

DUTCH SHIPWRECKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sites, Stories, and Archives

Prepared by:

Lesa la Grange, Briege Williams, John Gribble,
Martijn Manders, Leon Derksen, Will Brouwers

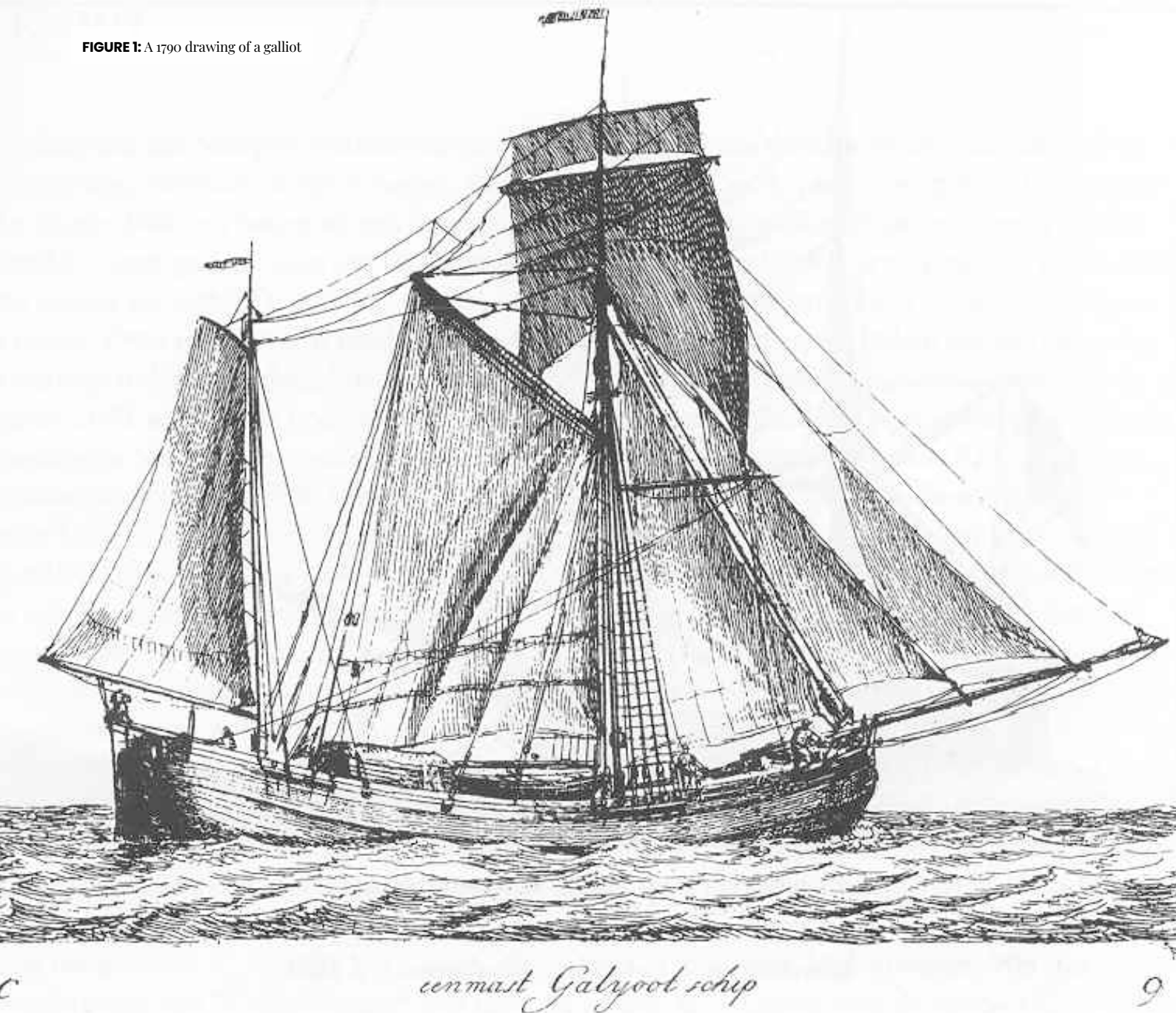


AN AGENCY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE



Cultural Heritage Agency
Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

FIGURE 1: A 1790 drawing of a galliot



Gravure uit: G. Groenewegen, *Verzameling [...]*, 1789.

© South African Heritage Resources Agency

South African Heritage Resources Agency,
An Agency of the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture
111 Harrington Street
Cape Town
8001
South Africa

www.sahra.org.za

Preferred citation:

La Grange, L., Williams, B.L., Gribble, J., Manders, M.R., Derksen, L.F., & Browsers, W., 2024. Dutch Shipwrecks in South Africa: Sites, Stories, and Archives.
Cape Town: South African Heritage Resources Agency.

Dutch Shipwrecks in South Africa: Sites, Stories, and Archives.

Authors: la Grange, L., Williams, B.L., Gribble, J., Manders, M.R., Derksen, L.F., & Browsers, W.

First published in Cape Town

Authorisation Date: December 2023

Publication Date: August 2024

Images and Illustrations: South African Heritage Resources Agency unless otherwise stated.

Cover Image: De Visch by J Leewenberg; Courtesy of The National Library of South Africa: Cape Town Campus

Production and Design: Epicreative

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the copyright holders.

ISBN:

Printed copy of book: 978-0-7961-5721-8

Digital eBook: 978-0-7961-5722-5

Authors



Lesa la Grange (MPhil University of Cape Town) is the archaeologist and commercial diver who manages the South African Heritage Resources Agency’s Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage unit.



Briege Williams (MSc University of Southampton) is a maritime archaeologist and commercial diver who works as a heritage officer in the South African Heritage Resources Agency’s Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage unit.



John Gribble (MA University of Cape Town) is a maritime archaeologist and Director of TerraMare Archaeology (Pty) Ltd, a Cape Town-based archaeological consultancy.



Martijn Manders (PhD Leiden University) is a maritime archaeologist and professor in underwater archaeology and maritime cultural heritage management at Leiden University. He also coordinates international maritime heritage management for the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.



Leon Derksen (MA University of Groningen) is a maritime archaeologist and adviser for underwater archaeology at the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.



Will Brouwers (MSc Radboud University Nijmegen) is an independent historian-archaeologist who has contributed to the accuracy of the shipwreck data in this publication. He is working on the website Maritime Stepping Stones of the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.

FIGURE 2: Ships caught in a storm in Table Bay (undated)



Acknowledgements:

This report is the result of a close collaboration between the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, RCE) and Leiden University. It has been funded and executed as part of the RCE’s Maritime Programme (2012–2016), the International Programme for Maritime Heritage (2017–2021), the Shared Cultural Heritage Programme (2017–2020) and, lastly, through the RCE’s Programme for International Heritage Cooperation (2021–2024).

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to all the contributors to the project for their time and willingness to share their experiences.

We acknowledge the participants who agreed to be interviewed by the research team and, in some cases, welcomed us into their homes. This includes Gavin Clackworthy, Reg Dodds, Bill Litveld, Graham Raynor, Malcolm Turner, and Steve Valentine. Without the input of these individuals, valuable information would have been lost. These early divers and salvors were lucky enough to have a window into a unique and fascinating world of previously undiscovered wrecks and we thank them for sharing their stories.

We thank the group of academic colleagues who gave us access to museum collections, archaeological records, and experiences connected to the shipwrecks featured in this project. These contributions from Jenny Bennie, Jaco Boshoff, Tim Maggs, Vanessa Maitland, Jonathan Sharfman, and Bruno Werz gave valuable insight into the early days of maritime archaeology in South Africa.

The archival research contributions from the students at Leiden University’s Departments of Maritime History and Maritime Archaeology greatly added to the background and story of individual vessels and their journeys. We therefore thank B Belder, J Berends, G Burger, A Dijkman, E Dorst, J Fick, A Giardini, M Van Helsdingen, M Idema, H Leijh, R Negrón, H Te Velde, and O De Vroomen for their valuable additions to this report.

Lastly, we acknowledge the work of Henrick Keyter in creating digital records of each vessel researched as part of this project for inclusion in the Stepping Stones of Maritime History database.

This is a product of:



Cultural Heritage Agency
Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	3
2	Historical salvage operations on shipwrecks in South African waters	7
3	Dutch shipwrecks in South African waters	11
4	Study methodology, shipwrecks and divers	13
5	Summary of research results	22
6	Discussion and conclusion	77
7	Bibliography	83
8	Online resources	85
9	Appendices	86

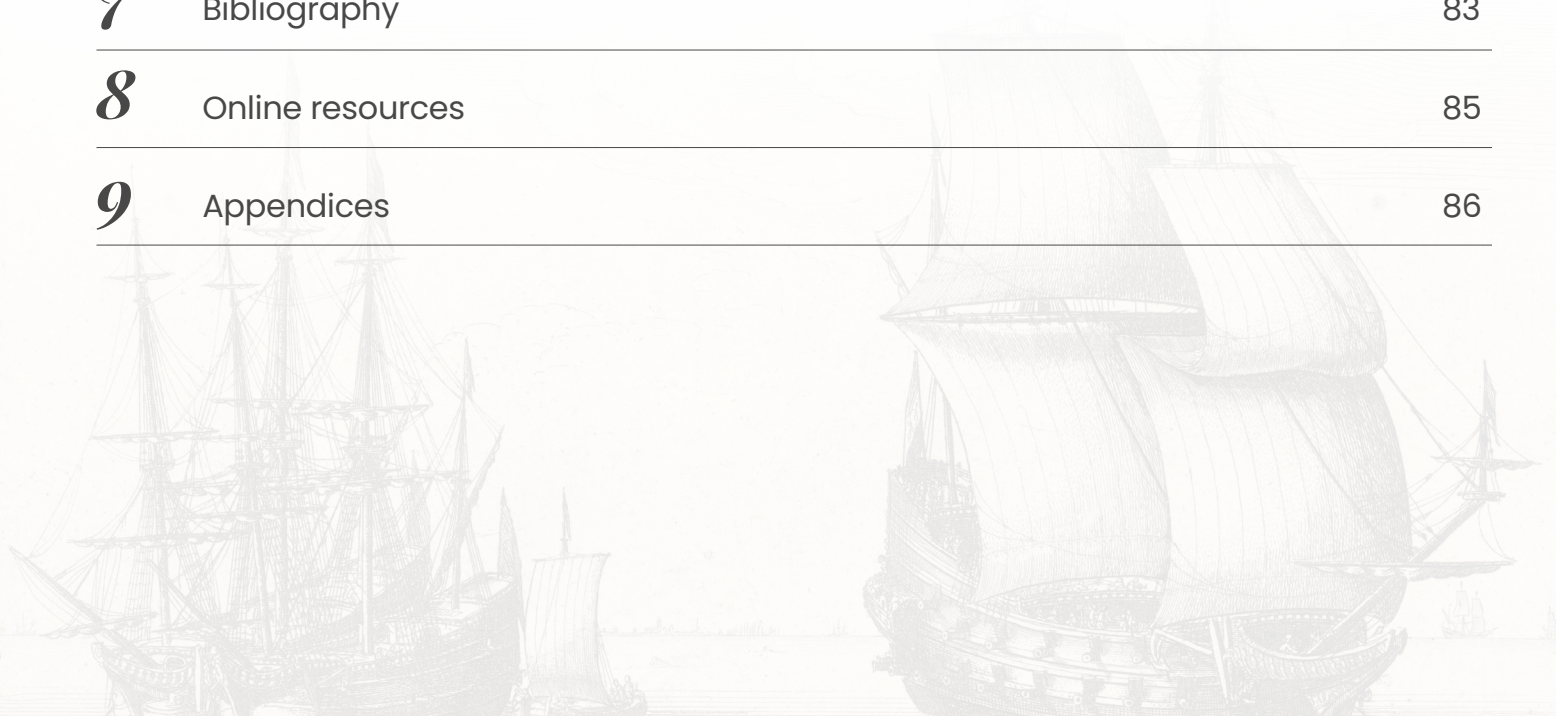




FIGURE 3: Diving boat used by the Dodds brothers.

1. INTRODUCTION

In late 2015, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) of the Netherlands embarked on a joint project titled “Modern Oral History: Dutch Wrecks in South African Waters”. The aim of the project was to gather information about the history of modern salvage on Dutch historical shipwrecks in South Africa.

There are 86 recorded historical Dutch shipwrecks in South African waters, dating between 1644 and 1900. Most of these were vessels of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), but the list also includes at least two Dutch naval vessels (*Bato* 1805 and *Amsterdam* 1817) and a variety of other commercial trading vessels.

These wrecks are all protected by the National Heritage Resources Act, No. 25 of 1999 (NHRA) as part of South Africa’s maritime and underwater cultural heritage. Many, however, are also of interest to the Netherlands as they form part of the history of that country as well. Besides that, wrecks of the Admiralty, Royal Netherlands Navy, West-Indische Compagnie (WIC), and the VOC are still regarded by the Dutch Government as sovereign property of the Dutch State. Although ownership remains a delicate issue in cultural heritage management, it does show the commitment of the flag state (The Netherlands) towards the shipwrecks.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the newly invented scuba equipment facilitated easy access to the previously inaccessible world beneath the waves. Many divers now had the chance to explore the oceans and the historic wrecks which lay around the South African coastline. Although a lot of divers left the shipwrecks and their objects untouched, many of the VOC wrecks were targeted by treasure hunters and souvenir hunters. Their cargoes, particularly bullion and porcelain, provided the incentive for numerous salvage operations between the 1960s and 1990s.

Much of this salvage work took place before there was legislative protection of historical shipwrecks in South Africa, and as a result there is very little known about these activities and about the sites that were targeted. At the same time, heritage protection in the Netherlands was also only focussed on land. It was not until the Monuments Law of 1988 was developed that underwater sites were taken into consideration as heritage in need of protection in the Netherlands.

In South Africa, on the other hand, after 1969, when legal protection (National Monuments Act, No. 28 of 1969) of wrecks was first introduced, work on historical shipwrecks enjoyed some heritage and archaeological oversight and there was a requirement to report on activities and share recovered artefacts with museums. It was not until the early 1990s, however, that the then National Monuments Council (NMC) (now the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA)) had the capacity to manage work on wrecks more proactively. Early permits for work on wrecks issued by the NMC often imposed conditions on the recovery of materials, such as that recovered material must be shared between divers and repositories, and that all items must be declared in a register. The NMC had little power to ensure that declarations were accurate, and the materials surrendered to repositories give a skewed representation of what was removed from sites as divers retained most items of commercial value, while museums kept materials deemed to be of greater cultural significance. The potential therefore exists that even certain culturally significant items recovered may not have been declared due to their perceived commercial value. As a result, even the permitted work under the National Monuments Act (28 of 1969, as amended) has left very limited information about the wrecks involved and the work done on them.

Beyond the bare historical facts of the circumstances of their loss, little is thus known about most of the Dutch wrecks in South African waters. In many instances, the co-ordinates provided to the National Monuments Council by the divers involved as part of their permit applications, were not accurate. This could be because many were taken quite some time ago in the 1980s or 1990s when Global Positioning System (GPS) technology was not as accurate as it is today. There could also have been some

guesswork on the exact location so that the points are estimates, rather than definitive. The other reason that the points could be inaccurate is that the person who originally provided them was deliberately vague as they did not want to share their data. Most divers also produced little or no archaeological information about the sites – their layout, state of preservation, and the material they contain (aside from the saleable artefacts recovered). What and how much was recovered and what happened to the bulk of this material – aside from relatively small collections that found their way into various South African museums – is also very much a closed book.

In late 2015, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE) of the Netherlands embarked on a joint project titled “Modern Oral History: Dutch Wrecks in South African Waters”. The aim of the project was to gather information about the history of modern salvage on Dutch historical shipwrecks in South Africa. The catalyst for the project was the realisation that many of the divers involved in the early work on these wrecks have already passed away and the first-hand detail of their activities has passed on with them. Other divers are getting on in years and this project was premised on gathering information from them about their work before this information was also lost forever.

While detailed information is sometimes available from historical and documentary sources about these shipping casualties, this information only goes so far and, where possible, can be usefully augmented by the accounts of those who have visited and worked on these sites.

This project therefore proposed to engage in interviews those who worked on Dutch wrecks in South Africa during the last 50 years to gather first-hand information about their activities, including information about the physical composition and condition of the sites themselves, and about what was recovered, where it went, and what was left on the seabed.

In 2018, through the research seminar “Maritime Treasures”, the Leiden University’s Departments of Maritime History and Maritime Archaeology joined forces with SAHRA and the RCE. This enabled students to contribute to the shipwreck accounts by conducting additional archival

research on the wrecks that have been salvaged in the past, as well as on wrecks that have yet to be found. Students were encouraged to take on a holistic approach, placing the individual shipwrecks in the broader context of the maritime cultural landscape. Their research has been included in this report.

Aside from immediately adding to our existing knowledge of these sites, the archive created – both oral and documentary – can form a baseline dataset for each wreck, to which future information can be added.

1.1 – Aims and objectives

The aim of the “Modern Oral History: Dutch Wrecks in South Africa” project was to gather oral and other information about the history of modern salvage on Dutch historical shipwrecks in South African waters, as well as to gather additional archival information on the wrecks subject to salvage including several wrecks that have not yet been found.

The project objectives were thus:

- Identify historical Dutch wrecks in South Africa that have been subject to modern salvage activities or recovery during the last 50 years;
- Identify and engage those involved in salvage or archaeological work on Dutch wrecks in South Africa and create an archive of oral and other information about the sites and the activities that took place on them;
- Create an inventory of the extent and whereabouts of collections of artefacts from salvaged or researched Dutch wrecks in South Africa;
- Gather primary historical data about salvaged or researched Dutch wrecks in South Africa at archives in South Africa and the Netherlands, including contributions by students at Leiden University;
- Add information gathered as part of the project to the SAHRA MUCH unit database and GIS;
- Add new information to the RCE’s Maritime Stepping Stones public database (MaSS)

1.2 – Project scope

Initially, the project was limited to gathering information about those historical Dutch shipwrecks within South African territorial waters that have been subject to human intervention – principally non-archaeological salvage and treasure-hunting – within the last 50 years and before the establishment of SAHRA in 2000. This included those wrecks – for example, the *Oosterland* and *Waddingsveen* – which were hybrid projects – in essence salvage projects, but with an element of archaeological involvement and control.

As the project evolved, the scope was broadened to include the results of historiographical studies conducted by Leiden University students during the “Maritime Treasures” course led by Leiden professors, Dr Manders and Dr Van Dissel. This encompassed not only the wrecks that have been salvaged, but also wrecks that were highlighted by SAHRA as shipwreck sites rumoured to be found, or sites that could potentially be found given enough information.

The primary result of this project has been the collection and safeguarding of information about historical Dutch shipwrecks in South African waters and recent activities directed at them which adds to our knowledge of these important heritage sites, and which may otherwise have been lost as the divers involved age and pass away.

The information gathered will become part of SAHRA’s historical knowledge base and archive for each of these sites and will inform the management of the sites going into the future. SAHRA has established and continues to develop a maritime and underwater cultural heritage (MUCH) Geographical Information System (GIS) which was part-funded through the Shared Heritage Programme by the Embassy of the Netherlands and the RCE.

The information generated through this project and follow-up investigations, including ground-truthing of sites, will make an important contribution to the populating of the MUCH GIS. Similarly, the data generated through this project will be added to the RCE’s Maritime Stepping Stones online database and MACHU (Managing Cultural

Heritage Underwater). MACHU was a three-year project between seven countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, England, Poland, Portugal and Sweden) with the primary goal of finding new and better ways to manage underwater cultural heritage and find a way to make information more accessible. This was done through a web-based GIS.

1.3 – Limitations

The greatest project constraint has been the degree to which divers involved in past work on Dutch wrecks in South Africa, who are still alive, have been willing to engage with the project, share their experiences and provide information.

As is the case in many parts of the world, the relationship between the salvage/treasure-hunting community and the heritage authorities/archaeological community in South Africa is complicated and often adversarial. However, the focus of this project – i.e. historical work that took place many years ago – the guarantee that there would be no legal repercussions from their participation in the project, and the fact that many of those with whom the project engaged are no longer active in shipwreck salvage, did a lot to overcome resistance to engagement with the project.

The challenge of studying archival records is that the historical accounts were usually written by the upper levels of society. These were often biased views and were notoriously solely interested in the wellbeing of their capital and the Company, rather than in the wellbeing of personnel. Most of the VOC records are therefore focussed on the economic impact of shipwrecks and especially on the recovery of cargo, rather than on what exactly happened to the ships that were wrecked – let alone on the social impact these shipwrecks had.

The project leaned heavily on the opinions of the divers and the archival research and opinions of students. Although set in perspectives and tested on their merits, not all information could be verified, especially accounts of observations made underwater.

FIGURE 4: Diver working on the *Middelburg* (1781) wreck.



2. HISTORICAL SALVAGE OPERATIONS ON SHIPWRECKS IN SOUTH AFRICAN WATERS

South Africa owes its rich historical shipwreck record to its geographical position on the sea route around Africa from Europe to the East. Between 1497, when the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, completed the first European voyage to the East, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, thousands of voyages were made around the Cape of Good Hope and along the South African coast (Turner 1988). The VOC and its predecessors alone, for example, “equipped more than 4 700 ships” for the Asia trade, of which more than 3 400 completed the return voyage to the Netherlands (http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/index_html_en). The net result of all this historical maritime activity is the presence of more than 2 400 historical shipwrecks, representing 36 different countries, in South African waters (Gribble and Sharfman 2013).

Shipwrecks in South African waters have been the object of particular official and popular attention and exploration for almost as long as vessels have been wrecked on the South African coast. As early as the late 17th century, the VOC authorities at the Cape were involved in efforts to recover silver and other cargo from the wrecks of the English East Indiaman *Joanna* (1682),

and the Portuguese vessel *Nossa Senhora dos Milagros* (1686), both lost near Cape Agulhas on the south coast (Turner 1988).

In the early years of the 18th century, after a long string of shipping losses in Table Bay due to winter storms, culminating in the disastrous storm of June 1722 in which an entire VOC fleet of six vessels, three English ships and a local coaster were lost in a single night, the Company was prompted to attempt salvage work in Table Bay. An English salvor by the name of John Lethbridge was engaged in 1727 to try and recoup some of the losses experienced by the VOC. He was a former wool merchant based in the county of Devon in England and had invented a ‘diving machine’ which was essentially an airtight wooden barrel with a glass window and armholes which enabled a brave person to be sealed inside and lowered underwater for up to 30 minutes at a time (Figures 5 and 6). He had some limited success in the Cape and managed to recover some coins and ingot from the *Dageraad*, *Merestein* and *Rotterdam*, though it was noted that most of the success came from the wrecks in the calmer waters of the bay, rather than in more unpredictable seas.

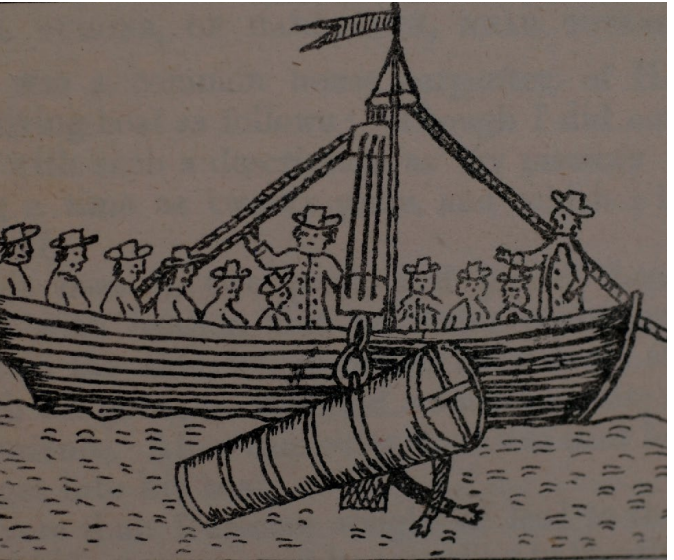


FIGURE 5: An etching of John Lethbridge in his diving barrel.

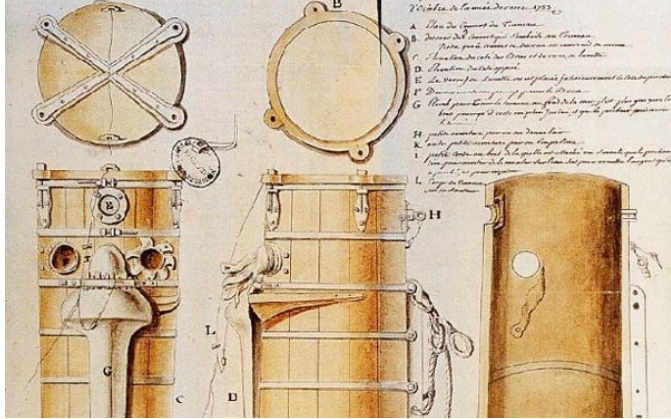


FIGURE 6: A sketch of the John Lethbridge diving machine.

This early interest was focused on contemporary shipwrecks and was salvage in the traditional sense of the concept. It was replaced in the 19th century by the development of a view of wrecks as a source of curiosities and saleable ‘treasure’. An example of the early treasure hunting was the work by Henry Adams of Cape Town who recovered a good deal of material from wrecks in Table Bay in the 1850s which he then displayed and offered for sale at his house in Woodstock. In 1868 he went to work on a wreck at Oudekraal on the Cape Peninsula – which we now know to be the VOC ship *Het Huis te Craijestein* (1698) – from which he succeeded in raising two large bronze cannons weighing at least three tons each and about four tons of lead ingots (Gribble and Athiros 2008).

The recovery of artefacts during early salvage and treasure-hunting work in the 19th and early 20th centuries was quite limited. The majority of wrecks around the South African coast remained out of reach of the available diving technology and thus largely undiscovered or unreachable (Gribble and Sharfman 2013).

This changed with the introduction of the aqualung after the 1940s and widespread plundering ensued as some divers were quick to harness the new technology to find and exploit the commercial potential of many wrecks (cf Boshoff 2013). In South Africa, in a twenty-year period prior to the mid-1980s, a large number of wrecks with rich cargoes of specie (coins), Eastern exports like porcelain,

or non-ferrous metals were found and salvaged (see for example, Marsden 1976; Allen and 1978a, b; Meltzer 1984; Turner 1988).

Although some divers involved archaeologists and museum scientists in their projects during this period (see Auret and Maggs 1982; Jobling 1982; Maggs 1984), this was the exception rather than the rule and in most instances this involvement was aimed primarily at obtaining advice on artefact identity, and hence value, rather than because there was a real interest on the part of the divers in the archaeology of the sites in question. Acceptable archaeological standards of excavation and recovery were generally not employed, detailed site recording was seldom carried out, site records were not generally made, and the publication of results seldom occurred (Gribble and Sharfman 2013).

2.1 Legal protection of shipwrecks and the wreck permit system

In South Africa, a broad national heritage legislation was introduced in 1969 in the form of the National Monuments Act (Act 28 of 1969). No provision was made in the original Act, however, for underwater cultural heritage.

An amendment to the Act in 1979 (Act 35 of 1979) included the introduction of the first protection for historical shipwrecks. Section 10 of the Act now gave the relevant Government Minister the power to declare, as a national monument, any wreck over 80 years of age which was considered to be of aesthetic, historical, or scientific value or interest (Deacon 1993).

An initial tranche of 23 wrecks was provisionally declared in 1984 for a period of five years, and this included the following Dutch wrecks:

- *Brederode* (1785)
- *Dageraad* (1694)
- *Vrouw Ida Aleida* (1818)
- *Het Huis te Craijestein* (1698)
- *Merestein* (1702)
- *Reigersdaal* (1747)
- *Zeepaard* (1823)

Ironically, it was political pressure from a group of commercial salvors to protect their rights on two historical wrecks – the Portuguese *Santissimo Sacramento* (1647) and the English *Dodington* (1755) (Allen and Allen 1978a, b), both found near Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha) in the late 1970s – that was the catalyst for the introduction of this first legislative protection (Gribble and Sharfman 2012).

As a result of further pressure from the NMC and South African Museums Association (SAMA) (Bell-Cross 1980), a second amendment to the National Monuments Act (Act No. 13 of 1981) was passed in 1981, in terms of which a permit was required from the NMC to “destroy, damage, alter or export from the Republic” any one of a list of artefacts known to have been in the country or its territorial waters for more than 100 years (Deacon 1993, Gribble 1998).

Continued lobbying by both SAMA and the then South African Association of Archaeologists (SA3) resulted in a third amendment to the National Monuments Act in 1986, with the insertion of Section 12(2C). This paragraph extended blanket protection to all shipwrecks and shipwreck material in South African waters over the age of 50 years, making it an offence to interfere with or disturb a shipwreck in any way, except under the terms of a permit issued by the NMC.

Between the introduction of legislative protection in 1979 and the repeal of the National Monuments Act in 2000, permits were issued by the NMC for interventions in 23 Dutch wrecks – mostly those that had already been subject to salvage and diver interventions in the years prior to the legislation.

Since April 2000, permits have been issued by SAHRA for five Dutch wrecks: the *Oosterland* (1697), *Meermin* (1766), *Brederode* (1785) and *Bato* (1806).

There was a permit (now expired) for an ongoing maritime archaeological project to locate the remains of the *Nieuwe Haarlem* (1647) and although some shipwreck material has been located, its provenance has not yet been established (Werz 2018).

The *Meermin* permit (dated 2002–2004) was for bona fide archaeological research by the maritime archaeologist at Iziko Museums of South Africa (see Boshoff 2018). At the time of writing, the wreck of this VOC slave ship had not been found.

The *Oosterland* permit (dated 2012–2014) was an extension of earlier permits for the site and involved the divers who originally found the wreck in the late 1980s. According to reports submitted to SAHRA by the permit holder (Graham Raynor), no actual diving or work took place on the site under this permit.

The work done under permit on the *Bato* (dated 2014–2015) was for wood sampling and a pre-disturbance survey. It was undertaken as part of a master’s degree project by Ivor Mollema from East Carolina University, supervised by Dr Lynn Harris (see Mollema 2015; 2017).

The permit for the *Brederode* was issued in 2011–2012, but no work was ever undertaken by the permit holder, Charles Shapiro, who has since passed away.

Particularly in the early years of the permit system, official oversight of work on sites was very limited and reporting almost non-existent, and these activities were like any commercial operation, driven by profit. This meant that only certain shipwrecks and object types were targeted by divers, offering a slanted perspective on South Africa’s maritime past. Wrecks that did not fall into the ‘treasure ship’ category – slave ships, local coasting traders or whaling vessels, for example – were unlikely to be profitable and were largely ignored. The same was true for artefacts forming the archaeological assemblages on ‘treasure ships’. Only those items of potential commercial value were of interest.

The net result of much of the interest in South Africa’s historical shipwrecks between the 1960s and late 1980s was an unquantifiable loss of archaeological and historical material and information, as sites were subject to often indiscriminate commercial salvage (Boshoff 2013; Gribble and Sharfman 2013).



FIGURE 7:
A: A modern day replica of the VOC ship, the Amsterdam (1749) at the Maritime Museum of Amsterdam.
B: Platter from the Brederode (1785).

3. DUTCH SHIPWRECKS IN SOUTH AFRICAN WATERS

According to the SAHRA MUCH database, there were 86 losses of Dutch ships in South African waters between 1644, when the Mauritius Eiland was wrecked in Table Bay, and 1891 when the barque Hollandia foundered in False Bay.

Ten Dutch vessels pre-dating 1900, which are recorded as having run aground on the South African coast, have been excluded from this number as they were subsequently re-floated, or must be assumed to have been, since they are not referred to in the historical records as having become wrecks.

A further 19 vessels were lost during the 20th century, the majority victims of U-boat activity during World War II. These are also not considered as part of this project.

The geographical distribution of the 86 pre-20th century Dutch losses on the coast is presented in Table 1:

“More than 60% of the shipwrecks are clustered in Table Bay, False Bay, and along the shores of the Cape Peninsula. This reflects the historical use of, and focus on, Table Bay and False Bay as anchorages by the VOC, and later shipping, as well as the ease of undertaking modern surveys in the more populated area.”

Table 1: Distribution of Dutch wrecks on the South African coast

Area	Number of ships wrecked
West coast (including Saldanha Bay / Langebaan Lagoon)	9
Table Bay and Atlantic coast of Cape Peninsula	43
False Bay (including Simon’s Bay)	6
South coast (Agulhas / Struis Bay)	14
Eastern Cape	9
KwaZulu-Natal coast (including Durban)	5
Total	86

More than 60% of the shipwrecks are clustered in Table Bay, False Bay, and along the shores of the Cape Peninsula. This reflects the historical use of, and focus on, Table Bay and False Bay as anchorages by the VOC, and later shipping, as well as the ease of undertaking modern surveys in the more populated area.

The bulk of the shipping losses on the West Coast occurred near or within Saldanha Bay and the Langebaan Lagoon, and again this reflects the historical use of this excellent natural harbour by Dutch vessels.

The cluster of wrecks on the south coast, in the area around Cape Agulhas and Struis Bay / Arniston is evidence of the risks involved in doubling the southern tip of the continent with ships having to pass close inshore of this dangerous piece of coast.

In terms of date of loss, the majority of losses (47) occurred in the 18th century, and many coincide with the devastating winter storms (Figure 2) which regularly decimated VOC fleets in Table Bay until an alternative winter anchorage for all VOC ships was established in Simon’s Bay after 1742.

FIGURE 8: The East Indiaman *Mauritius* (centre) sailing out of the Marsdiep channel (Texel) c1600–1630.



The two earliest Dutch losses on the South African coast – *Mauritius Eiland* (1644) and *Nieuwe Haarlem* (1647), both in Table Bay – predate the establishment of the Dutch refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. The latter wreck was in fact the catalyst for the VOC’s choice of Table Bay for the Dutch settlement at the southern tip of Africa (cf Werz 2018).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, when the VOC held the Dutch monopoly in trade with the East, all Dutch vessels that were wrecked along the South African coast, were Company vessels. Most were the large and capacious East Indiamen (Figures 7A and 8), like specific return ships (*spiegelretourschepen*) or large types like *fluiten* (*flutes*) or flutes. However, a number of smaller vessels were also lost, many of which were locally based *hoekers*, *galjoten* (*galliot*s) (Figures 1 and 9), or *jachten* (*yachts*) which served the settlement at the Cape.

Four Dutch naval vessels were lost in South African waters: the 68-gun ship-of-the-line *Holland* in 1786 near

Olifantsbos on the Cape Peninsula whilst trying to enter False Bay; the retired 76-gun warship *Bato*, scuttled in Simon’s Bay during the Second British Occupation of the Cape in 1806 while being used as a floating gun platform; the 80-gun *Amsterdam* wrecked in Algoa Bay in 1817; and the *Zeepaard*, a 20-gun corvette lost at Sardinia Bay, south of Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha) in 1823.

