their keep during long VOC voyages from the Netherlands to the Indies, with scarce fresh food? We also discover that there were several dogs on board the *Investigator*, as well as at least one other cat – 'Van, a Dutch cat on board'. This last reference is intriguing, but equivocal as to whether Van was a Dutch ship's cat, or a Dutch breed or type of cat. Perhaps the most important implication of the tale of Trim, however, is its demonstration that even where cats are present, they are not always mentioned in the journals of a voyage: in Flinders' *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, neither Trim nor any other cats on board are mentioned once. Even in the dramatic shipwreck of the *Porpoise*, Trim is absent from the official account, while Flinders' story tells us that he survived, making it to shore with the crew and spending two months marooned with the survivors. Trim is also absent from gardener Peter Good's journal of the voyage (Good 1981).

Trim is also not the only cat known to have survived a shipwreck, one also surviving the wreck of the HMS *Pandora* in 1791 (although its subsequent fate is unclear). The *Pandora* was the Royal Navy warship sent to the South Pacific to capture the *Bounty* mutineers. In case the *Bounty* was found, the *Pandora* was heavily laden on this voyage with additional crew, stores and fittings. After leaving England in November 1790 and rounding Cape Horn, the *Pandora* arrived at Tahiti in March 1791, subsequent to which nearly four months were spent searching the Cook, Union, Samoan and Society Islands for the mutineers, some of whom they found. They never found the *Bounty*, however, and on 29 August 1791, the *Pandora* was homeward bound via Torres Strait when she hit a part of the Great Barrier Reef and sank at what is now known as Pandora Entrance, approximately 5 km to the north-west of Moulter Cay on the outer Great Barrier Reef, about 120 km east of Cape York (Queensland Museum 1999). The cat was found sitting in the cross-trees, just above the waves, and was rescued by a boat the day after the wrecking, subsequent to which the cat disappears from the records (Gesner 1999). The 99 survivors spent three days on Escape Cay before setting out for the Dutch East Indies in the ship's boats, arriving in Timor after 16 days.

American merchant vessels, of which one, the *Rapid*, was wrecked off WA's Point Cloates in 1811, were also known to carry both cats and dogs: Joan Druett tells how in early nineteenth-century America, Captain's wife Mary Rowland claimed that 'it says in our laws that we must carry cats', and Jack Russell terriers were 'particularly popular' as they were such good ratters (Druett 1998, p.143). Dogs were also recommended by Robert Stevens, a nineteenth-century authority on sea-freight who wrote the popular *On the Stowage of Ships and their Cargoes*, which was reprinted at least nine times between 1859 and 1894. Under the heading of 'Vermin' in this work, Stevens writes:

When numerous, rats will attack the common English domestic cat, and if unsuccessful in destroying it, will much diminish its usefulness. At Milford, in 1857, a cat was taken on board the guano-laden Dutch ship *Konign der Nederlanden*, in the evening; the next morning nothing was to be seen but her skin and bones. The ring-tailed malay cats, being very strong, can more easily secure rats, with which they feed their young. Bull-terriers are considered preferable to domestic cats, but they cannot follow vermin so easily; to be of service they should weigh 8 to 14 lbs, over that they are unwieldy (pp.776-777).

In a posting to the SUB-ARCH listserv (SUB-ARCH@asu.edu) on 12 July 1999, Research Associate Professor Warren C. Riess, of the History and Marine Sciences Darling Marine Centre of the University of Maine, wrote that the Maine Coon Cat – a large breed of brown cat with a bushy ringed tail – is descended from the Asian cats used on ships (although there are conflicting ideas as to this breed's origin, see Frew 1997). No other reference to large Asian cats on ships has been uncovered.

Stevens also referred to the presence of cats in maritime law, claiming that in a rule laid down by Roccus (to which no further reference could be found), 'if mice eat the cargo ... the master must make good the loss, because he is guilty of a fault. Yet if he had cats on board his ship, he shall be excused' (p.777). From 1750, at least, this 'rule' was, however, a fallacy. In that year English law established that damage to cargo caused by rats was not a 'peril of the sea' by which a master could be excused from liability for the damage, and the master could therefore be held responsible, notwithstanding the presence of cats. Stevens claims that in Europe, however, the master was apparently not liable for such damage in the first place (thereby reducing, perhaps, the historical incentive to carry cats?) From Stevens we also learn that cats and dogs were not the only animals used to combat vermin – in 1866, the *Victoria*, embarking from Ceylon with a cargo of coffee, was equipped with 'two cats and two Cingalese ferrets' (p.779). In addition to animals, Stevens considered trapping and fumigation as means by which to combat rats, with the latter in particular being regarded as a standard and necessary procedure, and in fact appearing in several of the journals of voyages in the list below. Phillip King, on the other hand, dealt with vermin by totally submerging the *Mermaid* at Port Jackson for 'several days' (King 1827, p.345).

Maritime Archaeology

A search of the Western Australian Maritime Museum's Artefact Database (which has nearly 25 000 records listed) using the keyword 'cat' returned no relevant records, and of the 645 bone artefacts recovered and catalogued from all shipwrecks on the WA coast (disregarding the 99 entries relating to manufactured bone items such as buttons and combs), none have been identified as cat bones. Several bones have been identified as rat and rabbit, as well as seal, sheep, cow, etc. However, there are still many bones broadly described as 'mammal', or just as 'bones'. Jeremy Green, Head of the Maritime Archaeology Department of the Western Australian Maritime Museum, has not found references to cats in VOC records, nor their remains on any of the wreck sites he has worked on (Green 1999 personal communication).

An enquiry to the SUB-ARCH listserv (SUB-ARCH@asu.edu) about whether cat bones have been retrieved from wreck sites elicited a response from John Broadwater, Manager MONITOR National Marine Sanctuary, whose team located the skull of an immature cat (which had, perhaps significantly, been gnawed by rats) on the *Betsy*, a British transport (ex-collier) sunk at Yorktown, Virginia in 1781. A similar enquiry to the sea-site list (sea-site-request@mailbase.ac.uk) returned an earlier find: Jon Adams of the Centre for Maritime Archaeology at the University of Southampton reported that a cat fibula was found on the *Sea Venture* (1609) in Bermuda. This was possibly a pet travelling with the English colonists bound for Jamestown, Virginia, or may have been a ship's cat. The faunal analysis on both wrecks was done by Dr Philip Armitage, who may be able to offer further information on the prevalence of cat remains on shipwreck sites.

Voyages

A list of known and possible landings or shipwrecks of non-Macassan vessels on the northern and western coasts of Australia, from Cape York to Cape Nuyts, to 1826 appears below with information relating to port of departure, date of departure, ports of call en route, availability of journal or other documents, and other relevant details relating to the voyage. A list of all VOC vessels bound for Batavia may be found in Bruijn *et al.* (1979), *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries*, vol. 2. *Outward-bound voyages from the Netherlands to Asia and the Cape (1595–1794)*. In the list below, details of type, chamber, departure date and stopovers for outgoing VOC ships from Europe have been taken or confirmed from this source. The list below does not include Macassan voyages, which are dealt with above. All primary source material relating to each voyage, which has been published in English, has been read, the only exceptions (to the best of my knowledge) being George Vancouver's journal (which, aside from being very long, is very well indexed) and the English translation of Labillardière's *Relation du voyage à la recherche de la Pérouse*, which was located too late for it to be included in this study. Some archival material has been translated and extracts included in publications, which are listed under 'references' in the entries below. These sources have all been read for mention of cats.

