

SEA TREASURE FROM THE WRECK OF THE "MEERESTEIJN"

Jutten Island, Saldanha Bay, Cape of Good Hope
3RD APRIL, 1702

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"The 'Meeresteijn' has been wrecked with heavy loss of life at Jutten Island." This was the urgent message brought to Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel in Cape Town on the 6th April, 1702. It came from the Station-keeper of the Dutch East India Company at Saldanha Bay, seventy miles to the north.

Outward bound from Amsterdam with a considerable party of troops and a valuable consignment of specie for Batavia, the look-out of the 'Meeresteijn' had sighted land at about noon on the 3rd of April. Desiring to fix his latitude, and in urgent need of fresh water for the many on board who were sick after their long 3-month voyage, the skipper had decided to make for land. As he approached he recognised the entrance to Saldanha Bay, which was regularly used as a watering place for the Company's ships, and must have congratulated himself on his good fortune. But his satisfaction was short lived. As he approached Jutten Island, which stands like a sentinel at the entrance to the Bay, he unwise'y decided to take the narrower and more treacherous southern channel between the island and Jut Point. Suddenly came the dreaded cry from the second mate: "Breakers ahead." The daily anchor was dropped, in 16 fathoms, but it could not hold the ship. Desperately, the bower anchor was also thrown out, but still the cruel Atlantic rollers thrust the doomed ship towards the breakers off the southern point of the island.

Soon she struck, and within an hour, as the evening twilight deepened, she was pounded into a thousand pieces. It was a case of *sauve qui peut*, and although the skipper and the majority of his passengers and crew perished in the waves, as if by a miracle no less than 97 persons managed to survive the wild sea, and struggled desperately up the rocky coast of barren Jutten Island. In the morning a boatswain's mate and a sailor courageously seized some floating timber in an attempt to reach the mainland, and by great good fortune succeeded in reaching the Company's post, where they gave news of the tragedy. So came the desperate message to the Governor: "We have many sick and weak among us, no water, and nothing to eat".

Governor van der Stel lost no time. Let us follow the story in the *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope Journal, 1699-1732*:

"The necessary steps were at once taken to provide for the number saved, about 100 men, and supply them with fresh water, by means of one of the galiots here. Skipper Volkert Schouten of the 'Noordgouw' was therefore provided with instructions to proceed in the 'Wezel' to the Jutten Island and find the exact spot of the wreck and where the back part of the ship broke off in the surf, in order to discover where the chests of money which stood in the saloon, had sunk. He was to do his best to recover all, or as much as possible; and also save as much of the wreckage as could be recovered, merchandise, woodwork, provisions, sails, ropes, cannon, etc., and make a complete list of the whole. He was also to make a list of the men saved, state their rank, whether they were sick or whole, and give such other information as was necessary to enable the Governor to send for the men, etc. He was further to recover all the ship's papers and send them to the Cape at once, and he was to communicate daily with the Cape by land or water."

On the 11th of April, the following message was received from van Schouten and the Commissioners:

"We do not believe that any of the money chests will ever be recovered, as the back part of the ship was the first to break far outside against a rock in the heaviest part of the surf."

The overriding importance attached by officials of the Company to the money chests is clearly apparent from the following letter despatched by van der Stel on the 27th of April:

"The 'Amy' brought your letter of the 19th, with some timber and men saved from the wreck. We also saw that you had recovered in 'Baviaans Bay' ten casks of butter and two half aums of brandy, but as you do not satisfy us or give us any information regarding the chief point, the recovery of the money, or the means to enable us to do so, you are by the first opportunity to inform us where the money chests have sunk, how deep it is there, and how far from the shore, also, what would be the most suitable time to fish it up from the bottom. But should there be no probability of doing so, the chief mate on the island and his men shall make a declaration, each separately, which you also shall do, and confirm by oath here at the Cape. You shall circumstantially mention the reasons of impossibility, that we may see and examine them."

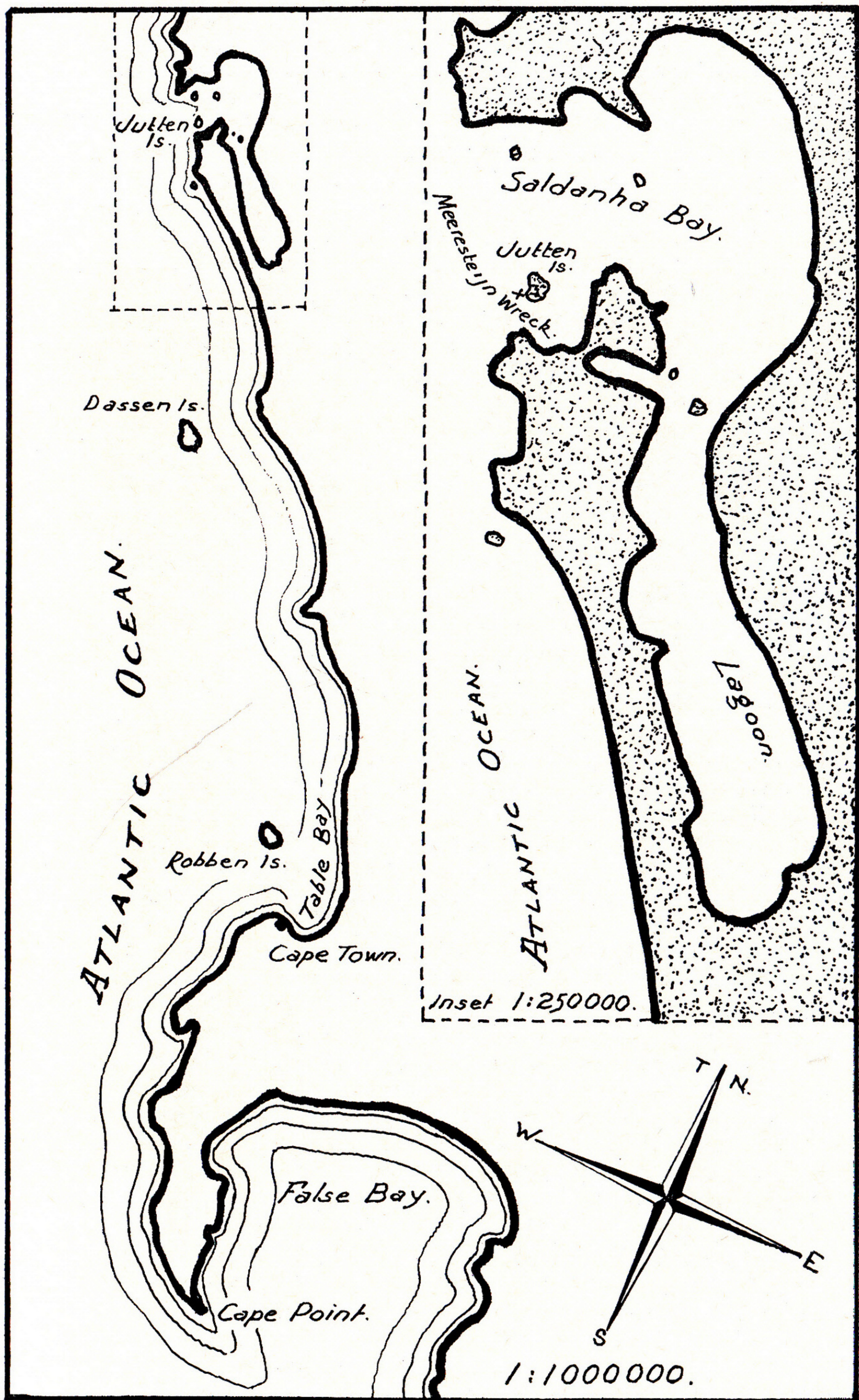
On the 7th of May, the following Declarations of the Commissioners and the crew of the "Wezel", besides some of the men of the "Meeresteijn" were received:

... "That they had been together on Jutten Island to contrive means by which if, possible, the place might be reached where the specie had gone down. We sailed with the boat above the island mentioned, taking with us the chief mate of the 'Merestein,' who pointed out everything to us; where they dropped anchor the first time and where we found a sandy bottom and $15\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water. We found on that spot the south point of the bay to be south by east, and the place where the ship went down north by east. Where the vessel drifted through, we found the same sandy bottom in 14 fathoms. We further approached the rocks to about 150 or 200 yards just free from the breakers and found 13 fathoms water and a rocky bottom. This was the nearest approach we could make without danger of our lives to the spot where the 'Merestein' sank.

Regarding the recovery of the specie, we believe it to be impossible and that nothing will ever be possible to be undertaken on this point. The obstacles are the great and violent waves which come straight from the open sea, and bang against this side. Whether it be windy or calm, the sea remains the same. We therefore again declare it to be impossible to approach the spot with any vessel or whatever it may be. The specie can likewise not be thrown up by the sea, as to all appearance there is a steep depth here, &c., (Signed by) V. Schouten, &c., and confirmed by oath."

Van der Stel reluctantly accepted the findings of his commissioners, and faced the difficult task of informing his directors in Holland – De Here Sewentien – that their precious money was irretrievably lost. The site of the wreck was carefully recorded, however, and in 1727, when the famous English salvage diver John Lethbridge was brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company to work on various wrecks in Table Bay, he was asked to tackle the "Meeresteijn". He duly visited Jutten Island with his ingenious though cumbersome diving equipment, but confessed himself beaten by the wild seas and strong currents, and went home to England convinced that the "Meeresteijn" and her treasure were in Davy Jones' Locker for keeps!

There the matter rested for two and a half centuries. Local legend kept the story alive however, and the dreams of treasure seekers were stimulated now and then when occasionally a corroded and worn ducatoon of the Spanish Netherlands was washed up by the sea, to be found by the lighthouse keeper who kept a lonely vigil among the penguins of Jutten Island.



In recent years, following the development of modern skin-diving techniques, the search for the "Meeresteijn" was stepped up. At last, on the 3rd of March, 1971, Mr. Bobby Hayward and his associates Messrs. Barry Williams and Jock Dichmont of Cape Town, finally located the remains of a wreck close in among the rocks near the island. They retrieved a number of small brass cannon – one still showing the unmistakable monogram of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company. There seems no doubt that the wreck they found is indeed the "Meeresteijn".

Wind and currents and wild seas make salvage work impossible except on a few days of the year, and they had to await the occasional calm day. As opportunity offered they returned to the site. They found further remains of cannon, but they were of iron and so decomposed that they disintegrated on touch.

Then, scattered on the ocean floor, they found some coins, silver ducatoons and schellings of the Dutch Provinces and of the Spanish Netherlands – but they too were so worn and corroded as to be scarcely recognisable. Their optimism faded. These can have little value, they thought.

But wait! What is this strange-looking material set like mortar in the rocky gullies? They took down a compressor-driven jackhammer, knocked some pieces off, and brought them to the surface. Imagine their joy when there in the bits of rocky conglomerate they saw the unmistakable outlines of embedded coins! Surely these, they thought, have been protected from corrosion. Feverishly, while the calm weather lasted, they dived again, and prised loose the conglomerate wherever they could find it, and carried it up in triumph to their boat.

On the few calm days, they dived and toiled on the rocky ocean bed, but when the weather was rough, they busied themselves ashore working to remove the encrusting conglomerate from the coins, so that they could examine what they had found. Then, to my great joy, they came to me.

Imagine my excitement! There can be no more thrilling experience for a numismatist than to become closely involved, from the start, in the investigation of a major coin find, whether on land or from the sea. Here was history! Here were the actual coins which were being carried round the Cape of Good Hope in 1702, in a trading ship of the very Company which had established a victualling station in Table Bay only half a century before. Here surely was incontrovertible evidence of the type of coin which must have been part of the day-to-day life of the settlement at Cape Town at the dawn of the 18th Century.

I determined to try to record details of every coin recovered, and Messrs. Hayward and Barry promised their full co-operation. But I was doomed to disappointment. Under South African law, any person who can persuade the authorities that he is trustworthy may, on making a substantial deposit or on providing a suitable financial guarantee, be issued with a salvage permit. He may then dive for salvage, provided that he declares to the Customs authorities anything of value which he recovers within territorial waters. A royalty is levied by the State on the assessed value, and ownership of the articles concerned thereafter vests in the finder. Hayward and Barry duly declared their find, and immediately sought an order from the Supreme Court declaring the "wreck" their property so long as they worked it. Unfortunately the court could not accept that a wreck as such existed – it was common cause that the timbers had long since disintegrated, and that coins, cannon and other metal objects had become spread over a considerable area of the seabed – and no court order could be obtained. The attendant publicity put the cat among the pigeons. Professional and amateur divers, lured by visions of treasure there for the taking, flocked to Jutten Island. Control, from the archeological point of view, was lost, and my project of recording every piece recovered had to be abandoned. A number of other groups of divers visited the site. One party recovered a large bronze cannon 2.6

metres in length with the V.O.C. monogram still easily decipherable. Others found varying quantities of coins, which were rapidly dispersed. One rival group sold a considerable quantity of ducatoons and schellings at auction sales held in Cape Town and in Johannesburg in January and April, 1972, but unfortunately their sale catalogues were prepared without knowledgeable numismatic guidance and are therefore unreliable and of limited value.

It was early apparent that I could not hope to establish a complete record of the find. However, Hayward and his associates brought me all the crown-size pieces which they had recovered – almost a thousand in all – and a considerable quantity of schellings. This seemed to me to be a sufficiently large “random sample” to justify a detailed numismatic analysis, and I determined to do my best. Subsequent enquiries regarding coins recovered by various other divers, superficial inspection of the coins offered for sale in Cape Town in January 1972, and study of the two sale catalogues referred to, confirmed my earlier conviction that the coins which I was able actually to handle and to study, did in fact constitute a representative sample of the total. Indeed, all my subsequent investigations of coins recovered by other divers, brought to light only three individual pieces which differed from the types represented in the Hayward sample. [These were a daalder of Utrecht dated 1687 (Delmonte No. 1086) and a 4-Groschen piece of Sigismund August of Poland dated 1569, both of which appeared in the Cape Town auction, (items 151 and 115 respectively); and a half-ducatoon of Overijssel (Delmonte 1057) offered as No. 156 in the Johannesburg sale].