The historical focus of salvage and treasure hunting interest in Dutch wrecks in South Africa has been principally on those ships involved in the East Indies trade – particularly the outward-bound VOC East Indiamen carrying bullion. Due to its original relation with salvage operations, this study therefore concentrated on Dutch wrecks in the period from the middle of the 17th century until the Second British Occupation of the Cape in 1806. A number of later 19th-century Dutch wrecks were also subject to salvage during the last 50 years and these sites were also considered in this study. A full list of the shipwrecks can be found in Table 2.

4. STUDY METHODOLOGY, SHIPWRECKS, AND DIVERS

This project was primarily an oral history exercise and involved engaging directly, principally through interviews, with the divers and other parties who worked on Dutch historical wrecks in the recent past to collect information about the work they undertook.

Initially, the project identified, using records kept by SAHRA (this includes records of the former NMC) and other sources (for example, museum accession registers), the sites that have been subject to salvage/ treasure-hunting in the last 50 years and the people involved.

Thereafter, contact was made with as many of the divers as possible, or with members of their families where those involved have passed away.

When those approached agreed to participate in the project, they were interviewed about their historical work on the wrecks concerned. A standard set of questions and a record sheet were developed for guidance and used during the interviews. The questions were mainly used as prompts during the interviews, rather than as a prescriptive list. The record sheet was used to make notes and record the details of the interview such as when and where it took place.

To create an inventory of the extent and whereabouts of collections of artefacts from these sites, the project

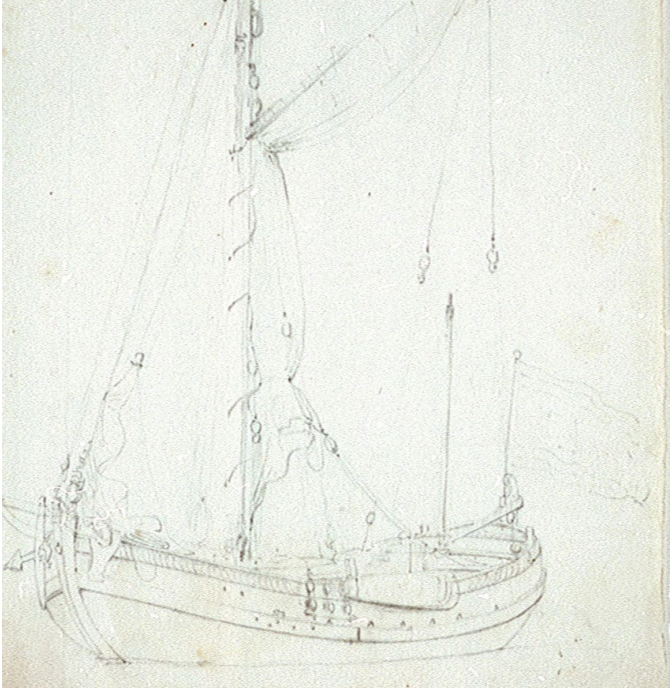


FIGURE 9: A drawing entitled ‘A galjoot (galliot) at anchor’ c1672.

approached each of the coastal museums in South Africa for information about what material from the wrecks studied they have in their collections.

Lastly, archival information for each of the wrecks gathered at the Nationaal Archief and other relevant archival repositories by students in the Netherlands (Leiden University) has been collated and will be added to the relevant site records in both SAHRA’s MUCH GIS and RCE’s MaSS and MACHU.

4.1 Sites

An initial list of Dutch wrecks that have been subject to salvage and other interventions in the last 50 years, was compiled from the NMC and SAHRA’s shipwreck case and permit files which date back to 1982.

This initial tally of sites was expanded after documentary and other background research and the interviews with divers, with the addition of further sites. The sites considered in the project are, therefore:

Table 2: Complete chronological list of Dutch shipwrecks in South African waters: 1644–1900 Wrecks considered for this project are highlighted in grey.

Ship name	Place	Event	Ship type	Owners	Year lost
<i>Mauritius Eiland</i>	Salt River mouth	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1644
<i>Nieuwe Haarlem</i>	Milnerton Beach	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1647
<i>Schapenjacht</i>	Robben Island	Wrecked	Unknown at time of publication	Unknown at time of publication	1660
<i>Muskaatboom</i>	Indian Ocean	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1665
<i>Schollevaar</i>	Bokpunt, Table Bay (north of)	Wrecked	Hoeker	VOC, Rotterdam Chamber	1668
<i>Grundel</i>	Betty's Bay (near)	Wrecked	Hoeker	VOC, Delft Chamber	1673
<i>Zoetendaal</i>	Struis Bay / De Mond (between)	Wrecked	Flute	VOC, Enkhuizen Chamber	1673
<i>Bruidegom</i>	Kraal Bay, Langebaan lagoon	Foundered	Yacht / sloop?	VOC, Cape Colony Government	1674
<i>Stavenisse</i>	Mzimkulu River mouth	Wrecked	Flute (East Indiaman)	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1686
<i>Noord</i>	Klippen Point	Wrecked	Galliot	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1690
<i>Goede Hoop</i>	Salt River mouth	Wrecked	Pinnacle (East indiaman?)	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1692
<i>Hogergeest</i>	Salt River mouth (near)	Wrecked	Pinnacle or yacht	VOC	1692
<i>Gouden Buis</i>	Berg River mouth (north of)	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Enkhuizen Chamber	1693
<i>Dageraad</i>	Robben Island	Wrecked	Yacht – Cape Packet	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1694
<i>Zwarte Leeuw</i>	Castle Jetty (near), Table Bay	Scuttled	Man-O-War (French frigate) / East Indiaman (?)	VOC, chamber Delft (bought)	1696
<i>Oosterland</i>	Salt River mouth	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1697
<i>Waddingsveen</i>	Salt River mouth	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Enkhuizen Chamber	1697
<i>Het Huis te Craijestein</i>	Oudekraal	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1698

Ship name	Place	Event	Ship type	Owners	Year lost
<i>Merestein</i>	Jutten Island (south-west corner)	Wrecked	Pinnacle (East Indiaman)	VOC	1702
<i>Nagel</i>	Kraal Bay, Langebaan lagoon	Wrecked	Galliot	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1709
<i>Bennebroek</i>	Mtana River (near)	Wrecked	Frigate	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1713
<i>Amy</i>	Woodstock Beach (near Castle)	Wrecked	Brigantine / Brig	Cape Authorities	1722
<i>Gouda</i>	Woodstock Beach (near Castle)	Wrecked	Hoeker (local packet)	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1722
<i>Lakenman</i>	Woodstock Beach (near Castle)	Wrecked	Flute (East Indiaman)	VOC, Enkhuizen Chamber	1722
<i>Rotterdam</i>	Castle & Salt River (between), Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1722
<i>Schotse Lorrendraaier</i>	Castle (near), Table Bay	Wrecked	Frigate	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1722
<i>Standvastigheid</i>	Castle & Salt River (between), Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1722
<i>Zoetigheid</i>	Castle (near), Table Bay	Wrecked	Flute (East Indiaman)	VOC, Delft Chamber	1722
<i>Schonenberg</i>	Northumberland Point (reef off), Struis Bay	Wrecked	Frigate / East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1722
<i>Meteren</i>	Olifants (30 km north of)	Wrecked	Hoeker	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1723
<i>Middenrak</i>	Salt River (near), Table Bay	Wrecked	Flute	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1728
<i>Stabroek</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	Hekboot	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1728
<i>Haarlem</i>	Salt River Beach, Table Bay	Wrecked	Frigate (East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1728
<i>Saksenburg</i>	Agulhas (off)	Foundered	Flute / provisions ship (Cape)	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1729
<i>De Hoop</i>	Dassen Island	Wrecked	Galliot	Unknown at time of publication	1734

Ship name	Place	Event	Ship type	Owners	Year lost
<i>Fijenoord</i>	Salt River mouth (near), Table Bay	Wrecked	Brigantine	VOC	1736
<i>De Buis</i>	Salt River Beach, Table Bay	Wrecked	Flute	VOC, Hoorn Chamber	1737
<i>Duinbeek</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1737
<i>Flora</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	Hekboot	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1737
<i>Goudriaan</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	Hekboot (Indiaman)	VOC, Delft Chamber	1737
<i>Iepenrode</i>	Salt River mouth (near), Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1737
<i>Paddenburg</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1737
<i>Rodenrijs</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Rotterdam Chamber	1737
<i>Victoria</i>	Woodstock / Salt River Beach, Table Bay	Wrecked	Brigantine (Packet)	VOC, Hoorn Chamber	1737
<i>Westerwijk</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1737
<i>Vis (De Visch)</i>	Green Point Lighthouse (south of)	Wrecked	Flute	VOC	1740
<i>Reigersdaal</i>	Springfontein Point (offshore reef), near Silverstroomstrand	Wrecked	Frigate (East Indiaman)	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1747
<i>Schuilenburg</i>	Clifton Second Beach (off)	Wrecked	Galliot / one-deck frigate	Unknown at time of publication	1756
<i>Voorzichtigheid</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	Flute (Provision Ship)	VOC, Enkhuizen Chamber	1757
<i>Meermin</i>	De Mond / mouth of Heuningnes River, Struis Bay	Wrecked	Hoeker (Cape Packet)	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1766
<i>De Jonge Thomas</i>	Salt River mouth, Table Bay	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1773
<i>Nieuwe Rhoon</i>	Castle Jetty, Table Bay	Beached	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1776

Ship name	Place	Event	Ship type	Owners	Year lost
<i>Mentor</i>	Agulhas (off)	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1780
<i>Middelburg</i>	Hoedjies Bay, Saldanha Bay	Scuttled	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1781
<i>Snelheid</i>	Ganzekraal near Yzerfontein	Wrecked	Two-masted hoeker	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1783
<i>Hoop</i>	Mouille Point (near)	Wrecked	Flute	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1784
<i>Brederode</i>	Agulhas (reef off Cape)	Foundered	East Indiaman	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1785
<i>Katwijk A an Den Rijn</i>	Simon's Bay	Wrecked	Hoeker / Schooner	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1786
<i>Holland</i>	Olifantsbos	Wrecked	Ship of the line (68- gun)	Admiralty of Amsterdam	1786
<i>Avenhoorn</i>	Woodstock Beach	Wrecked	East Indiaman	VOC, Hoorn Chamber	1788
<i>Maria</i>	Robberg Bay, Plettenberg Bay	Wrecked	Flute	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1788
<i>Drietal Handelaars</i>	Swartklip Rocks, near Muizenberg	Wrecked	Galliot	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1789
<i>Drie Gebroeders</i>	Roman Reef in Simon's Bay	Wrecked	Flute	VOC, Zeeland Chamber	1792
<i>Sterrenschans</i>	Castle, Table Bay	Wrecked	Hoeker	VOC, Amsterdam Chamber	1793
<i>Zeeland</i>	Table Bay	Wrecked / sold	East Indiaman	VOC	1793
<i>Bato</i>	Long Beach (50 m offshore), Simon's Bay	Scuttled	Man-O-War / ship of the line (76-gun)	Batavian Navy	1806
<i>Amsterdam</i>	Amsterdamhoek, Algoa Bay	Wrecked	Man-O-War/ ship of the line	Royal Netherlands Navy	1817
<i>Vrouw Ida Aleida</i>	St James Tidal Pool (off), False Bay	Wrecked	Frigate	Firm J.H. Bagman & Zoon	1818
<i>Flora</i>	Robben Island (south point of)	Wrecked	Schooner	Unknown at time of publication	1821
<i>Colombus</i>	Near Cape Agulhas	Foundered	Frigate	Firm De Vries & Co.	1822
<i>Zeepaard</i>	Holland Reef, Sardinia Bay	Wrecked	Corvette (20-gun)	Royal Netherlands Navy	1823

Ship name	Place	Event	Ship type	Owners	Year lost
<i>Padang</i>	Muizenberg Beach	Wrecked	Barque	Unknown at time of publication	1828
<i>Betsy and Sarah</i>	Cannon Rocks, Bushmans River	Wrecked	Barque	Unknown at time of publication	1839
<i>Juno</i>	Cape Agulhas (below lighthouse)	Wrecked	Barque	Unknown at time of publication	1852
<i>Japara</i>	Quoin Point (off)	Wrecked	Barque	Willem Jan Danielszoon Ruys Gijsbers	1856
<i>Timor</i>	Robben Island (between island & Whale Rock)	Wrecked	Barque	Pieter Blussé van Oud Alblas, Dordrecht	1856
<i>Zaltbommel</i>	Mouille Point	Wrecked	Barque / bark ship	Van Overzee & Co (abbreviated as vO&Co), Rotterdam	1856
<i>Atlas</i>	Atlas Reef (near Martha Duinen)	Wrecked	Barque	Partenrederij onder boekhouderschap van Gebr. Hendrichs en Co.	1859
<i>Willem de Zwijger</i>	Martha Point / Rys Point	Wrecked	Barque	Firma Hartig & Glazener	1863
<i>Krimpenerwaard</i>	Baakens River mouth, Algoa Bay	Wrecked	Barque	Unknown at time of publication	1867
<i>Nederlandse Vlag</i>	Tsitsikamma Point/ Slang River	Wrecked	Barque	Unknown at time of publication	1870
<i>Petronella</i>	Algoa bay	Wrecked	Barque	R.F.P. Victor, Amsterdam	1878
<i>Johanna</i>	Algoa Bay	Wrecked	Unknown at time of publication	J. Kamphuis	1881
<i>Zambesi</i>	Back Beach, Durban	Wrecked	Schooner	Unknown at time of publication	1882
<i>Vrijheid</i>	Umbizane River, Near Port Shepstone	Foundered	Brig	Unknown at time of publication	1883
<i>Hollandia</i>	Simon's Bay	Wrecked	Barque	Unknown at time of publication	1891

4.2 People interviewed

The list of potential interviewees for this project was compiled initially from the names of divers to whom permits for Dutch wrecks had been issued by both the NMC and SAHRA. To this was added the names of other divers that the records showed had been involved in the work on these sites.

Some previous permit holders have died, and it proved impossible to track down some of the other divers, many of whom have also either passed or left South Africa.

Amongst the initial list of names were also people whose involvement with the sites in question was marginal or tangential. Interviews with these individuals were not pursued.

The final list of people willing and able to be interviewed, and the wrecks they gave information about, are listed in Table 3 (list of interviewees), and Figure 10 (Map of wrecks discussed in interviews) shows the approximate geographical location of the wrecks discussed.

Table 3: List of interviewees

Name	Wrecks discussed	
Jonathan Sharfman	Waddingsveen Vrouw Ida Aleida Middelburg	
Bruno Werz	Oosterland Waddingsveen	
Bill Liltved	Brederode Oosterland	
Jaco Boshoff	Oosterland Waddingsveen Nieuwe Rhoon Bato	Middelburg Merestein Het Huis te Craijestein Reigersdaal Brederode
Malcolm Turner	Merestein Middelburg Reigersdaal Oosterland Waddingsveen	Vis Het Huis te Craijestein Holland Zeepaard Bennebroek Schonenberg
Jenny Bennie	Amsterdam Zeepaard	
Reg Dodds	Merestein Middelburg Oosterland Waddingsveen	Het Huis te Craijestein Gouden Buis Dageraad

Name	Wrecks discussed	
Steve Valentine	Het Huis te Craijestein Merestein Reigersdaal	Meteren Vis Vrouw Ida Aleida
Gary Scholtz	Merestein Middelburg Het Huis te Craijestein Dageraad	Vis Reigersdaal Zeepaard
Tim Maggs	Stavenisse	
Gavin Clackworthy	Brederode Reigersdaal Merestein	Het Huis te Craijestein Bennebroek Dageraad
Graham Raynor	Het Huis te Craijestein Vis Oosterland	Waddingsveen Dageraad Reigersdaal



5. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH RESULTS

During the interviews conducted in this project, the divers spoke about the experiences they had on several different Dutch wrecks. These stories have been recorded and combined with archival, oral, and other sources to form a record of the sites. These shipwreck stories are thus not just the historical and archaeological evidence, but also consist of the experiences of those who worked on the wrecks.

The shipwreck stories below are discussed in chronological order of the year of wrecking. Starting out with a short biography (as far as is known to the authors and fellow researchers), the ship's story unfolds from its earliest retraced actions all the way up to the oftentimes dreadful events that eventually culminated in a shipwreck. Included in each wreck description is a reflection on the significance of the shipwreck, whether archaeological or social, accompanied with other information considered relevant to complete the record on the specific ship, such as any history of salvage as well as other relevant information derived from the interviews (oral history).

5.1 Information gathered about VOC shipwrecks

NIEUWE HAARLEM (1647)

Summarised from Gribble and Athiros 2008.

Ship's biography

In December 1646, three VOC ships, the *Nieuwe Haarlem*, the *Olifant*, and the *Schiedam*, left Batavia for a return voyage to the Netherlands. After having been separated

from the rest of the fleet during the journey, the *Nieuwe Haarlem* reached the Cape and entered Table Bay at noon on 25 March 1647. The crew noticed another ship, the *Olifant*, anchored in the roadstead which had arrived a few days earlier. Meanwhile, a strong south-easterly wind picked up and started driving the *Nieuwe Haarlem* towards the shore. Attempts were made to steer the ship using different sails, but these soon proved to be in vain. The *Nieuwe Haarlem* eventually foundered close to the northeastern shore of the bay (Figure 11). An anchor was dropped to prevent the ship from being driven further ashore. The cable broke soon afterwards, and the heavy surf started pounding the ship. Cannons were fired to indicate distress to the other ship in the bay.

The next day, the skipper of the *Olifant* came aboard the *Nieuwe Haarlem* and boats from both ships made unsuccessful attempts to free the *Nieuwe Haarlem*. On 27 March, some of the crew of the *Nieuwe Haarlem* succeeded in reaching the shore in boats and on barrels. One carpenter, who apparently was unable to swim, drowned during the crossing. That same evening, two English ships anchored in the bay. During the next three days, with the help of the crews of the English ships and the *Olifant*, some cargo, including camphor and cinnamon, was taken to shore. Forty men of the *Nieuwe Haarlem* crew were sent to

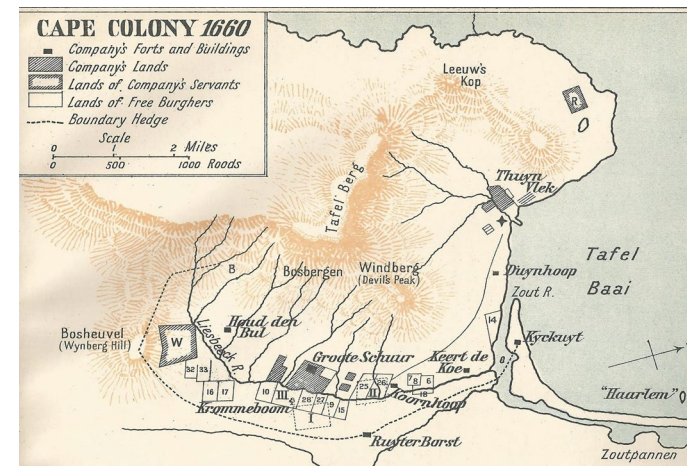


FIGURE 11: 1660 map of the Cape Colony showing the position of the *Nieuwe Haarlem* in the bottom right corner.



FIGURE 12: Archaeological test excavations on Blouberg beach looking for the resting place of the *Nieuwe Haarlem* (1647).

leave for St. Helena with the English ships. There they would be transferred on board returning VOC ships.

On 31 March 1647, the remaining *Nieuwe Haarlem* crew and some men from the *Olifant*, started building a fortification on a hill in the vicinity of the wreck. It was built primarily of wood recovered from the wreckage and was to accommodate the 62 people who remained at the Cape, who were instructed to recover as many goods from the wreck as possible.

In the months of April and May, extensive salvage took place. Substantial amounts of pepper, indigo, textile, sugar, and porcelain, some of which were damaged, were taken from the wreck. Several iron cannons were also brought ashore for additional protection. Meanwhile, the heavy surf was progressively destroying the ship. In this period, an encounter between the survivors and indigenous people occurred while they bartered goods.

During June, July and August, the wreck was almost completely destroyed by the surf and salvage efforts were abandoned as a result. The survivors began extensive exploration of the local area and the available natural resources and in the meantime, the camp and the tents on the beach were being reinforced with wooden remains washed up from the wreck.

In March 1648, a year later, the returning fleet from Batavia arrived in Table Bay and took on board the survivors and salvaged cargo. Six cannons were also taken aboard, thus

leaving 19 cannons and four large anchors in the wreck. It is unclear, though, whether cannons were left behind in the camp.

On his return home, Junior Officer Jansz who had kept a detailed diary and another VOC employee named Proot, presented a report to the directors which served to indicate the potential of the Cape as a refreshment station. Various aspects, such as the availability of fresh water, game and the favourable climatic conditions and soil for growing vegetables and fruits, were discussed. A significant part of the document was devoted to pointing out the healthy relationship established between the survivors and the indigenous people. The document was taken into serious consideration by the directors and, as a result, Jan van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape in 1652 with the task of founding the refreshment station.



FIGURE 13: Bruno Werz

Perspectives on significance

The wrecking of the *Nieuwe Haarlem* and the subsequent building of a camp by some of its survivors on the shores of Table Bay are frequently mentioned in historical accounts. Such accounts, however, often tend to misrepresent the events surrounding the wrecking and the stay of the survivors, as well as the location of the wreck and the fortification. For instance, the possible location of the wreck has often been perceived to be south of the present-day Milnerton Lighthouse. Such misconception has come about as a direct result of misinterpretation of landmarks and distances as reported by Jansz. In recent years, analysis of Jansz's diary and other archival documents, such as maps and charts, led to the conclusion that the wrecking occurred near the northeastern shore of the bay, more specifically between present-day Milnerton and Table View.

Archaeological significance

The *Nieuwe Haarlem* has been the subject of much academic research, in particular, the location of the wreck

and the survivor camp. Attempts to locate these on the nearby shore have to date been unsuccessful. However, an ongoing project conducted by Bruno Werz (Figures 12 and 13) has involved detailed research, geophysical survey and archaeological test excavations on Blouberg beach and has made steps towards learning more about the possible location of the wreck. (The Haarlem Project <https://www.haarlem1647.info/>).

MUSKAATBOOM (1665)

As summarised from Van Helsdingen 2019.

Initially the *Muskaatboom* was thought to have wrecked off the coast of South Africa within its territorial waters, however, archival research undertaken by Leiden University student M. Van Helsdingen, suggests it was most likely to have been lost off the coast of Madagascar. The history of the vessel is nonetheless included here in recognition of the detailed research undertaken and is summarised below.

Ship's biography

The ship addressed here as the *Muskaatboom* carried a variety of names. In the VOC resolutions of Batavia and of Cape of Good Hope, the *Muskaatboom* is referred to as the *Noteboom* or *Nooteboom*. Admiral De Bitter, who commanded the homeward-bound fleet that the *Muskaatboom* was part of, referred to it as the *Nagelboom*. Van Helsdingen chose to stick to *Muskaatboom* as this was used most in modern literature.

On its final voyage in 1664-1665, the *Muskaatboom* was part of a fleet led by Admiral Pieter de Bitter which was to bring home the richest cargo in years.

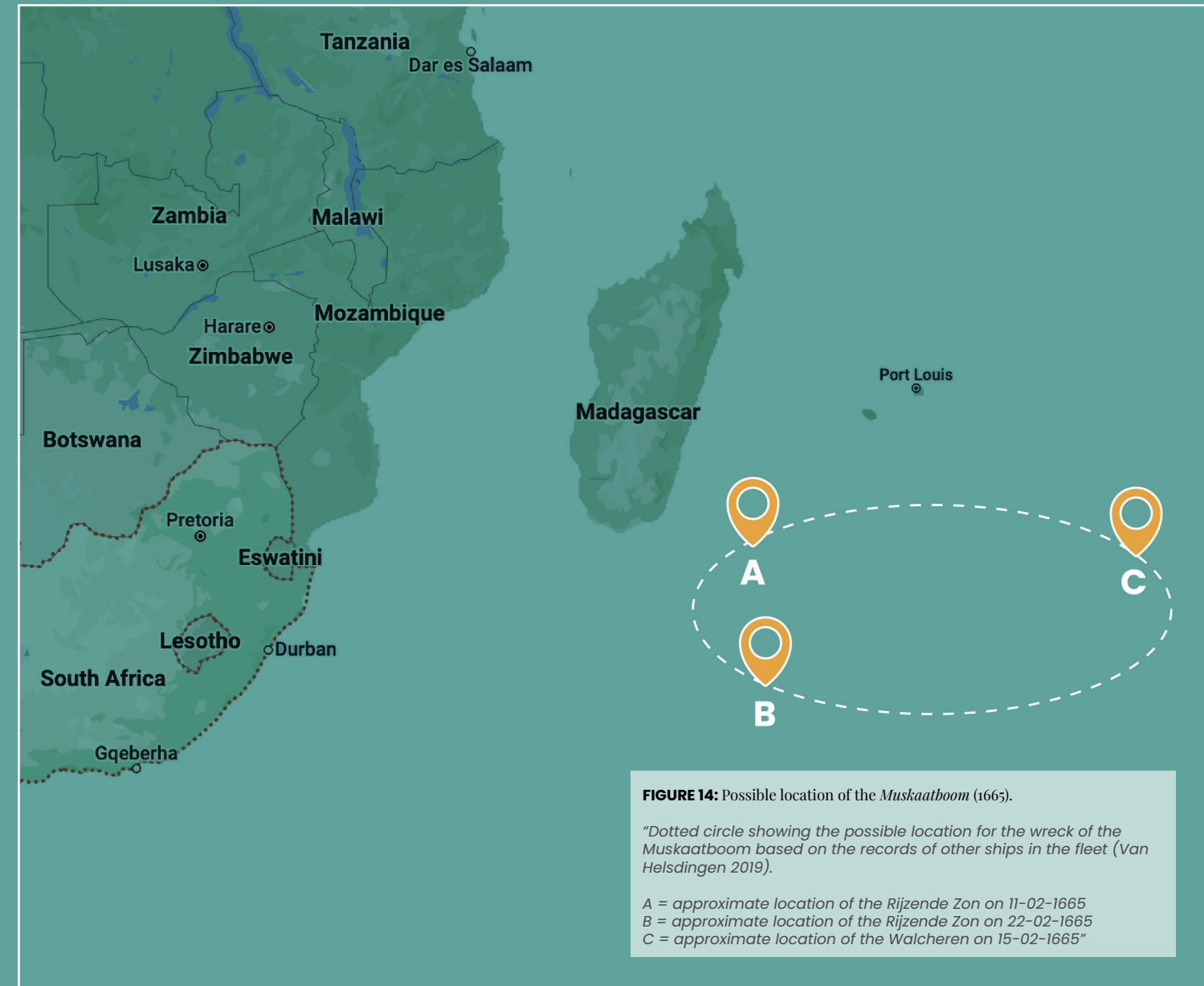
The *Muskaatboom* was a 600-tonne ship acquired in 1659 for the Chamber of Amsterdam. On 8 March 1660, it first set sail under the flag of the VOC, although it is safe to assume it had already made some voyages in Europe prior to its 'maiden voyage' for the VOC. After a stop at the Cape, it arrived in Batavia on 13 December 1660. Although it vanished from the records afterwards, it was probably used as a cargo carrier within Asia, sailing

to and from Batavia, as did so many other VOC ships at the time before the homeward-bounder was brought into play. Years of service in tropical Asian waters were detrimental to the longevity of ships. Therefore, ships serving in these waters, carried increasingly less valuable cargo as time progressed, in order to mitigate heavy losses. Van Helsdingen noted it only carried wood in the last regional voyage it made, which seems to corroborate the aforementioned, so he then rightfully questions why the *Muskaatboom* was part of a homeward-bound fleet that was apparently the richest of fleets the VOC sent homeward in years.

On its outward voyage, the *Muskaatboom* was captained by Jan Hermansz, though it is unclear who commanded the vessel on its return voyage in 1664. The value of the cargo carried by the entire homeward-bound fleet totalled a value of 3,648,490 guilders. The *Muskaatboom* carried a value of 293,688 guilders, and most of the fleet's vessels carried a similar amount. The estimated sales value back in the Netherlands was around eleven million guilders, enough to finance a year of war.

Perspectives on significance

Under the command of Admiral De Bitter, the homeward-bound fleet, consisting of thirteen ships, left Batavia for the Cape on 23 December 1664. The first question researched by Van Helsdingen is where the *Muskaatboom* could have sunk, and whether the third-party information held by SAHRA which suggests that it was found and salvaged near the South African coasts could hold true. Van Helsdingen is quick to explain, however, that the *Muskaatboom* must have sunk during one of the two storms that pestered the homeward-bound fleet. Most likely, it sunk in the storm between 11 and 18 February 1665, as the accounts state that the fleet waited to no avail for the *Muskaatboom* before continuing onwards. Based on the contemporary report of Wouter Schouten, who was on the *Rijzende Zon*, the fleet was at a south latitude of 26 degrees and 20 minutes. Van Helsdingen suggests that the *Muskaatboom* must have "perished somewhere over the Madagascar Basin" which is in the Indian Ocean, though he also states that "...it must not be ruled out that



the ship perhaps survived the first storm and was taken by the subsequent storm on the 1st of March, or that the ship lost its way and came to its final end on a completely different location" (Van Helsdingen 2019: 17-18). Van Helsdingen marked the possible location of the wrecking of the *Muskaatboom* on a map (Figure 14), which is 3 400 km from Cape Town – too far away from the South African coast to be the shipwreck that was reported to SAHRA.

As to why the ship was wrecked, contemporary reports state that the men feared for the ship's lack of stability and overall defectiveness. The most likely candidates for ballast, as deduced from the cargo list, are saltpetre and ebony. Both the lack of stability and the dilapidated state it was in, must have caused the ship to wreck. It is very likely that the Indian Ocean's cyclone season, set between January and March each year, must have meant its end. What is clear though, is that it did not wreck in South African waters.

GOEDE HOOP (1692)

As summarised from Berends 2019.

Ship's biography

Constructed in 1688 for the Chamber of Amsterdam, the *Goede Hoop* was deployed during the Dutch Republic's Nine Years' War with France (1688–1697) and regularly carried soldiers and arms when it left the Republic for several of its tours in the early 1690s. (Berends concludes that a French ship named the *Normande* captured by the Dutch, and renamed *Goede Hoop* in 1689, could not have been the ship that was wrecked in 1692.)

The *Goede Hoop* was on a return journey from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to Patria with a cargo worth 858,260 guilders – a high sum even compared to the cargo of most of its contemporaries. Among the most precious cargo listed Persian pearls, tea, pepper, cinnamon and textiles as well as copper, tin and spelter, were included. On this return voyage, the *Goede Hoop* was accompanied by the *Spierdijk*, *Mijdrecht* and 's *Lands Welvaren*. All the cargo of this fleet combined was valued at a jaw-dropping 2,890,566 guilders which amounted to around 33 million euros in 2023.

In the night of 4 to 5 June, the *Goede Hoop* and another VOC vessel named the *Hogergeest* encountered stormy weather. Both vessels were pushed to shore near the Cape of Good Hope where, by an ironic twist of fate, the *Goede Hoop* was wrecked. Of the 142 people on board, only ten survived.

It transpired that the majority of the cargo was saved the following year, on 3 April 1693. A group of men, under orders of Cape Governor Simon van der Stel, set sail on the *Zwarte Leeuw* to find both wrecks and file a damage report. Among them was Anthonie Pronk, captain of the *Goede Hoop*, who managed to survive the shipwreck. The report detailed the condition of the wrecks as well as exploring the options of what to do with them.

As Berends implies, several details in the report reveal the respective states both wrecks were in. The fact that the men could board both vessels, signifies that the wrecks were at the time still above water level. The report furthermore reveals that the orlop deck (*koebrugdek* in Dutch), positioned horizontally above the ship's hold, was at water level during low tide. The main mast, the foremast, as well as the bowsprit were broken off, planking on both sides had come loose and vital support beams were shattered.

The cargo hold was inaccessible as it was below the water level which meant that the goods could not easily be salvaged. The report suggested ways that the men could access the cargo. One option was to blow up the orlop deck which would lift the vessel up enough to be accessible, or to break up the upper decks so the orlop level could be reached and broken apart. In contrast to the use of explosives, this would most likely prevent excess damage done to the cargo. In any case, to save the cargo, the vessel would not be left unharmed.

Further on in the report it is stated that the *Goede Hoop*'s iron and wood would still be very useful for scrap. The cargo was salvaged later that year and considering the men's recommendations to reuse the ship's remains for scrap, it is likely that the latter, less destructive of the two options was chosen.

Archaeological significance

The report by Berends highlights the fact that most of the cargo was salvaged shortly after wrecking and that

the vessel was most likely stripped for the larger part, this therefore diminishes the archaeological potential of further investigation.

GOUDEN BUIS (1693)

As summarised from De Vroomen 2019.

Ship's biography

Built for the VOC Chamber of Enkhuizen in 1692, the *Gouden Buis*' name refers to the herring bus (Dutch: *haringbuis*); a seafaring fishing vessel that frequently called in at Enkhuizen. The name of the *Gouden Buis* or 'Golden Bus' possibly refers to a time when Enkhuizen still prospered under the herring industry. However, at the end of the 17th century, by the time the *Gouden Buis* was launched, the fishing industry no longer thrived and the town found itself in an economic predicament. The name could therefore well have expressed a hunger for the golden days.

The *Gouden Buis* was selected by the Chamber of Enkhuizen to carry part of its capital to the East, in particular, some 200,000 guilders in silver and gold. On 4 May 1693, the *Gouden Buis* departed. When it neared the equator, a sudden drop in wind significantly affected the progress of the ship. This calm lasted close to two months which decimated crew numbers. Under the stifling heat, able-bodied men quickly became sick with scurvy and many died. On 11 October, in sight of the shores of South Africa, the remaining crew were unable to sail on to the Cape. They did, however, manage to lay at anchor on the shores of St. Helena Bay.

Two men, Lourens Thijszoon Vijselaar and Daniël Silleman, were sent out to find help. With the help of the Khoikhoi, they managed to alert the officials at the Cape who ordered the *Dageraad* to sail over. By then the *Gouden Buis* had broken loose from its anchors. Judging the situation, the *Dageraad*'s captain, Jan Tack, called for an attempt to save the ship in its entirety by pulling the *Gouden Buis* afloat into deeper waters. An additional four *jachten* were deployed for the recovery attempt, which was formulated by De Vroomen (2019: 12) as follows:

"Jan Tack wrote a letter proposing his plan to Governor Van der Stel, which was brought to him by courier to the Cape. The Governor agreed to Tack's plan and sent several ships to Saldanha Bay to help with the operation. These ships were the *jacht*, *Tamboer*, the galliot, 't *Hoen*, and the vessel, *Iupiter*, which all arrived in the bay on 10 January. The newly arrived ships also carried fifty sailors and soldiers from the *Spierdijk*, a VOC ship that left Texel several months after the *Gouden Buis* and had just arrived at the Cape, to help with the salvaging. The already non-existent luck of the *Gouden Buis* began to deteriorate even further when, during the rescue attempt, the ship took in so much water that the pumps were unable to keep up. As the crew of the *Spierdijk* was offloading the cargo and equipment of the *Gouden Buis*, the weather began to worsen in St. Helena Bay. They were confident that the incoming spring tide would be enough to loosen the ship from the shallows, but the bad weather and high waves also made it impossible for other ships to come alongside to help offload. The crew had to cut loose the *Gouden Buis* from its anchors and let the ship run ashore. Before these events, the chests loaded with gold and silver had been put on the *Dageraad*, which was well underway to the Cape by 10 January."