Other archival material is available in WA, but examination of it would require the skills of someone fluent in old Dutch, as it has not been translated. For example, the 1624/29, 1631/34, 1636–1637, 1640/41–1644/45, 1656/57, 1661, 1663, and 1666/67–1682 volumes of the *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India* (Journals kept in Batavia Castle of all that goes on there and in the whole of the Dutch East Indies) have been published and are held at the University of Western Australia. These journals, which contain a daily account of incidents and events, could be worth examining for the presence of cats. The *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-General en Raden aan Heren XVII*, or 'General Missives' have also been published in an 11-volume set (Coolhaas 1960–1997), although as these contain more general information relevant to political, military and commercial matters, they are unlikely to contain references to cats. Other Dutch archival material is also available in WA on microfilm (See RN 816, Battye Library, Perth), particularly for years surrounding the wrecking of the *Vergulde Draeck* and the *Batavia*. These records include copies of Resolutions, *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (Letters and Papers Received), notes, and requisitions. The *Overgekomen Brieven* often include *comsumptierekeningen* (provisions accounts) in which masters had to account for the consumption of their ships' provisions (Bruijn *et al.* 1979). These could thus potentially contain reference to cats, if they were usually carried, and on any particular voyage their loss would have increased the depredations of rats. Detailed lists of equipment carried on board the VOC vessels would once have been found in the archives of the *department van de*

equipage, although much of the material which was recorded in this archive in 1683 has since been lost (Bruijn *et al.* 1979: I, p.196). John Landwehr (1991) provides Algemeen Rijksarchief (repository in The Hague) locations for examples of several types of these documents, including a 'Ship's inventory', but no published examples of these have been uncovered.

Marchant (1982) provides extensive lists of archival material held by the French Archives Nationales, Bibliothèque du Service Historique de la Marine, and Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Manuscrits, relating to the French expeditions to Australia. Records from the Baudin Expedition are also available in the Battye Library private archives, as are the papers of Paul Gaimard, French surgeon and naturalist on board the *Uranie*.

With regard to Dutch ports, it should be noted that Texel, Wielingen and Rammekens are the roads, or anchorages, from which the ships departed. Their home port was determined by their chamber. Upon leaving their home port, ships would be taken unladen to the roads, where they would be loaded with small barges called lighters, of which 18 to 20 were required for the provisioning of one East Indiaman. The crew were taken to the boat when loading of goods and provisions was complete, except for valuables, which were loaded last of all.

In the list of voyages given below, for some Dutch vessels there is no record of a stop at the Cape. This information is taken from Bruijn *et al.*, who either provide dates for the stay at the Cape, signify that the vessel ran past the Cape with the words 'no call', or leave the entry blank, where there is no record of a call or otherwise. The resolution of 1616, which instituted fines for all masters who delayed their voyage by stopping at any place other than the Cape makes it likely, however, that these vessels did put in at the Cape, but the stop was not recorded (a situation more likely prior to the establishment of a refreshment station there in 1652).

The list below, although comprehensive, cannot be regarded as entirely complete. For Dutch voyages, Heeres (1899, p.55n.) comments, rather cryptically, that 'in the year 1628 certain other Dutch vessels sighted or touched at the west-coast of Australia on their outward voyage to India [sic]', with references given to 'Leupe, Zuidland, p.58; my edition of the Daily Register of Batavia, p.341'. As these publications are both in Dutch, this lead was not pursued. A similar comment, with reference to the year 1629, appears on p.62. From 1798, sealers, whalers and other vessels increasingly sailed to the south coast of WA. These voyages were not often recorded, although evidence of their presence was found by several nineteenth-century navigators: King (1827, pp.121, 131) records that a 'merchant brig', the *San Antonio* visited Oyster Harbour in 1820, and that an American sealer was brought into Oyster Harbour for careening in 1822 (1827, p.225). D'Urville (1987, p.31) met with a party of whalers in the same area in 1826. Mostly departing from Port Jackson, these voyages should not be ignored as a potential source of cats, particularly in light of the case of Anchor Island in New Zealand, where sealers are believed to have liberated cats in 1792 (Fitzgerald 1990, p.339).

Known and possible landings or shipwrecks of non-Macassan vessels on the northern and western coasts of Australia, from Cape York to Cape Nuyts, to 1826.

- Note on nomenclature: All names of ports are contemporary ones. Their present-day names are as follows: Ambonia = Ambon; Bantam = Banten; Batavia = Jakarta; Bouton = Butung; Coepang = Kupang, Timor; Pulo Condore = Con Son Islands; Jesus-Maria Is. = Rambutyo, St. John's Island = one of the islands of present-day Hong Kong S.A.R., Vendola Is. = Nuana Is.
- Notes on categories: 'Captain' = the name most commonly associated with the voyage, be it the skipper, merchant, expedition commander, etc.; 'Date of landfall' = date of landing in Australia (or sighting of land, where landing not confirmed); 'Point of arrival in Australia' = point of first landing (or where land was first sighted, if landing not confirmed) in Australia, or in WA where prior Australian landfalls had been made.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Name of vessel | <i>Duyfken</i> |
| Name of Captain | W. Jansz |
| Type of vessel | VOC <i>jacht</i> |
| Port of departure | Dutch Factory, Bantam |
| Date of departure | 18 November 1605 |
| Date of landfall | |
| Places visited en route | Banda, Aru Is., New Guinea |
| Point of arrival in Australia | 12°15'S 141°47'E, west coast of Cape York Peninsula |
| Wrecked or landed | Landings made with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | Several along west coast of Cape York Peninsula, as far south as Cape Keerweer, 13°40'S, 141°31'E. |
| Available primary sources | Chart only. |
| References | Heeres 1899; Robert 1973; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979. |
| Comments | No journal has survived. |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Name of vessel | <i>Eendracht</i> |
| Name of Captain | D. Hartog |
| Type of vessel | VOC <i>retourschip</i> – Amsterdam Chamber |
| Port of departure | Texel |
| Date of departure | 23 January 1616 |
| Date of landfall | 25 October 1616 |
| Places visited en route | Maio Is. (21 February–4 March); Cape Lopez (27 March–11 May); Cape of Good Hope 5 August–27 August |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Dirk Hartog Island (27°S) |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | Correspondence (published in Heeres 1899, p.8–9), chart (H. Gerritsz.), pewter plate. |
| References | Major 1859; Heeres 1899; Robert 1973; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979. |
| Comments | No reference to cats in correspondence. |

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| Name of vessel | <i>Mauritius</i> |
| Name of Captain | W. Jansz |
| Type of vessel | VOC <i>retourschip</i> – Amsterdam Chamber |
| Port of departure | Texel |
| Date of departure | 4 January 1618 |
| Date of landfall | 31 July 1618 |
| Places visited en route | Cape of Good Hope |
| Point of arrival in Australia | 22°S |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | Correspondence (published in Heeres 1899, p.12). |
| References | Major 1859; Heeres 1899; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979. |
| Comments | No mention of cats in correspondence |

Name of vessel *Dordrecht*
Name of Captain F. de Houtman / J. Dedel
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Amsterdam Chamber
Port of departure Texel
Date of departure 28 December 1618
Date of landfall
Places visited en route Cape of Good Hope (17 May – 8 June)
Point of arrival in Australia 32°30'S
Wrecked or landed
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Correspondence (published in Heeres 1899, pp.14–17).
References Major 1859; Heeres 1899.
Comments Saw, named Houtman's Abrolhos. Bad weather prevented landing. No cats mentioned.

Name of vessel *Tryall*
Name of Captain J Brooke
Type of vessel English East India Company
Port of departure Plymouth
Date of departure 4 September 1621
Date of landfall 24 May 1622
Places visited en route Cape of Good Hope
Point of arrival in Australia Trial Rocks, c 42 km north of Barrow Island.
Wrecked or landed Wrecked.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources East India Company Correspondence (some published in Green 1977 and Henderson 1980. More is available on microfilm in WA); artefacts held by Western Australian Maritime Museum.
References Green 1977; Henderson 1980.
Comments Published correspondence contains no reference to cats. The *Tryall's* skiff, carrying ten people, may have visited the Montebello Is., and the longboat, carrying 36 people, searched the Montebello Is. for water before heading north to Batavia. Both the skiff and longboat reached Batavia. 93 people perished on the wreck. The distance of this wreck from the mainland makes it a highly improbable source of feral cats.

Name of vessel *Leeuwin*
Name of Captain ?
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Amsterdam Chamber
Port of departure Texel
Date of departure 20 April 1621
Date of landfall ?
Places visited en route Gulf of Guinea
Point of arrival in Australia 35°S
Wrecked or landed Not wrecked.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Charts only.
References Major 1859; Heeres 1899; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979.
Comments Named Cape Leeuwin. Little is known of this voyage.