Here then was an important consignment of specie being sent out from Europe to its trading stations in the East, in 1702, by the most powerful trading company of the time, the Dutch East India Company. “What coins” I asked myself in my excitement “would the Company’s accountants of the Amsterdam Chamber have included in that consignment?” Surely this was the important question from the point of view of the student of economic history?

Knowing that there was little gold in commercial circulation in seventeenth-century Europe, I was prepared for the news that the bulk of the coins were of silver. It was indeed most interesting to find, however, that no gold at all had been recovered, not a single gold coin.

What of the crowns, I thought. I knew that a considerable variety of crown-size coins had been struck in the Dutch Netherlands between the start of the War of Independence in 1567, and 1702. Would I find Kruisdaalders, or Rijksdaalders; Silver ducats or leeuwendaalders; ducatoons or 3-Gulden pieces? Perhaps the most interesting and historically important conclusion in my whole investigation was that while the 989 crown-size coins in my sample covered the wide range from 1618 to 1694, every one was a ducatoon. Equally interesting was the fact that 601 of these pieces, or 60%, emanated from the Spanish Netherlands, from Antwerp, Brussels, Flanders and Liège, while only 388 or 40% were silver riders of the various Provinces and mint-cities of the Dutch Netherlands.

The fact that coins of these two main types were found mixed indiscriminately together in pieces of conglomerate, would seem to provide almost incontrovertible evidence that the accountants of the Amsterdam Chamber regarded them as being of identical value – in fact, that as “money”, there was no difference between them. It is of course well known that the Silver Rider was brought into the coinage of the United Netherlands in 1659, in an attempt to displace the Spanish Netherlands ducatoon. This coin, introduced in 1618, became the major trade coin in the East – to the dismay no doubt of the Dutch mints who saw potential minting profits being diverted to their hated rivals in the Spanish-dominated South. The Silver Rider, according to the empowering Resolution of 19th June 1659, was to weigh 32,78 grams and to be of 0,941 silver, as compared with the 32,48 grams and 0,944 fineness of the Spanish Netherlands ducatoon. This meant a silver

content in each piece of 30,846 grams and 30,661 grams of fine silver respectively. To the merchants of the East, of Batavia, Ceylon, India and China, the silver content was the only thing that mattered. The evidence of the "Meeresteijn" is clearly that the businessmen of the Dutch East India Company had accepted this situation, and were content to put business before politics, and to regard all ducatoons as equally useful bullion.

In the schedules which follow, I have recorded the type, the mint, and where discernible the date, of the 989 pieces in my sample. It will be seen that amongst the Dutch Silver Riders all Provinces except Groningen are represented, and also the three cities of Overijssel which had the "Mint right" – Deventer, Campen and Zwolle. The great majority were struck between 1659 and 1681. There were twelve of 1692 (of Utrecht and Holland) and two of Holland of 1694 – the latest dated coins recovered from the wreck. There were no less than 21 different Delmonte types, plus a number of less important varieties.

The ducatoons of the Spanish Netherlands covered the period 1618 to 1694, and showed the portraits of Albert and Elizabeth of Brabant; Philip IV (both portraits); Charles II as a child, as a youth (with and without cravat) and as an old man. Antwerp was the mint best represented, followed by Brussels and Flanders. There were only four pieces of Tournai. The Bishopric of Liège was represented by five pieces bearing the portrait of Bishop Maximilian Henry. Of the 601 Spanish Netherlands pieces, no less than 409 (68%, or 41% of the total of 989) bore the second or older portrait of Philip IV of Spain.

Coins which had been directly exposed to seawater during the 269 years of their submersion were of course badly corroded – many in fact were paper-thin and so completely unrecognisable that I did not include them in my sample at all. Those which had been embedded in conglomerate, on the other hand, though often badly stained, and sometimes scored by the jackhammer of the salvors, were in a surprisingly good state of preservation – many could legitimately be described as V.F. and a few were almost E.F. An interesting and, I think, significant observation which I made was that few if any of them, whether dated 1618 or 1694, showed any evidence at all of wear from circulation. The inference is obvious. They had not in fact circulated as money, but had simply been kept in one treasure chest or another as bullion, since the day they were struck.

Apart from the ducatoons, the treasure of the "Meeresteijn" consisted of a relatively small number of half-ducatons (76 in my sample) and a considerable quantity of schellings or silver coins of equivalent size. Of the 76 half-ducatons which I examined, only seven emanated from the United Provinces. They were half-silver-riders – one of Westfriesland, four of Utrecht and two of Zeeland. (A piece attributed to Overijssel was listed in the Johannesburg sale catalogue). The 69 half-ducatons from the Spanish Netherlands showed a type and date distribution similar to that already described for the ducatoons, and included pieces of Albert and Elizabeth; Philip IV; and Charles II. Again, the majority were of Brabant, with the mintmark of Antwerp or of Brussels.

Unfortunately I had no opportunity to count the schellings, nor to study them in detail. Their total ran into many hundreds, and they were difficult to identify in the semi-cleaned state in which I saw them. My observations are therefore based on a relatively small sample of the total recovered by the Hayward group. (It should be noted that the schellings recovered by the major rival group and sold at the two auction sales to which I have referred, were erroneously listed in their sale catalogues as stuivers. In fact there was no single stuiver piece on the Cape Town sale).

In the schedule which follows I have listed twenty-five different schelling or 6-stuiver pieces, all but one of which I have positively identified. My *impression* of the total Hayward sample was that the overwhelming majority were Arendsschellings of Campen or of Zwolle, mainly in the name of the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias I. There were a sig-

nificant number of Roosschellings, especially of Westfriesland and Holland. The earliest piece I saw (apart from the 4-Groschen piece of Poland dated 1569 already referred to and found by the rival group), was the snaphaanschelling of Friesland dated 1598, several of which I noticed. Whereas 60% of the ducatoons and more than 90% of the half-ducatoons were of Spanish-Netherlands origin, at least 99% of the schellings were of Dutch origin, from the various Provinces and cities of the Republic of the United Netherlands.

Plate 1. SPANISH NETHERLANDS DUCATOONS

(1) Albert and Elizabeth: Antwerp: 1618. (2) Philip III, Young bust: Tournai: 1631. (3) Philip III, Older bust: Flanders: 1656. (4) Charles II, Child head: Antwerp: 1668. (5) Charles II, Youth with cravat: Brussels: 1683. (6) Charles II, Youth, no cravat: Antwerp: 1684.

HALF-DUCATOONS: (7) Albert and Elizabeth, Antwerp: 1619. (8) Philip III, Older bust: Brussels: 1647.

Plate 2. DUCATOONS: (9) Charles II, Old Head, Flanders: 1694. (10) Liege. Bishop Max. Henry: 1674.

DUTCH SILVER RIDERS: (11) Friesland: 1660. (12) Utrecht: 1668. (13) Overijssel: 1664. (14) Deventer: 1662.

HALF-RIDERS: (15) Utrecht: 1679. (16) Zeeland: 1660.

Plate 3. Reverse of Dutch Silver Riders and Spanish Netherlands Ducatoons, and halves. (Note similarity in basic design of all these coins).