In the end, two survivors as well as the 200,000 guilders worth of cargo were rescued. Not long after, *en route* back to the Cape, the *Dageraad* itself was wrecked (for more details on the wrecking of the *Dageraad*, see the next section). The *Gouden Buis* was left behind, stranded on the shores of St. Helena Bay.

Modern salvage attempts

In 2005, Jonathan Sharfman, with the help of two students of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, conducted an archaeological survey along the coast of St. Helena Bay, using a magnetometer. No relevant archaeological discoveries were made, though this may have been due to the limited quality of the magnetometer. None of the people interviewed seemed to have any knowledge of its whereabouts, though one person stated that the

wreck is supposedly located near a campsite, just north of the Velddrif river.

De Vroomen mentions in his historical research that the ship was cut loose from its anchors and ran aground again before the final salvage attempt. This is important information as any subsequent movement of the wreck could add to the difficulty of locating her.

Archaeological significance

Seeing as no physical discoveries have been made, it is at this point uncertain whether any discoveries will be made in the future. Since the wreck was abandoned while lying at its anchors on the shore of St. Helena Bay, it cannot be ruled out that the wreck was demolished for scrap by locals (Khoikhoi, or others). Its fate has, however, been eternalised in a poem (see below), granting it an immaterial significance that can still be appreciated to this day.

Aan sulk een end'loos tal ramp-saligheen,

Als hier alom aen alle kanten krielen

En maar door Twee zijn moedig doorgestreen

Van wynigh minder als Twee Hondert Zielen.

With endless disasters

Happening from all sides

Only two have courageously pushed through

Of a little less than two hundred souls.

Poem Source: *Ongelukkig, of droevigh verhaal van 't schip de Gouden Buis, 1695: een Enkhuizer VOC-schip strandt bij zuidelijk Afrika, ingeleid en van commentaar voorzien door Marieke van Gessel en Andrea Kieskamp (Amsterdam 1995). Translated by De Vroomen (2019: 3).*

The location is reportedly located near a campsite, just north of the Velddrif River, however, the area was surveyed by Jonathan Sharfman et al in 2005 and nothing of significance was detected. Further studies with more modern technology may be worthwhile, as well as talking to the locals who may have information about the wreck.

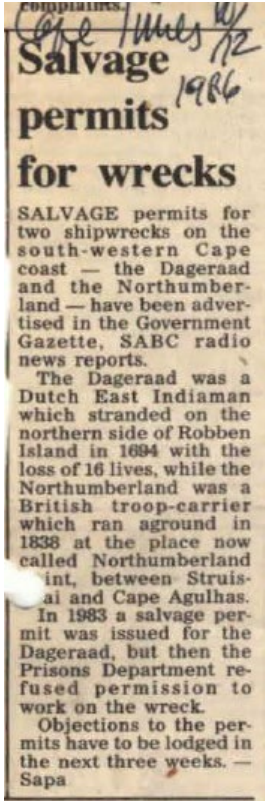


FIGURE 15: 1986 Cape Times report of the salvage of the *Dageraad* (1694).

DAGERAAD (1694)

As summarised from De Vroomen 2019.

Ship's biography

The *Dageraad* was a yacht built in Middelburg for the Chamber of Zeeland. The *Dageraad* was initially destined to pick up a group of enslaved people for the colonies of Mauritius and the Cape, but it was subsequently sent on a rescue mission to collect what was left of the *Gouden Buis* and its cargo which had stranded on the shore of St. Helena Bay (see most details in aforementioned section). Only two of the 190 crew on the *Gouden Buis* survived and managed to alert the Cape Colony (Lourens Thijszoon Vijselaar and Daniël Sillemann), which in response sent the *Dageraad* to the rescue. With four additional jachten sent to help, Captain Jan Tack of the *Dageraad* tried re-floating the *Gouden Buis* and recovering it in

its entirety, however, it quickly started taking on water, so it was run aground again to salvage the cargo. On its way back to the Cape, the *Dageraad* itself ran into trouble and ended up wrecking on the western side of Robben Island. De Vroomen (2019: 12) explains the events as follows:

“The fairly short journey back to the Cape was rather rocky for the *Dageraad*. On 15 January, the ship was forced to anchor in Saldanha Bay because of strong currents and southern winds. A couple of days later, on the evening of 19 January 1694, the ship arrived in a misty and dark Table Bay. There was almost no wind, so the ship was unable to use its sails. The next morning there was a tempestuous sea and at dawn, the *Dageraad* released three distress signals, which were answered from the beach. Other

distress signals were not seen. The galliot, ‘t Hoen, which had also arrived in Table Bay from St. Helena Bay reported seeing a vessel lay in the water west of Robben Island, but did not identify the vessel. Several vessels were sent to Robben Island, but some were unable to reach the island because of the daunting weather. However, debris was spotted in the sea and later on the beaches of the Cape.”

There were numerous contemporary salvage attempts to recover the specie, although they were not successful. The most famous salvage attempt was undertaken in 1728 by the notable salvor, John Lethbridge, but to little success.

Modern oral history

One of the interviewees mentioned that the wreck lies “on the southern side of [Robben] island”. Another person who was interviewed explained that there were stories going around about the wreck, particularly one suggesting that the captain of the vessel was buried with its anchors on the shore. The same person also states, “It has been found. The coins are gone”, while ostensibly as much as eleven tons of lead was salvaged by salvors known for their interest in shipwreck cargo.

Archaeological significance

It is unclear whether the wreck itself can still be found, though seeing as the most likely wreck site is characterised by strong currents and a rocky seabed with little sediment, chances for finding substantial shipwreck material are slim. The suspected wreck site lies within the one nautical-mile limit around Robben Island. Until 1996, the island still housed prison facilities and until that time, no salvage or research permits were granted by the South African Government due to perceived security risks. A permit was applied for in 1983 and was initially issued by the NMC, but it was then cancelled as the prison service did not approve (Figure 15).

However, judging from the interviews, stories related to the shipwreck are still going around even to this day (e.g. the captain buried with its anchors). Most significance seems to lie within these stories, contributing to the intangible maritime heritage of South Africa and, in particular to

the heritage and history of activity on and near Robben Island. There is still a lot of secrecy surrounding the wreck and people are often reluctant to share if they have worked on it or its exact location. There are stories that it was found and worked on and most of the coins are gone. It is reported that in 1995–1996, approximately 11 tons of lead was removed from the site.

OOSTERLAND (1697)

As summarised from Werz 1992.

Ship's biography

The *Oosterland* was a Dutch East Indiaman built in 1684 in Middelburg for the Zeeland Chamber. It measured 45 metres by 11 metres and was one of the larger vessels to be constructed by the VOC. The vessel undertook four major voyages which did not differ significantly from trips undertaken by similar Company vessels. The *Oosterland* had a relatively long career with the VOC and transported a variety of expensive Asiatic products during the first three voyages. In the spring of 1694, the vessel left the Netherlands with 342 people on board and reached Batavia on 11 June 1695. One hundred and eleven seamen and soldiers died during this journey.

Thirty-eight days after arriving, the ship was sent to Suratte, via Persia. In February 1697, the *Oosterland* left Ceylon with a cargo destined for the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC. On 6 or 7 May 1697, the returning fleet from Ceylon, consisting of the *Zion*, *Waterman*, *Assendelft*, *Overrijp* and *Oosterland*, arrived in Table Bay. Many crew members were ill, probably due to contaminated drinking water. While the ships lay waiting in Table Bay for the returning fleet from Batavia which arrived on 20 May, weather conditions started deteriorating. Three days later, the northwesterly wind was blowing more strongly, and sea conditions worsened. The *Kallendijk*, another ship of the joint fleet, broke anchor early on the morning of 24 May and went adrift. It rammed the stern of the *Oosterland*, severing the anchor cable. More anchors were dropped in an attempt to save both vessels. The drifting *Kallendijk* was fortunately brought under control, but the *Oosterland* snapped its cables again a few hours later. The vessel must have been close to the shore by

then as another attempt to save it failed. Within minutes the ship hit the shallows and foundered with heavy loss of life.

Modern archaeological excavation

The *Oosterland* was discovered by divers in 1988 and they, together with maritime archaeologist, Bruno Werz, initiated a joint project to research and excavate the remains (Figure 16). In the early 1990s, the excavation of the *Oosterland*, led by B Werz, commenced. At the time, it was the first project of its kind in Southern Africa to make provision for proper archaeological fieldwork at an underwater site undisturbed since the disaster, as opposed to the mere salvaging of artefacts which destroys the historical value of any site. The project involved multidisciplinary research by archaeologists, oceanographers, chemists and geoscientists and served as a training ground for students in underwater excavation and maritime archaeology.

The results of the work have subsequently been published in various academic reports.



FIGURE 16: The *Oosterland* (1697) excavation.
A: Magazine article on the excavation of the shipwreck.
B: Diver with artefacts recovered during the excavation.
C: Extracts from the above magazine article.
D: 1993 Cape Argus article about the *Oosterland* excavation.
E: Cannon recovered from the seabed; it was airlifted by helicopter to the shore.
F: Part of the collection of the artefacts recovered from the *Oosterland*.



HISTORY UNCOVERED: Christopher Byrnes, front, one of the three sports divers who found the *Oosterland*, with some of the historical treasures recovered from the wreck and Bruno Werz with his archaeologist's tape measure.



Modern oral history

Graham Raynor who discovered the wreck and was a member of the excavation team in the early 1990s, was interviewed as part of the project, as was Bruno Werz. They both described that there is a lot of sand overburden on the site and the shifting sands made it impossible to open up the whole wreck at the same time, so it had to be excavated over a number of seasons in small sections. The site plan reflects what part they were able to see, but also areas that were not thoroughly excavated. There was a ship's structure still visible in places. A large amount of porcelain was recovered as well as cannons and other artefacts (Figure 52). A basket of indigo was of particular interest, as were the ship's fixtures and fittings which remained, such as coils of rope still *in situ*. The recovered artefacts were split between the divers and the museum. There is a large archive of artefacts and documents held by Iziko Museums and Bruno Werz.

There were quite a few salvors and divers who showed an interest in the wreck. This resulted in some disagreements between various factions. Malcolm Turner and Reg Dodds did some salvage work before it was excavated and possibly removed tin ingots, though this could not be confirmed.

WADDINGSVEEN (1697)

Ship's biography

The *Waddingsveen* was a Dutch East Indiaman built in 1691 in Rotterdam for the Enkhuizen Chamber. It was on a return trip from the Far East with a cargo of porcelain and copper when it anchored in Table Bay. A storm arose four days after it arrived and, together with the *Oosterland*, was wrecked near the Salt River mouth. There was a heavy loss of life and of the 142 people on board, only six survived.

The foundering of the *Waddingsveen*, together with the *Oosterland*, resulted in a great setback for the Dutch East India Company as most of the expensive cargo was lost. The cargo that could be saved was transported back to Patria with the ship, *Noordgouw*.

Modern archaeological excavation

The *Waddingsveen*, along with the *Oosterland*, was discovered by divers in the late 1980s and they, together with maritime archaeologist, Bruno Werz, initiated a joint project to research and excavate the remains. In the early 1990s, the excavations on the *Oosterland*, led by B Werz, began and at the time it was the first project of its kind in Southern Africa to make provision for proper archaeological field work at an underwater site. During the excavation, some of the team members decided to explore an area nearby where they believed another wreck was located. This wreck turned out to be the *Waddingsveen*. It was decided to include this wreck in the excavation project, although, due to the huge sand overburden and the rate at which the sand moved across the site, less work was undertaken on this wreck.

The results of the work have subsequently been published in various academic reports (e.g. Werz 1999, 2009; Sharfman 1998).

Modern oral history

Graham Raynor, who was one of the divers who discovered the wreck and worked on it extensively, was interviewed as part of the project, as was Bruno Werz. Raynor states that there is not much structure left of the *Waddingsveen* as it lies on a small rocky reef and, at the time of wrecking, it would have likely broken up and washed ashore. The wreck lies near the mouth of the Salt River and, as such, the dirty river water makes visibility bad and the wreck is generally covered over with a thick layer of sand, sometimes 2 to 3 metres deep. This makes working conditions very difficult, so not much excavation work was done on this wreck. Raynor says that at one time the ship was scoured open and the whole wreck could be seen, but it was soon covered up again.

There is a site plan of the wreck (Figure 17), but it might not be very accurate as there are accounts of many conflicting parties having an interest in the site and submitted maps may have been deliberately vague to protect the author's interest.

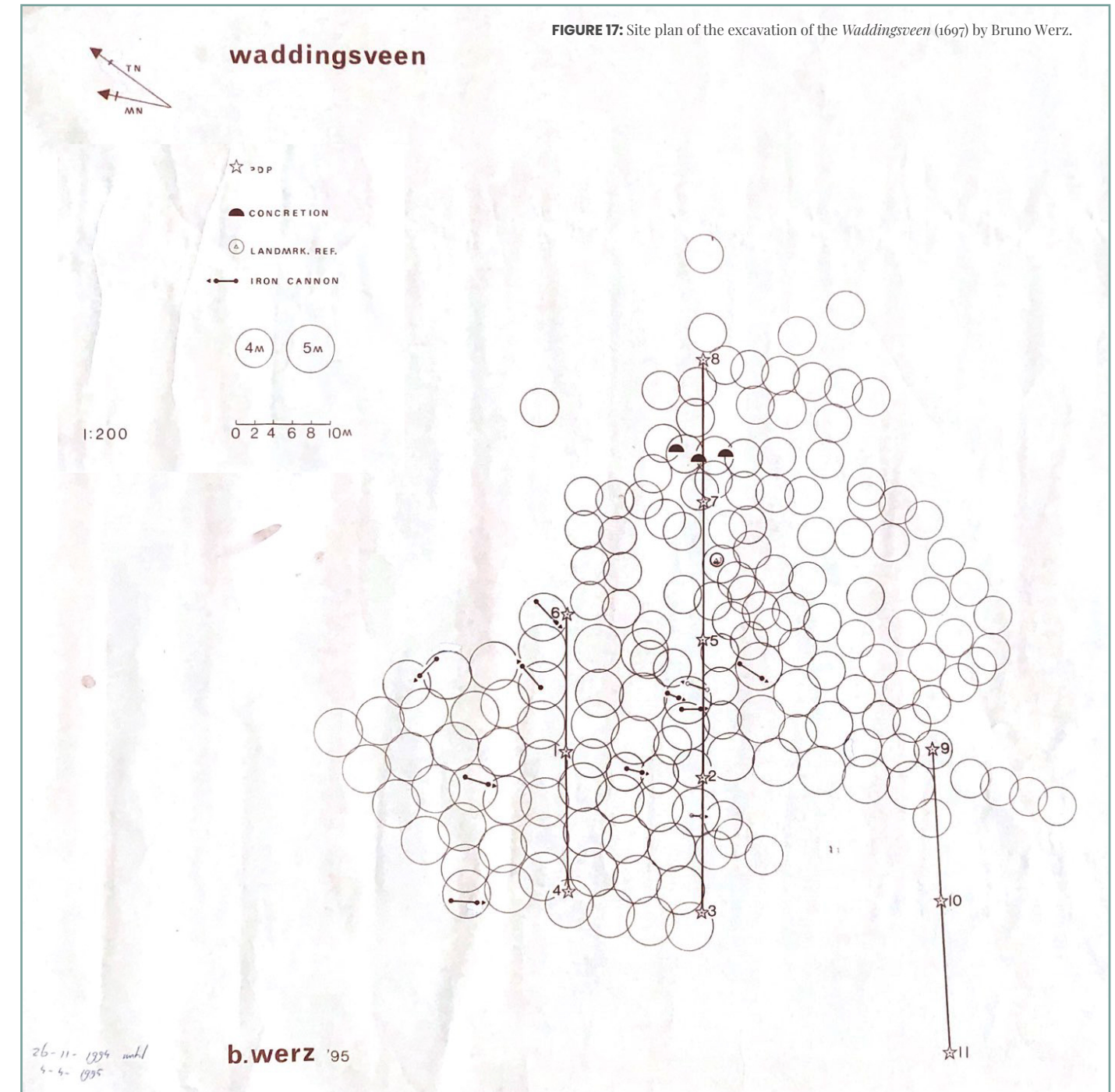


FIGURE 17: Site plan of the excavation of the *Waddingsveen* (1697) by Bruno Werz.

There were quite a few salvors and divers who showed an interest in the wreck. This resulted in some disagreements and contentions between various factions. Malcolm Turner and Reg Dodds did some salvage work before it was excavated and removed some cannons.

The recovered artefacts were mainly copper ingots and porcelain and were split between the divers and the museum. There is a large archive of artefacts and documents held by Iziko Museums and Bruno Werz.

HET HUIS DE CRAIJESTEIN (1698)

As summarised from Gribble and Athiros 2008.

Ship's biography

The *Craijestein* was a large East Indiaman of 1154 tons, built for the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC in their yard, in 1697. After being fitted out, it departed Wielengen, bound for Batavia on 1 February 1698 under the command of Captain Jan van der Vijver. Aside from 275 crew and passengers, the ship also carried a mixed cargo of European goods, and nineteen chests of silver specie, the latter probably stored in the captain's cabin, as was the tradition.

By all accounts, the *Craijestein's* passage to the Cape was speedy, and without any sick or dead. On 26 May the Cape was sighted, and those aboard confidently believed that the ship would be in Table Bay the following day. On 27 May, however, the wind died completely, becalming the vessel about 2.5 nautical miles from land. That afternoon, concerned that the strong current might push them ashore, the captain ordered the main anchor to let go in about 20 metres of water. A heavy mist reduced visibility to no more than a few metres.

During the night the main anchor cable broke and the *Craijestein* began to drift towards the breakers. The bower anchor was let out, but it failed to take on the bottom and the ship drifted on. The captain may have ordered a boat lowered to arrest the drift and tow the *Craijestein* to safety. According to Rev HCV Leibbrandt, (Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Vol 1) it

seems that the fifteen men in the boat soon realised the task was fruitless and cut the cable. They were picked up some hours later by a French vessel, which took them to Table Bay.

In the mist, the *Craijestein* had drifted south along the Cape Peninsula and after losing its anchors, was eventually pushed ashore at Oudekraal. As it approached the coast the vessel was plunged between two large offshore rocks, damaging its sides, destroying its bowsprit, tearing off its rudder, and punching a hole in its stern as it was flung against them. The ship came to a shuddering halt as it ground onto submerged boulders. The bow was forced up out of the water and as it did so, the damaged and holed stern was forced underwater. The sea poured through the rear cabin and into the rest of the ship and it began to sink. Luckily no one aboard seems to have been injured or killed during the incident.

As soon as news of the loss reached the authorities at the Castle of Good Hope, the Governor, Simon van der Stel, dispatched officials to the wreck site "to look after the Company's interests".



FIGURE 18: Pewter spoons recovered from the wreck of *Het Huis te Craijestein* (1698).

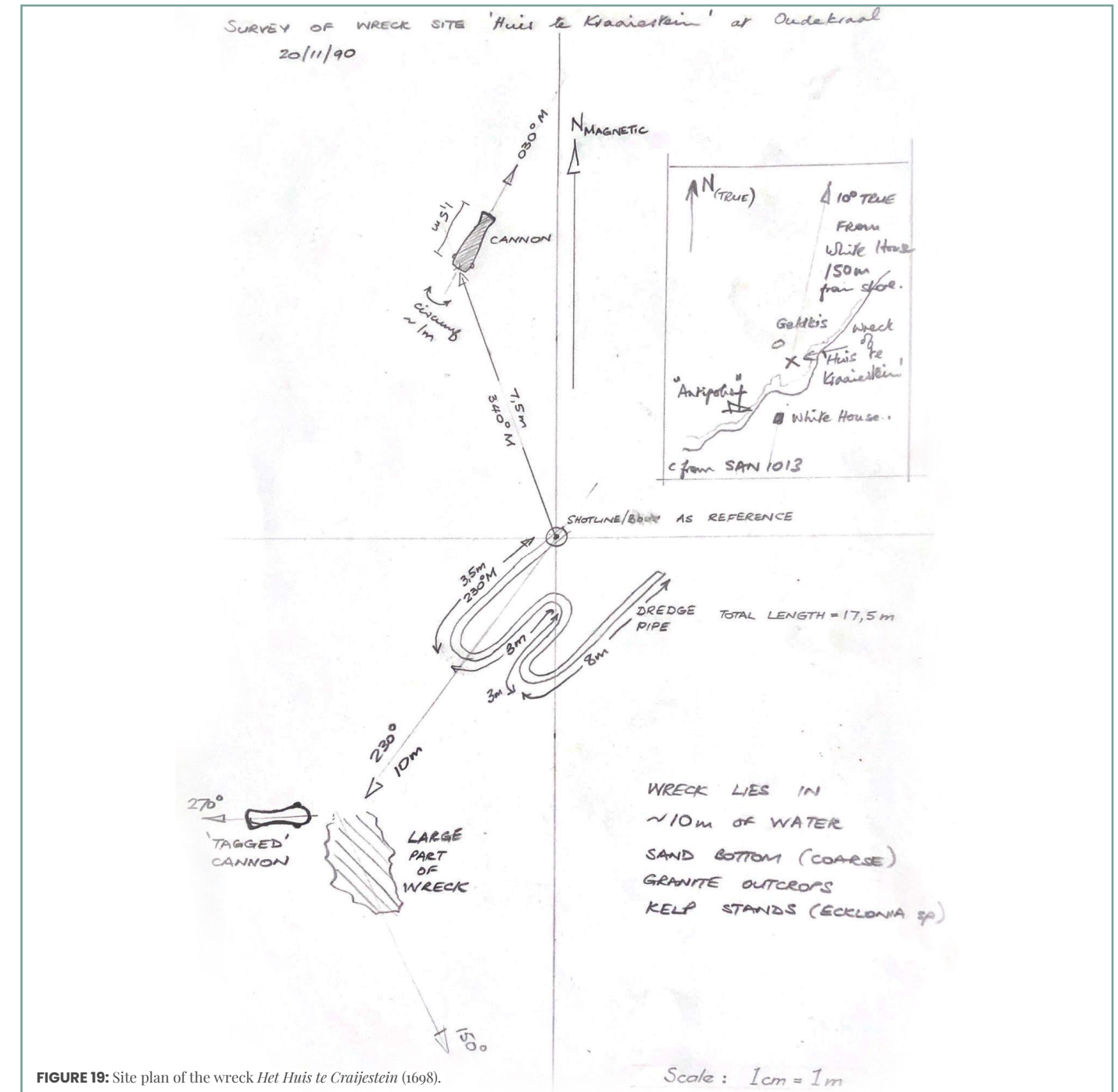


FIGURE 19: Site plan of the wreck *Het Huis te Craijestein* (1698).



FIGURE 20: Artefacts from the wreck of *Het Huis te Craijestein* (1698).
A: Glass and stoneware bottles, stopper and concretion .
B: Diver over an anchor.
C: Clay pipe bowls and stems.

The first order of business was the recovery of the Company's money, and during the following days, sixteen of the nineteen chests of specie were salvaged from the wreck. The remaining three chests proved elusive, however, and it was finally decided that two of them may have come loose during the wrecking and been washed overboard through the hole made by the rudder in the rear cabin.

The last missing chest, however, seems to have been hacked open and plundered by members of the crew and most of its contents stolen. In the days after the wrecking, several of the vessel's crew could not be accounted for and seemed to have absconded. At the same time, Spanish reales were found scattered about the wreck and washing up in the shallows. Later, the testimony of the junior merchant, Reymer Tempelaar, confirmed the suspicions that foul play had been involved. According to Tempelaar, shortly after the wreck, he found members of the crew engaged in plundering the half-flooded great cabin. They had hacked open and looted a chest of coins and were breaking into and rifling other sealed chests and drawers, dumping into the water the ship's paybook, the captain's orders from the VOC and other important papers meant for the VOC in Batavia.

Upon learning of this, the Governor instructed the Commissioners to draw up an affidavit regarding the wrecking and subsequent happenings, which was to be signed by the captain and confirmed by oath. They were also instructed to check the names of the 221 men from the *Craijestein* against those ashore to find out who was missing and, if possible, where they were.

The Governor dispatched the local schooner *Amy* under the command of Hans Christian Holm to the wreck site to aid with the salvage.

Over the next three weeks, it visited the site regularly as repeated attempts were made to salvage the contents of the wreck, although this was made difficult by the weather and sea conditions. Wedged on the

rocks, the wreck suffered a constant battering by the sea, and finally, during the night of 21 June, the vessel disintegrated, and the following morning only fragmentary remains were still visible.

The crew of the *Craijestein*, as well as the money and other goods salvaged, were sent on to Batavia aboard the local frigate *Soldaat*, which had been in Table Bay being fitted out for a slaving expedition to Madagascar.

The captain and officers were subject to an enquiry. After considering the evidence of Captain van der Vijver, Chief Mate Jacob Brun, Junior Mate Francois Mortier, and Joos van Breen, who had overseen the third watch during which the vessel was wrecked, they handed down a severe verdict on 30 November 1698. The Captain and Chief Mate were deprived of office, rank, and pay, and declared unfit to serve the Company in any way in future. In addition, they were condemned, each in solidum, to refund the loss of the vessel and its cargo. The others got off relatively lightly by comparison, and only were suspended from the service of the Company, without pay, for a year.

Later salvage attempts

On 30 September 1868, the South African Mail and Advertiser printed the following: "Some time ago we informed our readers that Mr Adams of Papendorp, who has on various occasions recovered treasures of considerable interest, if not value, from the bottom of Table Bay, had successfully raised some bars of lead from a spot near Hottentot's Kraal, skirting Table Mountain, and halfway between Camp's Bay and Hout Bay".

Some old cannons and other material showed that the place had been the scene of a wreck in past times, a fact well known to local Cape fishermen, though nothing had ever been recovered. One of them, Henry Adams, however, appears to have had the necessary equipment and was not going to be deterred by the other considerations. He was a well-known local treasure hunter who had recovered a good deal of material from wrecks in Table Bay with the aid of a diving bell during

the previous decade. He approached the Governor of the Capes and eventually came to an understanding with the Colonial Secretary as to the share they would receive if the recovery venture proved successful.

Adams seems to have worked at the site for most of September 1868, and with a party of twenty men, and a large cargo boat, he succeeded in raising some items, most notably two large bronze cannons weighing at least three tons each, according to the Cape Argus valued at "£300 as gun-metal, and more as works of art", and about four tons of lead ingots.

According to the Mail and Advertiser "the guns are splendid specimens of old artillery, and bear [the] inscription: 'Jasper van Erpcombe me fecit 1694'". This prompted questions as to the identity of the wreck, and readers of the paper were asked if they could throw any light upon its history.

A couple of days later, the Cape Argus suggested that the wreck may have been that of the outward-bound Dutch East Indiaman *Het Huis de Craijestein*, wrecked on its maiden voyage at Roode Zand near Cape Town on 28 May 1698. Henry Adams disagreed with this suggestion and contended that the wreck was probably that of the *Argonaut*. However, the *Argonaut* is said to have been wrecked a century later than the dates on the cannons he recovered, and it is likely therefore that the Cape Argus' suggestion was correct, and that the wreck at Oudekraal is that of the *Craijestein*.

Salvage work was undertaken in the 1980s by R Wäckerle, although it is unclear what was recovered. Many divers visited the site from the 1960s onwards, coins and bronze cannons were removed, and there are reports that suggest that there were 2 or 3 millstones, numerous iron cannons and some lead ingots recovered during the work.

There is an old CB Gorman diving pump lying on-site in a gully. It is thought to be from when a dive boat turned over and the equipment tipped out, the wheels



FIGURE 21: Gary Scholtz

used to stick out of the sand and it had some old canvas rubber hose still attached to it. A diving club reportedly used to take lead ingots off the site and sell them to buy equipment. Quite a few of the divers, interviewed as part of this project, Reg Dodds, Gary Scholtz (Figure 21) and Malcolm Turner, have dived on this site and done a small amount of salvage (Figures 18 and 20).

Archaeological significance

Despite the fact that this wreck has been extensively salvaged in the past, those people interviewed believe that there is still potential for the ship's structure to be present on the site. The only problem is the conditions and shifting sands which can create a lot of overburden on the site. Some mapping (Figure 19) has been done to show the locations of the anchors and cannons. It is a popular dive site as it is relatively accessible. The remains of the vessel are jumbled amongst the great boulders that were its undoing. Cannons lie wedged at odd angles, pinning under their protective bulk portions of the vessel's hull. A little way beyond the rocks is further testimony to the drama of the wrecking – a lone anchor wedged tenuously in a crack in a seabed made entirely of granite.

MERESTEIN (1702)

As summarised from Gribble and Athiros 2008.

Ship's biography

The *Merestein*, was a typical Dutch East Indiaman, and like many merchant ships of the time, engaged in trade with Batavia and elsewhere. It was built in Amsterdam in 1693, having been commissioned by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company and was just over one hundred feet in length with a loading capacity of 826 tons. Its maiden trip was completed in 1694, departing for the Indies on 6 June and returning on 11 November 1695.

The *Merestein* left Texel on 4 October 1701 on a trading mission to the East, heavily laden with a valuable consignment of silver specie for Batavia. Many of those on board were sick with scurvy and it was the urgent need for fresh water and fresh victuals which brought the ship close to the South African coast while still a considerable distance north of the Cape.

As he approached land, Captain Jan Subbing recognised the entrance to Saldanha Bay, which was regularly used as a watering place for the Company's ships. Finding himself close to shore, he unwisely decided to take the narrower and more treacherous southern channel between the island and Jut Point. Suddenly came the cry "breakers ahead!" A south-westerly wind was blowing and the order was given to sail the ship into the wind; the sails were consequently shortened, but the vessel failed to answer its helm properly. Captain Subbing ordered an anchor to be dropped, but this failed to steady the vessel, and he ordered another. Eventually, the vessel ran aground on the south-west corner of the island, and only ninety-nine of the crew of nearly two hundred managed to save themselves.

Within an hour of striking underwater reefs on the evening of 3 April 1702, the ship was pounded to pieces by the great waves. When morning came, nothing of the *Merestein* showed above the water.

Three days later, the Governor of Cape Town, Willem Adriaan van der Stel, was informed of the wreck of the *Merestein* with the loss of many lives and nearly a hundred starving survivors on barren Jutten Island. He immediately took steps to supply fresh food and water to the shipwrecked. He ordered a ship called the *Wezel* to find the exact spot where the ship had broken its back in the surf to locate the sunken chests of money and to recover as much as possible of the treasure, as well as any merchandise or ship's equipment which could usefully be salvaged.

FIGURE 22: Site map of the *Merestein* (1702) (Dodds Brothers.)

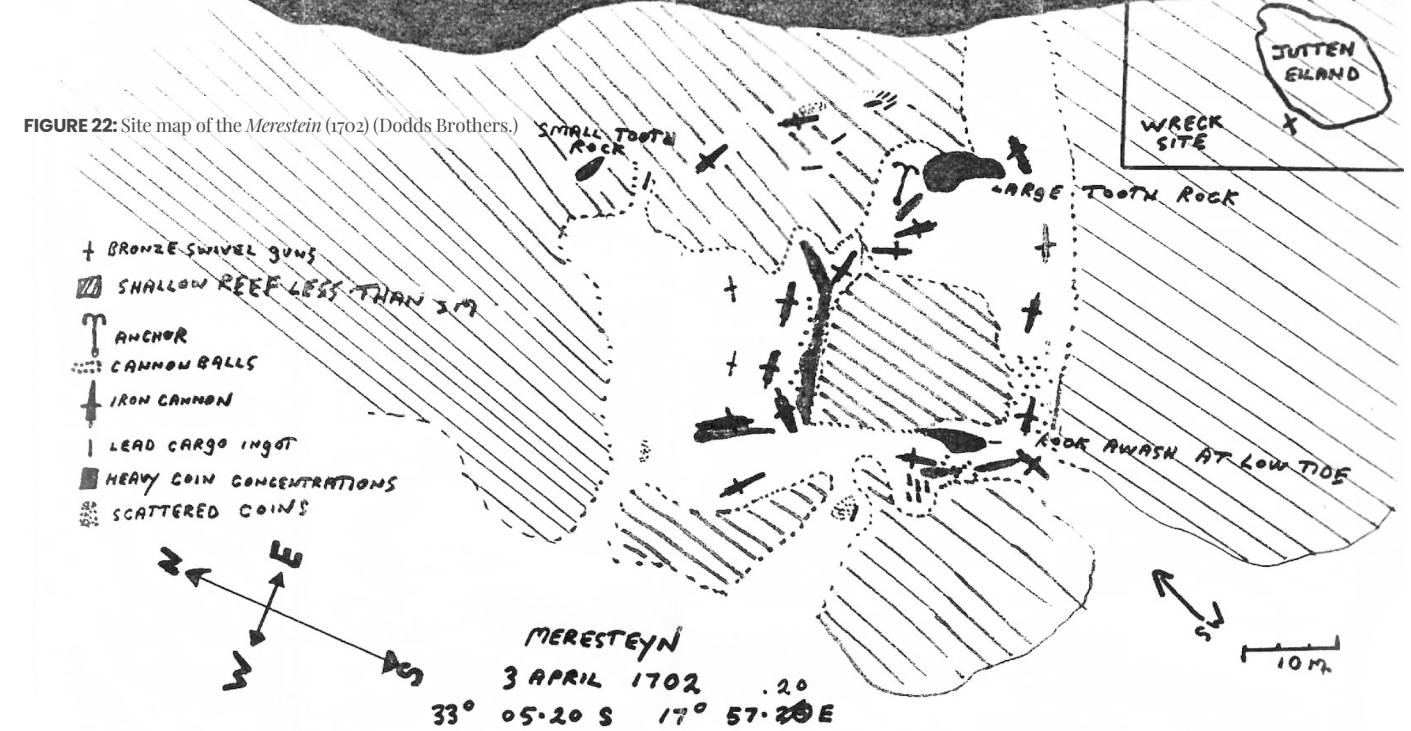


FIGURE 23: Artefacts recovered from the *Merestein* (1702).

- A: Musket Side plate.
- B: Silver ducatoons.
- C: Coins.
- D: Cannon.

The treacherous position of the wreck made it impossible for the *Wezel* to reach the site of the tragedy and the following message was sent to Cape Town: “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 VOC was much perturbed by the loss of this treasure. When they contracted the famed English diver, John Lethbridge, in 1727 to recover as much specie as he could from various wrecks at the Cape, he was allowed, at his request, to proceed to Jutten Island after completing salvage operations in Table Bay. In the relatively calm waters off Cape Town, he had had some success with his diving barrel, but on Jutten Island his attempts were foiled by the heavy surf conditions. After spending some time waiting for suitable conditions, he gave up.