Name of vessel *'t Wapen van Hoorn*
Name of Captain ?
Type of vessel VOC *fluijt* – Hoorn chamber
Port of departure Texel
Date of departure 26 December 1621
Date of landfall 22 July 1622
Places visited en route ?
Point of arrival in Australia 32°03'S 115°44'E
Wrecked or landed Stranded.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Correspondence (published in Heeres 1899, p.17–20).
References Heeres 1899; Henderson 1980; Western Australian Maritime Museum Shipwreck database.
Comments No reference to cats in correspondence.

Name of vessel *Pera*
Name of Captain J. Carstensz
Type of vessel VOC *jacht*
Port of departure Ambonia
Date of departure 21 January 1623 (with *Arnhem*, below)
Date of landfall 12 April 1623
Places visited en route Aru Is., south coast of New Guinea
Point of arrival in Australia 11°45'S – west coast of Cape York Peninsula. First landing made somewhere between the Coleman and Holroyd Rivers.
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any Several landings along this coast to 17°03'S.
Available primary sources Journal, 'Note on Natives and Nature' (both the latter, and an extract from the former, translated and published in Robert 1973), charts.
References Robert 1973.
Comments Journal extract read, no reference to cats found.

Name of vessel *Arnhem*
Name of Captain D. Melisz then W. van Colster
Type of vessel VOC *jacht*
Port of departure Ambonia
Date of departure 21 January 1623 (with *Pera*, above)
Date of landfall 12 April 1623
Places visited en route Aru Is., south coast of New Guinea.
Point of arrival in Australia 11°45'S – west coast of Cape York Peninsula.
Wrecked or landed Presumably landed with boat to collect water and wood.
Other landings, if any Probably made along west coast of Cape York Peninsula to 17°28'S, also Groote Eylandt, Marchinbar Is.
Available primary sources Charts, journal of *Pera*, VOC correspondence (translated and published in Heeres 1899 and Robert 1973).
References Heeres 1899; Robert 1973.
Comments As the journal of this voyage has been lost, landings cannot be confirmed. No reference to cats in correspondence.

Name of vessel unknown
Name of Captain unknown
Type of vessel VOC (?)
Port of departure unknown
Date of departure unknown
Date of landfall 16?? (?)
Places visited en route unknown
Point of arrival in Australia Victoria Harbour, near Esperance (?)
Wrecked or landed Wrecked and refloated.
Other landings, if any unknown
Available primary sources none
References Henderson 1980; Western Australian Maritime Museum Shipwrecks Database.
Comments No wreck found; report based on Aboriginal legend and a rock inscription on shore.

Name of vessel *Vergulde Zeepard*
Name of Captain F. Thijszoon / P. Nuyts commander
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Zeeland Chamber
Port of departure Wielingen
Date of departure 22 May 1626
Date of landfall 26 January 1627
Places visited en route Requisitioned in Sierra Leone, June.
Point of arrival in Australia 37.5°S
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any Probable, between Cape Leeuwin and Nuyts Archipelago.
Available primary sources Chart (journal lost).
References Major 1859; Heeres 1899; Schilder 1976.
Comments Little is known of this voyage. According to Bruijn *et al.* (1979), there were six passengers on this voyage.

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| Name of vessel | <i>Vianen</i> |
| Name of Captain | G. de Witt |
| Type of vessel | VOC |
| Port of departure | Batavia |
| Date of departure | 14 January 1628 |
| Date of landfall | February 1628 |
| Places visited en route | none |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Approx 21°S – exact location unknown. |
| Wrecked or landed | Stranded on a reef – approximately 20 tonnes of pepper and a quantity of copper were thrown overboard in order to refloat the vessel. |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | Correspondence (published in Heeres 1899, p. 54); chart. |
| References | Heeres 1899; Schilder 1979; Henderson 1980. |
| Comments | After refloating, de Witt charted approximately 50 <i>mijlen</i> (approximately 320 km) of the north-west coast before sailing, continuously pumping water out of the vessel, to Mauritius where the <i>Vianen</i> was repaired. No cats mentioned in published correspondence. |
| | |
| Name of vessel | <i>Batavia</i> |
| Name of Captain | F. Pelsaert |
| Type of vessel | VOC <i>retourschip</i> – Amsterdam Chamber |
| Port of departure | Texel |
| Date of departure | 28 October 1628 |
| Date of landfall | 4 June 1629 |
| Places visited en route | Cape of Good Hope (14 April–22 April) |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Morning reef, Wallabi group, Abrolhos Is. |
| Wrecked or landed | Wrecked. |
| Other landings, if any | Mainland reached with ship's boat where a search conducted for water before proceeding to Java. |
| Available primary sources | Pelsaert's journal, VOC correspondence. |
| References | Heeres 1899; Henderson 1980; Drake-Brockman 1995. |
| Comments | Henderson notes of the voyage of 46 of the survivors to Batavia, that '[d]uring a gale near the mainland coast, in the vicinity of what is now Port Gregory, the yawl had to be abandoned, together with everything else that could be spared, to lighten the sloop.' It is unlikely, however, that any cats would have been taken thus far on the journey, if in fact there were any on the <i>Batavia</i> in the first place. Other survivors stayed on the Abrolhos Is. No archaeological evidence of cats on the wreck has been recovered, and no reference to them found in the published material. |
| | |
| Name of vessel | <i>Sardam</i> |
| Name of Captain | F. Pelsaert |
| Type of vessel | VOC – rescue mission for <i>Batavia</i> wreck survivors. |
| Port of departure | Batavia |
| Date of departure | 15 July 1629 |
| Date of landfall | 17 September 1629 |
| Places visited en route | none |
| Point of arrival in Australia | High Island, Houtman's Abrolhos. |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | 12 October 1629, skipper of <i>Sardam</i> sent in boat with crew to recover wreck items, and are lost. 4 November, smoke columns were seen to the NNE of the Abrolhos, on the mainland - Pelsaert thought it may have been the skipper, although it was as likely to be Aboriginal fires. 16 November, party lands on the mainland, probably around Red Bluff, just south of present-day Kalbarri. Two men – Wouter Loos and Jan Pelgrom – marooned on the mainland here with arms, food and 'goods for barter'. |
| Available primary sources | Pelsaert's journal, VOC correspondence, letter of Predikant G. Bastiaensz (published in Drake-Brockman 1995: Appendix IV). |
| References | Henderson 1980; Drake-Brockman 1995. |
| Comments | In the journal of the <i>Sardam</i> , Pelsaert remarks that 'on these islands [the Wallabi group, in Houtman's Abrolhos] there are large numbers of Cats, which are creatures of miraculous form, as big as a hare' (Drake-Brockman 1995, p.235). However, it is clear from Pelsaert's subsequent description that he is in fact using 'Cats' [<i>Catten</i>] to refer to wallabies, rather than <i>Felis catus</i> . The Predikant's letter also refers to these 'Beasts which they called Cats' (Drake-Brockman 1995, p.267). |

Name of vessel *Klein Amsterdam and Wezel*
Name of Captain G.T. Pool then P. Pieterszoon
Type of vessel VOC *jachts*
Port of departure Ambonia
Date of departure 17 April 1636
Date of landfall 13 June 1636
Places visited en route Banda, New Guinea, Kai and Aru Is.
Point of arrival in Australia Near the entrance to Dundas Strait, Melville Is.
Wrecked or landed No landing recorded in journal, but Batavia *Dagh-register* mentions that they landed. Sailed west from point of arrival to Cape van Diemen (on Melville Is.) before heading for Timor.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Directions, Journal (extract published in Robert 1973)
References Robert 1973.
Comments Extract from journal read – no cats mentioned.

Name of vessel *Heemskerck and Zeehaen*
Name of Captain A. Tasman
Type of vessel VOC
Port of departure Batavia
Date of departure 14 August 1642
Date of landfall 1 December 1642
Places visited en route Mauritius
Point of arrival in Australia West coast of Tasmania – 42°25'S.
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat at Frederick Henry Bay.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Tasman's journal, with manifests, instructions, correspondence, translated and published. A sailor's journal from this voyage is also available in manuscript form at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague.
References Heeres 1965; Sharp 1968.
Comments In Australia, touched only at Tasmania. Journal and manifests read nevertheless, for references to cats, of which none were found.