(17) Zwolle: 1659 (note inscription). (18) Zeeland: 1661. (19) Holland: 1694 (with No. 9, the latest coin from the wreck). (20) Liege: Bishop Max. Henry: 1674. (21) Brabant: Albert and Elizabeth: Antwerp: 1618. (22) Brabant: Charles II: Antwerp: 1668. (23) Half-Rider: Utrecht: 1679. (24) Half-Ducatoon: Brabant: Albert and Elizabeth: Antwerp: 1619.

Plate 4. (25) and (26) Snaphaanschelling, West-Friesland 1598 and Zeeland: 1670. (27) and (28) Roosschelling: Holland: 1601, and West-Friesland: 1601. (29) and (30) Obv. & Rev., Scheepjesschelling, Holland and West-Friesland: 1679. (31) Roosschelling: West-Friesland: 1682. (32) 6 St.: Zutphen: 1688. (33) Tiende Arendsrijksdaalder: Deventer. (34), (35), (36) and (37) Arendschelling. Campen, Ferd. IV; Rev. of Campen, Matthias I, and Zwolle, Matt. I, 1675. Obv. Zwolle 1675. (38) ?Schelling of Albert and Eliz: of Brabant. (39) Tournai. Philip III.

Plate 5. A portion of conglomerate embedded in which can be seen a Ducatoon of Philip III, Antwerp, 1639; a silver rider of Holland; four unidentified schellings; a grape-shot ball; and a piece of glass. (A further ducatoon and two schellings can be discerned when this chunk is viewed from beneath.)