Thereafter, the wreck lay undisturbed for a long time; even though the *Merestein* was mentioned in many a book on South African shipwrecks, no serious attempt was made to salvage it.

Modern salvage attempts

In recent times, the most significant signs of the wreck were many lead ingots from the cargo scattered in the deeper crevices, as well as some badly eroded muzzle-loading cast iron cannons concreted on the rocks and covered in marine growth. A few bronze breech-loading swivel guns could also be seen.

The first team of divers to attempt a serious salvage of the wreck arrived at the island in 1971. The leader of this group was Bobby Hayward of Cape Town, a well-known commercial diver with a great interest in history, assisted by Barry Williams and Jock Dichmont. The rough location of the site was known, as coins occasionally washed up and were picked up by the personnel employed to gather guano on the island, or by the lighthouse keeper; they were aware of the presence of the wreck. The diving team found the exact location of the site after a search of only a few hours. An attempt was made to obtain sole rights

to the wreck through an action in the Supreme Court, but the application was turned down, and this left the site open to exploitation by rival groups.

The *Merestein* is typical of a wreck on an open coast surf-line site in that it lies on the southwest corner of the island and is extremely exposed. Very little timber from the hull has been found, and this is understandable, as the hull completely disintegrated in the heavy surf at the time of the wrecking, the timber having been washed ashore on the island and on the beaches in the vicinity.

The salvage party began systematically searching through the gullies and crevices and discovered banks of red matrix consisting of lime, iron oxide and broken glass carpeting the bottom of the deeper crevices (Figure 22). During the few calm days allowed to them, they blasted and chipped away at the beds of the conglomerate, and, found encased in it, the legendary silver treasure of the *Merestein* (Figures 23 B and C).

The only coins which had survived in a perfect state of preservation were those which were completely embedded in the concretion. Ducatoons, silver riders and Dutch shillings dating back to the late 16th century were found in great numbers. These coins were all hand-stamped and had obviously been withdrawn from circulation in Europe.

The coins which had not been encased in the matrix, were badly corroded; some were worn paper-thin. Besides the silver coins, a few gold ones were found, but not in great quantities.

News of the find soon leaked out and other salvors began operations on the *Merestein* site, as they were legally quite entitled to do. An uneasy truce was arranged, and all teams feverishly worked to salvage as much as possible.

Even though they salvaged great quantities of coins, not all were found. Over the years many other groups of divers have worked the site, and even today, coins are still



FIGURE 24: Gavin Clackworthy

to be found. The total number of coins recovered must be in the region of 15 000, but the only documented lists of coins are those contained in the catalogues for the 1972 Johannesburg and Cape Town auction sales of treasure recovered by the Dodds brothers.

Overall, the financial rewards of the recovery of treasure were disappointing. The greatest tragedy of the salvage operation at this and most sites along the coast of South Africa, was the intense competition between the rival groups of salvors. The greatest emphasis was placed on the recovery of the treasure, and little attempt was made to recover the other valuable artefacts which were uncovered. The bronze guns (Figure 22A) and lead ingots were removed, but many other objects such as pewter spoons and plates, clay pipes and candlesticks were largely ignored in the rush for silver.

Archaeological significance

As described above, the *Merestein* broke up badly during the wrecking and has been subjected to extensive salvage. However, the potential remains for further investigations and research to try and learn more about what remains on the seabed.

Modern oral history

The *Merestein* was visited by many of those interviewed as part of this project including Gavin Clackworthy (Figure 24). The rush for silver coins meant that there were quite a few tales about the salvage work undertaken on the wreck. The coins were the main focal point of the salvage operations and interviewees talk of other artefacts, such as spoons, pewter objects and candlesticks being left behind as they were of little monetary value. There appear to have been some issues between salvors about “whose wreck it was” which was quite common at the time.

NAGEL (1709)

As summarised from Te Velde 2018.

Ship's biography

The *Nagel's* journey started on 28 December of the year 1707, when the Amsterdam-built *galliot* left Texel for the Cape. As a *galliot*, the *Nagel* had a round bow and a straight stern, a flat bottom and a keel. According to Te Velde, it probably looked much like its contemporary ‘t *Weseltje*, which was used in the exploratory voyage of De Vlamingh to Australia in 1696–1697. These vessels were mostly used as coasting and fishing vessels, just as the *Nagel* would be. With a vessel as small as a *galliot*, a crew of 15 men was enough to sail the ship from the Netherlands to the Cape (although Hans Sieron, the cook, passed away during the journey).

Upon arrival at the Cape on 10 May 1708, it was immediately sent to Saldanha Bay from where it would adopt a new function, serving as a coasting vessel between Saldanha Bay and Cape Town. Saldanha played a pivotal role in the local VOC network as a centre for food production, trade and ship maintenance. In the time of the *Nagel*, Saldanha Bay mostly delivered products from livestock and fish, and the *Nagel* must have been involved in this trade.

The *Nagel* wrecked on 27 May 1709. There appears to have been no foul weather involved and the ship was seemingly in a good condition. On the evening of the

27th, the ship's surgeon decided to turn on the light in his cabin before heading back to the forecabin to read and smoke a pipe. Shortly after, a fire broke out in the cabin and the two men on board, the surgeon and the helmsman quickly called for help from the shore, where most of the crew were working on their fishing nets. The crew and local postholder tried to extinguish the flames with water, while a *vrijburger* in a barge also tried to lend a hand. All efforts were in vain, as the fire had spread too quickly. The men therefore decided to poke holes in the hull of the ship so that the engulfing water would douse the flames, subsequently sinking the ship.

Perspectives on significance

It is unclear from Te Velde's report what happened with the wreck afterwards, so at this point, it is uncertain whether there is any archaeological significance left to the *Nagel*. Te Velde did use the *Nagel* as a keyhole to have a peak in the Saldanha Bay maritime cultural landscape, showing the socio-economic interactions and interdependencies between the three main population groups consisting of the VOC, the *vrijburghers* and the indigenous Khoikhoi. If any archaeological remains of the *Nagel* or similar galjoten would be found in the future, these vessels would deserve a thorough historical-archaeological investigation as they could bear the potential to further shed light on the social and economic interactions between the local population groups.

BENNEBROEK (1713)

Ship's biography

The *Bennebroek* was a frigate built in 1708 in Amsterdam for the Amsterdam Chamber. The vessel was disabled in a gale while homeward bound from Ceylon whilst carrying a cargo of porcelain and pepper. It was reported that it ran aground in broad daylight and began to break up immediately.

Many lives were lost, but 57 Europeans and 20 Malabar enslaved people got ashore. The survivors started

walking to Cape Town, but most turned back after reaching an unfordable river. Of those that did continue south, only one (some sources suggest five) enslaved person reached the Cape alive on 26 February 1714. Those who turned back, lived near the wreck until June 1713, trading iron and copper for food with the locals. When this supply was exhausted, they made another attempt to reach the Cape, but after several weeks the survivors – seven Europeans – found refuge with a friendly group of local people.

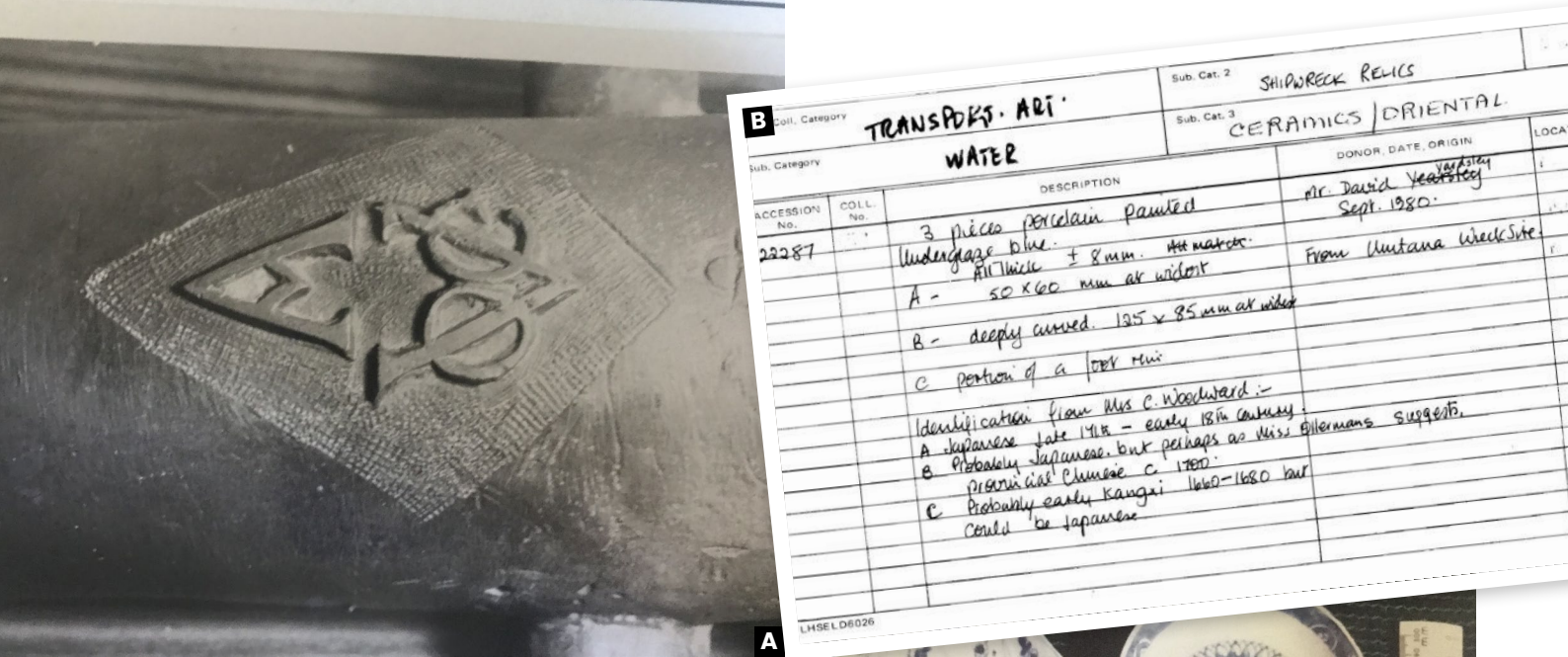
On 4 September 1714, a 28 ft (8.5 m) English-decked boat reached Cape Town from Delagoa Bay with four of the survivors on board. They had been found living in a local village near the mouth of a river. A subsequent six-month search by the galliot, *de Postlooper*, for the wreck and the remaining three survivors, was unsuccessful.

Modern salvage

A wreck was discovered by Peter Sachs in 1985 near Struis Bay. The site was located by the numerous shards of porcelain that washed up along the shore. This led to the assumption that a wreck must be nearby and led divers to the site of the wreck. It was extensively salvaged at the time and a large quantity of porcelain was recovered along with bronze cannons and other artefacts (Figure 25). It has been identified as the *Bennebroek* by Peter Sachs, although no further work has been done on site to positively ascertain what vessel it is.

Archaeological significance

The porcelain from the wreck was analysed in 2003 by Jane Klose, it was concluded that the majority of the wares were produced in the early 18th century which ties into the date of the *Bennebroek* wrecking. The majority of the porcelain was of Chinese origin with a smaller amount from Japan. No further archaeological work has been undertaken on the site as it is reportedly a difficult site to work in and its exact location is unknown. More research would need to be done to answer questions around the identity of the wreck and establish the status of the wreck site.



ROTTERDAM (1722)

As summerised from Dorst 2018.

Ship's biography

The *Rotterdam* was a Dutch East Indiaman built in 1716 in Rotterdam for the city's VOC Chamber. In its years of service, it made several return voyages to Batavia. Though originally built and fitted out for and by the Chamber of Rotterdam, the *Rotterdam* sailed for different chambers in the years after its first journey, namely for Delft, Amsterdam and Zeeland.

On its final journey, it was commanded by skipper Gerrit Fiers, and it sailed out in February 1722, together with the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* and the *Standvastigheid*. For its final journey, it was again fitted out by the Chamber of Zeeland, which has on record that the cargo represented a worth of approximately 200,000 guilders, which is in accordance with the standard value of cargo for a ship of its size. Since it was an outbound ship, the value was probably represented in the form of precious metals and other currencies. It had on board 90 soldiers who were bound for Batavia and it may have also carried ammunition.



FIGURE 25: Artefacts from the *Bennebroek* (1713).
A: Close up of a VOC cannon emblem.
B: Museum record cards.
C: Porcelain bowls.

Winter in South Africa comes with violent winds. On 13 June 1722, when the *Rotterdam* arrived at the Cape, it anchored in Table Bay. To announce their arrival and to hand over the usual papers to the Cape Governor, skipper Fiers and junior merchant Van Aaken went to shore and to the castle of Good Hope. There, “they were instructed to moor very carefully and to take ample precautions, since the north-north-westerly wind had been very strong that day” (Dorst 2018: 9). Skipper Fiers, however, chose to leave the mooring to the chief steersman while he stood on the beach, in the company of Van Aaken. In the morning of 15 June 1722, the winds escalated into a storm taking hold of Table Bay. The *Rotterdam* was wrecked in that very storm, and of the 225 men, only thirteen managed to survive.

The details of the wrecking are as follows: Aside from the *Rotterdam*, at least six more ships of the VOC lay at anchor, accompanied by three English vessels. The vessel started “rocking on the waves, almost capsizing” and according to the eyewitnesses, the vessel was “battered into pieces by the waves” (Dorst 2018: 9). Another eyewitness, however, clarified that it was on account of a collision that the vessel was wrecked, as “[t]he *Rotterdam*, the *Standvastigheid* and the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* had smashed into each other, shattering all three ships into smithereens” (Dorst 2018: 9). A total of 489 men were at the time on board all these ships, while only 45 of them would survive. Shipwreck parts of these wrecks washed up ashore the next day. In order to direct the vessels to safety, the Cape Governor ordered that a large fire would be lit on a beach near the Castle. VOC vessel the *Lakenman* was steered towards the light and successfully ran aground.

Perspectives on significance

Upon inspection the next day, shipwreck material belonging to the *Standvastigheid*, the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* and the *Rotterdam* were found near the *Lakenman*. The remains were later taken apart so that the cargo could be salvaged. As Dorst explains “[t]he council went to great lengths to retrieve every bar of precious metal and every money-filled chest they

could. They instructed the surviving skippers to have the surviving sailors and soldiers dive for the lost goods. When they felt there was nothing left to salvage, the remains were to be burned” (Dorst 2018: 11). The records state that the wreckage was burned later in the year and while the beached parts of the wreck must have been taken apart and burned as well, some parts could have been overlooked, swept back into the water or lost further out into the bay. This applies particularly to heavier materials such as cannons.

The VOC again hired John Lethbridge and from September 1727 to January 1728 he recovered “200 bars of silver, a number of ducatoons and cannons” (Dorst 2018: 16–17), though these numbers may not be accurate, and it is not clear which wrecks they were recovered from. Dorst goes on to mention that the local community had looted the goods that washed ashore. In an attempt to prevent this, the VOC announced the prosecution of looters, which was followed up to some extent. It thus appears that not much of the wreckage would have been left behind.

SCHOTSE LORRENDRAAIER (1722)

As summarised from Negrón 2018.

Ship’s biography

The *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* has already been briefly mentioned in the previous section on the *Rotterdam*, as it met the same fate as the latter when it was wrecked in the storm in Table Bay on the morning of 15 June 1722. Yet its background is unique, for the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* was at first actually an English smuggler called the *Brittannia Galley*, commandeered by Englishman, Simon Hill. The vessel fell into the hands of the VOC in Batavia when the English crew turned themselves in to the authorities. A thorough investigation followed, but the crewmembers were not punished, in fact, many found employ in the service of the VOC or sailed onwards towards the East to engage in trade. The name *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* roughly translates to ‘Scottish interloper’ and would remind the Dutch of how they seized their prize. It was then sent from Batavia to Zeeland, where it was readied

for its first outward journey under the VOC flag, heading for Batavia, until it was wrecked on that dreadful night. The whole process leading towards the confiscation is explained in detail by Negrón, which is quite a story.

The vessel is called a frigate in some records, but it is more likely to have been a *jacht* or yacht. This is suggested by several factors, including that it was named as such in some records, while furthermore it only had a length of 97 feet, a burden of 31 tons, a crew of 34 men and about twelve cannons – which makes it small for a frigate.

The *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* arrived late at night at Table Bay on 12 June 1722. The next morning, the ship was sailed closer to shore and fastened on two anchors after which, skipper Adriaan Heijpe and bookkeeper Marinus Watteij went to the Castle and handed over the usual papers to the Cape Governor. From these papers, it was clear that three men had died during the voyage, while five were found ill.

The *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* left Rammekens in the Netherlands in the company of the *Rotterdam* and the *Standvastigheid*. Both would arrive a day later. Eyewitness accounts on the fate of the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* and testimonies from its skipper, Adriaan Heijpe, bookkeeper, Marinus Watteij, quartermaster, Dirk van der Burgh and sailors, Cornelis van den Veght and Dirk Jansz, explain its final hours in detail. Negrón (2018: 28) transcribes it as follows:

“They explain the ship was anchored strongly and lay still until the *Standvastigheid* started drifting due to broken ropes and anchors and came laying before the bow, which resulted in the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer* breaking the ropes of the anchors as well. Consequently, the strong north-westerly winds blew the ship towards the beach somewhere around the Castle. There, the ship fell to the starboard side and shattered to pieces. The sailors explained that they got off the ship thanks to the providence and benignity of [the] heavens”.

Only seventeen of the 47 men left on board survived the wrecking. Their names were left neatly written down in

the books. Most of the survivors were the highest in ranks and – not so much a surprise – these men were all from the Netherlands, as the higher-ups in the VOC ranks were usually Dutchmen. Six of the sailors were Dutch, while the others were from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, France, Italy and Spain. In the days after the wrecking event, a salvaging party was sent to collect any salvageable material.

Perspectives on significance

Negrón tries to assess which items found may have belonged to the cargo of the *Schotse Lorrendraaijer*, but this is unfortunately mere speculation. According to the Cape Governor’s journals, the wreck was found in pieces on the beach, leaving it likely that it was taken apart for scrap. This would make it highly unlikely that any wreckage would be found. Added to that, the wreck site now lies beneath reclaimed land.

STABROEK (1728)

As summarised from Fick 2018.

Ship’s biography

The *Stabroek* was built in 1722 for the Chamber of Amsterdam at the Amsterdam VOC shipyard. As a *hekboot*, it differed from the more regular East Indiamen. Contemporaries give a mixed description of its appearance with one example describing it as having a wide bow and the full rig of a frigate and carrying as many as 32 cannons. Fick estimates it had a crew of approximately 180 men. During the 19th century, this type of ship faded out of popularity and to this day, both in archaeology and historiography little is known about this type of ship. In that sense, it is an interesting target for archaeological investigation.

In six years of service for the VOC, the *Stabroek* made three return voyages and four in the intra-Asia network – a total of seven voyages. The details of these voyages are described in Fick’s report.

The *Stabroek* was wrecked in a heavy winter storm in Table Bay on 3 July 1728 that also claimed the *Haarlem*

and the *Middenrak*. Many eyewitness accounts linger on the fact that Captain Barend van der Zalm was still standing on the shore when it was wrecked. In his defence, he would clarify that he was helping two high-ranking men in his crew to file an official complaint while the *Stabroek* waited for more favourable winds before it could leave with the *Haarlem* and the *Meijenburg*. Upon their return on 2 July, the storm was already picking up and, consequently, the men could not return to their vessel. The VOC thoroughly investigated the incident in order to exclude negligence, but luckily for Van der Zalm and his men, this was corroborated through as many as ten testimonies which helped explain the captain's ill-fated luck.

Seven crew members also described what happened to the *Stabroek* itself in the storm. In the morning of 3 July, heavy wave action caused two of its anchors to snap and the waves directed the ship to shore with an unstoppable force. After barely evading a collision with the shore, the crew steered it in the clear, although six hours later, the crew deemed it necessary to beach the vessel in order to save the crew and capital. It was successfully beached near the Salt River mouth. Only two men lost their lives, and with the *Stabroek* beached, the rest of the crew and cargo could be saved. The only cargo mentioned is “10,252 guilders worth of beer and canvas” (Fick 2018: 12), which was transferred to the *Delfland* that would also carry the testimonies of the shipwreck event to Patria.

Even though the cargo and crew were saved, the *Stabroek* was found to be beyond repair. Another vessel that was in the bay during the storm, the *Middenrak*, was never seen again. Only a few bodies and pieces of wreckage had washed ashore. The *Haarlem* also broke free from its anchors and was beached, but only needed a few repairs to bring it into service again. On 4 December 1728, however, the *Haarlem* would eventually wreck near the Salt River where 91 men died and only 17 survived.

The testimonies gathered by the Cape Government were collected in order to prevent such disasters from

happening again. Both Saldanha Bay and False Bay were later assessed as winter period alternatives to Table Bay, but were found to be inadequate alternatives as they were positioned either too far away or did not have the necessary facilities and resources available. No real mitigating action occurred until 1742 when ships were prohibited from anchoring in Table Bay between 15 May and 15 August and were directed to rather anchor in False Bay during the winter months. Due to the superior military protection, facilities and resources it offered, Table Bay was still the preferred anchorage and the VOC made sure to have their ships leave the Dutch Republic for the Cape in the months of January to March so that they could anchor safely in the Bay.

Perspectives on significance

Fick makes no mention of the archaeological expectation for finding the *Stabroek*. The ship was deemed beyond repair. However, considering the fact that it was beached and that the cargo and crew were apparently brought into safety, it is likely that the ship was broken apart for reuse as occurred with other beached examples shown throughout this report. Fick is right to mention, however, that if a wreck could still be found, it would make for an interesting subject of study as there is academically little known about a *hekboot* type of ship.

PADDENBURG (1737)

As summerised from Dijkman 2019.

Ship's biography

Dijkman researched what must have been the largest maritime disaster in the history of the VOC, when on 21 May 1737 eight Dutch East Indiamen were wrecked in a storm. The eight ships that were wrecked in the storm were the *Iepenrode*, *Flora*, *Paddenburg*, *Duinbeek*, *Goudriaan*, *Rodenrijs*, *Buis* and *Westerbeek*.

The *Paddenburg* was built in 1732 for the Chamber of Amsterdam. It had a length of 145 Amsterdam feet (approximately 40 metres) and a capacity of 850 tons. In its first two years, it plied its trade only once between Batavia and the Republic.

On 1 February 1735, the *Paddenburg* left Texel for Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) where it would arrive about five months later. For its return voyage, the *Paddenburg* left Batavia on 2 January 1737, together with the *Flora* and the *Iepenrode*. Near the Agulhas reef, a storm caused the convoy to separate, and left the *Paddenburg* in a damaged state. Still, the journey could continue, and it arrived at the Cape on 18 April 1737 where it underwent many repairs before it was ready for the final leg of the trip to the Dutch Republic.

The *Flora* arrived two days later in Table Bay, where it was found that it only needed a few repairs to have it readied for the last leg of the homeward voyage. On 20 May, the *Iepenrode* finally arrived. Although its voyage lasted a month longer than the *Flora* and the *Paddenburg*, the *Iepenrode* was unscathed when it anchored in the bay.

In the meantime, another six ships had entered the anchorage, which were the *Goudriaan* on 6 May, the *Rodenrijs* and *Westerwijk* on 7 May, the *Papenburg* on 10 May, the *Buis* on 11 May and the *Duinbeek* on 16 May. Now nine ships lay at their anchors in Table Bay.

On the night of 20 May, however, just as the return fleet was complete, a north-westerly wind started to build up towards a crescendo of disaster. Unaware of the imminent danger, the command of the ships had gone to shore in the morning of the 21st to pick up the usual documents at the Castle so that the fleet could leave for the Republic.

By the time they returned to the waterside, the storm was about to take its toll. The *Iepenrode* was torn from its anchors and the crew decided to beach at the mouth of the Salt River. There they hoped the ship, crew and cargo would stand a better chance of survival. However, once the vessel was beached, all three masts snapped and by the afternoon the ship had broken in two. Many men drowned or suffered fatal blows from the wooden debris flying around. Soon after, the same happened to the *Goudriaan* and its crew when it was beached near the Salt River. Only a few seamen survived.

The anchors of the *Flora* also broke and when it was close to the *Goudriaan*, the ship was smashed to pieces when a strong surf and the brute force of the waves pushed it on a collision course with the shore. Only six men survived.

The *Paddenburg* could not escape the same fate and it too was driven onto the beach. The aft end of the ship broke into pieces when it collided with the others, losing all the precious cargo. The forecastle and foremast, however, miraculously remained standing, and still stood after a second night on the beach. The surviving crew could make it out of the wreck alive by a rope line fixed on the beach. Only twelve men died.

After the *Paddenburg*, the *Buis* lost its four anchors. The ferocity of the winds first took its toll on the masts, while in the end the ship was completely destroyed. Only five men survived.

The *Duinbeek* met a similar end when it broke loose from its anchors, although it was struck onto the beach where the masts broke and the entire upper part of the vessel, all the way to the lower deck, was ripped off.

The *Rodenrijs* could not escape a similar fate and was found on 22 May, on its side, and on the beach. The crew managed to get off safely using a makeshift raft built out of wooden parts, the topsails and the yard.

Only the *Westerwijk* was not torn apart by the waves and wind when it parted from its anchors. The crew had managed to cut down two of its masts and when it beached, the ship was fortunately relatively intact. The only ship that remained unscathed and ready to sail was the *Papenberg*.

In the end, 208 men died in that storm. More importantly for the VOC, however, a total of 1,921,532 guilders of cargo was lost, an astonishing amount when considering that the VOC sent 30 ships to the Republic in 1737 of which the total cargo amounted to 6,558,258 guilders. Dijkman considers it a series of unfortunate events, with the late arrival of the *Iepenrode* as the main catalyst.

In the aftermath of the disaster, the VOC tried to prevent looters from pillaging the wrecks and scavenging the cargo that was found all over the beach. Public announcements in the form of warning signs among other things, were put on display, but could not prevent theft. Four men were later hanged for thievery.

Perspectives on significance

The wrecks were inspected for reuse, but according to Dijkman the material was found in such a bad state that there was no use in trying. In fact, the men could not tell the wrecks apart. The sailors were re-employed the day after the disaster, but the higher ranks in the ships' command were not so fortunate, as their stipend was comparatively quite high (66 guilders a month versus 10 or 11 guilders a month for sailors) and there were few ships left to command. The men were offered a free voyage to Patria instead, however, some had lost almost all their belongings and even their clothes in the disaster and now also had to go on without regular pay. In the end, the Governor-General allowed them a 2-month stipend.

In 1742, the VOC responded at the behest of Governor-General Van Imhoff by prohibiting anchoring in Table Bay during the winter months, 15 May to 15 August, instead using False Bay as an alternative.

Based on the archival details of this disastrous event, it remains unclear what could have remained to this day. Since the wreckages were apparently unworthy to be reused for scrap, it is more likely that the site had been swept clean so as to not leave any obstructions. Still, bits and pieces, as well as associated objects could have been left unseen and forgotten underneath the sediments.

vis (1740)

As summarised from Burger 2018.

Ship's biography

The *Vis* was procured by the VOC in 1732, and, as highlighted in a study by Geke Burger, the vessel was originally called the *Eendracht*. It was sent to Lisbon to take over the cargo of a 17-year-old dilapidated

vessel named *Vis*, and, as was tradition, the name of the *Eendracht* was changed to the *Nieuwe Vis*, which later simply became *Vis*. The new *Vis* was a *fluitschip* measuring 130 feet (36.8 metres), with a burden of 100 last or 200 tons.

After three return voyages for different VOC Chambers, it started its final journey for the Chamber of Amsterdam in 1740, heading for the Cape of Good Hope. It had on board a crew of 179 and was mastered by Jan Sikkes from Harlingen. Nearing the Cape, the weather turned foul, necessitating emergency anchoring. In the early morning of 6 May, only one anchor held ground and it was not enough to prevent the vessel from being pushed onto the rocks. Now shipwrecked, the vessel continued taking on water in the following days before being slowly torn apart by the waves.

A list of the cargo is no longer in existence, but an impression of the ship's load can be inferred from the *Kaapse resoluties* detailing contemporary post-shipwreck salvage actions. From these documents, it becomes clear that the *Vis* carried a cargo of twenty chests of currency, including silver ingots and coins, some copper plates and semi-finished products. In the aftermath of the shipwreck event, local salvaging efforts were commenced with modest success – 15 of the 20 treasure chests were salvaged and all, but three sick, of the 179 crew members survived. Unfortunately, four sailors died in an attempt to collect the remaining five boxes.

According to Burger's research in secondary literature, the *Vis* could have also possibly carried very personal items, specifically a golden necklace with a silver pendant. Helena Scheffler writes in *Die VOC aan die Kaap* that one Joachim von Dessin, a soldier of German descent, who lived at the Cape from 1722 onwards, regularly ordered products from the Dutch Republic from one C. Mensch. According to Scheffler, after C. Mensch passed away, his widow sent the necklace as a gift to Joachim's daughter, Barbara, in gratitude for Joachim's loyalty as a customer. Scheffler claims the necklace went down with the *Vis*, though Burger rightfully notes that no source is mentioned.

FIGURE 26: Painting of the shipwreck event, 'Het Vergaan van de *Vis* in 1740', by Jürgen Leeuwenberg.



FIGURE 27: Artefacts from the *Vis* (1740).
A: Buttons.
B: Bronze statue.
C: Pewter tankard.

A

B

C

Table 4: List of items salvaged from the *Vis* during contemporary salvage (Burger 2018: 13–17).

Ship equipment	Armoury	Personal belongings	Miscellaneous
Rolls of sailcloth	Some pikes	Surgeon’s chest of medicaments	Saucepans
Rigging	Two small cannons	Possibly a golden necklace with a silver pendant – a gift from the widow of C. Mensch, sent to Barbara, the daughter of Joachim von Dessin	Parts of copper cauldrons and covers (semi-finished)
3 Anchors	Four small weapons		Scrap metal (iron, copper and lead), possible ballast
Dredges			
Navigational compass parts			
Fire buckets			
Hand pumps			
Wooden barrels			
Carpenter tools			
Copper plates			
Wooden posts			

Since it wrecked so closely to shore, there are two eyewitness accounts. One is a written account by Otto Mentzel which hints at tales of smuggled personal money, which was a common phenomenon among 18th century VOC personnel. The other is a painting by Jürgen Leeuwenberg (Figure 26), who served under Governor Swellengrebel, and is the cover for this book. Both the contemporary salvage reports and the eyewitness accounts give a rare insight into the aftermath of a shipwreck event in the 18th century.

Cargo of still unidentified natural stone blocks were found at the wreck site of the *Vis*, as described by divers during interviews for this project. There is an interesting relation between this cargo and that of the VOC ship *Rooswijk* which set sail together with the *Vis* in 1740 and wrecked shortly after on the Goodwin Sands in the United Kingdom as it too carried a cargo of natural stone rocks (Manders and Van der Haar 2021). The *Vis* was travelling to the East Indies and while the purpose of these blocks is unknown, they are similar to the type of stone blocks used in the construction of quays, harbour basins and as foundations of large buildings.

Modern oral history

According to the information provided by salvors, the site is located between the *Seafarer* wreck and Three Anchor Bay, lying closer to the *Seafarer*. It lies amongst gullies in a kelp-covered area where it is quite exposed and a difficult site to dive in. Near the site are large muzzle-loading cannons as well as big cut blocks tentatively identified as granite, which all may be related to the wreck site. According to maritime archaeologist, Jonathan Sharfman, the stone blocks were not visible when he last visited the site (Burger 2018: 25).

The wreck site was visited by divers from as early as the 1970s, who reportedly, took some of the 'odd small brass [sic.] cannons' as well as coins. This information was substantiated by other interviewees who stated that coins were found on the site, perhaps *ducatoons* (silver coins). One interviewee recalls that a small cannon was recovered from a rock pool in 1910 which was thought to come from the site of the *Vis*. The cannon is now reportedly in the Hout Bay Museum. There was also the suggestion during an interview that another similar cannon is in a private collection.

A large anchor is also reportedly located on the outside of the gully in which the stone blocks lie. There are reported to be about 50 stone blocks, which are rectangular in shape and measure approximately 75 cm in length and 30 to 40 cm in height. Lead ingots approximately 1 metre long and 80 kg in weight were also found on site and taken from the location to be melted down and repurposed. Iron cannons lie in the shallows, though it is unclear whether it is the same as the muzzle-loading guns described earlier.

A cannon without markings was found on the seawall in 1947 at Mouille Point. It is purportedly from the *Vis* and is now in the Hout Bay Museum. Brass navigational dividers were also salvaged from the wreck.

Perspectives on significance

Burger (2018) attaches significance to the site due

to the multiple perspectives on the shipwreck event and subsequent salvage actions. From a scientific or research point of view, the site has significance in that it represents a shipwreck of which there are multiple contemporary reports or images still remaining in the archives (the eyewitness report, the painting as a testimony to the shipwreck in the landscape and the official VOC accounts).

If the *Vis* indeed carried a personal gift in the form of a necklace for Barbara von Dessin, it would even tie the shipwreck to personal emotions experienced some 280 years ago which, with a little imagination, can still be appreciated in the present.

Part of the cargo of stone blocks may be related to the cargo of the *Rooswijk* (1740) which held similar cargo (although the blocks on the *Rooswijk* are identified as being of volcanic rock), which would also add to the potential research value.

Archaeological significance

The archaeological value of the site can only be inferred from the oral history accounts of the modern salvors which, in this case, only provide insights on potential quantity, rather than the archaeological quality of objects on site. It can be expected that the site still contains quite a lot of shipwreck-related objects, ranging from granite blocks to iron cannons, to a large anchor and coins (Figures 27 and 28A, B and C). A ship structure has not been encountered, as far as is known.

Without knowing the quality of the shipwreck material and the local conditions, including accessibility, the aesthetic value cannot be truly appreciated at this point. The site does lie in shallow water, which suggests it to be accessible to a certain extent. On the other hand, the local conditions are known to be dynamic and the site is easily impacted by storms and currents accompanied by sediment transportation, making the visibility of the site difficult to predict.



FIGURE 28: Artefacts from the *Vis* (1740) and the *Reigersdaal* (1747).
A: Dividers, pistol plate and candle snuffer.
B: Coins.
C: Breech block.
D: Conglomerate from the *Reigersdaal* containing a coin and clay pipes.

REIGERSDAAL (1747)
As summarised from Giardini 2019.

Ship’s biography

The *Reigersdaal* was constructed in 1738 for the Chamber of Amsterdam. It predates the 1742 VOC ship redesigns and therefore Giardini suggests that it must have had a heftier structure. It made four successful tours between the Netherlands and Asia. On 31 May 1747, the *Reigersdaal* commenced its final voyage, leaving Texel with what was known as the *Paasvloot* or Easter Fleet.