Name of vessel *Limmen, Zeemuw, de Braq*
Name of Captain A. Tasman
Type of vessel VOC
Port of departure Batavia
Date of departure 29 January 1644
Date of landfall
Places visited en route Banda, Aru, New Guinea.
Point of arrival in Australia around 10°50'S, on west coast of Cape York Peninsula.
Wrecked or landed Landings with boat for water and wood presumed.
Other landings, if any From point of arrival, the expedition sailed around the north and north-west coast of Australia until they were in about 23°S. Landings difficult to confirm, as only chart remains, but Robert (1973) claims landings were likely at least south of the Sir Edward Pellew Group, York Sound or Brunswick Bay.
Available primary sources Chart, manifests, instructions. Journal lost.
References Heeres 1965; Sharp 1968; Robert 1973.
Comments No cats recorded in manifests, or mentioned in instructions.

Name of vessel *Vergulde Draeck*
Name of Captain P. Albertsz
Type of vessel VOC *jacht* – Amsterdam Chamber
Port of departure Texel
Date of departure 4 October 1655
Date of landfall 28 April 1656
Places visited en route Cape of Good Hope (9 March–12 March)
Point of arrival in Australia Reef, 12 km south of Ledge Point (31°16'S), 6 km from mainland.
Wrecked or landed Wrecked.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Correspondence and *Dagh-register* entry (published in Heeres 1899, p.75), archaeological artefacts.
References Green 1973; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979; Henderson 1980.
Comments Survivors and wreckage reached mainland. Seven men reached Batavia in ship's boat on 7 June 1656. No reference to cats in published material, and no cat bones identified in wreckage.

Name of vessel *Witte Valke*
Name of Captain S. Sanders
Type of vessel VOC *fluijt* – looking for *Vergulde Draeck*
Port of departure Batavia
Date of departure 8 July 1656
Date of landfall ?
Places visited en route none
Point of arrival in Australia
Wrecked or landed Appleyard and Manford (1979) indicate that the boat landed in Geographe Bay. Other sources state that bad weather prevented a landing.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Correspondence and journals (summaries of the latter published in Major 1859).
References Major 1859; Appleyard and Manford 1979; Henderson 1980.
Comments No reference to cats in published material.

Name of vessel *Goede Hoop*
Name of Captain Bakels
Type of vessel VOC *jacht* – looking for *Vergulde Draeck*
Port of departure Lying in Straits of Sunda, where joined by the *Witte Valke*, from Batavia
Date of departure ?/July 1656
Date of landfall ?
Places visited en route none
Point of arrival in Australia 30.66°S
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat and a search party sent inland. Three of this party did not return.
Other landings, if any A second party of eight men, sent in search of the missing three, did not return, and the boat was later seen smashed to pieces on the beach.
Available primary sources Correspondence and journals (summaries of the latter published in Major 1859).
References Major 1859; Henderson 1980.
Comments It is unlikely that cats would have been sent ashore with the search parties – certainly there is no record of this being the case.

Name of vessel *de Vinck*
Name of Captain J. Jansz
Type of vessel VOC *fluijt* – Chamber of Zeeland.
Port of departure Wielingen
Date of departure 24 December 1656
Date of landfall 8 June 1657
Places visited en route Cape of Good Hope (19 April–27 April)
Point of arrival in Australia 29°07'S
Wrecked or landed Bad weather apparently prevented any landings.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Correspondence and journals (summaries of the latter published in Major 1859)
References Major 1859.
Comments Looking for *Vergulde Draeck*. No reference to cats in published material.

Name of vessel *Waekende Boey*
Name of Captain S. Volckertszoon
Type of vessel VOC *fluijt* – looking for *Vergulde Draeck*
Port of departure Batavia
Date of departure 1 January 1658
Date of landfall 24 February 1658
Places visited en route none
Point of arrival in Australia 31°20'S
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat, which returned on the 25 February having found traces of wreckage from the *Vergulde Draeck*.
Other landings, if any 27 February boat sent ashore in 31°14'; 28 February boat sent ashore in 30°40' but unable to land due to rough seas. On the 19 March they sighted Rottnest Island, and a boat was sent to land there, but no good landing place was found on account of the rocks surrounding the island. However, Major (1859, p.85) relates that the steersman on this excursion reported '[t]wo seals were seen there, also one wild cat, and the excrements of other animals.' Heeres (1899, p.79) has translated this section as 'two seals and a wild cat, resembling a civet-cat, but with browner hair'. On the 20 March, a boat was sent to the mainland shore east of Rottnest, where a piece of the mast of the *Draeck* was found, and brought back to the galliot. Several trips to shore in the boat were made on this and subsequent days, until the 23 March, when the boat was damaged on the way to the coast, so that its crew could not return. As the galliot had no spare boats, it could not fetch the men from shore, and finally sailed for Batavia.

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| Available primary sources | The men left on the coast, led by Abraham Leeman, prepared their boat for open water with seal skins and sailed for Java. Only four men survived the journey. Correspondence and journals (summaries of the latter appearing in Major 1859, and an excerpt in Henderson 1980); chart, published in Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979; 'Description of the West Coast of the South Land' by S. Volckertszoon (in Major 1859 and Heeres 1899), journal of Abraham Leeman, of the journey of the abandoned boat back to Java (translated and published in de Heer 1963). Original journals are preserved in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague. |
| References | Major 1859; Heeres 1899; de Heer 1963; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979; Henderson 1980. |
| Comments | No reference to cats – other than the 'wild cat' seen on Rottnest – was found in any of the published material. The 'wild cat' sighting is, however, enigmatic: Was it a ship's cat from the <i>Vergulde Draeck</i> which was carried over a hundred kilometres on wreckage to the island? Was it put there earlier by one of the voyages, such as that of the <i>Leeuwin</i> , for which we have few records? Or was it a quokka, mistakenly described as a cat? The latter is perhaps most likely, especially given that in the <i>Nijptangh</i> journal of de Vlamingh's voyage, quokkas are described as 'a kind of rat as big as a common cat' (Major 1859, p.121). |
| Name of vessel | <i>Emeloort</i> |
| Name of Captain | A. Jonck |
| Type of vessel | VOC <i>galliot</i> – looking for <i>Vergulde Draeck</i> |
| Port of departure | Batavia |
| Date of departure | 1 January 1658 |
| Date of landfall | 8 March 1658 |
| Places visited en route | none |
| Point of arrival in Australia | 30°25'S |
| Wrecked or landed | Landing of boat, with ten men and provisions for several days, on 9 March. |
| Other landings, if any | Boat sent ashore again at the same location on 10 March, and at 30°25'S some days later. |
| Available primary sources | VOC Correspondence and journals (summaries of the latter appearing in Major 1859); chart, published in Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979. Original journal is preserved in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague. |
| References | Major 1859; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979. |
| Comments | No mention of cats in published correspondence. |
| Name of vessel | <i>Elburg</i> |
| Name of Captain | J. Peerenboom |
| Type of vessel | VOC <i>fluijt</i> |
| Port of departure | Texel |
| Date of departure | 14 December 1657 |
| Date of landfall | ? |
| Places visited en route | Cape of Good Hope (13 April–23 April); four weeks at Tristan de Cunha because of calm. |
| Point of arrival in Australia | 33°14'S |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed in boat with nine men; met with Aboriginal people. |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | VOC General Missive 14 December 1658 (Archival, cited in Major 1856); correspondence (published in Heeres 1899, p.81). |
| References | Major 1856; Heeres 1899. |
| Comments | No mention of cats in published material associated with this voyage. Four passengers on board. |
| Name of vessel | <i>Vliegende Swaan</i> |
| Name of Captain | J. van der Wall |
| Type of vessel | VOC |
| Port of departure | Ternate |
| Date of departure | 7 December 1677 |
| Date of landfall | ? |
| Places visited en route | |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Probably Emeriau Pt., around 16°45'S |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | Apparently landed several times with boat between point of arrival and mouth of the Exmouth Gulf, where the ship left the coast and headed north-west. |
| Available primary sources | Chart only (journal lost). |
| References | Heeres 1899; Robert 1973. |
| Comments | This encounter with the southland was accidental – the <i>Vliegende Swaan</i> was en route from Ternate to Batavia when it was blown to the south. |