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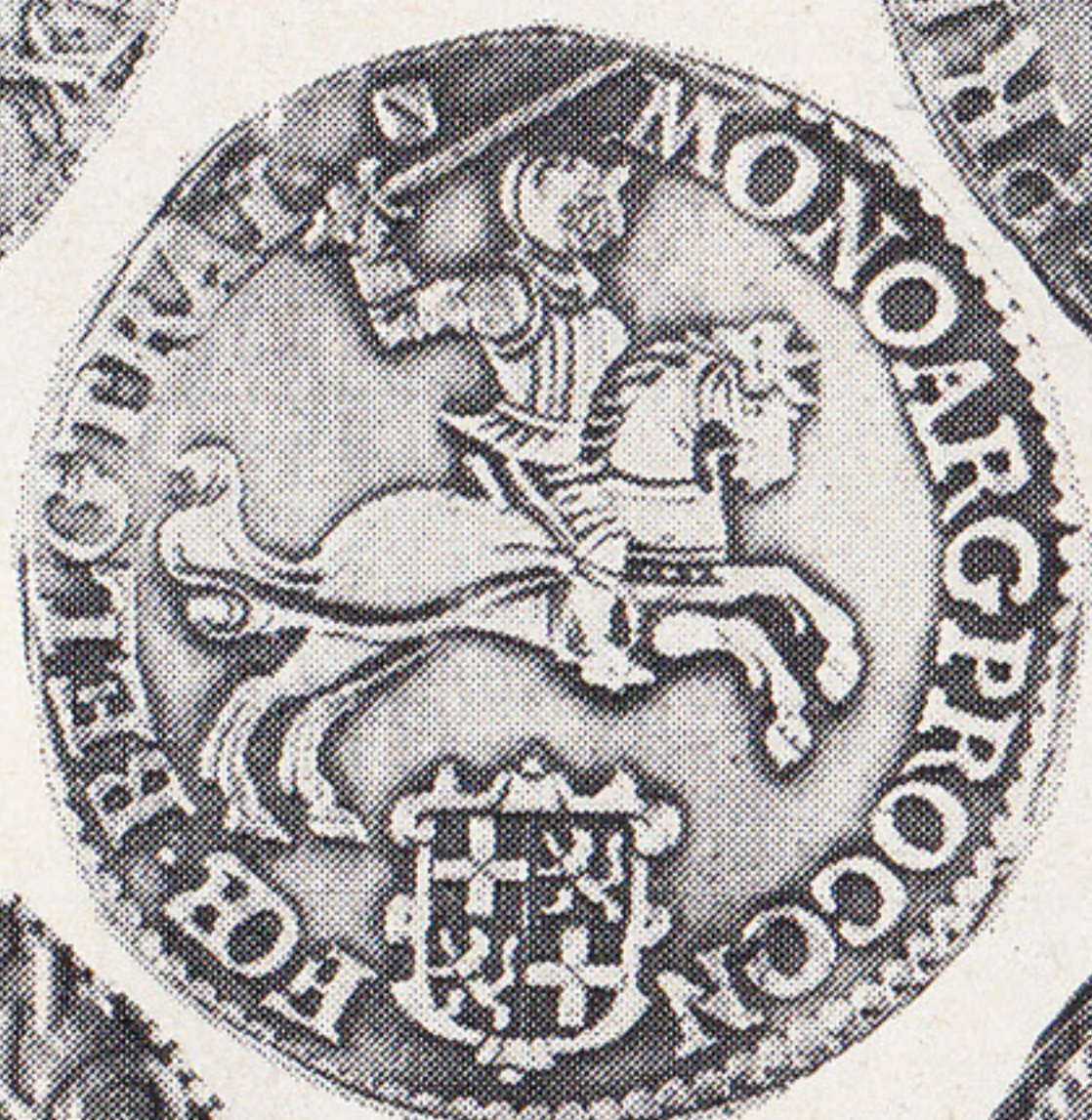
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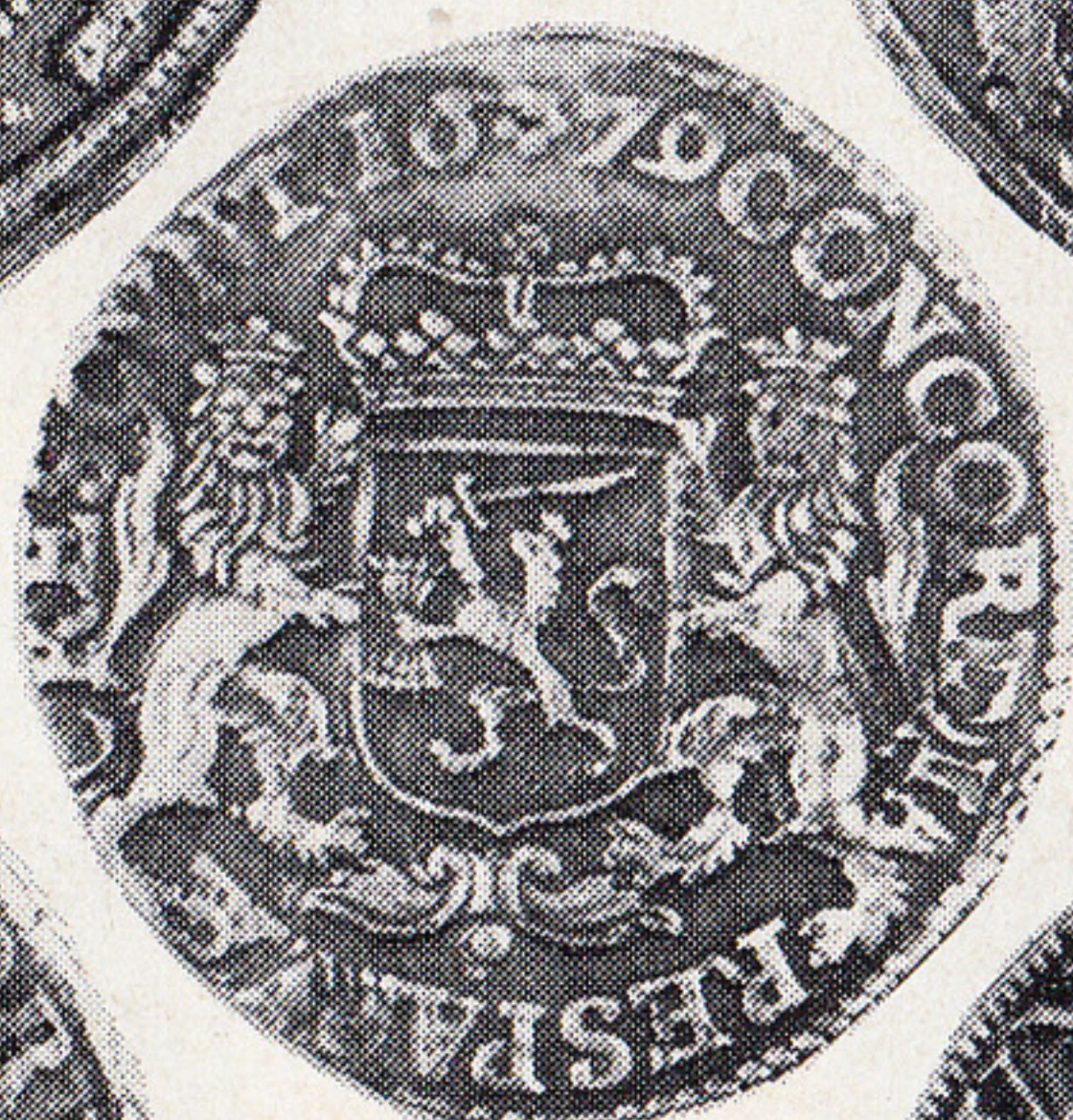
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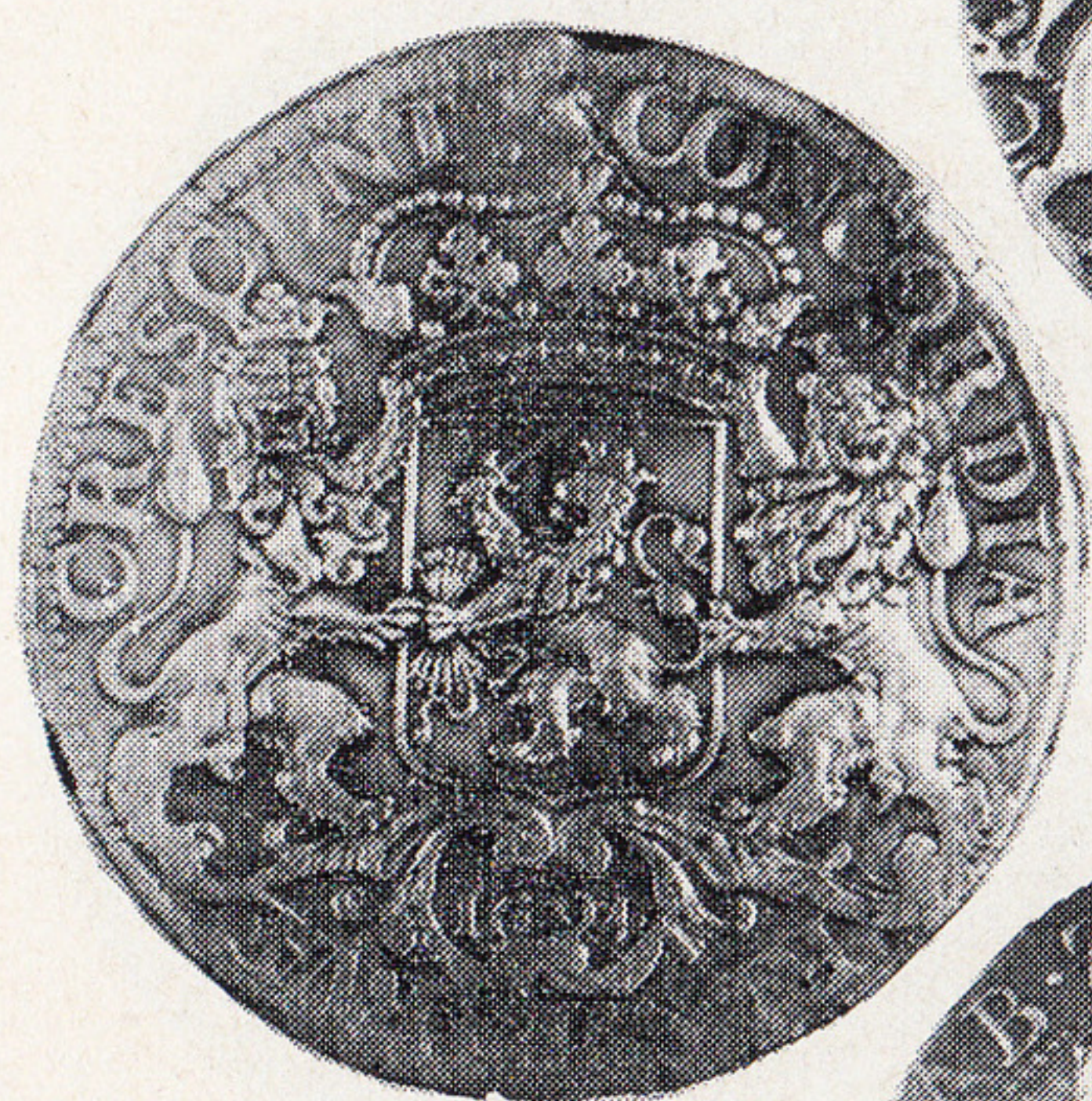
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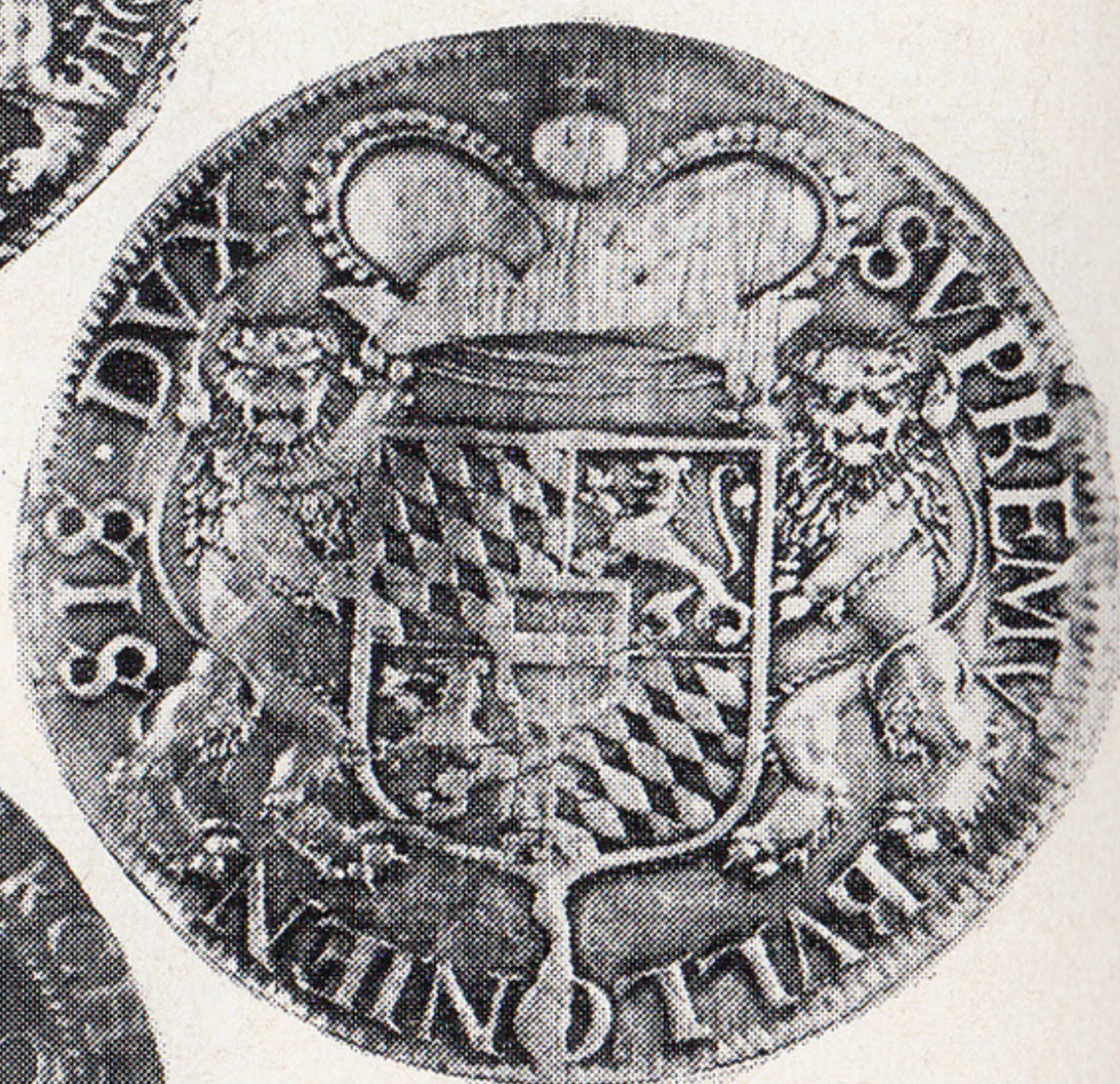