On 14 October 1747, the *Reigersdaal* was nearing Dassen Island on its way to Table Bay when it met with persistent strong south-easterly headwinds. Unable to anchor due to the strong winds, sailors were sent out on a boat to Dassen Island to search for refreshments. Table Bay was approximately 70 kilometres away and “[o]ver the next few days the crew did their best to either anchor at Dassen Island or sail on to Table Bay. However, in both cases, they were unsuccessful due to the strong headwinds they had experienced coming from the southeast. On 24 October, by continuously and slowly progressing through the wind to come to the north side of Robben Island, the crew managed to anchor the ship. It was at this point that the ship was spotted by the lookout on Lion’s Head and the cannon fired to indicate its presence” (Giardini 2019: 7-8). By that time, the crew had already lost 125 men while “a further 83 crew members were sick and lying in their bunks...” (Giardini 2019: 8), including captain Johannes Brandt and *opperstuurman* Jan Schamp. On the evening of the 24 October, the strong south-easterly wind intensified and there was no stopping this force of nature.

The next day, as the winds seemed to continue with no end, the remainder of the crew was readying the ship to seek shelter at either Dassen Island or Saldanha Bay, but as they were about to lift anchor, a gale snapped the cables and pushed the *Reigersdaal* further north.

After sailing for approximately one hour, the waves breaking on the shoreline were spotted, but nothing could be done and the vessel was driven onto the reef near what is today called Silwerstroomstand. The final hours of the wrecking event have been transcribed and vividly translated into Giardini’s work. Only 20 of the 297 men eventually made it to Cape Town alive. The names and occupations of these men have neatly been written down in the VOC records, as Giardini shows.

On 27 October, Cape Governor Hendrik Swellengrebel had already ordered a group of men to go to the nearest shores in search of any survivors (which were included in the 20 crew members mentioned above), as well as to describe what remains were found on the shores and to salvage what they could. Part of the haul was a box containing four bags of silver coins in the form of 3,610 Mexican pillar dollars; a full list of the items found is presented in the appendix of Giardini’s work. Giardini discusses the most revealing items on the list. A third of the barrels of bacon found were spoiled, leaving Giardini to question whether food poisoning may have helped in the decimation of the crew, while Giardini also implies (and rightfully so) that spoiled foodstuffs could have accelerated scurvy. Nearly as telling, are the two ventilators listed which suggest that improving the circulation of air on board the vessel was deemed necessary, although Giardini poses that this could have inadvertently propelled the spread of any airborne disease. Apart from the items listed, 36 lifeless bodies washed up on ashore, all were “buried near the mouth of the perennial *Bockerivier*, situated on the outpost, Ganze Craal, where the salvage party spent a number of days during this operation” (Giardini 2019: 16). Giardini suggests the grounds of this area could be perused in search of any human remains that could perhaps reveal what hardship these men had to bear before they met their death.



FIGURE 29: Artefacts from the *Reigersdaal* (1747).
A: Buckle .
B: Buckles, shot and hook.
C: Silver (top) and pewter (bottom) spoons.
D: Cannon at South African Naval Museum, Simon’s Town.
E: Silver pillar dollar.

Modern salvage attempts and perspectives on significance

Just over two centuries after it foundered, the wreck of the *Reigersdaal* was discovered in 1979 by a team led by Brian Clark and Tubby Gericke. The wreck was located lying off the modern-day holiday resort of Silwerstroomstrand and was found using a magnetometer and a metal detector. According to Giardini, who bases his information on the book of Malcolm Turner, the salvors managed to pull up “six large bronze muzzle-loading cannons that were subsequently removed by helicopter” (Giardini 2019: 17), including part of the 30-ton cargo of lead bars. (In the interview with Malcolm Turner for this project, he mentions four cannons were taken by these men.)

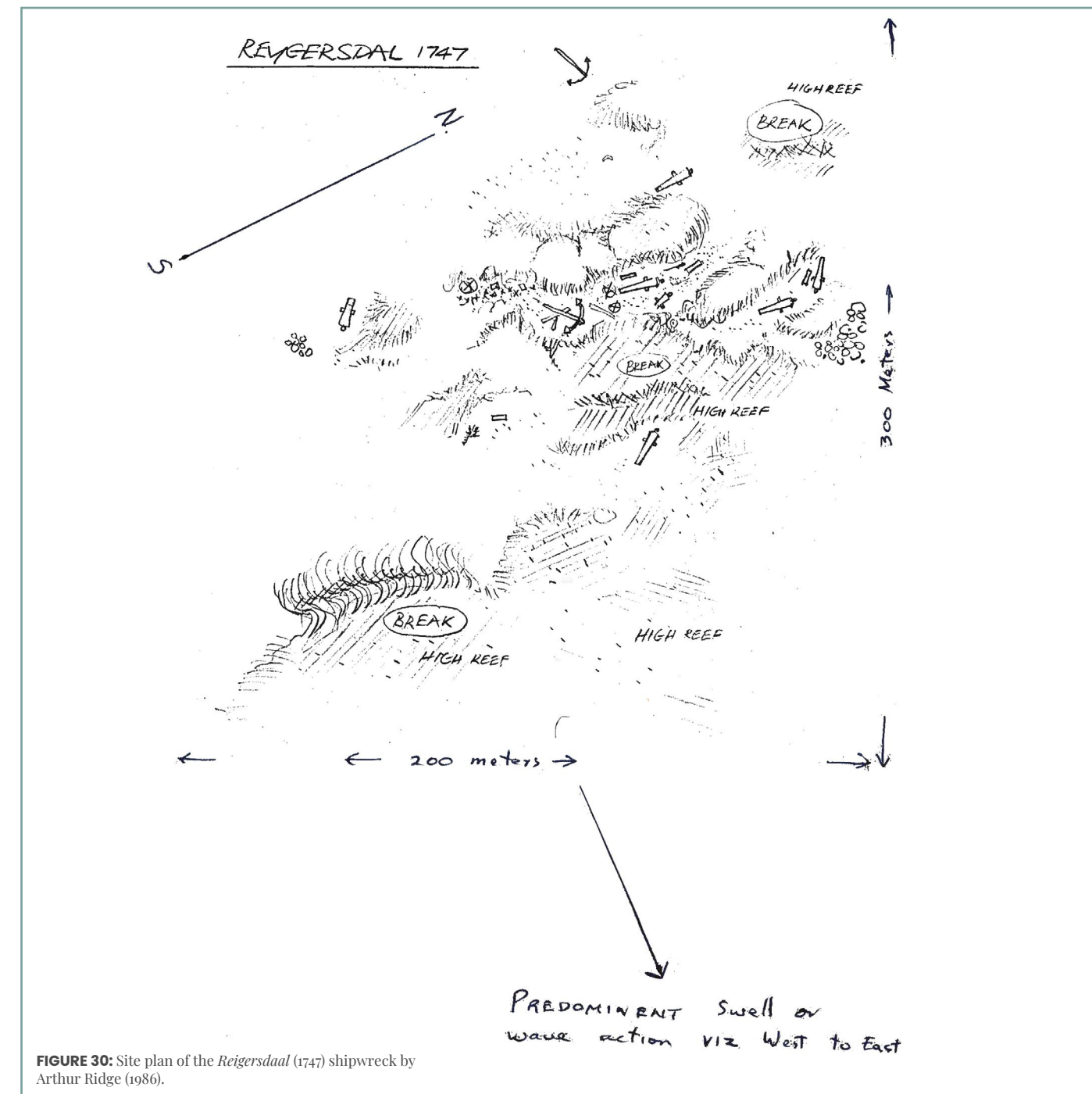
Once they had recovered the cannons, Clark and Gericke moved on to another project, perhaps not realising that there was more to be found. An NMC permit was subsequently acquired by Arthur Ridge and Jimmy Rawe who proceeded to undertake extensive salvage work on the site, including the use of dynamite to blast open the concretion, revealed the presence of thousands of coins. During the interviews, three of the project participants spoke about the work they had done on the site and the stories surrounding the work done by others. Once word got out about the presence of coins, there was a bit of a ‘gold’ rush and during calm weather, multiple boats, up to 15 according to one salvor, could be seen anchored over the site. Such was the fervour that divers became reckless. Malcolm Turner remembered a sad incident where a diver overloaded his bag with coins and was unable to surface safely and ended up drowning.

The number of cannons recovered from the site is unclear, mainly due to the inconsistencies in written records and contradictions during the interviews with the salvors who worked on the site. A best estimate puts the number of large bronze cannons at around six with the number of small bronze cannons ranging between six to eight, as well as a number of iron cannons which were left *in situ*.

An interviewee recalls that besides the cannon, other items salvaged from the site were lead ingots, cannon balls and iron shot, anchors, silverware, wine bottles, sounding leads and, of course, a vast number of coins (Figure 29). The use of dynamite to release the coins meant that large sections of the conglomerate were able to be removed at once, including by helicopter in some instances, and then the coins were chipped out on land. It also loosened up the coins remaining on site which were washed by their thousands into the gullies and crevices in the rocks. In time, the permit holders would manage to recover a “44-gallon drum of coins” off the wreck and many other divers, working without a permit, would also get their fair share of coins. Despite the detrimental use of dynamite, one interviewee still thinks that the wreck has the potential to contain artefacts as all the attention went to salvaging coins.

The location of the salvaged cannons used to be known, but they have now been scattered around. In the 1980s, four small swivel guns were removed from the site. One of these, a bronze cannon, is still in the South African Navy Museum in Simon’s Town (Figure 29D). Two of the bronze swivel guns were stolen from Jimmy Rawe and were not recovered (Figure 47B). (According to Giardini, Malcolm Turner says in his book that more than eight swivel guns were removed from the site, “still mounted in their iron frames, and are probably the best-preserved bronze cannons ever found on the coast of South Africa”).

The wreck is on a very flat reef with bedrock gullies and channels with lots of kelp (Figure 30). It is quite far offshore, possibly 500 metres. Rough sea conditions make it difficult to reach the site, as the southeaster that brought the *Reigersdaal* to its end, still reigns the area today – although the occasional ‘flat calm’ provides a window of opportunity. It is very shallow, only about 3 metres deep and the bottom is easily stirred, often leaving divers with poor visibility. Next to the rough sea conditions, the site is difficult to work at due to the overgrowth of kelp. There are reportedly two anchors and a number of iron cannons still on site, although there are no signs of any wooden structure.



Today, the neighbouring town of Atlantis still harbours a cognitive remnant in the name of the *Reygersdal Drive*, which stands as testimony to the impact a shipwreck can have on the collective memory in such a way that the name of the vessel is tied to a place.

JONGE THOMAS (1773)

As summarised from Idema 2019

Ship's biography

The wrecking of the *Jonge Thomas* is forever linked to one Wolraad Woltemade, whose heroic deeds are praised in a variety of ways, including a poem.

*“Helaas, ook Wolraad is gedoemd
Neen Neen! Hij blijft bestaan;
Wie Woltemades naam ooit noemt,
Die noemt zijn heldedâan
Al siert geen steen het roemrijk strand
Waar u de golf bedekt,
Uw glas, o Wolraad, Eeuwig brandt
Uw roem blijft onbevlekt”*

By South African poet Gijsbert Keet (1853–1889) and published posthumously in South Africa in 1911

Commanded by Barend de la Mainé, Dutch East Indiaman the *Jonge Thomas* set out on its final voyage on 20 October 1772 when it headed for the East. It anchored in Table Bay in March where it had to wait before continuing its voyage to the east in the company of the *Duyvenbrug*, the *Aschat*, the *Overhout* and the *Snelheid* that were also waiting in the bay. As the wait continued, winter broke in South Africa, and between 15 May and 15 August, as per VOC regulations, Table Bay normally was a no-go zone for ships. By the end of May, however, the ships were still in the Bay as a strong north-westerly gale stirred up the waters. And as Idema explains, “[w]hile the other four ships barely got away, the *Jonge Thomas* started losing its anchors until Captain Barend de la Mainé decided



FIGURE 31: Historic image of the wrecking of the *Jonge Thomas* (1773) depicting the heroics of Wolraad Woltemade.

to try and beach the ship. Unfortunately, the ship got stuck on a sandbank and was turned sideways towards the waves” (Idema 2019: 10).

As soon as the Governor of the Cape heard of the unfolding drama, a party of 30 men was sent to fend off any potential looters. These men apparently even went so far that they installed a gibbet (the dead body of a criminal) to scare off local colonists that rushed to the scene in aid. Meanwhile, the crew of the *Jonge Thomas* were still stuck on the wreck, waiting to be rescued.

Here is where fact and legend seem to mix. Wolraad Woltemade, a colonist of German descent, witnessed the horrendous scene of drowning men from afar, jumped on his horse and rushed into the sea to save as many as 14 men before he, his horse and a group of men desperately hanging onto him were consumed by the waves (Figure 31 and 47A). Besides the 14 men saved by Wolraad, another 25 made it safely to shore, but in the end, 168 seamen lost their lives.

The VOC, who were notoriously solely interested in its own financial welfare, made no mention of the lives lost or the sacrifice Wolraad made that day. They just recorded that the ship wrecked near Salt River on 1 June 1773, and that the survivors had to be put to work again. Moreover, Idema shows that the VOC Council in the Castle considered the local residents as thieves, with no exceptions. These and other concurrent incidents surrounding the wrecking and aftermath are signs of the strong social friction between the Company and the colonists in the 18th century.

Wolraad’s deeds are remembered by contemporaries, as exemplified by a newspaper from 1775 called the *Middelburgse Courant*, a poem from 1778 and a Dutch East Indiaman that was named after him, the *Helt Woltemade* built in 1776 – it even had an image of him painted on the bow.

Perspectives on significance

On the significance of the wreck, Idema suggests that “The first known claim of the wreck being found was back in 1886 when John Steyn found some china which he claimed belonged to the *Jonge Thomas*. This is likely to be untrue as the *Jonge Thomas* was an outbound ship, while usually only inbound ships carried precious china and spices. What Steyn found was probably not our ship or even worse, it got mingled with scraps from other ships, making it impossible to establish its provenance. However, two more things came to light. Firstly, Steyn remarks that a diving bell carrying the *Jonge Thomas*’ name had been found a year earlier. Secondly, he believes that the construction of the Harbour Works may have shifted the sands and revealed the wreckage (J. Steyn, Affidavit: ‘Recovered Treasures of the Deep: china taken this year by divers out of the *Jonge Thomas*’, 1886.)

However, in 1935 the project of reclaiming the land where the *Jonge Thomas* wrecked had been completed. It became an industrial area that was almost certainly built on the leftovers of our wreck. However, the ship had already broken in half during the wrecking. Due to the battering by the waves and the swollen Salt River, it is very possible the wreck was spread throughout Table Bay. The wreck could have represented the trade between the Cape and Batavia. As we saw in the first chapter, there was a considerable number of alcoholic beverages purchased here for private trading. Furthermore, a number of *monsterrollen*, or muster rolls were to be sent with the ship to Batavia (NA, VOC, inv no. 4270: Overgekomen brieven en papieren).

However, there are many instances of this and there are many wrecks in the vicinity of the *Jonge Thomas* (letter from W. Fehr to B. Malan, Alleged Wreck of “de *Jonge Thomas*”, 1961, now owned by SAHRA). Since the *Jonge Thomas* is not unique nor representative and it is likely the wreck has been completely dispersed and buried by land reclamation, the only conclusion can be that there is not enough of a wreck left to be significant.

Idema suggests that part of the wreckage must have been spread out under the reclaimed land of Paarden Island. Tangible remains are left in Wolraad's former homestead *Kleine Zoar* which still stands to this day. Intangibles have also stood the test of time, such as the poem cited at the start of this section, as well as many other remnants. If the grounds of Paarden Island ever are to be disturbed in future development projects, there is a chance shipwreck material will be revealed. Whether or not it could be tied to the *Jonge Thomas*, is a challenge for the future.

NIEUWE RHOON (1776) As summarised from Leijh 2019.

Ship's biography

As an East Indiaman built for the Chamber of Middelburg in 1760, the *Nieuwe Rhoon* embarked on its maiden voyage to Canton (China) in 1766. While the vessel was only sent to China on this one occasion, it does make for an interesting voyage as it highlights the VOC's re-found interest in direct trade with Chinese trading posts, rather than the earlier attempted strategy of stimulating Chinese junk trade via Batavia. After its return to the United Provinces in 1767, it would make four more return voyages (spanning the years 1767-1769, 1769-1771, 1771-1773 and 1774-1776). In 1776, however, on its way from Ceylon to Patria, the *Nieuwe Rhoon* entered Table Bay where it struck Whale Rock near Robben Island and started taking on water, it was subsequently deemed too damaged to continue service.

Detailed accounts of the wrecking event described in Leijh's paper bring forth an interesting detail. With the *Nieuwe Rhoon* so close to the Cape colony, attempts to save both cargo and ship ensued in a concerted effort between those on board and on the nearby shores. First, water was pumped out as much as possible. As the crew started "offloading the heavier and costlier goods" (Leijh 2019: 10), Captain Jacobus Koelders made sure to direct the vessel to more shallow waters where the vessel was eventually, and intentionally, run aground on 31 January 1776 near the Castle Jetty.

On 6 February, the Cape City Council convened and selected several men to inspect the damaged ship and goods. On the 13th, the men came back to report their preliminary findings. When the ship met with strong winds, it was pushed towards the reefs and since it already had lost two of its anchors its course could not be altered.

Another group of investigators were sent out by the City Council to make sure no human error was involved. The group presented their findings in an official report from which it becomes clear that the keel of the vessel was partially or completely broken off, leaving the hull breached with water easily flowing in and out. The ship was therefore deemed unfit for repair and was broken apart, starting by removing the keel. Later, the shipwreck of the *Nieuwe Rhoon* would have been the topic of more discussions by the City Council as, apparently, human error still was not completely off the table. The account of a fiscal specialist, named Willem Cornelis Boers who had himself informed by eyewitnesses, revealed that the anchors were in a terribly eroded state so that the arms broke off and the usual marks were no longer recognisable, while the winds pushed the vessel further westwards. In his conclusion, these facts were not ascribed to human error.

When the Patriot had left the Cape on 6 of April, it carried on board, what appears to be, the total of the cargo of the *Nieuwe Rhoon*, judging from the invoice. This corresponds with the investigators' accounts that stated that the cargo remained free from damage. The crew was repatriated on the *Foreest*, a ship that coincidentally crossed roads with the *Nieuwe Rhoon*. The *Nieuwe Rhoon* appears to have been dismantled in its entirety, while all reusable items were either resold or redistributed to people and posts along the Cape. This includes weaponry which went to the local artillery, tools which went to the master of equipment and metal and oil which went to the shipyard.

Since the vessel was dismantled, however, it would make it difficult to say whether any material would have been left at the site. Leijh therefore questions whether it was the wreckage material of the *Nieuwe Rhoon* found on

the premises of what is now the Civic Centre building, christened as the Civic Centre ship. Theoretically, it's possible that not all of the ship's structural remains have been removed when it was beached, but the conclusions would depend on the remains found at the Civic Centre site. What is for certain, however, is that the *Nieuwe Rhoon* did indeed lie at this location.

Archaeological significance

A wreck was discovered and excavated during the building of the Cape Town Civic Centre in the 1970s (Figure 32). The lead excavator was Bob Lightly who was a building inspector with the City Council and despite not having an archaeological background, Lightly was a keen model boat builder and took great care in the excavation of the ship remains. He went on to tentatively identify it as the wreck of the *Nieuwe Rhoon* and published his findings in an article in the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* in 1976 (Lightly 1976). The condition of the timbers, a small number of artefacts including clay pipes, and the large amount of ballast lead him to believe that the vessel was deliberately sunk as it was beyond repair. Unfortunately, the cannon balls were stolen, however, the Iziko Museum in Cape Town holds the remaining artefacts including the timbers, clay pipes and other small artefacts which were also recovered during the excavation and may be from the wreck.

Modern oral history

The Iziko Museum's maritime archaeologist, Jaco Boshoff, interviewed as part of this project, seems to agree with Leijh that it is difficult to say with certainty that the wreck found during construction of the Civic Center building is the *Nieuwe Rhoon*. The ship's timbers have not been conserved or studied, although cut marks, holes and other features seen on the timbers could be of interest. At the time of excavation, there were stories going around that the workers excavating the site may have sold artefacts to the locals. There is not much in the way of artefactual evidence as they think the ship was scuttled. This does coincide with the *Nieuwe Rhoon*, although other vessels that were wrecked close to shore are known to have also been dismantled in the past. There



FIGURE 32: Aerial photo of the Civic Centre excavation showing the wooden hull and cannon balls.

are some good photos of the excavation including some taken from above so the whole wreck can be seen. The city may have some records and the Iziko Museum also has some. The excavator has subsequently died but he may have kept some records and a small collection of artefacts which may be left in the personal collection of family members related to the excavator.

Perspectives on significance

Looking at the information Leijh unearthed in the archives and the information provided in the interview with Jaco Boshoff combined, it still leaves open to debate whether the wreckage material found in the 1970s could indeed be the *Nieuwe Rhoon*. In particular, the fact that the wreckage material found at the Civic Centre construction site apparently showed signs of scuttling (the deliberate sinking or destruction of a shipwreck) corresponds with the historical records which state that the ship was scrapped. If there still are physical remains left, these remains may well be of significance.

MIDDELBURG (1781)

Summarised from Gribble and Athiros 2008.

Ship's biography

The *Middelburg* was built in 1775 in Middelburg for the Amsterdam Chamber. It was homeward bound and lying at anchor in Table Bay when news was received of an English fleet heading for the Cape. On 13 May 1781 the *Middelburg*, four other homeward-bound East Indiamen and two local packets were sent by the Governor to shelter in Saldanha Bay.

On 20 December 1780, Britain declared war on the Netherlands, after the latter became involved in the American War of Independence by joining with France and Spain in declaring war on England. This meant that all Dutch shipping, anywhere in the world, was open to attack by the British. As a precaution, all Dutch shipping at the Cape – mainly the richly laden annual return East India fleet – was ordered to remain together until a well-protected convoy could be assembled to escort them home. Because of the difficulty of defending Table Bay

from seaborne attack, the Governor of the Cape, Baron Joachim van Plettenberg, took the additional precaution on 16 May 1781 of dispatching five of these merchantmen to Saldanha Bay, where they were ordered to shelter. Saldanha Bay is one of the best natural harbours on the South African coast and has the added advantage of a narrow entrance which is hard to spot from the sea.

This small fleet comprised the *Hoogkarspel*, *Middelburg*, *Honkoop*, *Paarl* and *Dankbaarheid*. Also present was the *Held Woltemade*, an outward-bound East Indiaman named after the hero of the wreck of the *Jonge Thomas* eight years earlier, which had called at the Cape in need of repairs.

Amongst those on board the East Indiamen was the French naturalist, François le Vaillant, later to become famous for his books on his travels in South Africa. Le Vaillant had recently arrived in the Cape aboard the *Held Woltemade* and had obtained an invitation from Captain van Gennep to sail on the *Middelburg* to Saldanha Bay. He had taken with him all his possessions, including his notes and collection of natural history specimens. During the three months they spent in Saldanha, he proceeded to add extensively to this collection, forming 'a large and valuable collection of birds, shells, insects, and madrepores'.

The captain of the *Hoogkarspel*, Gerrit Harmeyer, was given command of the fleet and had clear orders from the Governor to ensure that under no circumstances were these vessels and their valuable cargoes to fall into British hands. The East Indiamen anchored in Hoedjies Bay, in the lee of Marcus Island and were stripped of their sails.

These were placed aboard a small local packet ship, which was then moored at the southern end of the Langebaan Lagoon, ready to be destroyed if the ships were captured. Orders were also given that the East Indiamen were to be destroyed if capture became unavoidable, and each captain was ordered to make the necessary arrangements to ensure this happened. With the exception of Captain van Gennep of the *Middelburg*,

FIGURE 33: Porcelain recovered from the *Middelburg* (1781).

A: Vase.
B: Lid.
C: Teacup.



A

B

C



however, the Dutch captains and crews failed to obey this order, treating their time in Saldanha Bay more like a holiday, with rounds of socialising and hunting.

Late in May, another French frigate, the *Serapis*, arrived at the Cape with word that both French and English fleets were en route to the Cape – the former to strengthen the Dutch defences and the latter to take the Cape, if possible. After an indecisive skirmish off Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands, both fleets had disengaged and sailed south as fast as they could. The French, under the flamboyant and brilliant Admiral Pierre André de Suffren, reached the Cape first on 21 June 1781, and within days, French troops had been deployed to assist the Dutch in the defence of Cape Town. De Suffren then anchored his fleet in False Bay awaiting the arrival of the English.

The English fleet, under the more pedestrian Commodore George Johnstone, was also nearing the Cape. But unknown to the Dutch, Johnstone had decided to take his huge fleet into Saldanha Bay to reconnoitre, with a view to possibly landing his troops there instead of nearer to Cape Town. His fleet was large, consisting of the battleships *Hero* (74 guns), *Monmouth* (64 guns), *Romney* (50 guns), *Jupiter* (50 guns) and *Isis* (50 guns), the frigates *Apollo* (38 guns), *Jason* (36 guns), *Active* (32 guns) and *Diana* (28 guns) and some twenty other supporting vessels including four troop transporters carrying three thousand soldiers. Thirteen East Indiamen also sailed with the fleet for protection.

Meanwhile, at Saldanha Bay the repairs to the *Held Woltemade* had been completed and in an ill-advised decision, the ship was allowed to leave the bay and continue its voyage to the East. On 4 July, shortly after leaving Saldanha Bay, it was approached by a 32-gun warship flying French colours. The vessel hailed the crew in French when they came within earshot and the unsuspecting captain of the *Held Woltemade* disclosed that De Suffren was lying in Simonstown and that a fleet of Dutch East Indiamen were anchored in Saldanha Bay.

The crew of the *Held Woltemade* then watched in horror as the French flag was lowered and replaced with the English colours on the mast of what was in fact the HMS *Active*, one of Johnstone's frigates scouting ahead of the main body of the fleet. The *Held Woltemade* struck its colours without a fight and in addition to the valuable strategic information he had obtained, the captain of the *Active* was probably delighted to discover that his prize was carrying a fortune in bullion.

Armed with the intelligence provided by the *Active*, Johnstone, at the helm of the *Romney*, sailed into Saldanha Bay ahead of his fleet on 21 July 1781, his vessels again flying French colours. The bored Dutch sailors were initially jubilant, mistaking the English vessels for the long-awaited reinforcements due to escort them home, but they soon realised that the expected, pre-arranged signal had not been given and then saw the French flags being hauled down and English colours run up instead. Followed by the *Jason*, *Lark*, *Jupiter* and the rest of the squadron, the *Romney* opened fire on the anchored Dutch ships. The Dutch hastily tried to fire their ships and cut their cables to run the vessels ashore before abandoning ship. The English crews, however, were prepared for firefighting and quickly extinguished the fires as they boarded the abandoned vessels.

On the *Middelburg*, however, the first mate, Abraham de Smidt, stayed behind after the rest of the crew had abandoned ship and, together with the steward and a sailor, lit several fires deep in the belly of the ship. The vessel was soon fiercely ablaze, and when the flames reached the powder magazine, it exploded and sank. The *Middelburg* was the only Dutch vessel in Saldanha Bay that day not to fall into English hands. The loss of six Indiamen and their cargoes, and a number of other small vessels, must have been a serious financial blow to the already struggling Dutch East India Company and may well have been one of the factors that contributed to its eventual bankruptcy in 1796.

Another loss experienced that day was by Le Vaillant. On the morning of the attack, he was out hunting with one

of the local farmers when upon hearing 'the noise of the cannon, I naturally concluded that some entertainment was given by our squadron; and I hastened back to partake of it. When I arrived at the Downs, what a spectacle did I behold!' He arrived just in time to see the *Middelburg* go up in flames and explode and 'in a moment the sea and sky were filled with burning papers. I had thus the cruel mortification of seeing my collections, my fortune, my projects and all my hopes rise to the middle regions and evaporate into smoke'.

All that remained now was for the English to mop up. The four surviving Indiamen were refloated and scattered pieces of the *Middelburg's* cargo were collected. Even the packet ship carrying the sails for the entire East India fleet was captured intact. Johnstone was eager to get his prizes away from the Cape and after assigning prize crews to the East Indiamen, he despatched them to St Helena. Three were lost in a severe storm en route and only the *Hoogkarspel* and *Paarl* made it back to England.

Modern salvage attempts

In 1788, shortly after the loss, the first attempt to salvage material from the wreck of the *Middelburg* was made by Gerrit Munnik, a burgher of Cape Town. He managed to recover a few pieces of porcelain from the wreck which lay in shallow water near Hoedjiespunt. A century later, in 1888, a Captain Teague recovered large quantities of tin and porcelain, and in 1895 a diver working for Captain Lea and Charles Adams recovered about 300 pieces of porcelain.

The site was severely damaged in 1906 and 1907 during expeditions under Captain Charles Gardiner of the South African Salvage Association, when explosives were used, ostensibly to kill a huge octopus, but more probably to break up concretion covering the wreck.



FIGURE 34: Reg Dodds

These salvage attempts recovered three cannons, a good deal of porcelain, tea chests, and a host of other materials.

The most recent and last salvage attempts were undertaken in the late 1960s by the Dodds brothers of Cape Town (Figure 4). Their work revealed that the *Middelburg's* timbers were still in good condition and that because of the protected environment in which it sank and the sand covering the site, much of the lower hull was intact. They recovered 198 intact pieces of porcelain (Figure 33), but found that much of the remaining ceramic material on the site had been broken by Gardner's use of explosives.

Sadly, the site has never been properly recorded, and no known site plan has ever been produced. After the Dodds brothers worked on the site, Portnet built a breakwater between Hoedjiespunt and Marcus Island and the wreck of the *Middelburg* now lies buried beneath the beach that has subsequently accreted due to the building of the breakwater and may also partially lie under the breakwater itself. This modern construction may have placed one of our best-preserved shipwrecks beyond the reach of salvor and archaeologist, alike.

Modern oral history

Reg Dodds (Figure 34) was interviewed as part of this project. He and his brother, Billy, worked extensively salvaging the wreck in 1967/68. They had been in the Saldanha Bay area for a few years working in the abalone and crayfish industry, but then became interested in wrecks and so invested in a boat (Figure 3), compressor and airlift and started to work on the site of the *Middelburg*. The wreck is now covered by a breakwater but at the time it was shallow, at a depth of around 4 to 6 metres. They found the wreck by hand-fanning over the site and his brother found a few cups and saucers quite easily. The structure was not showing, but was very close to the surface of the sand. They exposed the whole wreck, which was approximately 25 metres long, with a lot of the structure remaining, including an intact deck which they excavated from the side. Reg said that they



FIGURE 35: The Dodds brothers reviewing their finds.

found a lot of broken porcelain which was a result of previous salvage attempts, but he believes that more of the wreck remains beneath the sand which should have more intact artefacts. The brothers donated quite a lot to the local museums from the wreck and he also has good photographic and written records.

Archaeological significance

This wreck has the potential to contain a wealth of information although access could be difficult as it now lies partially buried under a modern breakwater.

HOOP (1784)

As summarised from Belder 2018.

Ship's biography

Built in 1772 at a shipyard in Zaandam, the flute ship the *Hoop* had already made one voyage to Archangelsk in the White Sea when it was purchased for 49,000 guilders by the Chamber of Amsterdam in 1773. It had a length of 136 feet and a burden of 800 tons. For the VOC, the *Hoop* made a number of return-voyages between the Dutch Republic, the Cape, Ceylon and Batavia. In 1780, it would make its last outward voyage when it left Texel, only never to return. In its final three years, it served a more local purpose, plying between Batavia and ports on the north coast of Java.

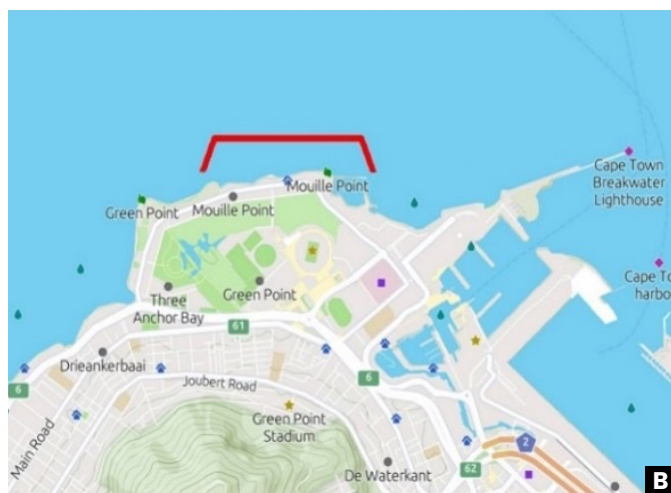


FIGURE 36: The wrecking area of the *Hoop* (1784) shown in red on contemporary and modern maps.

A: 1787 map of Cape Town.
B: 2018 map of Cape Town.

It commenced its last long voyage on 15 December 1783, when it was sent back to the Cape. It arrived in Table Bay in the second half of April, but was found to be in a bad state and it came to light that the cargo had become damaged due to the intake of seawater and mechanical damage from sailing the rough seas. Some cargo was even missing, the value of which

exceeded the VOC's set limit of acceptable losses, the cost of which had to be borne by Captain Sijbrand Sax and the first officer.

On 16 June 1784, the *Hoop* was sent to False Bay to take over a cargo of heavy pitch pine beams from the *Vrede en Vrijheid* – a flute chartered by the VOC under the neutral flag of Prussia due to the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, also sailing under the guise of *Kroonprins van Pruisen*. Belder explains that “as soon as the ship was at sea it was discovered that it was already leaking badly” (Belder 2018: 16), while a low draft in a south-easterly wind made it impossible to get the vessel further down south to False Bay. The *Hoop* was then first directed towards Saldanha Bay as the adverse winds had rendered it difficult to return to Table Bay directly. Nearing Saldanha Bay, the winds suddenly ceased and the *Hoop* drifted near the southern entrance point known as *Stompen Hoek*. The wind and weather then improved, allowing the men to sail back towards Table Bay. On 7 July, Table Bay was finally reached, although entering the bay was prohibited due to dying winds (Figure 37).

Then, in the early morning of 8 July 1784, the ship was pushed into Table Bay by “strong currents and a heavy western swell” (Belder 2018: 16), positioning the vessel in between Robben Island and Lion’s Head. With the absence of wind, the vessel was pushed further and further towards the shore. Captain Sax ordered the dropping of three anchors, but all three anchors were lost, while the vessel had meanwhile already hit a rock on which one of the anchor ropes had snapped. The *Hoop* was then driven onto the rocks near Mouille Point and was smashed to pieces (Figure 36). All but one crewman managed to get off safely.

Perspectives on significance

The wreck and cargo that had washed ashore was sold at a public auction on 20 July 1784. Belder concludes that the last fact must mean that wreckage material no longer exists, but there is, of course, a slight chance material could have been preserved under the sediments.