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| Name of vessel | <i>Cygnets</i> |
| Name of Captain | W. Dampier |
| Type of vessel | pirate/trader (English) |
| Port of departure | Difficult to say, given nature of vessels. The <i>Cygnets</i> , initially of London, turned pirate at Nicoya, and first appears in Dampier's narrative at Plata Is., off the west coast of present-day Ecuador. |
| Date of departure | October 1684 (from Plata Is.) |
| Date of landfall | 5 January 1688 |
| Places visited en route | Many stops in towns on the Pacific coast of Ecuador and Central America, California Is., Guam, Mindanao, Pulo Condore, St John's Island, Piscatores (a small group of islands between Taiwan and mainland China), a group of islands to the east of Taiwan (most likely Sakishima-gunto), Bouton. |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Buccaneer Archipelago. |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | The <i>Cygnets</i> was also careened: 'When we had been here about a week, we hal'd our ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring-tide, as far as she would float; and at low water she was left dry, and the sand dry without us near half a mile, for the sea riseth and falleth here about five fathoms. ... All the neep-tides we lay wholly aground, for the sea did not come near us by about a hundred yards. We therefore had time enough to clean our ship's bottom, which we did very well' (Dampier 1937, p.316). The location of this cove is in some doubt, but Marchant argues that Karakatta Bay, which lies at the top end of the western side of King Sound on the mainland, best matches Dampier's description (Marchant 1988, p.113). |
| Available primary sources | Dampier's journal |
| References | Dampier 1937; Marchant 1988. |
| Comments | No cats are mentioned in Dampier's journal, except in describing the animals kept by the Indians of Magera Island, in the Caribbean: 'Neither have they any sort of beast, but Cats and Dogs' (Dampier 1937, p.90). On departing the Americas, Dampier noted that they 'had a great many Rats aboard, which we could not hinder from eating part of our Maiz' (1937, p.193). Later, when the <i>Cygnets</i> arrived at Guam, we discover that there was a dog on board the vessel, but it is only mentioned in being given away: 'We had a delicate large <i>english</i> Dog, which the Governour did desire, and had it given him very freely by the Captain, though much against the grain of many of his Men, who had a great value for that Dog' (1937, p.209). Thus bereft, after Guam, of even a large dog to catch rats aboard the <i>Cygnets</i> , is it possible that some of the men subsequently found some cats on other islands and brought them abroad? Marchant reproduces an Aboriginal cave painting from Bigge Island in the Kimberley, which shows 'Europeans with buckets of water and game, provisioning ship' (1988, p.119ii). In the left of this picture is a whiskered animal which could conceivably be a large cat, although its humped back makes it more probably a representation of a kangaroo or wallaby. |
| Name of vessel | <i>Ridderschap van Holland</i> |
| Name of Captain | D. de Lange |
| Type of vessel | VOC |
| Port of departure | Wielingen |
| Date of departure | 11 July 1693 |
| Date of landfall | ? |
| Places visited en route | Cape of Good Hope (9 January–5 February) |
| Point of arrival in Australia | ? |
| Wrecked or landed | Possibly wrecked? |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | VOC correspondence |
| References | Henderson 1980 |
| Comments | This vessel disappeared between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. Although it was possibly wrecked on the coast of WA, no wreck has ever been located. It was also rumoured to have been taken by pirates near Madagascar. |
| Name of vessel | <i>Geelvink</i> , <i>Nijptangh</i> and <i>'t Weseltje</i> |
| Name of Captain | W. de Vlamingh |
| Type of vessel | VOC frigate, hooker and galiot (respectively) |
| Port of departure | Texel |
| Date of departure | 3 May 1696 |
| Date of landfall | 31 December 1696 |
| Places visited en route | Cape of Good Hope, Tristan d'Acunha, St. Paul Is., Amsterdam Is. |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Rottneest Is. |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | Swan River – 86 men taken on an expedition inland, which lasted from 5 January to 7 January; went up river with boats and landed from 10th–12th January. Landed a further eight times (at least) on the mainland – once staying two nights – while sailing north toward |

Available primary sources Dirk Hartog Island, where they also landed, discovering the plate left by Dirk Hartog. One landing also made on the mainland coast to the north of Dirk Hartog Island, to look for water. Journals of *Geelvinck* and *Nijptangh* (Schilder 1985); charts published in Schilder 1984; Appendices of Schilder (1985) include: 'Instructions for de Vlamingh and the Broard Council', 'Extract from the Manuscript Journal of the *Nijptangh*', 'Extract from the Manuscript Journal of the *'t Weseltje*', 'Surgeon's journals of the *Geelvinck* and the *Nijptangh*', 'Extract from a Letter from the Lords XVI to the Governor-General and Councillors, 10 November 1695', and several other items of correspondence, 'Extracts from the Resolutions of the Chamber of Amsterdam', 'Muster books of the *Geelvinck*, the *Nijptangh*, and *'t Weseltje* made out at the Cape', 'Nicolaes Witsen's Account of de Vlamingh's voyage'. Schilder (1985) also lists archival sources related to the voyage (pp.228–229).

References Major 1859; Schilder 1984; Schilder 1985.

Comments Journals and extracts published in Major (1859) and Schilder (1985) read – no reference made to cats. *Geelvinck* careened at Rottneest Island 2 January 1697. The *Nijptangh* journal, by upper-surgeon Mandrop Torst, also records that on the Island Amsterdam, 4 December 1696, the party 'saw many dead birds under the trees and many holes in the ground and our people caught a small weasel and two grey hares. Thereupon we went back aboard.'

Name of vessel *Roebuck*
Name of Captain W. Dampier
Type of vessel English
Port of departure the Downs
Date of departure 14 January 1699
Date of landfall 6 August 1699
Places visited en route Canary Is., Cape Verde Is., Bahia de todos los Santos (Brazil)
Point of arrival in Australia Shark Bay
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any 21 August, landed on Rosemary Island in Dampier Archipelago. 31 August landed with boat in Roebuck Bay, where they fought with Aborigines.

Available primary sources Journal published.
References Dampier 1981.
Comments Journal read in its entirety – no mention of cats on ship or land, although their absence was noted: 'flesh have they not, nor any sorte of cattle, not soe much as catt or dog, for, indeed, they have noe occasion of such creatures unless to eat them, for of that food which they have they leave no fragments. They have noe sorte of fowl, neither tame nor wild, for the latter I saw very few in the country, neither did wee see any kind of wilde beast in the country, but the track of one' (Major 1859, p.109).

Name of vessel *Vossenbosch, D'Waijer and Nova Hollandia*
Name of Captain M. van Delft
Type of vessel VOC *fluijt*, *sloop* and *patsjallang*, respectively.
Port of departure Batavia
Date of departure 23 January 1705
Date of landfall 31 April 1705
Places visited en route Coepang
Point of arrival in Australia Shark Bay (Melville Is.)
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any Greenhill Is., probably also Cobourg Peninsula.
Available primary sources No journal has been found, only instructions, a chart and 'A written detail of the discoveries and notable occurrences in the voyage of the fluijt *Vossenbosch*, the sloop *D'Waijer*, and the *patsjallang* *'Nova Hollandia'* ...', which has been translated and published in Major (1856, pp.165–173).
References Major 1856; Robert 1973.
Comments 'Written detail' read – no mention of cats.