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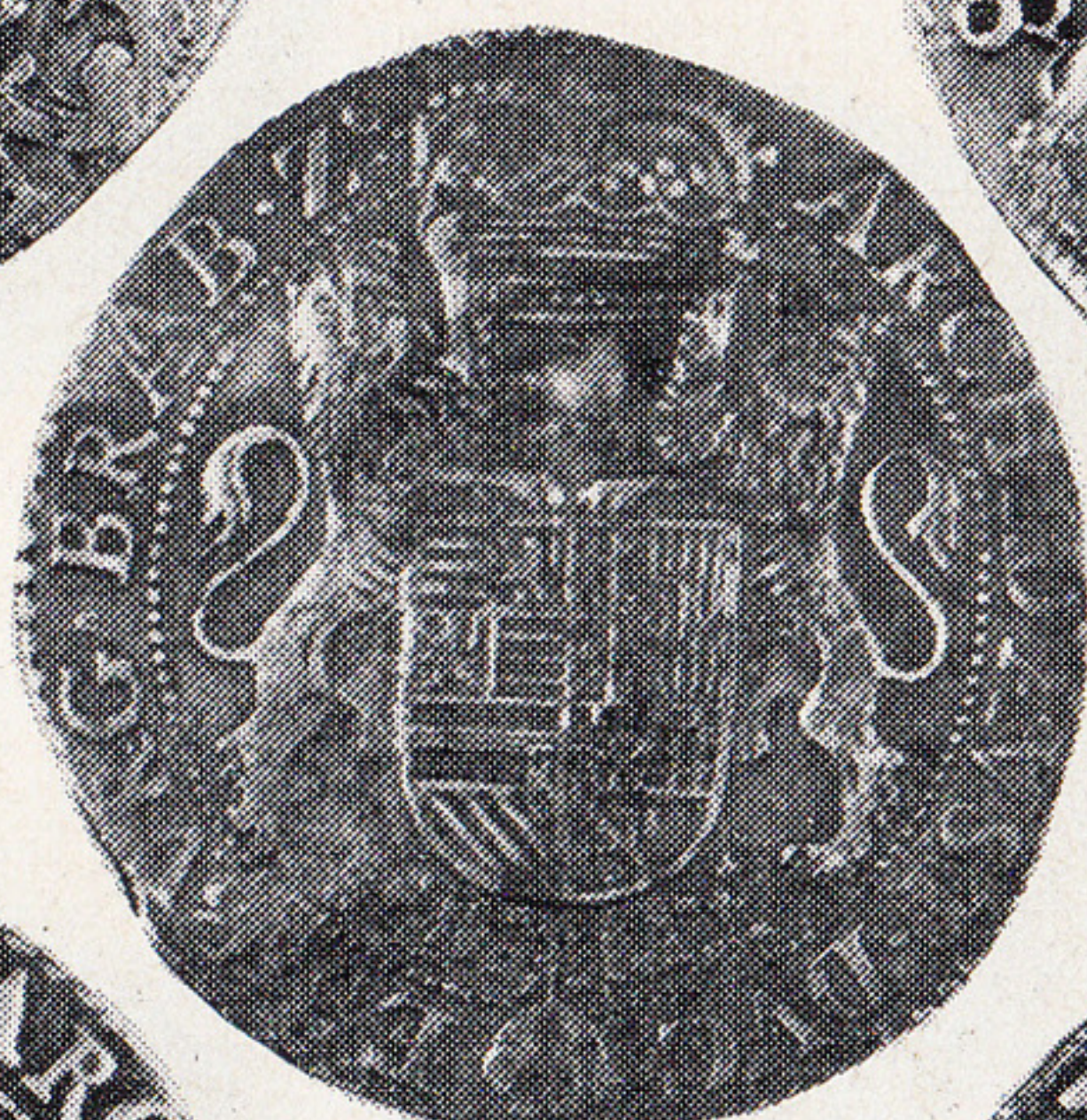
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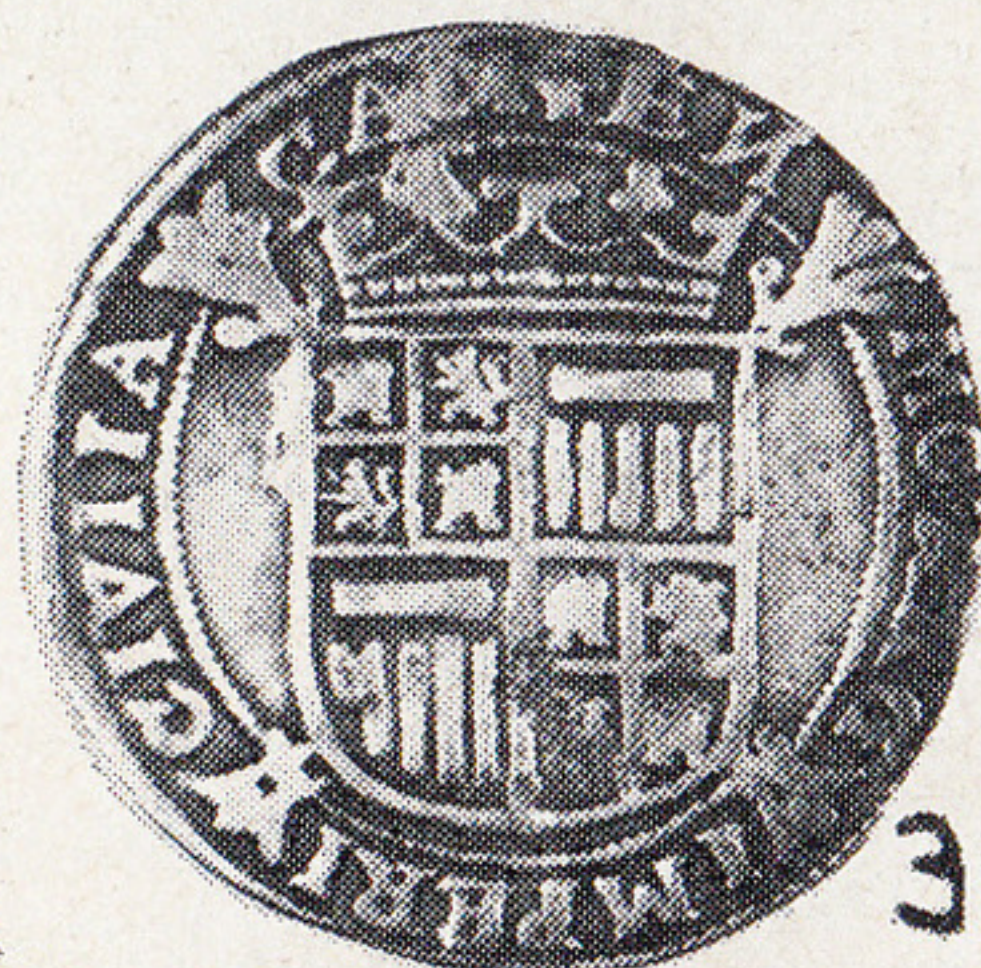
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COMPARISON WITH THE "DE LIEFDE" TREASURE:

Glendining & Co. of London, in their sale catalogue of 28th October, 1969, listed coins recovered from the "De Liefde" a Dutch East Indiaman of the Amsterdam Chamber which was wrecked in the Out Skerries off the North of Scotland, on 7th November, 1711 at the start of her voyage to the East. In a preface to this sale catalogue, we were treated to a most interesting 4-page account of the circumstances surrounding the wreck of "De Liefde", its discovery in 1965, and the recovery of part of its treasure in 1967. The author of the preface went on to give a most interesting general survey of the coins recovered, and related them to the international commercial activity of the period.

The catalogue included 23 gold ducats of Utrecht dated 1711, and 20 base silver 2-stuiver pieces of Holland, also of 1711. In addition the preface writer referred to a considerable number "of newly minted ducatoons of Utrecht which are not represented in this sale, but which form the greater part of the treasure". Apart from the above pieces, the catalogue listed 1659 crown-size pieces, of which 711 were Dutch silver riders, and 948 ducatoons from the Spanish Netherlands. There were also 15 Dutch half-silver riders and 68 half-ducatons from the South.

The parallel between the treasure of the "Meeresteijn", wrecked on the Cape coast 9 years earlier, and Glendining's recorded list of these ducatoons and half-ducatons recovered from the "De Liefde", is almost uncanny. It is almost as if the officials of the Amsterdam Chamber had put alternate handfulls of these coins into two chests – one for the "Meeresteijn", and one for "De Liefde"!

Apart from the gold ducats and 2-stuivers of 1711 – which of course had not been struck when the "Meeresteijn" was wrecked – and "the newly minted ducatoons of Utrecht", there was not a coin on "De Liefde" which would not have been completely appropriate in my sample from the "Meeresteijn". Furthermore, the distribution of the coins between the Spanish South and Republican Dutch North, between the various Dutch Provinces, and between the various sovereigns and mint-cities of the South, is almost identical in the two treasures. The only noteworthy differences are the large number of schellings in the "Meeresteijn" treasure, which were apparently not found on "De Liefde", and the fact that the "Meeresteijn" carried a few ducatoons of the Bishopric of Liège.

Glendining's concluded their Preface as follows: "... we have here a large sum of money, not simply accumulated wealth as most coin hoards are (money as a store of value in the economists' definition), but money actually being used as a means of exchange by one of the great trading companies of the era and, as it were, frozen in transit. It forms the perfect complement, in this respect, to the great Serooskerke hoard discovered in January 1966 and auctioned by Jacques Schulman NV of Amsterdam in the following November. That evidently was the liquid capital of a substantial merchant in about 1622, at the beginning of the Dutch golden age. This, the "De Liefde" treasure, was part of the trading assets of the greatest of the Dutch merchant companies just at the close of the same golden age. Serooskerke was all gold, this nearly all silver. Serooskerke held more variety, but this, uniform as it is in so many respects, holds scarcely less interest for the economic historian."

Clearly, the "Meeresteijn" treasure provides further valuable confirmation of the economic-historical conclusions already drawn from the evidence of the "De Liefde".

NOTE ON THE SPELLING "MEERESTEIJN"

In the original Diary of the Dutch Governors at the Cape "De Dag Register in't Casteel Goede Hoop", in the entry for 6th April, 1702, the name of the wrecked ship is given as "Meeresteijn". I have therefore used this spelling throughout, except where I have

quoted from another source. However, Leibrandt in his "Precis" used several other spellings:

In his entry for 5th April, 1702, "Meresteyn".

8th April, 1702, "Merestein".

28th January, 1728, "Meerenstein".

I have found "Meresteijn" and "Merestijn" in other works.

Acknowledgments.

I wish to record a very sincere tribute to Messrs. Trevor (Bob) Hayward, Barry Williams, and Jock Dichmont of Marinesalve Company (Pty.) Ltd., Cape Town. From the moment they located the wreck and recovered the first coin, they realised the historical importance of their find, and made strenuous efforts to ensure that no evidence of historical importance was lost. Bob Hayward particularly could not have been more co-operative in my numismatic investigation, and did everything in his power to ensure proper recording and control of every item found. His distress when a loophole in South African law turned a planned marine-archeological investigation into a free-for-all scramble, in which all control was lost, was no less sincere than my own. At his insistence – and at substantial financial disadvantage to himself – I was able to arrange for representative collections of the Treasure to be lodged in three of South Africa's leading museums – The Cultural History Museum, Cape Town; The Africana Museum, Johannesburg; and The South African National Cultural History and Open-air Museum, Pretoria. For his sake, I hope most sincerely that economic historians of the future will regard this record of a portion of the "Meeresteijn" treasure, as adequate for their purposes.