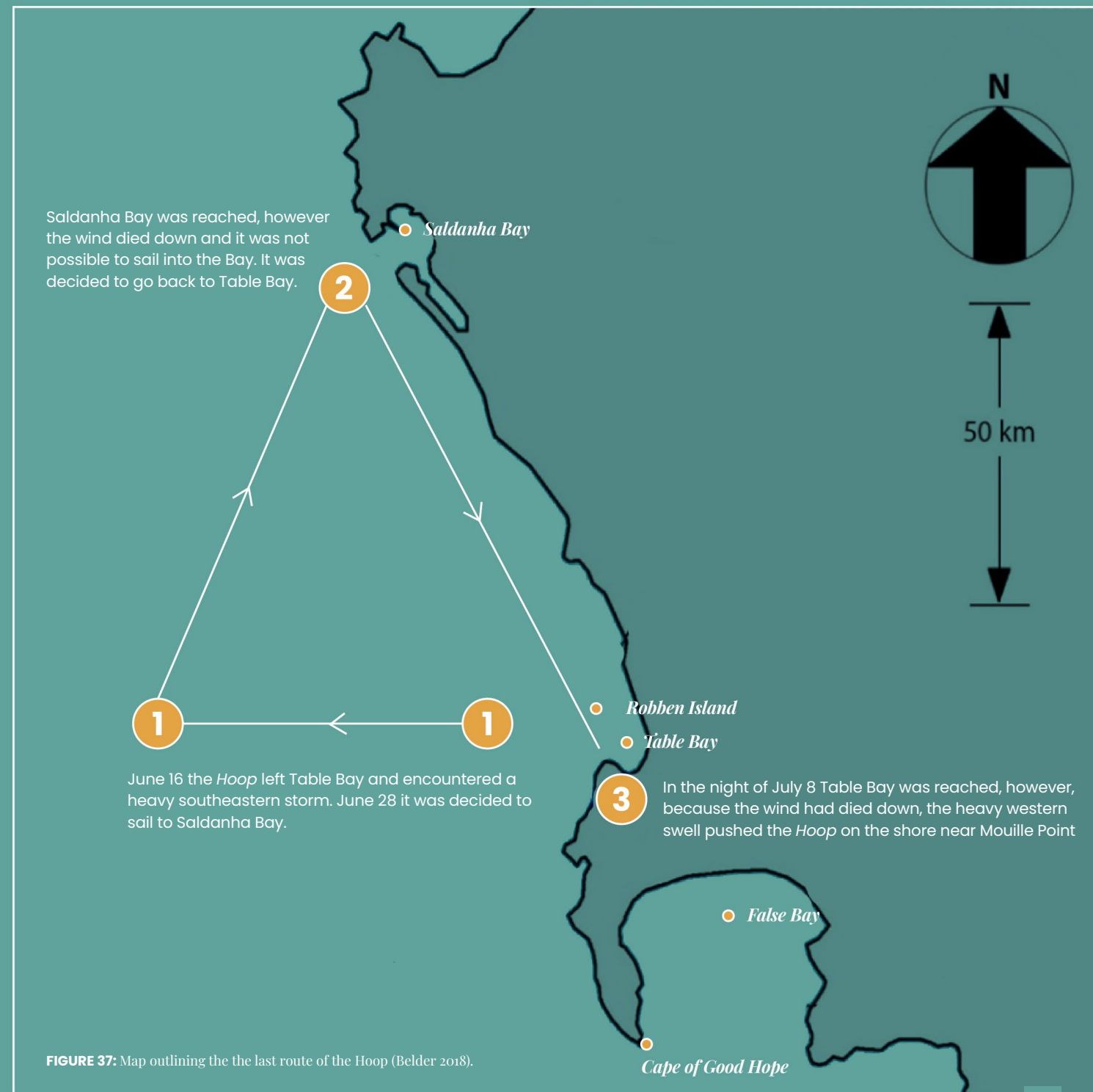


FIGURE 37: Map outlining the the last route of the *Hoop* (Belder 2018).

BREDERODE (1785)

As summarised from Gribble and Athiros 2008.

The *Brederode* was built and launched in 1780, a ship of the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC. The ship displaced 1150 tons and was typical of the later eighteenth-century East Indiamen – round-bellied ships with capacious holds running along two of the decks.

On 26 July 1783, the *Brederode* left Texel in northern Holland on its second, and what would prove to be its last voyage. Commanded by Gotlieb Mulder, the ship arrived in Table Bay four months later to take on supplies. It was carrying passengers and a cargo of silver. On 9 January 1784, the *Brederode* sailed again, bound for the Company's headquarters in Batavia in Indonesia, where it arrived on 24 September. The ship spent four months in the East, taking on a cargo of tea, silk, satin, linen, rhubarb, anise, tin, and porcelain. It is possible that the cargo may also have included a small quantity of gold.

The *Brederode* departed for Europe on 27 January 1785 and enjoyed an uneventful trip until it approached Cape Agulhas. At sunset on 3 May 1785, Agulhas was sighted to the northwest, about five miles away. With a south-easter blowing, Mulder decided to maintain his course to the west and set only the small sail for the night. At one o'clock the following morning, when they next took their bearings, those aboard the ship noted that they had passed Cape Agulhas, but that they were now within 2.5 miles of the coast. More sail was made, and an hour later they could no longer see the shore in the darkness, but it was clear to those at the wheel that the vessel was being pushed towards the shore by a strong current.

As the helmsmen battled the current which kept pushing the bow round, the vessel hit a reef, without anyone on duty having seen any surf or breakers in the sea. The ship struck hard on this blinder, four times in quick succession, and then floated off. A quick assessment of the damage revealed that the rudder was gone and that there was already six feet of water in the hold. Fearful of further rocks, the linemen sounded the bottom and found a depth of 45 to 48 fathoms (22 to 24 metres)

below the vessel. They had hit a completely uncharted rock pinnacle, at least 1.5 miles offshore.

The order was given to man the pumps, and to ensure that they did not get blocked, and as much gunpowder as possible was lifted from the hold and dumped overboard. Despite the crew's best efforts, however, the water continued to rise in the hold. Mulder then decided that they should try and run the ship ashore on a suitable beach; in that way, at least ensuring that some of the Company's goods might be salvaged. By this stage though, the vessel was so deep in the water that its head would not come around, and it wallowed along on a course directly out to sea.

It was becoming clear to all aboard that they would probably going to have to abandon the ship. When the water in the hold reached ten feet, the *Brederode's* boats were put over the side before it was too late to launch them. During this time the crew tried, without success, to turn the ship's head towards the shore.

By 4 a.m. the water in the vessel had risen to over 14 feet and to make matters worse, the weather was changing. The *Brederode* was starting to roll heavily in the rising sea, and the small boats were in increasing danger of being stoved in. At 4.30 a.m., Mulder gave the order to abandon ship.

In the dark, the crew hastily clambered into the boats and cast off from the *Brederode*. As dawn came, however, those in the boats saw signals being made from the ship, and when a count was made it was realised that 12 of the 92 crew members had been left behind. The captain felt there was no possibility of going back to fetch these unfortunates, as the boats were already a good distance from the ship. Instead, he made the strange decision that after they had landed those already in the boats, they would return for those still on the ship.

As it turned out, however, when the boats made landfall near Struis Bay at about 10 o'clock that morning, they were thrown so high onto the beach by heavy surf that

it proved impossible to launch them again. Those still aboard the *Brederode* were abandoned to their fate and never seen again.

Once ashore, Mulder and the rest of the survivors contacted a local farmer, Jan Otto. He arranged for them to be taken to the Cape, where they arrived on 8 May whereafter Mulder and his officers made a report to Governor Van der Graaf. Because no fault could be found with their actions, and no blame laid against them for the loss of the *Brederode*, a berth was secured for them on a French vessel returning to Europe. They were sent home to report on the loss of their vessel to the Directors of the VOC. The hearing found that Mulder had failed to adhere strictly to the VOC's sailing instructions and ruled that he was responsible for the loss of his vessel. His punishment was dismissal from the service of the Company.

Archaeological significance

For years, what happened to the *Brederode* after it was abandoned, remained a mystery as the wreck had never been found. Then in 1998 a group of divers located a deep-water wreck off Cape Agulhas that fitted the *Brederode's* description. From the evidence of this find it appears that the *Brederode* drifted on for some hours after it was abandoned before eventually slipping beneath the waves.

It seems that the vessel sank slowly in more than 60 metres of water and came to rest on a sandy bottom, on a more or less even keel.

There, with the passage of time, sand built up against the hull, possibly burying more than a third of it. In the semi-darkness, the masts, upper works and decks gradually disintegrated and were carried off by the strong Agulhas current. As a host of marine organisms made a meal of its decks, the guns and bell toppled onto the seabed. Following a period of early, rapid decomposition and destruction of particularly organic remains like wood, however, the wreck of the *Brederode* reached a state of equilibrium with its oxygen-depleted environment and the decay virtually ceased.

FIGURE 38: Artefacts from the *Brederode* (1740).
A: Newspaper article in the Pretoria News 2000.
B: Porcelain teacups and saucers.



So today, there is, sealed in the sand, a portion of the hull with the cargo still packed as it was on the day it was lost. In the bow and stern areas, it is likely that if the wreck was ever excavated, one could encounter the well-preserved remains of a variety of storerooms, probably still packed with the stores and tools they originally housed.

On other parts of the wreck, the *Brederode*'s cargo of Chinese porcelain peeps through a layer of sand, tightly packed in neat rows, still in the remains of its original crates. As an example of the archaeological potential of this wreck, these crates alone carry a wealth of information not available elsewhere, such as whether the porcelain was indeed packed in tea as some written sources suggest, what the crates were made of, how they were constructed, and what markings they carried. Likewise, the in-situ material from other parts of the wreck, frozen in time like a snapshot of late eighteenth-century maritime life, waits to answer the host of questions that archaeologists will pose to it.

The wreck of the *Brederode*, although not accompanied by as spectacular a story as many others on our coast, is nonetheless perhaps one of our richest and most important maritime archaeological sites. The degree of preservation of the hull and its contents is unprecedented.

Like other maritime archaeological sites, this wreck is a fragile, and non-renewable cultural resource which we, as South Africans, must protect and conserve, not only for our benefit, but on behalf of the people of the world.

Modern salvage attempts

In the second half of the 20th century, several salvors initiated searches for the wreck of the *Brederode*. The intention was to recover the cargo of porcelain and tin and dispose of it for commercial gain. The wreck was finally located and identified in 1999 by Charlie Shapiro who found it 12 km off the coast lying in 65 metres of water. Initial exploratory dives revealed that crates of intact porcelain (Figures 7B, 38 and 39), cannons, the



FIGURE 39: The remains of the cargo of the *Brederode* (1740) still with teacups packed neatly in their create on the seabed.

ship's bell and other structural features were visible on site.

After protracted negotiations, the National Monuments Council and a consortium represented by Mr Shapiro, entered into an agreement for the excavation of the wreck and a permit for the work was issued. At the time, the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969 was still in place which allowed salvage for financial gain. For reasons related to the internal politics of the consortium, the permit for the work was withdrawn without any site work being undertaken. The introduction of the NHRA later in 1999, saw a change in the legislation which meant that private individuals could no longer salvage shipwrecks for commercial gain. Without the promise of financial gain and due to the expense of operations, interest in an archaeological excavation of the site waned. No further work has been legally undertaken on the site since 1999.

Modern oral history

The *Brederode* has had very little legal work undertaken on it and there is a concern amongst the divers we spoke to that illegal work is being undertaken on the wreck and that this could damage it. While everyone understood the difficulties accessing and working on the site, it was felt that something needed to be done to try and assess

the condition of the wreck and to protect it in the future. Charlie Shapiro, in particular, was very passionate about the wreck and wanted to do further surveys and work on it, but he passed away before he was able to. There is apparently quite a lot of information and photos about the wreck in his private collection.

A recent multibeam survey of the site was commissioned by SAHRA which established that the wreck was (at the time of the survey in 2022) lying buried under a layer of sand. The wreck has a very low profile on the seabed resulting in extensive sand coverage, although the layer of sand did not allow for clear images of the condition of the wreck, it does help protect the remains of the shipwreck and its cargo.

5.2 Information gathered about Dutch Admiralty vessels

HOLLAND (1786)

Ship's biography

The *Holland* was a Dutch Admiralty 68-gun ship-of-the-line of approximately 1,150 tons built in 1783. Not much is known about this vessel, but it seems that it was under the command of W Silvester and with a crew of 92 men when, whilst attempting to enter False Bay with a fleet of warships, it struck a reef on the evening of 11 May 1786 and became a total wreck. Eight lives were lost.

Modern oral history

Although not extensively salvaged, a number of people interviewed as part of this project had dived on this site and removed a small number of artefacts. During the interviews, it was reported that the wreck lies in a small bay off Olifantsbos Point on the Cape Peninsula. It was assumed by the diver to be that of the *Holland*. This is reasoned as cannons were seen lying on rocks in rows with big cannon balls lying nearby in a conglomerate. There were also some large muzzleloaders. Amongst the rocks was a relatively large amount of wooden remains and it looked like the cannon balls were lying as if in wooden racks. There were also a lot of lead pieces,

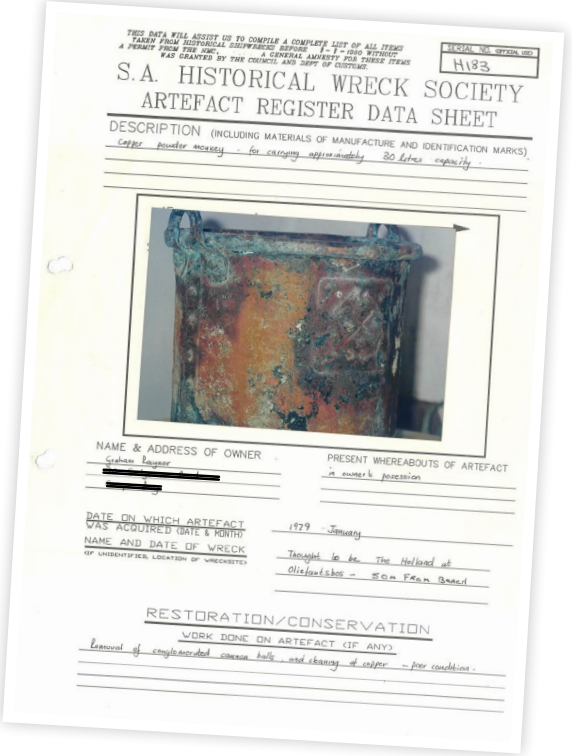


FIGURE 40: Bronze powder monkey from the site of the *Holland* (1786).

bronze nails, and lots of gun flint lying amongst the rocks. The size and number of cannons suggested to the finder that this was not a normal merchant ship, but rather a naval vessel, however, there has been no further work done to positively locate and identify the wreck. Some of the artefacts recovered were recorded during a wreck amnesty in the early 1990s. These records are held by SAHRA and include photos of some of the finds from this site, including pewter items, glass bottles, copper nails and a copper powder monkey (Figure 40). The *Holland* is a site SAHRA aims to investigate further in the near future.

BATO (1806)

Ship's biography

The *Bato* was a 74-gun Dutch ship of the line built in 1784 in the Rotterdam shipyards and served as part of the East India squadron. It travelled between Cape Town and the Dutch colonial capital Batavia, situated in modern Indonesia. The *Bato* first visited the Cape in late 1802 from

Batavia and later returned to the Cape from Batavia. It was in poor condition due to stormy seas and extreme weather conditions on its voyage back, thus hacking the ship and rendering it unfit for another voyage. After its final voyage it was deemed unseaworthy and turned into a floating battery to defend Simons Town (Figure 41A).

The 6th of January 1806, saw the start of the Battle of Blaauwberg with the Dutch trying to defend the Cape from occupation by the British. Once defeat to the British became inevitable, the Dutch ordered the *Bato* to be burned, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. On 8 January 1806, the *Bato* was set alight and burned.

Modern salvage attempts

In the 1980s, the *Bato* wreck was used as a training site for the South African Navy Divers. The ship's guns were removed during a diving exercise and relocated to below the Quayside Hotel. The wreck is situated close to shore near Long Beach in Simon's Town and is a popular dive site. It is easily accessible as a shore dive as it lies in shallow waters ranging in depth from 3 to 4 metres (Figure 41B). There have been numerous projects and studies of the wreck in recent years, including an archaeological investigation and two master's degree research projects.

Modern oral history

There have been numerous permits issued for work on the *Bato*, mainly for pre-disturbance surveys and archaeological sampling. The wreck was excavated as a joint venture between Bruno Werz and a Hungarian company called Octopus. It produced a relatively small artefact collection, now held at Iziko Museums (Figure 41C and 47C) and the excavation records are held by SAHRA.

A thesis has been done as part of a master's degree (Mollema 2015) which involved a lot of thorough archival research done at the Dutch archives.

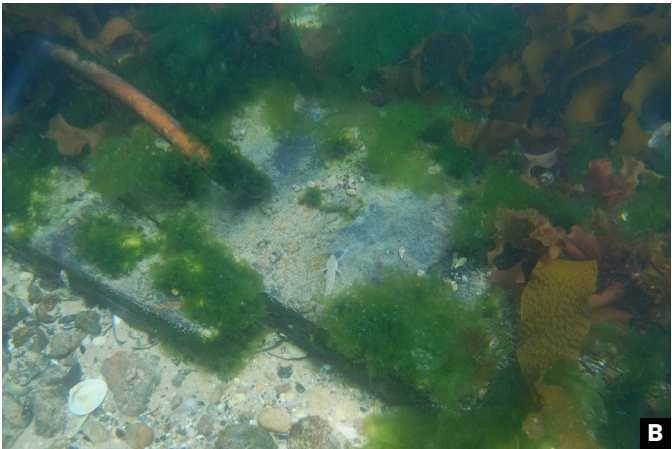


FIGURE 41: The *Bato* (1806) images and artefacts.
A: Engraving of the wrecking of the Brunswick showing a Dutch vessel on the left which is possibly the *Bato*.
B: In Situ hull remains.
C: Artefacts recovered from the site.

AMSTERDAM (1817)

Ship's biography

The *Amsterdam* was an 80-gun Dutch Navy warship built in Amsterdam in 1806. It was originally called *Leeuw* but after a refit in 1814 was renamed *Amsterdam*. It was on a return journey from Batavia to the Netherlands in 1817 when it hit a fierce storm which ripped apart the sails and broke the masts which resulted in damage to the hull, and it started leaking badly. On reaching Algoa Bay, a small boat was used to land the women and children on board, as well as the ship's papers.

With 220 men still aboard, and fearing that the vessel would founder, the captain ran it ashore a little before dusk, about halfway between the mouths of the Zwartkops and Coega Rivers. Three men were lost, but 217 reached the shore safely. During the night of 19 to 20 December, the vessel broke up in the surf, but practically nothing came ashore. The survivors found themselves in great distress, until given assistance by the magistrate at Uitenhage, and officers from Fort Frederick. The captain feared he might be court-martialled for losing company property, but instead was acknowledged for saving most of the crew. The name Amsterdam Hoek comes from the wrecking of the *Amsterdam*.

It is reported that a table made from the wood of the *Amsterdam* is housed at Cuyler Manor Museum in Uitenhage. Sources also say that the captain of the *Amsterdam* was a South African, Hermanus Hofmeyr, son of the founder of the Hofmeyr family in the Cape, and an uncle of "Onze Jan" Hofmeyr, the famous Cape Statesman.

Archaeological significance

In May 1985, a large piece of wreckage washed open on the beach at Bluewater Bay in Algoa Bay after a high spring tide and strong winds (Figure 42). A team from the then Port Elizabeth Museum (now the Bayworld Museum) along with local divers, visited the site to determine the correct course of action and to see what information could be gained about the identity of the wreck. There were ribs noted further up the beach high in the dunes which were exposed at the time, but subsequently have not been seen. It was assumed that they were from the same wreck, but this cannot be said



with any certainty. Due to the instability of the site and the fact that vandals were quick to saw off parts of the vessel, the decision was made to excavate and remove the piece and take it to the museum.

The hull section was dug out and lifted by crane onto a truck where it was covered in foam to keep it wet. It was taken to the museum where a shed was built around it and it was sprayed with water as polyethylene glycol was too expensive. After seven years, and partly due to a drought, they gradually reduced the spray and let the piece dry out, despite worries about the wood shrinking. Once it was totally dry, the piece was put on display at the museum.

Modern oral history

Jenny Bennie from the museum oversaw the excavation and conservation of the wreck. When interviewed, she indicated that they did not find any artefacts during the excavation and she suspected that most of the ship was salvaged at the time. Some flotsam does wash up from time to time on the beach, including sherds of porcelain. There were three iron cannons recovered at the time of the *Amsterdam* excavation. One is in Uitenhage and was nearly stolen in 2016. The other two came up on auction in Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha) in the 1990s and the museum tried to buy them for R1 000 but was vastly outbid and they eventually sold for R69 000. The buyer apparently intended to put them on the gate at his house in Johannesburg. The presence of teak on the outer hull indicated that the section on display in the Bayworld Museum was from the *Amsterdam* as the records show that the ship was fitted out with a layer of teak planking to help protect the hull from marine boring worms which are common in warmer waters.

An octant was found on the beach (see figure 43 above where Jenny Bennie is holding the octant) around 2012

in the area when the *Amsterdam* washed open. Research shows that it is of the same time period of the *Amsterdam* and could therefore be associated with the wreck.

VROUW IDA ALEIDA (1818)

Ship's biography

The *Vrouw Ida Aleida* was on a return journey from Batavia to Amsterdam when it wrecked near Muizenberg in November 1818. It ran into a storm just outside of Algoa Bay which destroyed part of the poop deck and damaged the ship. The ship was taking on water and the crew threw seven cannons overboard to lighten the vessel. Repairs were made to the ship, but further bags of rice were jettisoned to lighten the load and hopefully enable a safe passage to a harbour.

The ship sailed into False Bay and in his report, the captain stated that he mistook Muizenberg for the corner of Simon's Bay. Before he had a chance to correct the course of the ship, it beached. They tried to save the vessel, but the anchors dragged, further damaging the poop deck resulting in the ship taking on more water. The captain and crew abandoned ship in small boats. There were no casualties. Over the following few days, attempts were made to salvage some of the cargo, but they were largely unsuccessful due to the dangerous sea conditions. After a short time, the wreck settled well into the sand and was completely covered at high tide.

Modern oral history

A salvage permit was issued in the early 1990s for the *Vrouw Ida Aleida* although it appears that the wreck was not located. Limited work was undertaken due to bad sea



FIGURE 43: Jenny Bennie

conditions and pollution in the area.

Maritime archaeologist Jonathan Sharfman (Figure 44) did a small amount of research into the location of the wreck and he thinks it is possible that it is further towards St James/Kalk Bay, rather than by Muizenberg where most people have been looking. It was reportedly transporting pieces/artefacts from Batavia intended for a museum in Amsterdam. Another interviewee stated that they found a small Buddha type statue in the sea by Muizenberg which could be from the wreck, but this cannot be confirmed.

ZEEPAARD (1823)

Ship's biography

The *Zeepaard* was a Dutch Royal Navy corvette built in 1819 in Amsterdam. It was on a voyage back to the Netherlands when it encountered bad visibility off the coast of the Eastern Cape. The ship hit a reef in Sardinia Bay, just west of Algoa Bay, striking with such a force that the masts and rigging came crashing down. With no signs of imminent rescue, the passengers and crew tried desperately to reach the shore. A few rafts were made, but these soon broke apart. A small boat was freed by a few of the desperate men, but landed upside down in the water. A few of the men in the boat drowned, but others climbed onto the keel and managed to reach the shore. Many swam out clinging to pieces of timber, but most were washed ashore in an unconscious state. The women and children on board struggled to find safety on the stricken vessel and one of the naval officers was badly injured while two passengers were crushed to death. Eventually, one of the boats was righted and they were able to ferry the passengers to shore. The sick and



FIGURE 44: Jonathan Sharfman

the injured were first, followed by the women and children before the rest of the crew were taken to safety. In total, six members of the crew and two passengers died during the incident. The survivors managed to scavenge provisions from amongst the washed-up wreckage before they were found and taken in by local farmers.

Modern salvage attempts

In the 1980s a salvage permit was awarded to David Allen, a local diver, although it is unclear how much work he did on the wreck.

Modern oral history

One of the people interviewed for the project, Malcolm Turner (Figure 45), dived extensively on the wreck of the *Zeepaard* and did some salvage work on it in the 1970s and 1980s. The reef at Sardinia Bay is shallow and there is a gully on the reef which leads into the lagoon (Figure 46C). Malcolm Turner suggested that, lying within the bay, there are approximately eight iron carronades with large bores scattered across the lagoon with a couple also lying on the outside of the reef.

Some bronze cannons have been removed from the site. One is reportedly in Prince Alfred's drill hall in a little museum there, another is in the Sacramento Restaurant at Schoenmakerskop, and a further cannon is in a private collection. Two of the cannons were removed by helicopter in the 1970s, one of which is in the Bayworld Museum (Figure 46E). Artefacts removed from the wreck include ceramics, bottles, coins, cannons, and a silver tiara which was worn by one of the salvor's daughters at her wedding (Figure 46D). As far as it is known, the iron cannon and anchors are still lying on the reef and some can be seen at low tide.



FIGURE 45: Malcolm Turner



FIGURE 46: Artefacts from the *Zeepaard* (1823).
A: Brass name plate.
B: Pistol (restored).
C: Location of the wreck in Sardinia Bay.
D: Silver tiara/hairpiece.
E: Carronade at Bayworld Museum, Gqeberha.



6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose and objectives for this project were to gather oral histories and other information about the modern salvage on Dutch historical shipwrecks in South African waters, as well as to gather additional archival information on the wrecks subject to salvage, along with several other wrecks that have not yet been found.

To establish if these objectives were achieved, we need to consider the different aims of the project that were used as the fundamental backbone of the research and the questions posed to the people who were interviewed.

6.1 Objective: Identify historical Dutch wrecks in South Africa that have been subject to modern salvage activities or recovery during the last 50 years

Many of the wrecks that were targeted as part of this project were already known to the research team. Some of these wrecks already had an extensive history of salvage, whilst others were referred to in historical records but have not been found or identified in the modern era. While the archival research of the Dutch records, undertaken by the students from Leiden University, did not necessarily add to the information regarding the salvage of the wrecks, it was a significant contribution to the information on the ships; Construction history, cargos, logged journeys, and wrecking information, as well as the impact they had on past South African and Dutch societies had not been included in SAHRA's inventory of these sites previously. . It is worth noting that the wrecking and physical location derived from the historical records did not always correlate. The South African coast was not very well mapped during the early voyages. Place names,

landscape descriptions, and time between the wrecking event and the entry into the records all contributed to errors being made. A further source of error is that some vessels had their name changed or the spelling changed which led to some confusion; for example, the difference in the Dutch spelling of the names of ships, and the English spelling of the same ships, led to multiple records for the same vessel in some instances.

In the early days of the NMC, a salvage permit could only be issued if a name for the wreck was provided. This required salvors to assign a name to a wreck even if it had not been positively identified. This practise no doubt led to a few misidentified sites in the past as salvors were in a hurry to obtain a permit. An example of this is the wrecks of *Rodenrijs* and *Oosterland* in Table Bay which, due to their proximity to one another, and the eagerness on the part of salvors to assign a name for permit purposes, had different permits, under different wreck names, issued for the same location. This also had the potential to cause confusion and consternation amongst salvors who were at pains to lay claim to a wreck.

Another unknown was the extent to which salvage had been undertaken on individual wrecks or by whom. Some wrecks such as the *Merestein*, *Vis*, and *Reigersdaal* were salvaged extensively by many different parties, mainly because they were relatively accessible and because they were known to have rich treasure troves of artefacts. In this instance, where many people worked on the dive site without any regulations, it is hard to gather much information about the site itself or the artefacts that were removed. Often these artefacts were taken off-site, and most were sold for profit, donated to museums, or kept in personal collections. Once the artefacts are scattered around like this, it is nearly impossible to keep track of everything, especially with very little recorded information.

We can therefore say that this project did not necessarily identify previously unknown salvaged wreck sites, but rather added to our knowledge of the extent of work undertaken on Dutch shipwrecks.

6.2 Objective: To identify and engage those involved in salvage or archaeological work on Dutch wrecks in South Africa and create an archive of oral and other information about the sites and the activities that took place on them

Arguably the main aim of the project was to engage with those who had experience of working on the identified wrecks. In total, during the interview phase of this project, the researchers spoke to twelve individuals, five of whom are academics or archaeological specialists, and seven salvors. Some parties remained reluctant to engage with the authorities for a project such as this, but those who agreed to be part of the research were the ones who had the most involvement in the targeted wrecks.

The reluctance to speak to authorities stems from the disenchantment surrounding the promulgation of the NHRA in 1999. This effectively put an end to salvage work for financial gain. In some cases, salvors had been making a living from salvaging wrecks and to have their livelihood taken away overnight caused a degree of resentment. Salvors were particularly unhappy about the fact that without the intervention and work done by them, very little would be known about the wrecks as salvors were the only ones who had the means to do the work and the ones who provided information to the museums. It is further believed that the current blanket ban on salvage has led to an underground network of illegal work and black-market sales being conducted in secret, resulting in the loss of historical information. All of this contributed to limitations in the data gathered since rumours and prevailing resentment no doubt influenced the amount and nature of information provided to those conducting interviews.

During interviews it became apparent that whilst the salvors were happy to cooperate to a certain extent, there was still some withholding of information. In some instances, the interviewees admitted to this. There was a sense that the past distrust of SAHRA led to the belief that

there may have been an ulterior motive for this project, one which may lead to future problems. Salvors are very protective and proud of the work they have done and what they achieved and do not want to see this discredited in any way. This reluctance to disclose all the work they had done could be due to the sensitive nature of the sites and not wanting other salvors to know what they had been up to or, in some cases, keeping the secrets of their fellow salvors. It was noted during some of the interviews that there was a reluctance from the participants to show all the artefacts they had in their private collection. Again, this is likely due to their distrust of the authorities and a fear that there might be an attempt to seize these treasured artefacts to place them in a museum.

Despite some initial trepidation, and after reassurance from the researchers, the conversations became more relaxed and in general flowed very well. New information was divulged to the researchers as well as verification of known sites or information. The standout feature was the storytelling that often accompanied the wreck information. The tales of what went on “back in the day”, personal stories shared, and other information on the work done on the sites, often give new insights into salvage work that might not otherwise have been recorded.

Overall, the interviews were successful in establishing a rapport with the participants and helped to restore communication between the different parties. The information gathered can be used to inform possible future research on the shipwrecks and the artefacts recovered from them.

6.3 Objective: To create an inventory of the extent and whereabouts of collections of artefacts from salvaged or researched Dutch wrecks in South Africa

An objective of the project was to gather information about artefacts recovered from the salvaged vessels and, if possible, to create an inventory of what was found and where it is held.



FIGURE 47:

A: An image depicting the wrecking of the *De Jonge Thomas* (1773).

B: The stolen *Reigersdaal* (1747) cannon.

C: Stoneware bottle from the *Bato* (1806).

As was allowed by law at the time of the discussed salvage operations, the artefacts recovered from the wrecks were divided between the museums and the salvors, with protracted negotiations often taking place. In general, the museums tried to obtain type samples of items such as porcelain, tin, coins, and other pieces of historical interest. The salvors were interested in the items that they could sell for a profit as well as the more interesting items such as jewellery and coins. This bias led the researchers to suspect that recording and collection of items of archaeological value, but which were not necessarily commercially valuable, may have been neglected by salvors to an extent. Where numerous examples of artefacts were available, the bulk of these were sold as neither museums nor salvors were interested in keeping multiples of the same item.

The coastal museums around South Africa were contacted to enquire whether they had artefacts from Dutch wrecks within their collections and, if so, the names of the sites and details of the collections. The two museums with the largest collections are the Iziko Museum of South Africa and the Shipwreck Museum in Bredasdorp. The full list of museums with relevant collections are listed in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Museums housing artefacts from Dutch wrecks

Museum name	Location	Collection
Hout Bay	Hout Bay, Western Cape	Het Huis te Craijestein
Iziko Museum	Cape Town, Western Cape	Numerous, mainly from Table Bay and Cape Peninsula areas
Shipwreck Museum	Bredasdorp, Western Cape	Numerous, mainly from Southern Cape region
Simon’s Town Museum	Simon’s Town, Western Cape	Small collection
Bayworld Museum	Gqeberha, Eastern Cape	Amsterdam and Zeepaard
East London Museum	East London, Eastern Cape	Bennebroek

During interviews with participants who had worked on Dutch wrecks, it was established that most had a small private collection of artefacts that had personal importance to them. Many had interesting stories about how or why they had kept these items, be it the first find from a wreck or more personal stories, such as one participant whose daughter had worn an item of jewellery recovered from a wreck as part of her wedding outfit. These more meaningful items formed the basis of most of the private collections shown to the research team.

SAHRA holds the records of an amnesty which happened in the 1990s where private individuals were encouraged to share the information about the artefacts that they held in their collections without worry of it being seized by the authorities. This was done by filling out a form with the relevant information and attaching a photo of the artefact. These files are in paper form and efforts are being made to have them scanned and digitised.

It became apparent that it is very difficult to keep track of artefacts once they have been taken into private hands as there is not often a record of who owns them or if they have changed hands, therefore it is nearly impossible to get an accurate idea of the amount or type of artefacts in private collections. It is also worth noting that some museums do not have an accurate list of what they hold in their collections, or if they do, it is often written in an accession book and has not been transferred to a digital format. This can inhibit collection research.

6.4 Objective: To gather primary historical data about salvaged or researched Dutch wrecks in South Africa at archives in South Africa and the Netherlands, including contributions by students at Leiden University

The master’s degree students from the interdisciplinary archaeological and historical course ‘Sunken Treasures’ gathered historical data from several South African wrecks in the Dutch National Archives. By doing so, they greatly contributed to knowledge of the ships, their travels, and the events surrounding their wrecking. Occasionally the students found contemporary accounts of salvaging of goods, the people on board the ships, and the way the wrecking was handled by the authorities in the Netherlands, as well as in South Africa. The papers the students produced have formed the basis of some of the wreck descriptions in this report. The information derived from their papers is also included in the MaSS database.

6.5 Objective: Add information gathered as part of the project to the SAHRA MUCH unit database and GIS

The MUCH unit database is a constantly growing resource. It is augmented and updated on a regular basis as new information becomes available. This information comes from a variety of places including public information, desk-based investigations, and research projects such as this one.

6.6 Objective: Add to the RCE’s Maritime Stepping Stones public database (MaSS).

Detailed records on each wreck investigated have been created on the MaSS database. The links to each wreck’s MaSS entry are shown in Table 2 in the digital version of this publication and can also be accessed via mass.cultureelergoed.nl.

Summary of conclusions

One aspect of the discrepancies between fact and fiction in the stories of Dutch wrecks is that, due to the tense relationship between heritage managers and salvors over the years, the stories of these sites have often been one-dimensional. The information gathered through this project’s activities has helped to contribute to producing a detailed history of many of the wrecks investigated, using a combination of archival records, administrative records such as permits and reports, and first-hand accounts of work done on Dutch wrecks in South African waters recorded during interviews.