Name of vessel *Zuytdorp*
Name of Captain M. Wysvilet
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Zeeland Chamber
Port of departure Wielingen
Date of departure 1 August 1711
Date of landfall June 1712
Places visited en route Sao Thome Is. (13 December–4 January), Annabon, Cape of Good Hope (23 March–22 April)
Point of arrival in Australia 27°11'S, 113°36'E
Wrecked or landed Wrecked at the base of cliffs.
Other landings, if any

Available primary sources Soldiers' roll; soldiers' request book. No cargo or passenger list has survived.
References Henderson 1980; Playford 1996.
Comments Survivors reached the top of the cliffs, and it has been suggested that they may have joined Aboriginal society – Playford surveys the evidence (1996, pp.210–232). Aboriginal stories of the wreck, as summarized by Playford (1996, pp.78–79), do not include reference to cats, and no archaeological evidence of cats has been discovered at the site to date.

Name of vessel *Fortuyn*
Name of Captain P. Westrik
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Amsterdam Chamber
Port of departure Texel
Date of departure 27 September 1723
Date of landfall 1724
Places visited en route Cape of Good Hope (2 January–18 January)
Point of arrival in Australia ?
Wrecked or landed ?
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources
References Henderson 1980
Comments This vessel disappeared between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. It may have been wrecked along the Western Australian coast, but no wreck has been found. Contemporary evidence suggests that it was more likely to have been wrecked in the vicinity of the Cocos Is.

Name of vessel *Aagtekerke*
Name of Captain J. Witboom
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Zeeland Chamber
Port of departure Rammekens
Date of departure 27 May 1725
Date of landfall ?
Places visited en route Benguela (Angola), Cape of Good Hope (3 January–27 January)
Point of arrival in Australia ?
Wrecked or landed ?
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Listing in VOC register of outward shipping.
References Henderson 1980.
Comments This vessel was lost between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. It may have been wrecked on the Abrolhos: survivors of the wreck of the *Zeewyck* saw relics from an earlier wreck there.

Name of vessel *Zeewyck*
Name of Captain J. Steyns
Type of vessel VOC *retourschip* – Zeeland Chamber
Port of departure Rammekens
Date of departure 7 November 1726
Date of landfall 9 June 1727
Places visited en route Cape of Good Hope (26 March–21 April)
Point of arrival in Australia Half-moon sreef, Houtman's Abrolhos.
Wrecked or landed Wrecked.
Other landings, if any Survivors reached Gun Is., in the Abrolhos.
Available primary sources Henderson (1980, p.46) refers to translations of the *Zeewyck* journal of Adriaen Van der Graff, by both C. de Heer and Lous Zuiderbaan, but gives no location for these. Heeres (1899) also refers to this journal, without giving a location for it. Another *Zeewyck* journal may be found in the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels (cat. 7366). Correspondence relating to the wreck, and subsequent voyage to Batavia, has been excerpted by Major (1859, pp.176–189), from a Dutch publication entitled 'de Houtman's Abrolhos'. Correspondence published in Heeres (1899).
References Major 1859; Sigmond and Zuiderbaan 1979; Henderson 1980.
Comments Extract in Major (1859), and correspondence in Heeres (1899) contain no reference to cats, and no cat remains have been identified among the archaeological artefacts. The longboat from the *Zeewyck* was sent with a crew of twelve to Batavia to get help, but disappeared. The remaining survivors built a sloop, the *Sloepie*, from the wreckage of the *Zeewyck*, and sailed for Batavia with water, food and chests of coins salvaged from the wreck. This vessel, with 82 survivors, arrived in the Straits of Sunda 21 April 1728. If there were any cats on board the *Zeewyck*, it is highly unlikely that any would have made it to the mainland, either perishing or being eaten on Gun Island, or taken aboard the *Sloepie*.

Name of vessel ?
Name of Captain unnamed Chinese trader
Type of vessel ?
Port of departure Amenoebang, Timor
Date of departure ?/March 1751
Date of landfall seven days after departure.
Places visited en route none
Point of arrival in Australia north-west coast
Wrecked or landed Landed.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Letter of the Resident of Timor, Daniel van den Bergh, to the Governor General Jac. Mossel and the Councillors of the East Indies, 20 September 1751 (Excerpted in Robert 1973, p.147).
References Robert 1973; Macknight 1976.
Comments This Chinese trader was heading for a sandbank south of Roti to hunt turtles for their shells, but a strong north wind drove him south for a week, when he came upon a low coast where he landed. The Aboriginal people he met invited him to accompany them inland, but he declined and sailed back to Timor. Unsurprisingly, the letter makes no mention of cats, nor does it give any detail as to the type of vessel, or how it landed on the coast.

Name of vessel *Rijder and Buis*
Name of Captain J. Gonzal
Type of vessel VOC barques
Port of departure Batavia
Date of departure 8 February 1756
Date of landfall 17 April 1756
Places visited en route Banda
Point of arrival in Australia West coast of far north Cape York Peninsula
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any several other landings along west coast of Cape York Peninsula
Available primary sources No journals, only a report compiled at Batavia by Gerrit de Haan (extract published in Robert 1973, pp.151–163)
References Robert 1973.
Comments *Buis'* boat was lost with eight men in about 11°00'S. Report contains no mention of cats.

Name of vessel *Gros Venture*
Name of Captain F.A. de St Allouarn
Type of vessel French
Port of departure Ile de France (Mauritius)
Date of departure 16 January 1772
Date of landfall 17 March 1772
Places visited en route Kerguelen Is.
Point of arrival in Australia Flinders Bay (Cape Leeuwin)
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any Shark bay (29 March–6 April)
Available primary sources Archival only – see Marchant 1982.
References Marchant 1982.
Comments

Name of vessel *Discovery and Chatham*
Name of Captain George Vancouver
Type of vessel English
Port of departure Falmouth, England.
Date of departure 1 April 1791
Date of landfall 28 September 1791
Places visited en route Teneriffe – Santa Cruz, Simon's Bay (at Cape of Good Hope)
Point of arrival in Australia King George Sound
Wrecked or landed Landed several times with boat for exploration and to gather wood and water. Stayed 12 days.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Several manuscript versions of journals kept on the voyage have survived and are kept in the British Public Record Office. Correspondence relating to the voyage is also held in the British PRO. A revised version of Vancouver's journal was first published in 1798, and translated and republished several times since. For more detail on sources see Vancouver (1984, pp.257–269)
References Vancouver 1984.

Comments The lengthy 4-volume journal of this voyage was not read, but the very comprehensive index did not include cats. Vancouver's instructions included taking every care to ensure that 'Dogs, or any other Animals' were prevented from getting into the plant frame (Lamb's introduction to Vancouver 1984, p.44). The index confirms that at least one dog was indeed on board (the index containing an entry under 'dogs': 'Newfoundland, on *Discovery*, amazes natives of Rapa Island'), so it is perhaps significant that cats are not also specified.

Name of vessel *Recherche and Esperance*
Name of Captain A. D'Entrecasteaux
Type of vessel French
Port of departure Brest
Date of departure 28 September 1791
Date of landfall 9 December 1792
Places visited en route Bertheaume (France, to put off stowaways), Santa Cruz, Cape of Good Hope, Tasmania, New Caledonia, Buka Is., New Ireland, Vendola Is., Jesus-Maria Is., Los Negros Is., Ambonia (for five weeks).
Point of arrival in Australia Observatory Island, Esperance Bay (although previously touched at Tasmania).
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat. Specimens collected and repairs carried out while at anchor for six days.
Other landings, if any Mainland at Esperance Bay, then Tasmania (for the second time).
Available primary sources Several documents relating to this voyage are held on microfilm at the National Library of Australia: see Horner (1995, p.301). The list includes ministerial correspondence, instructions, preparations, dossiers, papers, journals, observations, logs and charts. The personal journal of Jacques-Julien Labillardière was published in 1799, and an English translation in 1800. An official account of the voyage, taken largely from D'Entrecasteaux' journals, has also been published (Rossell 1808), but never translated into English.

References

Comments Horner 1995; Marchant 1982.
 There was certainly a dog on board the *Esperance*, as while the party was anchored at Esperance Bay, naturalist Claude-Antoine-Gaspard Riche went ashore and failed to return. A search party, which included Riche's dog, was sent off the next day. A search of the opening stages of Labillardière's account revealed no cats, and although they appear in his vocabulary of Malay ('*koutchien*, *touffa*'), they are omitted from vocabularies from Cape van Diemen (Melville Is.), Friendly Islands, New Caledonia and Waygiou.