To my son, Robert K. Mitchell, must go much of the credit. Without his painstaking and meticulously careful assistance over a period of many weeks in the removal of conglomerate accretion from the majority of the coins, and without his careful study of the coins themselves and of the works of reference, my own task would have been immeasurably more onerous, and more prolonged. In particular, he undertook the identification of the schellings – no mean feat in view of the worn state of many of them. They were not well-struck coins at the best of times.

References:

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2. For classification of the schellings. "Muntboek". P. Verkade. Schiedam – 1848. (Reprinted 1967).
3. Catalogue of Coins of the Netherlands recovered from the Dutch East Indiaman "De Liefde". Glendining & Co., London, 28th October, 1969.
4. "De Dag Register in't Casteel Goede Hoop". Government Archives, Cape Town.
5. "Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope Journal 1699 – 1732". H. V. Leibrandt.
6. "De Nederlandse Munten". Dr. H. Enno van Gelder. Utrecht-Antwerp 1970.

TABLE I

SILVER RIDERS (DUCATOONS) OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS

Distribution by Province (or City) and Date

Date:	1659	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667	1668	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1681	1692	1694	Not Decipherable	TOTAL
Gelderland	5	3		2				2	2	3		13	1			3		3	1		4	5	1			5	53
Holland (Dordrecht)	1		1	2										1	7	1	2	3			5			4	2	2	31
Holland (Amsterdam)														2	3												5
Friesland	1	1	1	2						1																	6
West-Friesland	2	6	1		2	1		4		2	3	8	1	10	11	6		6	2		9					4	78
Zeeland	2	5	4	3		2				2		2					1										21
Utrecht		1				1	2	2		2		11	2	1		5					8	13		8		2	58
Overyssel	1	2	1	3		4				2								7	4	2	8					2	36
Deventer				3		2		5	1	2																	13
Campen	3	1	2	1	1	6		7	3	13	7	1						8			3					2	58
Zwolle	2		5			1		1	2	1	1	4				2		2	3							5	29

TOTAL: 388

TABLE II

DUCATOONS OF THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS

Distribution by Date and Mint

DATE	Antwerp	Brussels	Flanders	Tournai	DATE	Antwerp	Brussels	Flanders	Tournai
<i>Albert and Elizabeth</i>					<i>Philip IV (Old Head) (Continued)</i>				
1618	2				1658	7	4	1	
1619	1				1659	9	5	2	
1620		1			1660		2	3	
<i>Philip IV (Young Head)</i>					1661	7	4	1	
1628	1				1662	13	7	1	
1629					1663	4	1		
1630					1664	9	6	5	
1631				1	1665	8	5	6	
1632	3			1	1666			4	
1633	9	7	1	1	?	20	10	4	
1634	12		3		<i>Charles II (Child Head)</i>				
1635	4	3			1666	5	2		
1636	9	4	1		1667	3			
?	3				1668	17	5	3	
<i>Philip IV (Old Head)</i>					1669				
1636	1	4			1670	9	3	9	
1637	9	5			1671	1			
1638	5		1		1672	2			
1639	17	1			1673	11	10	10	
1640	8	7			1674				
1641	2				1675	1			
1642					1676		1		
1643	1				1677		1		
1644	3				1678				
1645	1				1679	6	1		
1646					1680				
1647	15			1	1684			1	
1648	16	1			?	4	3		
1649	16	1			<i>Charles II (Youth with cravat)</i>				
1650	27	12	1		1683	6			
1651	9	6	2		<i>Charles II (Youth, no cravat)</i>				
1652	8	7	3		1684	2	1		
1653	1		2		<i>Charles II (old Head)</i>				
1654	15	4	6		1694			1	
1655	6	1	1						
1656	2		2						
1657	2	2	1						

Not attributable: Philip IV: Young Head: 2 Old Head: 26

(Add Liege: Bishop Maximilian Henry: 1667, 1674, 1677, 1680 \times 2 Total 5)

TOTAL: 601

TABLE III

DUCATOONS OF THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS

Distribution by Type and Mint

(Delmonte Reference numbers in Italics)

	Antwerp	Brussels	Flanders	Tournai	Not attributable	Liege	Total
ALBERT & ELIZABETH	248 3	249 1					4
PHILIP IV (Young Head)	274 41	275 14	276 5	278 3	2		65
PHILIP IV (Old Head)	284 241	285 95	286 46	287 1	26		409
CHARLES II (Child)	325 59	326 26	327 23				108
CHARLES II (Youth with cravat)		332 6					6
CHARLES II (Youth)	335 2	336 1					3
CHARLES II (Old Head)			340 1				1
BISHOP MAXIMILIAN HENRY						473	5
TOTAL:	346	143	75	4	28	5	601

TABLE IV

HALF-DUCATOONS

Distribution by Type and Mint

	Delmonte Ref.	Antwerp	Brussels	Flanders	Tournai	Not Attributable	Total
ALBERT & ELIZABETH	252	2					2
PHILIP IV (Young head)	279-81	7	4	3		2	16
PHILIP IV (Old Head)	288-91	17	9	3	4	2	35
CHARLES II (Child)	328-30	4	5	5			14
CHARLES II (Youth)	338		2				2
Sub-Total		30	20	11	4	4	69
West Friesland	1048	Dated: 1662					1
Zeeland	1051	Dated: 1660, 1660					2
Utrecht	1053	Dated: 1660, 1664					2
Utrecht	1054	Dated: 1679, 1680					2
		Total:					76

SCHELLINGS FROM THE "MEERESTEIJN".

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Date etc.</i>	<i>Verkade Ref.</i>
Snaphaanschelling	Friesland	1598	699
Snaphaanschelling	Zeeland	No date	504
Snaphaanschelling	Zeeland	1670	509
Roosschelling	Holland	1601	296
Roosschelling	West Friesland	1601	383
Roosschelling	West Friesland	1682	383
Roosschelling	Zeeland	1601	507
Roosschelling	Utrecht	1601	621
Scheepjesschelling	Holland and West Friesland	1679	300
Statenschelling	Zutphen	1688	151
Statenschelling	Deventer	168?	852
Tiende Arendsrijksdaalder	Deventer	Matthias I	813
Arendschelling	Friesland	No Date	702
Arendschelling	Campan	Rudolph II	896
Arendschelling	Campan	Matthias I	896
Arendschelling	Campan	Ferdinand III	896
Arendschelling	Campan	Leopold II (1675)	898
Arendschelling	Zwolle	Rudolph II	950
Arendschelling	Zwolle	Matthias I	951
Arendschelling	Zwolle	Matthias I (1675)	952
Arendschelling	Zwolle	1679	953
Arendschelling	Nijmegen	Rudolph II (1603)	127
Arendschelling	Unidentified	Matthias I	Not Listed
? Schelling	Brabant	Albert and Elizabeth	Not Listed
? Schelling	Tournai	Philip IV	Not listed