Importantly, the use of several sources and a multi-disciplinary approach to research has helped to provide a more holistic synthesis of the histories of salvaged and researched Dutch shipwrecks in South Africa. The most successful aspect of this project was the re-establishment of communications between ex-salvors and heritage authorities. Despite reservations on the part of some interviewees, the oral history component of the project succeeded in producing more complete records of sites and artefacts. Some salvors remain suspicious of SAHRA and nostalgic for the days before the promulgation of the NHRA when commercial salvage was allowed with some conditions. Their negative feelings towards SAHRA and, to an extent, this project, have no doubt resulted in certain data limitations and the project team feel that further efforts may lead to even more complete information.

The fact that the people involved in heritage management in South Africa have changed during the last 20 years, and the time which has passed since the new legislation came into effect, made gathering information through

interviews easier. Some salvors now actively wish to share their experiences and knowledge to add to heritage conservation rather than keeping their past projects a secret. These slowly evolving attitudes could help to pave the way for more open communication and less hostility between heritage managers and salvors going forward. It is important to continue to work together to record as much of our maritime history as possible before this information is lost forever. Perhaps this method of research can be used as a template to explore wrecks of other nationalities.

During the interviews and discussions with the participants of the project, it became clear that there were numerous avenues to explore in the future, possibly as a more in-depth study. The focus areas for further research are to:

- Conduct follow-up interviews with those interviewed to as part of this project;
- Interview other people suggested by the project participants who may have been involved in, or have knowledge of, work undertaken on wrecks;
- Obtain detailed information on artefact collections – this may involve tracing private collections or visiting museums to review and photograph wreck artefacts;
- Access photos or videos from salvage operations or projects, and digitise them;
- Access site plans, site diaries, or logbooks of salvage operations or projects, and digitise them;
- Work to improve the accuracy of wreck coordinates through ground-truthing and surveys; and
- Conduct in-depth study of wrecks and areas that may hold potential for further investigation.

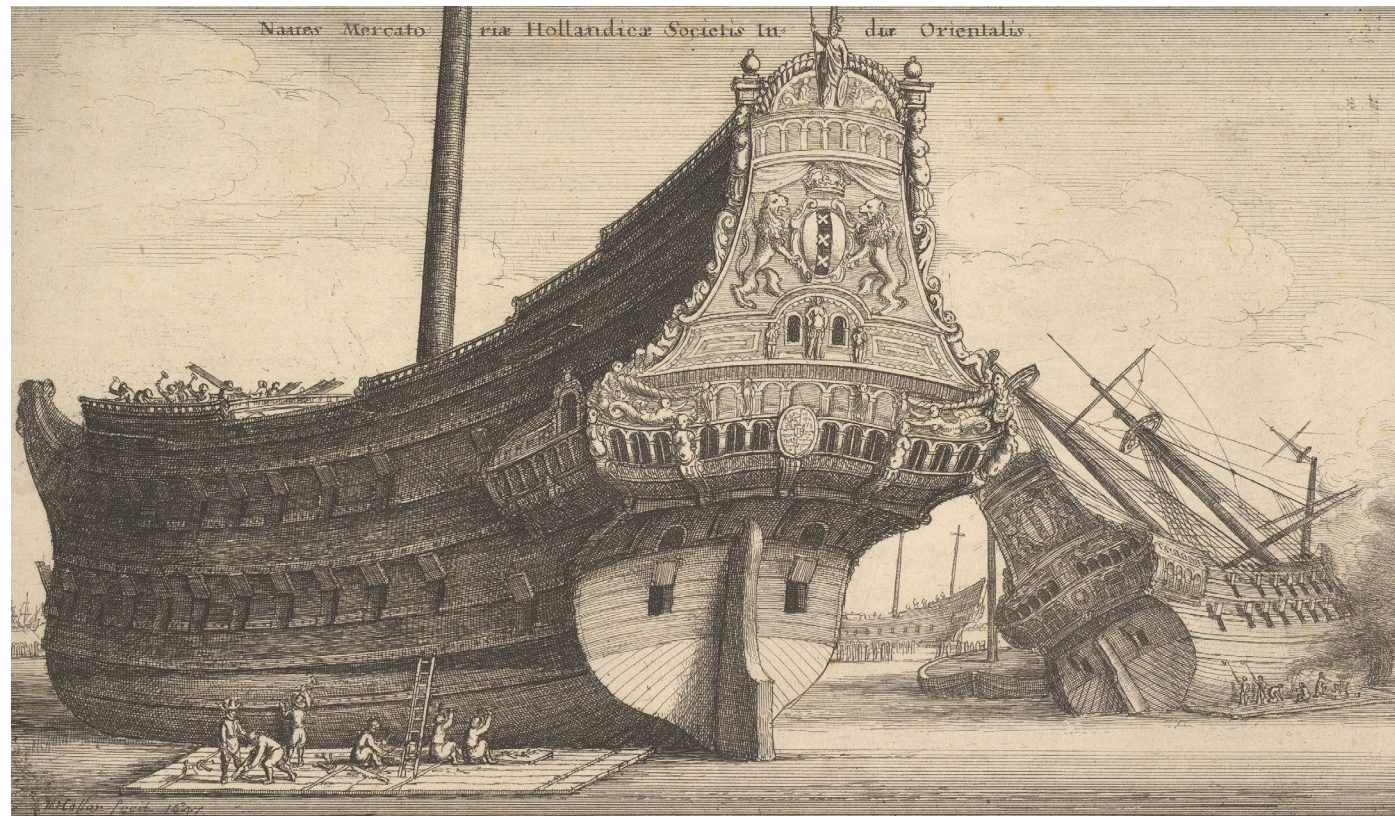


FIGURE 48: Etching of a Dutch East Indiaman.

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, G. and Allen, D. 1978a. *The Guns of Sacramento*. Robin Garton. London.

Allen, G. and Allen, D. 1978b. *Clive's Lost Treasure*. Robin Garton. London.

Auret, C. and Maggs, T. 1982. The Great Ship São Bento: remains from a mid-sixteenth century Portuguese wreck on the Pondoland coast. *Annals of the Natal Museum* 25(1): 1–39.

Belder, B., 2018: *The significance for South Africa and the Netherlands of the wrecking of the flute ship the Hoop*. Unpublished paper.

Bell-Cross, G. 1980. Research Policy on Shipwrecks. *South African Museums Association Bulletin* 14(1&2): 39–44.

Berends, J.J.H. 2019: *Finding out about the Goede Hoop: A Dutch VOC ship in the late seventeenth century*. Unpublished paper.

Boshoff, J. 2013. Maritime Archaeology in South Africa. In: Smith, C., (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*: 5794–6802. Springer. New York.

Boshoff, J. 2018. *The Search for the Slave Ship Meermin. Developing a Methodology for Finding Inter Tidal Shipwrecks*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. University of South Africa.

Burger, G., 2018: *De ramp van De Vis (1740): Een Oost-Indiëvaarder van schip naar wrak in het kader van het gedeelde verleden van Nederland en Zuid-Afrika*. Unpublished paper.

Burman, J. 1976. *The Bay of Storms: The story of the development of Table Bay 1503–1860*. Human and Rousseau. Cape Town.

Cawthra, H.C., Compton, J.S., Fisher, E.C., Machutchon, M.R., and Marean, C.W. 2016. Submerged shorelines and landscape features offshore of Mossel Bay, South Africa.

In: Harff, J., Bailey, G. and Luth, F. (eds). *Geology and Archaeology: Submerged Landscapes of the Continental Shelf*. 411: 219–233. Geological Society, London. London.

Deacon, J. 1993. Protection of historical shipwrecks through the National Monuments Act. In: *Proceedings of the Third National Maritime Conference, Durban 1992*. University of Stellenbosch. Stellenbosch.

De Vroomen, O.R., 2019: *Robben Island and maritime cultural heritage. The VOC vessels the Gouden Buys and the Dageraad in South Africa and Robben Island's application for inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List*. Unpublished paper.

Dijkman, A.E., 2019: *Ramp van 21 mei 1737. Het verhaal van de grootste scheepsramp uit de VOC-geschiedenis*. Unpublished paper.

Dorst, E., 2018: *The Rotterdam, 1716–1722*. Unpublished paper.

Fick, J., 2018: *The Wrecking of the VOC-ship Stabroek and the changing Maritime Landscape of the Cape of Good Hope 1722–1743*. Unpublished paper.

Giardini, A., 2019: *Reigersdaal. The wreck of a Dutch East Indiaman on the west coast of the Cape in 1747*. Unpublished paper.

Gribble, J., 1998. Keeping Our Heads Above Water – the development of shipwreck management strategies in South Africa. *AIMA Bulletin* 22: 119–124.

Gribble, J. and Athiros, G. 2008. *Tales of Shipwrecks at the Cape of Storms*. Historical Media. Cape Town.

Gribble, J. & Sharfman, J. 2013. Maritime legal management in South Africa. In Smith, C., (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Global Archaeology*: 6802–6810. Springer. New York.

Herbert, E.J. 2016. *Resting in her light. Schonenberg 1722 & Meermin 1766*. ASAP Autism cc. Somerset West.

Idema, M. 2019: *Wolraad's Story, The Jonge Thomas 1765–present*. Unpublished paper.

Jobling, J. 1982. *The Arniston – 1815*. Unpublished report.

Leijh, H. 2019. *Nieuwe Rhoon: a ship biography*. Unpublished paper.

Leibbrandt, Rev HCV. 1896. Precis of the Archive of the Cape of Good Hope. *Journal* 1699–1732, pp. 187–189.

Lightly, R.A., 1976. An 18th century Dutch East Indiaman, found at Cape Town 1971. *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* (1976), 5.4: 305–316.

Maggs, T. 1984. The Great Galleon *São João*: remains form a mid–sixteenth century wreck on the Natal South Coast. *Annals of the Natal Museum* 26(1): 173–186.

Manders, M. and van der Haar, L. 2021. Rooswijk 1740. Uitgeverij Balans, Amsterdam.

Marsden, P. 1976. The Merestein, wrecked in 1702 near Cape Town, South Africa. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 5:3, 201–219.

Meltzer, L. 1984. The treasure from the shipwreck Reigersdaal (1747). *Bulletin of the South African Cultural History Museum*. 5: 5–19.

Mollema, I. 2015. *Technology and Empire: Comparing the Dutch and British Maritime Technologies during the Napoleonic Era (1792–1815)*. Unpublished master's thesis. East Carolina University.

Mollema, I. 2017. Technology and Empire: Comparing the Dutch and British Maritime Technologies during the Napoleonic Era (1792–1815). In Harris, L. *Sea Ports and Sea Power: African Maritime Cultural Landscapes*. Switzerland. Springer. 43–54.

Negrón, R. 2018. *The Schotse Lorrendraaier*. Unpublished paper.

Sharfman, J., Boshoff, J., and Parthesius, R. 2012. Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage in South Africa: The Development of Relevant Management Strategies in the Historical Maritime Context of the Southern Tip of Africa. *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 7(1): 87–109.

Sharfman, J. 1998. The Oosterland GIS: applying aspects of geographical information systems to maritime archaeological project. Unpublished Master's Thesis. University of Cape Town.

Te Velde, H. 2018. *Verbrand en gezonken te midden van Europeanen en Khoikhoi: de sociaaleconomische context van het galjoot de Nagel, kustvaarder van de VOC-buitenpost in de Saldanhabaai, 1685–1712*. Unpublished paper.

Turner, M. 1988. *Shipwrecks and Salvage in South Africa: 1505 to the Present*. C Struik. Cape Town.

Van Andel, T.H. 1989. Late Pleistocene Sea Levels and the Human Exploitation of the Shore and Shelf of the Southern South Africa. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 16(2): 133–155.

Van Helsdingen, M.L.A., 2019: *The Muskaatboom and its perilous last voyage of 1664–1665*. Unpublished paper.

Werz, B.E.J.S., 1992. The excavation of the 'Oosterland' in Table Bay: the first systematic exercise in maritime archaeology in southern Africa. *South African Journal of Science* 88(2): 85–89.

Werz, B.E.J.S. 1999. Diving up the human past: Perspectives of Maritime Archaeology, with specific reference to developments in South Africa until 1996. J & E Hedges. Oxford.

Werz, B.E.J.S. and Flemming, N.C. 2001. Discovery in Table Bay of the oldest hand axes yet found underwater demonstrates preservation of hominid artefacts on the continental shelf. *South African Journal of Science* 97(5): 183–185.

Werz, B.E.J.S., 2009. *The Shipwrecks of the 'Oosterland' and 'Waddinxveen' 1697*, Table Bay. Zulu Planet Publishers. Johannesburg.

Werz, B.E.J.S. 2018. *The Haarlem shipwreck (1647): The origins of Cape Town*. UNISA Press. Pretoria.

8. ONLINE RESOURCES

Maritiem Museum Rotterdam,
<https://www.maritiemdigitaal.nl/index.cfm?event=search.getdetail&id=100132686>, Accessed online, 07-06-2023.

Stichting Maritiem–Historische Databank,
<https://www.marhisdata.nl/schip?id=12603>, accessed online, 07-06-2023.

Stichting Maritiem–Historische Databank,
<https://www.marhisdata.nl/schip&id=12312>, accessed online, 07-06-2023.

The Dutch East India Company's shipping between the Netherlands and Asia 1595–1795,
http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/index_html_en, accessed online, 20 August 2020.

9. APPENDIX:

WRECK INFORMATION SHEETS

AMSTERDAM

Date lost:	16 December 1817
Place lost:	Amsterdamhoek near Bluewater Bay, Algoa Bay
Ship Type:	Wooden 80 gun warship
Commander:	Hermanus Hofmeyer
People onboard:	220
Casualties:	3

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The Amsterdam was built in 1804 and refitted in 1814. The ship left Batavia on 29th October bound for the Netherlands, on the journey it was demasted at sea and started leaking badly but managed to reach Algoa Bay on 16th December 1817 despite being in a bad condition. The vessel had only one boat left which was used to land the women and children on board, as well as the ships papers. Still with 220 men aboard, and fearing that the vessel would founder, the captain ran the ship ashore a little before dusk, about halfway between the mouths of the Zwartkops and Coega Rivers. It started to break up badly, 217 people managed to reach the shore but unfortunately three men were lost.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	Bayworld Museum, Gqeberha
Material on display:	Timbers of the ship reconstructed to form part of the hull, dead-eyes and an octant.

Work undertaken on wreck

A rescue excavation was undertaken in 1985 when a section of ship’s hull washed up on the beach in Algoa bay near to where the Amsterdam was wrecked. A dyke was built on the seaward side of the wreckage to protect it from the tide and then the piece was excavated by hand, ultimately it was larger than expected so a digger helped uncover the remainder of the piece that is now on display in the museum. Higher up on the beach in the dunes were exposed ribs assumed to be associated with the wreck, they have subsequently not been exposed again. The piece was put in storage and sprayed

with water for 7 years, the spray was gradually stopped and the whole section was allowed to dry out. No artefacts were found with the wreckage. There were three iron cannon recovered at the time from the *Amsterdam* excavation though it is not clear where they are now (this indicates that they were not recovered by the museum). An octant was found in about 2012 on the beach near where the Amsterdam came from, so it is assumed to be from that wreck as research shows it is of the same period.

BATO

Date lost:	9 January 1806
Place lost:	Long Beach, Simon’s Bay
Ship Type:	Man-O-War, 74 guns
Tonnage:	800

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Bato* was a 74-gun Dutch ship of the line built in 1784 in the Rotterdam shipyards. It served as part of the East India Squadron and travelled between Cape Town and the Dutch colonial capital, Batavia, situated in modern Indonesia. During the final voyage, the *Bato* was deemed unseaworthy and was turned into a floating battery to defend Simon’s Town. On 6 January 1806, the Battle of Blaauwberg commenced with the Dutch trying to defend the Cape from occupation by the British. Once defeated by the British, it became inevitable that the Dutch ordered the *Bato* to be burned rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. On 8 January 1806, the *Bato* was set alight and burned.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	Iziko Museums, Cape Town
-------------------------------	--------------------------

Work undertaken on wreck

In the 1980s, the *Bato* wreck was used as training site for the South African Navy Divers. The ships guns were removed during a diving exercise and relocated below the Quayside Hotel. The wreck is situated close to shore near Long Beach in Simon’s Town and is a popular dive site. It is easily accessible as a shore dive as it lies in shallow waters ranging in depth from 3 to 4 metres. There have been numerous projects and studies of the wreck in recent years including an archaeological investigation lead by Bruno Werz and a Hungarian company called Octopus, and two master’s degree research projects.

BENNEBROEK

Date lost:	16 February 1713
Place lost:	Mtana River, East Coast
Ship Type:	Frigate (East Indiaman)
Tonnage:	800
Commander:	Jam Hes
People on board:	150
Casualties:	146

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The vessel was disabled in a gale while homeward-bound from Ceylon and ran aground in broad daylight, breaking up immediately. Many lives were lost but 57 Europeans and 20 Malabar enslaved people got ashore; unfortunately, the rest drowned. The survivors started walking to Cape Town, but most turned back after reaching an unfordable river. Of those that did continue south, only one (some sources suggest five) enslaved person reached the Cape alive on 26 February 1714. Those who turned back, lived near the wreck until June 1713, trading iron and copper for food with the locals. When this supply was exhausted, they made another attempt to reach the Cape, but after several weeks the survivors – 7 Europeans – found refuge with a friendly group of local people.

On 4 September 1714, a 28 ft English decked boat reached Cape Town from Delagoa Bay with four of the survivors on board. They had been found living in a local village near the mouth of a river. A subsequent six-month search by the *Postlooper* for the wreck and remaining three survivors, was unsuccessful.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:

- Iziko Museums, Cape Town
- East London Museum

Material on display: Porcelain sherds – East London

Work undertaken on wreck

Salvage work was undertaken by Peter Sachs, and some material was given to Jane Klose at UCT to study, which was then passed on to Iziko Museums. A catalogue of artefacts was written by Jane Klose and SAHRA has a copy.

BETSY AND SARAH

Date lost:	19 April 1839
Place lost:	West of Cannon Rocks, Cape Padrone, Eastern Cape
Ship Type:	Barque
Tonnage:	900
Commander:	Blaaupot
People on board:	51
Casualties:	19

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

It was on a homeward voyage from Batavia with a cargo of sugar, arrack and coffee as well as general cargo. The vessel encountered a heavy storm and drifted onto Bird Island and from there came free and drifted onto the mainland west of Bushmans River. The captain and 18 crew drowned.

Work undertaken on wreck

Salvage work was undertaken by M Saunders in 1986 to 1987. The site was located by a magnetometer. A large group of approximately 13 cannons and a large anchor were found, all lying together.

BREDERODE

Date lost:	3 May 1785
Place lost:	Off Cape Agulhas, Western Cape
Ship Type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	1150
Commander:	Gottlieb Mulder
People on board:	92
Casualties:	12

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Brederode* was a VOC ship on a return voyage from the Far East to the Netherlands. The vessel had left Batavia on 27 January 1785 with a cargo consisting of tea, silk, linen, spices, Chinese porcelain, tin and gold. On 3 May 1785, it struck a reef off Cape Agulhas and despite efforts from the crew to save the ship, it was eventually abandoned. The captain and 79 of the crew reached the safety of land, but unfortunately 12 sailors were lost.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: • Iziko Museums, Cape Town

Work undertaken on wreck

In the second half of the 20th century, several salvors initiated searches for the wreck of the *Brederode*. The intention was to recover the cargo of porcelain and tin and dispose of it for commercial gain. The wreck was finally located and identified, in 1999, by Charlie Shapiro who found it 12 km off the coast lying in 65 metres of water. Initial exploratory dives revealed that crates of intact porcelain, cannons, the ship’s bell and other structural features were visible on site.

After protracted negotiations, the National Monuments Council and a consortium, represented by Mr Shapiro, entered into an agreement for the excavation of the wreck and a permit for the work was issued. At the time, the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969 was still in place which allowed salvage for financial gain. For reasons related to the internal politics of the consortium, the permit for the work was withdrawn without any site work being undertaken. The introduction of the NHRA, later in 1999, saw a change in the legislation which meant that private individuals could no longer salvage shipwrecks for commercial gain. Without the promise of financial gain and due to the expense of operations, interest in an archaeological excavation of the site waned. No further work has been legally undertaken on the site since 1999.

DAGERAAD

Date lost:	20 January 1694
Place lost:	Robben Island, Table Bay
Ship Type:	Cape Packet
Tonnage:	140
Commander:	Jan Tak
People on board:	75
Casualties:	16

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Dageraad* ran aground in thick mist on Robben Island in the early morning of 20 January 1694. It was en route to Cape Town after salvaging 17 chests of specie from the *Gouden Buis* which wrecked in St Helena Bay. Only three chests were recovered at the time.

Work undertaken on wreck

There were numerous contemporary salvage attempts to try and recover the specie, although they were not successful. The most famous attempted salvage was undertaken in 1728 by the notable salvor, John Lethbridge, but with little success. A permit was applied for in 1983 and was initially issued by the NMC, but it was then cancelled as the prison service did not approve. The wreck apparently lies on the Southern side of the island. There is a lot of secrecy surrounding the wreck and people are not willing to share if they have worked on it or at its location. There are stories that it was found and worked on and most of the coins are gone. There are reports that in 1995 to 1996, approximately, 11 tons lead was removed from the site.

GOUDEN BUIS

Date lost:	19 October 1693
Place lost:	St Helena Bay, West Coast
Ship Type:	East Indiaman
Commander:	Teunis Baanman
People on board:	190
Casualties:	186

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The vessel was outward bound to the East, having sailed from Enkhuizen on 4 May 1693, with 190 men aboard. On 19 October it was forced to anchor in St Helena Bay because there were not a dozen men fit to man the ship. The rest of the crew were dead or dying of scurvy. Seven crewmen landed to seek assistance, of whom five died of hunger. One, Daniel Stillman, was found by the local Khoikhoi bands and taken to the Company post at Saldanha Bay. The seventh crewman was eventually found after wandering about for seven weeks.

The yacht, *Dageraad*, was dispatched from Cape Town to help. Upon arriving in St Helena Bay, it was found that the Gouden Buis had dragged its anchor and drifted ashore and could not be saved. The vessel lay in ten feet of water. Only one man remained alive on board, but he died soon after.

The Company's treasure, 17 chests of (gold?) specie, was removed and taken back to Cape Town aboard the *Dageraad*, only to be lost when it wrecked on the shores of Robben Island in thick fog. Most of the other cargo on board was salvaged by other local vessels and taken back to the Cape.

The position may be 20 km north of St Helena Bay / 12,8 km north of the Berg River mouth.

Work undertaken on wreck

Research was undertaken by Dutch archaeologists to try and locate the wreck, but it was unsuccessful. A further survey was done, but the wreck was not located.

HET HUIS TE CRAIJESTEIN

Date lost:	27 May 1698
Place lost:	Oudekraal, Cape Peninsula
Ship Type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	1154
Commander:	Jan de Vijver
People on board:	275

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

Wrecked in thick fog. No lives lost. Site depth is between 6 and 15 metres.

Collection information

- Museum where collection held:**
- Iziko Museums, Cape Town
 - East London Museum

Material on display: Cannon at Hout Bay Museum

Work undertaken on wreck

Salvage work was undertaken in the 1980s by R Wäckerle. Some mapping was done to show the locations of the anchors and cannon. It is a popular dive site. Reports from the site suggest that there were two or three millstones, some lead ingots found stuck in the crevices, as well as a few iron guns. There is an old CB Gorman diving pump lying on site in a gully. It is from when a dive boat turned over and the equipment tipped out. The wheels used to stick out of the sand and it had some old canvas rubber hose still attached to it. Some bronze guns were removed during the salvage work. The Atlantic Underwater Club used to take lead ingots off the site and sell them to buy a compressor. Salvors had a permit from the Customs Department. They had dived to the wreck and found a few hundred coins as well as two large bell jars full of coins.

HOLLAND

Date lost:	11 May 1786
Place lost:	Olifantsbos, Cape Point, Western Cape
Ship Type:	Navy Ship-of-the-line
Tonnage:	1150
Commander:	W Silvester
People on board:	92
Casualties:	8

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

Vessel was trying to enter False Bay together with a fleet of warships when it struck a reef on the evening of 11 May and became a total wreck. Eight lives were lost.

Work undertaken on wreck

It has been reported that there are artefacts from this wreck in a private collection. The work was not done under permit. The wreck possibly lies off Olifantsbos Point. A salvor reported that when he was snorkelling, he saw cannons, cannon balls, muzzleloaders, bronze nails and gun flints. He presumed it was the Holland as it looks like a huge Dutch warship. Another salvor mentioned that there was lots of wood and racks of cannon balls in the bay. There has been no further research or evidence to positively identify the wreck.

JUNO

Date lost:	2 March 1852
Place lost:	Cape Agulhas, Western Cape
Ship type:	Barque
Tonnage:	631
Commander:	W J Chevalier
Casualties:	5

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The Dutch barque, *Juno*, on a voyage from Banyuwangi to Dordrecht, carrying a cargo of coffee, sugar, tin and rattans, was wrecked in dense fog at the point of Cape Agulhas. It was lost in dense fog directly below the lighthouse. Five passengers drowned.

Work undertaken on wreck

Some artefacts are on display at the Shipwreck Museum in Bredasdorp. It has been reported that there are also artefacts from this wreck in a private collection. The work was not done under permit.

MEERMIN

Date lost:	22 February 1766
Place lost:	Struis Bay, Western Cape
Ship type:	Hoeker – Slave ship
Tonnage:	450
Commander:	Gerrit Mulder
People on board:	53 crew, 140 enslaved people
Casualties:	24 crew, 28 enslaved people

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

Wrecked after mutiny by captives who tried to take control of the vessel.

In 1765, the vessel was sent from the Cape to Madagascar to procure enslaved people and managed to purchase 140 people of both sexes. During the return passage to the Cape, the skipper, Gerrit Mulder, removed their irons, and on 18 February 1766, the supercargo gave them some assegais to polish. The enslaved people used this opportunity for mutiny, killing the supercargo and the rest of the deck watch – 24 men. The remaining 29 members of the crew were locked in below decks.

After two days, through the mediation of a female enslaved person, it was agreed that the crew would not be harmed if they returned the enslaved people to Madagascar. They were allowed back on deck, but instead of setting course for the island, they made for Cape Agulhas. Four days later, land was sighted, and while still some miles from the shore the enslaved people ordered the anchors to be dropped and went ashore in the longboat and pinnace, promising to light fires ashore should everything be safe.

On landing, they saw the nearby house of Matthys Rostock and realised that they had been deceived. The local farmers all banded together and when the enslaved people refused to surrender, they attacked them, killing 14 and capturing the rest. Meanwhile, those aboard the *Meermin* were getting impatient when the boats failed to return. Members of the crew wrote messages describing the situation, placed them in bottles and dropped them overboard. Two of these messages washed ashore and were picked up. They asked that three fires be lit on the shore. When the enslaved people aboard saw the fires, they cut the cables and took the *Meermin* close inshore. Six then went ashore in a canoe but were surrounded immediately after they landed. One was shot and the rest captured.

Seeing what had happened, the enslaved people still aboard the vessel set upon the crew, who defended themselves until the vessel ran aground. The enslaved people then surrendered. In the end 112 enslaved people reached the Cape. The *Meermin* could not be refloated and went to pieces where it struck.

Work undertaken on wreck

An archaeological survey and test excavation was undertaken in 2006 to 2007 by a maritime archaeologist. Numerous anomalies and pieces of wreckage were found although none were thought to be from the Meermin.

MERESTEIN

Date lost:	3 April 1702
Place lost:	Jutten Island, Saldanha Bay
Ship Type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	826
Commander:	Jan Subbing
People on board:	199
Casualties:	100

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The ship was on an outward-bound journey from Holland with a large cargo of Spanish and Dutch coins, which were to serve as pay for troops and staff at the Cape. It ran into heavy surf while trying to enter Saldanha Bay on the evening of 3 April 1702, struck the south-western tip of Jutten Island and went to pieces within an hour.

Most of the crew were lost, along with two women and five children, who were aboard as passengers bound for the Cape. 99 people reached the shore. Some reports suggest 100 lives were lost.

In 1997, a cast-iron cannon, probably from the *Merestein*, was found ashore near the wreck site on the island.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Iziko Museums, Cape TownShipwreck Museum, BredasdorpSimon’s Town Museum, Simon’s TownCastle of Good Hope, Cape TownMuseum Africa, Johannesburg
Material on display:	Coins at the Shipwreck Museum, Bredasdorp

Work undertaken on wreck

Some salvage work was undertaken in 1971. Much of the specie the vessel was carrying was salvaged by divers, as well as a bronze cannon and a cargo of 125 kg lead.

Further salvage work was undertaken in the 1980s by Reg Dodds and Malcolm Turner who had obtained a permit from the NMC. They recovered mainly coins from the site with a few lead ingots. They reported that there was initially not much to see, but by searching the seabed, artefacts did begin to appear. Reg was one of the first divers on the wreck and described it as a typical site with iron cannons lying in the gullies. Other salvors worked on it, possibly in the 1990s, and it was reported that a bronze cannon was removed.

Some artefacts were donated to various museums including Africana Museum in Johannesburg (now Museum Africa), the museum at the Castle of Good Hope, Simon’s Town Museum, and SACHM (Iziko Museums).

METEREN

Date lost:	7 November 1723
Place lost:	Near Olifants River, Western Cape
Ship Type:	Hoeker
Tonnage:	190
Commander:	W van Turenhout
People on board:	29
Casualties:	21

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

This small vessel was outward bound from Texel to the Cape to be used as a packet between Cape Town and Delagoa Bay, when it wrecked near Olifants River after dragging its anchors. Some sources suggest it was lost north of the Olifants River.

During the voyage, six of the 29 crew members died of scurvy, and when only ten men were able to work, the vessel anchored in a calm area close to the coast, a little north of the mouth of the Olifants River. A swell set in, it dragged anchors, was cast ashore and completely wrecked.

Five of the remaining crew drowned and 18 reached land, where the eight who could walk wandered about for 25 days before being found. The remaining nine are believed to have died of starvation or thirst.

The vessel was a small hoeker (190 tons) and was built by the Enkhuisen yard for the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC.

Collection information

- Museum where collection held:
- Iziko Museums, Cape Town
 - SAHRA private collection

Work undertaken on wreck

In 2001, SAHRA was alerted via a newspaper article, to the discovery of a number of artefacts found by diamond divers at a site on the northern coast of the Western Cape. The MUCH unit conducted a site visit and discovered that the artefacts had already been recovered by the divers who gave them to SHARA for safekeeping. No diving inspections were performed on site at the time of this visit as the shallow nature of the site and poor visibility at the time made diving operations difficult. The recovered objects were a small, badly abraded bronze swivel gun (later donated to Iziko Museums), lead sheeting with nail holes, decorated pewter knife handle and a number of yellow bricks thought to be Dutch “Klompie” bricks. Based on the presence of these “Klompie” bricks, it was postulated that the discovery might be the wreck site of the Meteren (1723), a Dutch hoeker that was transporting “Klompie” bricks from Texel to Cape Town, and was thought to have wrecked in the area.

In early 2023 the MUCH unit at SAHRA received a report that an undisclosed number of cannon had been discovered by divers undertaking diamond mining activities off the northern coast of the Western Cape. A subsequent site visit by the MUCH unit was conducted, 2 days were spent diving on site to find and survey the cannon. The site is shallow, approx. 2m, and it was established that 5 cannon were present on site covered in varying degrees of marine growth and are seemingly concreted to the rocks they are lying on. A number of the cannon appear to have broken muzzles. A site plan was drawn up and the cannons were measured and photographed (Figures 49–51).

Further research found historical reports of two small bronze swivel guns being recovered from the sand dunes by the beach in the 1960’s.

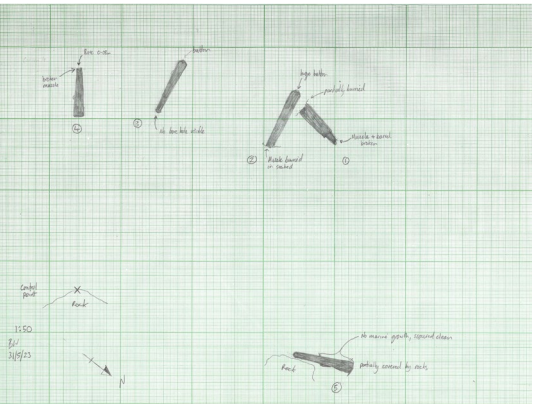


FIGURE 49: Site plan of the 5 cannons thought to be from the Meteren.



FIGURE 50: A cannon from the Meteren, note the broken muzzle.



FIGURE 51: A diver measuring the cascable end of a cannon.

MIDDENRAK

Date lost:	3 July 1728
Place lost:	Salt River mouth, Table Bay
Ship Type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	850
Commander:	Jan Subbing
People on board:	166
Casualties:	166

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

This VOC vessel was lying in Table Bay when, just after 3 p.m. on Saturday, 3 July 1728, its cables parted in a north-north-westerly gale and it was driven ashore just beyond the mouth of the Salt River. The storm and the raging surf made rescue attempts impossible. It held together during the day, but by the next morning had gone to pieces, and the remains were scattered along the beach.

All hands – 116 – were lost.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	Iziko Museums, Cape Town
Material on display:	Coins at the Shipwreck Museum, Bredasdorp

Work undertaken on wreck

Salvage work was undertaken under permit.

MIDDELBURG

Date lost:	21 July 1781
Place lost:	Saldanha Bay
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	1150
Commander:	Van Gennep

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

This VOC vessel was homeward-bound and lying at anchor in Table Bay when news was received of an English fleet heading for the Cape. On 13 May 1781, the *Middelburg*, four other homeward-bound East Indiamen and two local packets were sent by the Governor to shelter in Saldanha Bay.

The bigger vessels were anchored and stripped of their sails which were stored on board smaller packets at the other end of the Langebaan Lagoon, ready to be destroyed if the ships were captured. Each captain was instructed to load his vessel with combustibles, and if capture seemed likely, to set fire to his ship. Most of the Dutch commanders and crew did not take this order seriously and treated their time in Saldanha Bay as a holiday, socialising and hunting. Captain van Gennep of the *Middelburg* was the only officer to comply with these instructions by preparing his boat to be set alight.

At 9.30 a.m. on 21 July 1781, the English fleet of 33 ships, under the command of Commodore Johnstone, sailed into Saldanha Bay. His vessels were disguised by flying French flags. The bored Dutch sailors were initially jubilant, mistaking the English vessels for the long-awaited French reinforcements due to escort them home. They soon realised that the pre-arranged signal had not been given and they then saw the French flags being hauled down and English colours run up. The English fleet opened fire on the anchored Dutch ships and chaos reigned. The Dutch hastily tried to set their ships alight and cut their cables to run the vessels ashore before abandoning ship. The English crews, however, were prepared for firefighting and quickly extinguished the fires as they boarded the abandoned vessels.