Name of vessel *Geographe and Naturaliste*
Name of Captain N. Baudin (and E. Hamelin on the *Naturaliste*)
Type of vessel French
Port of departure Le Havre
Date of departure 18 October 1800
Date of landfall 31 May 1801
Places visited en route Tenerife, Port North-West (Mauritius)
Point of arrival in Australia 33°30'55'
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat in Geographe Bay.
Other landings, if any Hamelin: Swan River and approaches (14 June–28 June); Shark Bay (17 July–4 September). Baudin: Shark Bay (26 June–11 July); Dampier Archipelago (27 July); Bonaparte Archipelago (11 August–13 August).

Available primary sources Journal of Baudin (1974), including Appendices listing provisions, navy supplies and refreshments, instruments for navigation etc., crews, and so on. An official account of the voyage, by Peron (1975) has also been published in English. The journal of Louis de Freycinet (1815) has also been published in French, but not translated. Records from the Baudin Expedition are also available in the Battye Library private archives: Baudin Expedition. Records, 1801–1821 [manuscript], 27 cm. Battye Library, Priv Arch. Stack MN 584, Baudin papers, ACC 282A, 407A. These records, which I have not read, include transcripts of letters, journals and other papers of members of the Baudin Expedition, including Nicolas Baudin, Francois-Michel Ronsard, Emmanuel Hamelin, Jacques de Saint-Cricq, Etienne Giraud, Victor Couture, S. Levillain, Francois Heirisson, Louis de Freycinet. Henderson 1980; Marchant 1982.

References

Comments Two boats were lost on this voyage, and one foundered but was later repaired and reloaded: *Geographe's* chaloupe was lost in Geographe Bay 5 June 1801; *Naturaliste's* skiff foundered at Rottnest 17 June 1801; and her chaloupe was lost at Cottesloe 19 June 1801. The published journals of both Baudin and Peron have been read. Despite the former journal in particular containing great detail (being over 600 pages long), no reference to cats was found in either work.

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| Name of vessel | <i>Investigator</i> |
| Name of Captain | M. Flinders |
| Type of vessel | English |
| Port of departure | Portsmouth |
| Date of departure | 18 July 1801 (from Spithead) |
| Date of landfall | 8 December 1801 |
| Places visited en route | Simon's Bay (large cove in False Bay, East of Table Bay on the Cape of Good Hope) |
| Point of arrival in Australia | King George's Sound. |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | Princess Royal and Oyster Harbours, and at several points along the south coast around to Port Jackson. On this part of the voyage, the <i>Investigator's</i> cutter was wrecked at Cape Catastrophe (34°58'S 135°56'E). After spending 12 weeks at Port Jackson, the circumnavigation was recommenced to the north, and many landings made to New Year's Isle, from whence they sailed to Timor (arrived 31 March 1803, taking on water and food, including live buffalo, pigs and kids). From Timor, the next landing was on the mainland at Goose-Island Bay, at the Archipelago of the Recherche. Sydney Cove was again reached 9 June 1803. |
| Available primary sources | Two journals from the voyage have been published: that of Flinders (1966), and that of gardener Peter Good (1981). |
| References | Flinders (1966); Good (1981). |
| Comments | Both Flinders' and Good's journals have been read, without finding reference to cats. This is particularly interesting, as it is known that there were cats on board the <i>Investigator</i> – one, Trim, being Flinders' beloved pet about which he wrote a story (see above). Neither Trim, nor any other cats on board are mentioned by Flinders or Good at any point, even during the wreck of the Porpoise, and Flinders' subsequent imprisonment on Mauritius, when Trim was lost (apparently much to Flinders' distress). Good mentions dogs on board the <i>Investigator</i> , which were used for hunting kangaroos after their first stop at Port Jackson. |
| Name of vessel | <i>Geographe</i> and <i>Casuarina</i> |
| Name of Captain | N. Baudin (and L de Freycinet, on the <i>Casuarina</i>) |
| Type of vessel | French |
| Port of departure | Port Jackson |
| Date of departure | 17 November 1802 |
| Date of landfall | 13 February 1803 (in WA – <i>Casuarina</i> , which was joined by the <i>Geographe</i> 17 February 1803) |
| Places visited en route | King Island, Kangaroo Island, Ceduna region. |
| Point of arrival in Australia | King George Sound (arrival in WA) |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat; <i>Casuarina</i> beached at Princess Royal Harbour 21 February 1803. |
| Other landings, if any | Geographe Bay and Bunbury Region (<i>Geographe</i> 11 March), Rottnest Island (<i>Casuarina</i> 13 March), Shark Bay (16 March–23 March), Bonaparte Archipelago (25 April). |
| Available primary sources | (see <i>Geographe</i> and <i>Naturaliste</i> entry) |
| References | Marchant 1982. |
| Comments | On this part of the voyage dogs are mentioned in connection with hunting game on shore, on several occasions. As they were not mentioned previously, it is assumed that they were taken on board at Port Jackson. On the 19th January, a rooster and two hens, and a boar and sow were left on Kangaroo Island to 'multiply and possibly be of use to future navigators in these regions' (Baudin 1974, p.468). However, no mention was made of cats or their release. |
| Name of vessel | <i>George (Alfred)</i> |
| Name of Captain | ? |
| Type of vessel | Built Chittagong 1804, registered at Calcutta. |
| Port of departure | ? |
| Date of departure | ? |
| Date of landfall | 1804 (?) |
| Places visited en route | ? |
| Point of arrival in Australia | ? |
| Wrecked or landed | Wrecked (?) |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | None |
| References | Initial reference to wreck in Phipps (1840); Henderson 1980. |
| Comments | No wreck located. |
| Name of vessel | <i>Rapid</i> |
| Name of Captain | ? |
| Type of vessel | American trader |
| Port of departure | Boston |
| Date of departure | 29 September 1810 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Date of landfall | 7 January 1811 |
| Places visited en route | ? |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Ningaloo Reef, 22°44'S 113°41'E, 1 nautical mile offshore. |
| Wrecked or landed | Wrecked. |
| Other landings, if any | ? |
| Available primary sources | Archaeological evidence. Loney does not disclose his sources. |
| References | Henderson 1979; Loney 1994. |
| Comments | Loney claims that this trader, bound for Canton, was carrying a mixed cargo which included 330 000 Spanish dollars. The wreck broke up after a day at which point the crew of 22 left in three boats. All apparently reached safety. Cats are quite likely to have been on this vessel, and Henderson notes that debris were found near the beach, which 'would indicate that planking from the wreck came ashore in that area' (1979, p.20). |
| | |
| Name of vessel | <i>Correo de Azia</i> |
| Name of Captain | ? |
| Type of vessel | ? |
| Port of departure | ? |
| Date of departure | ? |
| Date of landfall | 25 November 1816 |
| Places visited en route | ? |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Shark Bay |
| Wrecked or landed | Wrecked (?) |
| Other landings, if any | |
| Available primary sources | None |
| References | Western Australian Maritime Museum Shipwreck Database; Horsburgh 1841. |
| Comments | Wreck not found. No other information available. |
| | |
| Name of vessel | <i>Uranie</i> |
| Name of Captain | L. de Freycinet |
| Type of vessel | French |
| Port of departure | Toulon |
| Date of departure | 17 September 1817 |
| Date of landfall | 13 September 1818 |
| Places visited en route | Gibraltar, Santa Cruz, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Ile de France (Mauritius), St Denis Harbour (Reunion Is). |
| Point of arrival in Australia | Dirk Hartog Island |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boats. |
| Other landings, if any | Mainland at Shark Bay, where the party stayed until the 26 September. On departing for Timor, the <i>Uranie</i> hit a sandbank and was stranded until the tide rose, spending the entire night in 'one or two inches of water' (de Freycinet 1996, p.53). |
| Available primary sources | Journal of Rose de Freycinet, Louis de Freycinet's wife, has been translated and published (de Freycinet 1996). Louis de Freycinet's journal has also been published (de Freycinet 1927-39), but not translated. The papers of Joseph Paul Gaimard, French surgeon and naturalist on board the <i>Uranie</i> are also held in the Battye Library: Gaimard, Paul, 1793-1858. Journal, 1817-1819 [manuscript] 7 cm. (489 pages, large folio). Battye Library, MN 1188, Papers of Joseph Paul Gaimard, ACC 3506A, Priv. Arch. Stack. Also available on microfilm. |
| References | L. de Freycinet 1927-39; R. de Freycinet 1996. |
| Comments | Journal of Rose de Freycinet read; no mention of cats found (even during shipwreck of <i>Uranie</i> at French Bay, Falkland Islands). Other animals are, however, mentioned. For example, at Sydney they took on board 'a pair of merino sheep ... a cassowary [sic] ... two other young cassowaries, eight black swans ... a cassican ... two she-goats ... a cow, a calf and a dozen beautiful sheep' (p.121). |
| | |
| Name of vessel | <i>Mermaid</i> |
| Name of Captain | P.P. King |
| Type of vessel | Colonial Australian |
| Port of departure | Port Jackson |
| Date of departure | 22 December 1817 |
| Date of landfall | 20 January 1818 |
| Places visited en route | Twofold Bay, Recherche Archipelago. |
| Point of arrival in Australia | King George Sound (arrival in WA) |
| Wrecked or landed | Landed with boat. |
| Other landings, if any | Exmouth Gulf; Dampier Archipelago, then to Cape van Diemen, Goulburn Is, Coepang, Barrow Is. |

Available primary sources Journal published (King 1827); Hordern gives list of stores and equipment (401–410); charts (given by Hordern).
References King 1827; Hordern 1997.
Comments Journal and stores/equipment list read: no mention of cats, although it is clear that there was a water-spaniel on board (King 1827, p.46).

Name of vessel *Lively*
Name of Captain ?
Type of vessel French-built whaler
Port of departure ?
Date of departure ?
Date of landfall 1818
Places visited en route ?
Point of arrival in Australia Rowley Shoals, 17°S 119.5°E
Wrecked or landed Wrecked and sunk.
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Archaeological artefacts.
References Henderson 1980; Western Australian Maritime Museum Database.
Comments Wreck found – no cat remains recovered.

Name of vessel *Mermaid*
Name of Captain P.P. King
Type of vessel Colonial Australian
Port of departure Port Jackson
Date of departure 8 May 1819
Date of landfall 19 September 1819
Places visited en route Several landings along east coast of Australia, Arnhem Land, Cobourg Peninsula, Joseph Bonaparte Gulf.
Point of arrival in Australia Cambridge Gulf, West Arm (arrival in WA).
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any Kimberley coast, to Cape Voltaire.
Available primary sources Journal published (King 1827); charts (given by Hordern).
References King 1827; Hordern 1997.
Comments Journal read – no cats mentioned. There was, however, also a dog on this voyage, mentioned ashore when the boat was repaired at Endeavour River. During repairs the boat was secured to the shore within 10 feet of a steep beach (King 1827, p.211). There were also plenty of rats on board the *Mermaid* – King provides details of their depredations (1827, pp.279, 324).

Name of vessel Unidentified wreck
Name of Captain ?
Type of vessel Most likely a whaler or sealer
Port of departure ?
Date of departure ?
Date of landfall c.1820
Places visited en route ?
Point of arrival in Australia 55 km east of Eyre.
Wrecked or landed Wrecked
Other landings, if any
Available primary sources Artefacts, Aboriginal story.
References Henderson 1980.
Comments

Name of vessel *Mermaid*
Name of Captain P.P. King
Type of vessel Australian Colonial
Port of departure Port Jackson
Date of departure 13 July 1820
Date of landfall 5 September 1820
Places visited en route Several landings along east coast of Australia, Arnhem Land, Melville Is.
Point of arrival in Australia Cape Voltaire
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any The *Mermaid* was careened at Careening Bay (in Port Nelson) from 21 September 1820 to 5 October 1820, and left the coast at Brunswick Bay.

Available primary sources Journal published (King 1827); charts (given by Hordern).
References King 1827; Hordern 1997.
Comments Journal read - no cats were mentioned while the vessel was careened (or on the rest of the voyage).

Name of vessel *Bathurst*
Name of Captain P.P. King
Type of vessel Australian Colonial
Port of departure Port Jackson
Date of departure 26 May 1821
Date of landfall 23 July 1821
Places visited en route North-east coast of Australia, Goulburn Islands.
Point of arrival in Australia Careening Bay (Port Nelson)
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any Along coast to Pt Gantheaume, then to Mauritius, then back to King George Sound (10 November 1821), Rottneest Island, Shark Bay, North West Cape, Dampier Archipelago, Cape Leveque.

Available primary sources Journal published (King 1827); charts (given by Hordern).
References King 1827; Hordern 1997.
Comments Journal read, no cats mentioned.

Name of vessel *Belinda*
Name of Captain T. Coverdale
Type of vessel Brig on sealing expedition
Port of departure Sydney
Date of departure 17 May 1824
Date of landfall mid-June 1824
Places visited en route
Point of arrival in Australia Near Middle Island in the Recherche Archipelago
Wrecked or landed Wrecked.
Other landings, if any

Available primary sources Contemporary newspaper reports – see Henderson 1980.
References Henderson 1980.
Comments Crew reached shore and proceeded towards Sydney in two boats, one of which foundered. All survivors were rescued by the brig *Nereus*, which had been sealing in the same area, and returned to Sydney.

Name of vessel *Astrolabe*
Name of Captain D. D'Urville
Type of vessel French corvette
Port of departure Toulon
Date of departure 25 April 1826
Date of landfall 8 October 1826
Places visited en route Gibraltar, Santa Cruz, La Praya (Cape Verde Is.)
Point of arrival in Australia King George Sound
Wrecked or landed Landed with boat.
Other landings, if any

Available primary sources D'Urville's Journal has been translated and published (D'Urville 1987). The editors have summarized some sections of the journal, and have included excerpts from Officers' Journals in other parts.
References D'Urville 1987.
Comments The journal was read, and no reference to cats found (although D'Urville did have a pet cockatoo). At Oyster Harbour, D'Urville also retained the services of an Englishman (who had been with a whaling party they met with at the harbour) and his dogs, to accompany the French on a kangaroo hunt.

CONCLUSION

No direct reference has been found in any of the material examined to the deliberate release or escape of cats onto the north or western coasts of the Australian mainland on either Macassan or European vessels. With the exception of the Dutch ship *Konign der Nederlanden*, recorded by Stevens as (unsuccessfully) attempting to carry cats in 1857, no evidence has been found for cats on board Dutch ships of any description. They were, however, recorded on board English and American ships, suggesting the possibility that the ship's cat was a phenomenon that originated with the English, and was adopted by the Americans. Other evidence suggests that the Dutch may have been more likely to carry dogs on their vessels for rodent control. No direct references to the presence of dogs on Dutch ships have been found, although evidence exists of dogs on board French vessels. Evidence has also been found which places dogs on board American and English ships, alongside cats (in the case of Cook and Flinders), and perhaps instead of them (in the case of Vancouver and King). The absence of Matthew Flinders' cat 'Trim' from journals written on board the *Investigator* makes it clear, however, that the nature of most available European sources is such as to obscure the presence of cats. Thus while it cannot be assumed that they were regularly carried on Dutch vessels, it remains a possibility that they arrived with wrecks – in particular the *Zuytdorp*, and possibly the *Vergulde Draeck*, because of their proximity to the mainland coast. It is unlikely that any of the voyages of exploration deliberately released cats via boat onto the mainland; certainly there is no record of such an occurrence. Although there is no documentary evidence to support the proposal, it remains likely that there were cats on board Dampier's *Cygnets*, and that these would have had ample opportunity to escape onto the mainland when that vessel was careened in the Kimberley in 1688. Such an event could explain Aboriginal perceptions of the early arrival of cats on the mainland. More recently, cats could also have arrived with the wreck of the *Rapid* in 1811, or with sealers and whalers who put in to King George Sound from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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