Only the *Middelburg* was successfully burnt. The Chief Officer, Abraham de Smidt, aided by the steward and one seaman, set three fires in the hold, and waited to ensure they caught, only leaving the ship when the English were within cannon range. The flames spread through the hull and reached the magazine, whereupon the vessel exploded, and tea bales, cotton goods and timbers were hurled high into the air. The *Middelburg* then sank.

The French naturalist, François le Vaillant, later to become famous for his books on his travels in South Africa, had recently arrived in the Cape aboard the *Held Woltemade*. He had obtained an invitation from Van Gennep to sail on the *Middelburg* to Saldanha Bay and had taken all his possessions, including his priceless collection of natural history specimens, with him.

On the morning of the attack, Le Vaillant was out hunting with one of the local farmers and upon hearing gunfire, hastened back to the coast. He arrived just in time to see the *Middelburg* go up in flames and explode. Burman and Levin quote Le Vaillant’s reaction: “The *Middelburg* blew up and in a moment the sea and sky were filled with burning papers. I had thus the cruel mortification of seeing my collections, my fortune, my projects and all my hopes rise to the middle regions and evaporate into smoke.”

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Iziko Museums, Cape TownShipwreck Museum, BredasdorpSimon’s Town Museum, Simon’s TownCastle of Good Hope, Cape TownMuseum Africa, Johannesburg
-------------------------------	--

Work undertaken on wreck

Because the wreck lies in shallow water, some of the cargo was easily recovered some years later. More recently, a Cape Times article of 1906 reports on the activities of the South African Salvage Company 15 years earlier, and more recent diving activities. According to the article, the wreck is easily located, lying in about three fathoms (six metres) of water. When the water was clear it was possible to see the ribs of the ship sticking up out of the sand, and some of the wood recovered was in remarkably good condition.

Salvage work was undertaken on this vessel shortly after its sinking. Further work was done in the following years and in the early 1900s, explosives were used in an attempt to break up the concretion covering the site to try access the porcelain. In the 1960s and 1970s salvage work was undertaken by the Dodds brothers to recover pieces of intact porcelain. Reg Dodds reported that there was some intact hull structure remaining, but that the porcelain was broken due to the prior use of explosives. Some artefacts were donated to various museums including the Africana Museum (Museum Africa) in Johannesburg, the museum at the Castle of Good Hope, the Simon’s Town Museum, and SACHM (Iziko Museums). This wreck now lies buried under a breakwater.

NIEUWE RHOON

Date lost:	31 January 1776
Place lost:	Castle Jetty, Table Bay
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	1150
Commander:	J Coleders

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The vessel was homeward-bound and became severely damaged after it struck Whale Rock, near Robben Island whilst trying to enter Table Bay in a south-easterly gale. It was towed to Cape Town where the damage was assessed as severe. It was unloaded, stripped and scuttled/beached next to the castle jetty. The captain may also have been Jacob Kelders / Koelders.

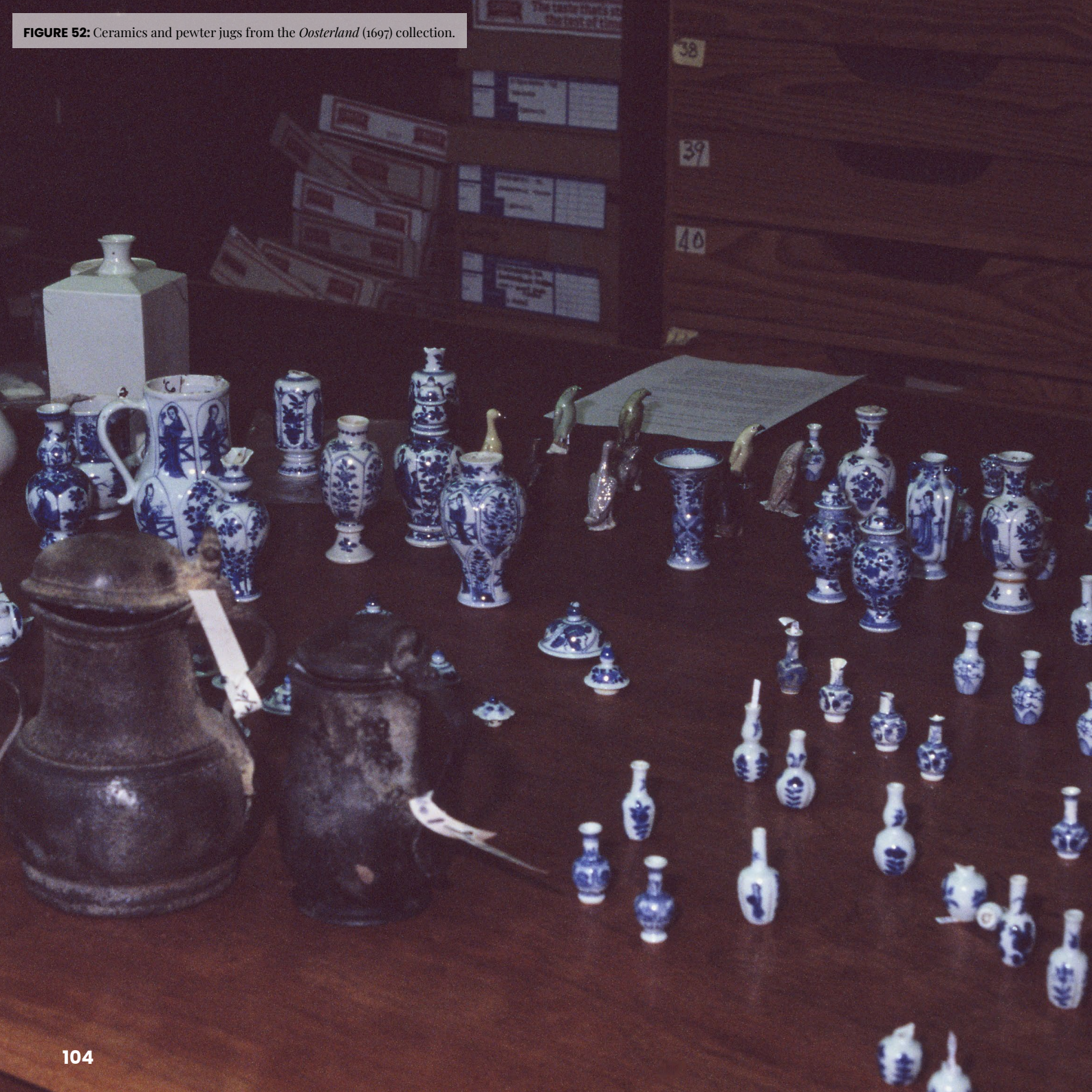
Collection information

Museum where collection held:	Iziko Museums, Cape Town
-------------------------------	--------------------------

Work undertaken on wreck

A wreck was discovered and excavated during the building of the Cape Town Civic Centre in the 1970s. It was recorded and excavated by Bob Lightly who then went on to identify it as possibly being the *Nieuwe Rhoon*. The Iziko Museum has the timbers, although the cannon balls were stolen. The timbers have not been conserved or studied. There are some small artefacts which were also recovered from the excavation and may be from the wreck.

FIGURE 52: Ceramics and pewter jugs from the *Oosterland* (1697) collection.



OOSTERLAND

Date lost:	24 May 1697
Place lost:	Table Bay
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	1123
People on board:	200
Casualties:	185

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Oosterland* was part of a fleet on a return journey from Sri Lanka. Many people aboard were sick and the fleet took anchor in Table Bay. A strong north-westerly wind arose and sea conditions worsened. The *Kallendijk*, another ship of the joint fleet, broke anchor early on the morning of 24 May, went adrift and rammed the stern of the *Oosterland*, severing the anchor cable. More anchors were dropped in an attempt to save both vessels. The drifting *Kallendijk* was fortunately brought under control, but the *Oosterland* snapped its cables again a few hours later and could not be saved. Within minutes the ship hit the shallows near the Salt River mouth and foundered with heavy loss of life. The *Waddingsveen* was lost during the same gale.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: Iziko Museums, Cape Town

Work undertaken on wreck

A joint excavation was done in the early 1990s by a maritime archaeologist and salvors who discovered the wreck. It was excavated over a number of seasons and large in-depth reports were produced. There was a lot of legal and illegal work undertaken on the wreck.

PADANG

Date lost:	29 June 1828
Place lost:	Muizenberg, False Bay
Ship type:	Barque
Tonnage:	450
Commander:	George Ogg
Casualties:	1

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

This vessel was carrying a cargo of coffee, rattans and spices when it went ashore on Muizenberg Beach at 10 p.m. and became a total wreck. An infant drowned. Then wreck is sometimes called the *Penang*.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: Iziko Museums, Cape Town

Work undertaken on wreck

The wreck was subject to a permit, but it seems that very little work was undertaken on the wreck except to establish the location and state of preservation.

REIGERSDAAL

Date lost:	25 October 1747
Place lost:	Dassen Island
Ship Type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	850
Commander:	Johannes Band
People on board:	297
Casualties:	282

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The vessel was on an outward-bound journey from Holland carrying a cargo of eight chests of coins and a large amount of lead ingots. The crew was struck down with scurvy. 125 of the men had already died and 83 of the remaining men were too weak to man the ship. It was trying to reach Table Bay, but a strong south-easterly wind and lack of able men on board made it impossible. It was decided to try and anchor off Dassen Island. The ship ran ashore on a reef near Springfontein Point. Fifteen men managed to struggle ashore in an attempt to attach a line, but by the time they made it, it was too late and the ship was wrecked with a great loss of life.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Iziko Museums, Cape TownShipwreck Museum, BredasdorpBayworld Museum, GqeberhaSimon’s Town Naval MuseumSimon’s Town Museum	Material on display:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Cannon – Simon’s Town Naval MuseumCannon – Shipwreck Museum
-------------------------------	---	----------------------	--

Work undertaken on wreck

The wreck was discovered by salvors in 1979 who managed to recover six bronze cannons. As news of the wreck spread, many people came to work on the site and approximately 20 000 silver coins were recovered during the 1980s. At some point it was blasted with dynamite to loosen some of the conglomerate that contained the silver coins.

The wreck lies in shallow water on a reef and is a very difficult dive due to the sea conditions. Cast iron cannons are visible. A number of brass cannons were salvaged, lying in about three metres of water, amongst boulders. Six large and four small cannons were also salvaged. The reef, which lies about half a kilometre from the shore, is covered with black mussel, red bait and short kelp. The area towards the west is a very shallow reef. The reef only shows at low tide and is surrounded by sand. A number of steel cannons are left there, as they have no value. A lot of the ships conglomerate has been removed by small, controlled blasts, so as to recover the coins undamaged which were imbedded in it.

Some artefacts were removed and donated to the SACHM (now Iziko Museums), including coins and a bronze cannon. A bronze cannon was also donated to the Bayworld Museum in Gqeberha.

RODENRIJS

Date lost:	21 May 1737
Place lost:	Table Bay
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	650
Commander:	Jan van Heemstede
Casualties:	6

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The Rodenrijs was built in 1735 at the Rotterdam yards of the VOC and was owned by the Rotterdam Chamber of the Company. It left Goeree in Holland, bound for Batavia, on 6 May 1736, stopping in at Cape Town on 13 September 1736 and arriving in Batavia after an uneventful voyage on 18 December 1836. After a short stay in the east, during which time a cargo of eastern luxury goods was loaded on board, it left on 6 February 1737 heading for Holland and arrived in Table Bay on 7 May.

The vessel remained at anchor in the bay while it and the rest of the fleet were revictualled. On 21 May, however, a violent north–westerly storm struck the anchorage, and one after the other the vessels of the return fleet ran ashore on the Castle side of the Salt River.

The Rodenrijs was able to ride out the storm for most of the day because the cables were still in good condition, however, when the wind changed to WSW that night, it drifted in a north–easterly direction, a little north of the Salt River mouth, ending up in the surf where it was pounded to pieces.

The ship held together until all but six of the crew had reached the shore by means of a rope attached to a yard which had washed ashore.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: Iziko Museums, Cape Town

Work undertaken on wreck

A survey permit was granted in 1989, and a further permit to excavate was applied for in 1991, but refused. The wreck was subject to illegal salvage. There was a lot of drama surrounding this wreck regarding the ownership of the cannons and the correct identification of the wreck.

SCHONENBERG

Date lost:	20 December 1722
Place lost:	Northumberland Point, Western Cape
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	800
Commander:	A van Soest
People on board:	100

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Schonenberg* was on a homeward-bound journey from Batavia with a general cargo including porcelain and peppercorns. On a calm day, it ran aground near to Cape Agulhas and it was suspected that the captain deliberately ran his vessel aground as part of a conspiracy with some local farmers to steal the cargo. No lives were lost and all 100 people on board made it ashore safely. After the cargo had been salvaged by Van Soest, he burned the vessel down to the waterline.

The valuable cargo was carted away by co-conspirators and was never seen again. Suspicions were that it was buried at Vergelegen, although it has never been found.

The captain was later found guilty and executed after being tortured on the wheel.

The invoice value is linked to three chambers of the VOC – Amsterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. If they all had cargo aboard, perhaps they all helped to outfit the vessel, hence the mixture of guns found on the possible wreck site.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: Shipwreck Museum, Bredasdorp

Material on display Ceramics and cannons

Work undertaken on wreck

The wreck was salvaged by J Herbert who published a book reviewing the project (Herbert 2016).

SCHUILENBURG

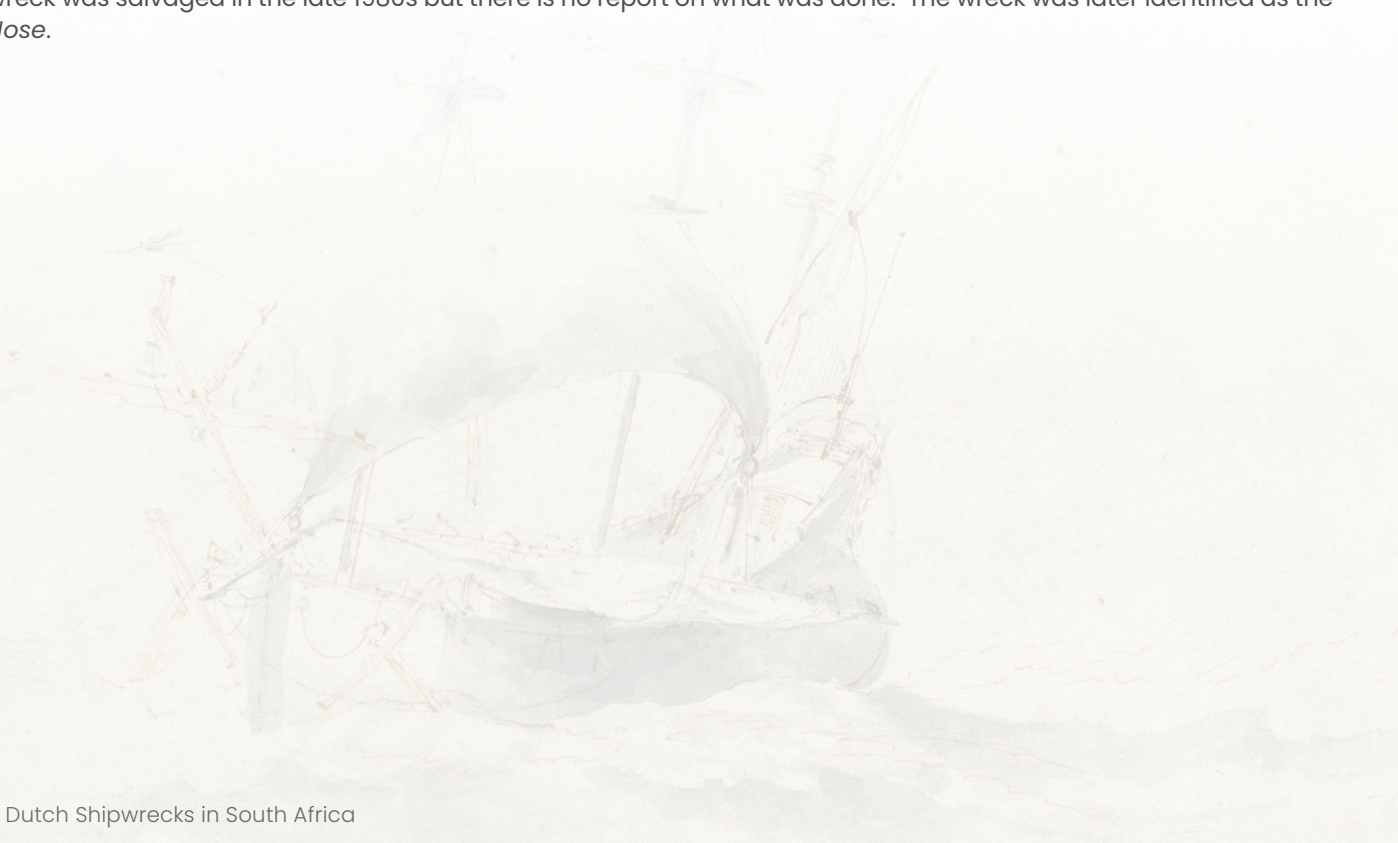
Date lost:	3 June 1756
Place lost:	Camps Bay, Western Cape
Ship type:	Packet
Tonnage:	300

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Schuilenburg* left Cape Town for Simon’s Town with a cargo of stores, ran into a violent storm and disappeared. The wreck at Clifton Second Beach was thought to have been the wreck of the *Schuilenburg* , but this was later identified as being the Sao Jose. The *Schuilenburg* ’s location remains unknown.

Work undertaken on wreck

The wreck was salvaged in the late 1980s but there is no report on what was done. The wreck was later identified as the *Sao Jose*.



STAVENISSE

Date lost:	16 February 1686
Place lost:	Mzimkulu River mouth, KZN
Ship type:	Flute
Tonnage:	544
Commander:	W Kuif
People on board:	71
Casualties:	11

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The Dutch flute, *Stavenisse*, was owned by the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie and in service for the Kamer van Amsterdam. On 2 February 1686, it was on a homebound voyage with a very valuable cargo from Bengal when it ran aground and was lost approximately 70 miles south of Durban. Eleven lives were lost.

Work undertaken on wreck

According to reports the wreck was worked on by a group of divers who recovered some small artefacts, but none of it went into a museum and there were no further reports about what was done on-site.

VIS

Date lost:	6 May 1740
Place lost:	Green Point Lighthouse, Cape Town
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	650
Commander:	Jan Sikkes
People on board:	1

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Vis* was an outward-bound vessel trying to come to anchor in a stiff gale. it came ashore at night “above the Castle” and became a total wreck. A makeshift cableway, using a copper cauldron, was used to ferry people to safety. It is reported that a steward on board the ship fell overboard and drowned due to his pockets being full of coins which weighed him down as he tried to swim to shore.

The sick aboard, who were below decks, drowned, but all others aboard, except one, reached the shore safely by means of a rope.

The vessel was said to have had £500 000 worth of specie aboard, most of which was salvaged at the time.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	Hout Bay Museum
Material on display	Cannon

Work undertaken on wreck

Some salvage work was done on the wreck although it is unclear how much was done and what was recovered.

This is a recreational dive site. Cargo of granite blocks and cast-iron cannons still litter the site.

VROUW IDA ALEIDA

Date lost:	10 November 1818
Place lost:	St James’ tidal pool, Muizenberg
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Commander:	C Sipkes

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The *Vrouw Ida Aleida* was wrecked while carrying a cargo valued at £80 000. The wreck appears to be situated opposite the pool at St James.

Work undertaken on wreck

Work was undertaken by G Clackworthy to try and locate it and map the site. Despite numerous years of searching for the site and finding a possible location, it appears that they were unable to do enough work on the site to positively identify the wreck. S Valentine mentions that a stone Buddha statue was seen at the site, but that he had not visited the site himself. Sand overburden and bad conditions meant that very little was uncovered that could be identified as a shipwreck. J Sharfman thinks it could be further towards Kalk Bay.

WADDINGSVEEN

Date lost:	24 May 1697
Place lost:	Nearr Salt River mouth, Table Bay
Ship type:	East Indiaman
Tonnage:	751
Commander:	Thomas van Willigen
People on board:	142
Casualties:	136

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The vessel was on a return journey from Batavia with a cargo mainly consisting of textiles, saltpetre, cloves, pepper and copper. The fleet took anchor in Table Bay, but soon after a storm arose and many vessels, including the *Waddingsveen*, dragged anchors or their cables parted. It drifted ashore near the Salt River mouth. The main mast collapsed and the vessel broke up soon after. It was lost together with the *Oosterland*. Between the *Waddingsveen* and the *Oosterland*, only 21 were saved. Approximately 400 lives were lost that night from the stricken ships. The survivors included clergyman Hendrik Willen Gordon, famous in Amboina history.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: Iziko Museums, Cape Town

Work undertaken on wreck

A joint excavation was done in the early 1990s by a maritime archaeologist and salvors who discovered the wreck. It was excavated over a number of seasons and large in-depth reports were produced. A permit was issued in 2012 for excavation of the *Waddingsveen*, but it is unclear if any work was undertaken. An export permit was issued in 1996 to send six copper ingots overseas for chemical and isotope analysis.

WILLEM DE ZWIJGER

Date lost:	30 March 1863
Place lost:	Marthas Point, Arniston, West Coast
Ship type:	Barque
Tonnage:	753
Commander:	W L van den Dries

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

The vessel was on a return trip from the east with a cargo of sugar, tobacco, tin and rattans when it wrecked at Marthas Point with no loss of life.

Collection information

Museum where collection held: Shipwreck Museum, Bredasdorp

Material on display Cannon

Work undertaken on wreck

It has been reported that numerous salvage operations took place, the main one of which was undertaken in 1978 when most of the cargo was salvaged. It was not done under permit and not much is known about the site. There were six guns removed from the wreck and some bronze carronades. There are cannons and the ship's figurehead on display at the Shipwreck Museum.

ZEEPAARD

Date lost:	7 May 1823
Place lost:	Holland Reef, Sardinia Bay, East Coast
Ship type:	Corvette/frigate
Commander:	Reynes
Casualties:	8

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

This Dutch frigate of 20 guns was on a journey from Batavia to Holland when it encountered thick fog and ran ashore in Sardinia Bay. Eight lives were lost and several were severely hurt.

Collection information

Museum where collection held:	Bayworld Museum, Gqeberha
Material on display	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Porcelain• Metal artefacts• Carronade• Bottle• Glassware• Musket and musket balls

Work undertaken on wreck

Some work was done under a permit, followed by further salvage work not done under permit. There is reportedly a large anchor lying in the lagoon.

The Bayworld Museum has a collection consisting of a musket, lead musket balls, porcelain bowl, a piece of a jar, metal hinges, a key, copper nails and bolts, pulleys, a glass ‘Deck lens’, hand mirror, earthenware bottle, a portion of an earthenware bowl, bronze gate and one bronze carronade.

ZOETENDAAL

Date lost:	23 August 1673
Place lost:	Near Struisbaai
Ship type:	Flute
Tonnage	448
Commander:	J Block
People on board:	50
Casualties:	4

Notes on the sinking of the vessel

This homeward-bound vessel had left Batavia with a cargo of rice when it wrecked at Struisbaai near the wetland that now bears its name. Four lives were lost during the incident and the remaining survivors managed to reach Cape Town. The captain had died (30 January 1673) and was succeeded by Willem van der Hop.

Work undertaken on wreck

Possibly salvaged, but not much is known about this wreck.

INDEX

A	
Amsterdam (1817)	3,12, 17, 19, 21, 73–74, 80, 86–87
Amy (1722)	15, 36
Atlas (1859)	18
Avenhoorn (1788)	17
B	
Bato (1806)	3, 9, 12, 17, 19, 21, 71–72, 79, 87
Bennebroek (1713)	15, 19, 20, 42, 43, 80, 88
Betsy and Sarah (1839)	18, 89
Brederode (1785)	8–10, 17, 19–20, 21, 68–70, 90
Bruidegorm (1674)	14
C	
Colombus (1822)	17
D	
Dageraad (1694)	7, 8, 14, 19–20, 21, 27, 28–29, 91, 92
De Buis (1737)	16
De Hoop (1734)	15
De Jonge Thomas (1773)	16, 58–60, 62, 79
Drie Gebroeders (1792)	17
Drietal Handelaars (1789)	17
Duinbeek (1737)	16, 46–47
F	
Fijenoord (1736)	16
Flora (1737)	16, 46–47
Flora (1821)	17

G	
Goede Hoop (1692)	14, 26–27
Gouda (1722)	15
Gouden Buis (1693)	14, 19, 27, 28, 91, 92
Goudriaan (1737)	16, 46, 47
Grundel (1673)	14
H	
Haarlem (1728)	15, 45–46
Het Huis te Craijestein (1698)	8, 14, 19, 20, 21, 34–38, 80, 93
Hogergeest (1692)	14, 26
Holland (1786)	12, 17, 19, 21, 71, 94
Hollandia (1891)	11, 18
Hoop (1784)	17, 65–67
I	
Lepenrode (1737)	16
J	
Japara (1856)	18
Johanna (1881)	18
Juno (1852)	18, 95
K	
Katwijk Aan Den Rijn (1786)	17
Krimpenerwaard (1867)	18
L	
Lakenman (1722)	15, 44
M	
Maria (1788)	17
Mauritius Eiland (1644)	11–12, 14
Meermin (1766)	9, 16, 96–97

Mentor (1780)	17
Merestein (1702)	7, 8, 15, 19, 20, 21, 38–41, 77, 97
Meteren (1723)	15, 20, 98–99, 123
Middelburg (1781)	6, 17, 19, 20, 21, 62–65, 101–102
Middenrak (1728)	15, 46, 100
Muskaatboom (1665)	14, 24–25, 84, 120
N	
Nagel (1709)	15, 41–42
Nederlandsche Vlag (1870)	18
Nieuwe Haarlem (1647)	9, 12, 14, 22–24
Nieuwe Rhoon (1776)	16, 19, 60–62, 84, 103
Noord (1690)	14
O	
Oosterland (1697)	5, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 29–32, 77, 104, 105, 114
P	
Padang (1828)	18, 106
Paddenburg (1737)	16, 46–48
Petronella (1878)	18
R	
Reigersdaal (1747)	8, 16, 19, 20, 21, 53–57, 77, 79, 107
Rodenrijs (1737)	16, 46–47, 77, 108
Rotterdam (1722)	7, 15, 43–44, 45
S	
Saksenburg (1729)	15
Schapenjacht (1660)	14
Schollevaar (1668)	14

Schonenberg (1722)	15, 19, 21, 109
Schotse Lorrendraaier (1722)	15, 43–45
Schuilenburg (1756)	16, 110
Snelheijd (1783)	17, 58
Stabroek (1728)	15, 45–46, 83
Standvastigheid (1722)	15, 43–45
Stavenisse (1686)	14, 20, 111
Sterrenschans (1793)	17
T	
Timor (1856)	18
V	
Victoria (1737)	16
Vis (De Visch) (1740)	16, 19, 20, 21, 48–53, 77, 112
Voorzichtigheid (1757)	16
Vrijheid (1883)	18
Vrouw Ida Aleida (1818)	8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 74–75, 113
W	
Waddingsveen (1697)	5, 14, 19, 20, 21, 32–34, 105, 114
Westerwijk (1737)	16, 47
Willem de Zwijger (1863)	18, 115
Z	
Zaltbommel (1856)	18
Zambesi (1882)	18
Zeeland (1793)	17
Zeepaard (1823)	8, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21, 75–76, 80, 116
Zoetendaal (1673)	14, 117
Zoetigheid (1722)	15
Zwarte Leeuw (1696)	14

PICTURE CREDITS

Page No	Figure No	Caption	Credit
ii	1	A 1790 drawing of a galliot	Gerrit Groenewegen 1790 Dutch Artist 1754–1826
iv	2	Ships caught in a storm in Table Bay (undated)	Artist unknown
2	3	Diving boat used by the Dodds brothers	Reg Dodds private collection
6	4	Diver working on the <i>Middelburg</i> (1781) wreck	Reg Dodds private collection
7	5	An etching of John Lethbridge in his diving barrel	Divescrap.com
8	6	A sketch of the John Lethbridge diving machine	Divescrap.com
10	7	A: A modern day replica of a VOC ship, the <i>Amsterdam</i> (1749) at the Maritime Museum of Amsterdam. B: Platter from the Brederode (1785)	Phillip Capper SAHRA archives
12	8	The East Indiaman <i>Mauritius</i> (centre) sailing out of the Marsdiep channel (Texel) c1600–1630.	A number of East Indiamen off the Coast (The <i>Mauritius</i> and other East Indiamen Sailing out of the Marsdiep) Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom 1562/1563–1640
13	9	A drawing entitled ‘A galjoot (galliot) at anchor’ c1672	Willem Van de Velde, the Younger
21	10	Map of wrecks discussed in interviews	SAHRA
22	11	1660 map of the Cape Colony showing the position of the Nieuwe Haarlem in the bottom right corner	Hollandsche Thuin 1660 (Historical Atlas of South Africa
23	12	Archaeological test excavations on Blouberg beach looking for the resting place of the <i>Nieuwe Haarlem</i> (1647)	SAHRA records
23	13	Bruno Werz	Bruno Werz
25	14	Possible location of the <i>Muskaatboom</i> (1665)	M.LA Van Helsdingen
28	15	1986 Cape Times report of the salvage of the <i>Dageraad</i> (1694)	Cape Times 1986 held in SAHRA archives

Page No	Figure No	Caption	Credit
30–31	16	The <i>Oosterland</i> (1697) excavation. A: Magazine article on the excavation of the shipwreck. B: Diver with artefacts recovered during the excavation C: Extracts from the above magazine article D: 1993 Cape Argus article about the <i>Oosterland</i> excavation E: Cannon recovered from the seabed; it was airlifted by helicopter to the shore F: Part of the collection of the artefacts recovered from the <i>Oosterland</i>	De Kat Magazine held in SAHRA archives Charlie Shapiro collection held by SAHRA De Kat Magazine held in SAHRA archives Cape Argus held in SAHRA archives SAHRA archives SAHRA archives
33	17	Site plan of the excavation of the <i>Waddingsveen</i> (1697) by Bruno Werz	Bruno Werz
34	18	Pewter spoons recovered from the wreck <i>Het Huis te Craijestein</i> (1698)	SAHRA amnesty files
35	19	Site plan of the wreck <i>Het Huis te Craijestein</i> (1698)	Unknown author, held in SAHRA archives
36	20	Artefacts from the ship <i>Het Huis te Craijestein</i> (1698) A: Glass and stoneware bottles, stopper and concretion B: Diver over an anchor C: Clay pipe bowls and stems	SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA archives
38	21	Gary Scholtz	Gary Scholtz
39	22	Site map of the <i>Merestein</i> (1702) (Dodds Brothers)	SAHRA archives
39	23	Artefacts recovered from the <i>Merestein</i> (1702) A: Musket Side plate B: Coins C: Silver ducatoons D: Cannon	SAHRA SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files
41	24	Gavin Clackworthy	Gavin Clackworthy
43	25	Artefacts from the <i>Bennebroek</i> (1713) A: Close up of a VOC cannon emblem B: Porcelain bowls C: Museum record cards	SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files East London Museum
49	26	Painting of the shipwreck event, ‘Het Vergaan van de <i>Vis</i> in 1740’, by Jürgen Leeuwenberg	The National Library of South Africa: Cape Town Campus
50	27	Artefacts from the <i>Vis</i> (1740) A: Buttons B: Bronze statue C: Pewter tankard	SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files

Page No	Figure No	Caption	Credit
53	28	Artefacts from the <i>Vis</i> (1740) A: Dividers, pistol plate and candle snuffer B: Coins C: Breech block	SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files
55	29	Artefacts from the <i>Reigersdaal</i> (1747) A: Conglomerate with coin and clay pipe B: Buckles, shot and hook C: Buckle D: Silver pillar dollar E: Silver (top) and pewter (bottom) spoons F: Cannon at South African Naval Museum, Simon's Town	SAHRA SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA
57	30	Site plan of the <i>Reigersdaal</i> (1747) shipwreck by Arthur Ridge (1986)	SAHRA archives
58	31	Historic image of the wrecking of the <i>Jonge Thomas</i> (1773) depicting the heroics of Wolraad Woltemade.	Iziko museums
61	32	Aerial photo of the Civic Centre excavation showing the wooden hull and cannon balls.	Iziko museums
63	33	Porcelain recovered from the <i>Middelburg</i> (1781) A: Vase B: Teacup C: Lid	SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA
64	34	Reg Dodds	SAHRA
65	35	The Dodds brothers reviewing their finds	Reg Dodds private collection
66	36	The wrecking area of the <i>Hoop</i> (1784) shown in red on contemporary and modern maps A: 1787 map of Cape Town B: 2018 map of Cape Town	B Belder 2018
67	37	Chart of the Cape area, with the last route of the <i>Hoop</i> (1784) (not to scale).	B Belder 2018
69	38	Artefacts from the <i>Brederode</i> (1740) A: Newspaper article in the Pretoria News 2000 B: Porcelain teacups and saucers	Pretoria News held in SAHRA archives SAHRA archives
70	39	The remains of the cargo of the <i>Brederode</i> (1740) still with teacups packed neatly in their create on the seabed.	Charlie Shapiro collection held at SAHRA
71	40	Bronze powder monkey from the site of the <i>Holland</i> (1786)	SAHRA amnesty files

Page No	Figure No	Caption	Credit
72	41	The <i>Bato</i> (1806) images and artefacts A: Engraving of the wrecking of the Brunswick showing a Dutch vessel on the left which is possibly the <i>Bato</i> B: In Situ hull remains C: Artefacts recovered from the site	Unknown artist SAHRA SAHRA
73	42	A 1985 article in the Eastern Province Herald reporting on the discovery of a shipwreck.	Eastern Province Herald held in SAHRA archives
74	43	Jenny Bennie	Jenny Bennie
75	44	Jonathan Sharfman	Jonathan Sharfman
75	45	Malcolm Turner	SAHRA
76	46	Artefacts from the <i>Zeepaard</i> (1823) A: Brass name plate B: Pistol (restored) C: Location of the wreck in Sardinia Bay D: Silver tiara/hairpiece E: Carronade at Bayworld Museum, Gqeberha	SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA
79	47	A: An image depicting the wrecking of the <i>De Jonge Thomas</i> (1773) B: The stolen <i>Reigersdaal</i> (1747) cannon C: Stoneware bottle from the <i>Bato</i> (1806)	Unknown artist SAHRA amnesty files SAHRA
82	48	Etching of a Dutch East Indiaman	Wenceslaus Hollar 1647
99	49	Site plan of the 5 cannons thought to be from the Meteren.	SAHRA
99	50	A cannon from the Meteren, note the broken muzzle.	SAHRA
99	51	A diver measuring the cascable end of a cannon.	SAHRA
104	52	Ceramics and pewter jugs from the <i>Oosterland</i> (1697) collection.	SAHRA archives

