



ROB KATTENBURG



Dutch Old Master Marine Paintings, Drawings & Prints

WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER

Leiden 1633 – Westminster 1707

*The Battle of Texel (Slag bij Kijkduin) on the 21th of August 1673
with the English Vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the London
and The Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid*



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FOREWORD

It is almost 50 years ago that I decided to become an art dealer, and with my fascination since childhood for Dutch maritime history it was almost inevitable that I chose to specialise in seascapes from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. I didn't realise at the time that I would be the only dealer in the world to do so. I still am.

Little had been published at the time, nor had much research been done, so sometimes it was an almost end- less search to track down the correct attributions. The marine was still uncharted territory. And even today there are plenty of seascapes appearing at auction at home and abroad with attributions that are wide of the mark.

In those more almost 50 years I have built up a massive archive. I have photographed all the paintings that have passed through my hands, first in black-and-white photographs and large transparencies, and digitally since the mid-1990s.

We have also recorded all auction results, together with illustrations. This archive is regularly consulted by art historians for their publications. So I can proudly say that the marine is now firmly on the chart. Many pieces of the puzzle have been filled in, but not all of them, of course. The first quarter of the seventeenth century still needs to be researched further. I have helped in my own way by correcting the many incorrect attributions.

In all those long years I have not only sold many paintings, drawings, prints and nautical charts to museums in the Netherlands and abroad, but to private collectors as well, who have become friends as well as clients, and for that I am grateful.

A lot has changed in all that time. Good paintings have become scarce, and the search for fascinating and historic works costs a great deal of time and effort. But the few times you find a really first-rate work makes it all worthwhile. And that is what has now happened again with a superb work by the greatest marine painter of the second half of the seventeenth century, Willem van de Velde the Younger. It was very probably commissioned by the heirs of Vice-Admiral Sir John Harman (c. 1625-11 October 1673) to celebrate his victory in the third Anglo-Dutch war on his flagship the *London*.

This painting *The Battle of Texel (Kijkduin) (11/21) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English Vice-Admiral Sir John Harman on the London and Vice-Admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid*, can be regarded as an important work of Van de Velde's English period and can be dated around 1675. The painting is clearly made from an English perspective in which the Dutch Vice-Admiral Johan de Liefde would lose his flagship the *Vrijheid* and his life.

The harmonious composition, refined use of colour and minutely detailed rendering of the drama, action, rigging and figures make it a feast for the eye.

I have endeavoured to keep the text as accessible as possible, not only for museum curators at home and abroad but also for the private collector.

I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Remmelt Daalder, former curator at the Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam, restorator Hans van Dam, Ab Hoving, formerly chief curator of ship models in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and last but not least my daughter Saskia, who decided after completing her art history studies that she would like nothing better than to assist me in my gallery. So the torch is being passed on.

Rob Kattenburg



Fig. 1
Rob Kattenburg in his library, holding a copy of
Geerardt Brandt, *Het leven en bedrijf van den heere
Michiel de Ruiter*, Amsterdam 1687.
Rob Kattenburg Collection

WILLEM VAN DE VELDE, A RISING STAR

Rarely has an artistic family been as blessed with talent as the Van de Veldes. The father was a virtuoso ship draughtsman, and his two sons, his namesake Willem and Adriaen, were brilliant painters, each in his own genre: Willem as a marine artist and Adriaen as a master of bucolic landscapes.

Before the two Willems moved to England in 1672-1673 (Adriaen had died at the beginning of 1672) it was mainly the father who received one major commission after another. The younger Willem seems to have spent most of his time in the studio making small oil paintings, not for specific clients but for people who came in off the street in search of an attractive 'sea piece' to hang on the wall. That is the conclusion drawn from the small size of most of his pictures prior to 1672, rarely more than half a square metre. He only started making large paintings on a regular basis after going to live in England, and there he went to the other extreme with canvases up to 3 metres wide, such as his huge painting of the *Gouden Leeuw* at the Battle of the Texel in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and the famous work in the Amsterdam Museum, *The 'Gouden Leeuw' on the IJ by Amsterdam* of 1686, which he painted while on a visit to the city.¹

An artist would only make pictures that big if he was specifically asked to do so. Even the most successful painters would not have set up such a large canvas on their easels unless they knew beforehand that they had a customer for it. Van de Velde's *Dutch fleet assembling before the Four Days' Battle of 11-14 June 1666, with the 'Liefde' and the 'Gouden Leeuwen' in the foreground*, is 202.5 cm wide, making it one of his ten largest pictures, or at least of the ones that have survived. Only three of those ten date from his Dutch period,² including the famous ship portrait in the Wallace Collection in London, which also features the *Liefde*.³

Given its size, *The Battle of Texel (Kijkduin) (11/21) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English Vice-Admiral Sir John Harman on the London and Vice-Admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid*, must have been made on the express instructions of the patron. The heirs of vice-Admiral Sir John Harman were probably the ones who commissioned the painting to commemorate his one true victory over Vice-Admiral Johan de Liefde in the Third Anglo-Dutch wars. That the patron chose to have the

work painted by Willem van de Velde the Younger is perfectly understandable, since the Van de Veldes moved to England in 1672 by invitation to King Charles II.

As early as 1652 an intermediary was praising the young artist, just 18 at the time, as 'Master Van de Velde's son, a very good painter [...] in oils of sea pieces and battles'.⁵ Nothing came of that particular venture, but there is one other documented commission that certainly was executed. It was for two paintings of incidents in the Four Days' Battle that Willem the Younger made for the Amsterdam Admiralty, as recorded in its resolutions for 30 September 1666: 'to come to an agreement with Willem van de Velde to make two paintings of the two glorious battles against England'. Both of them are now in the Rijksmuseum and must have been completed at the end of the 1660s, in roughly the same period as the *Dutch fleet assembling before the Four Days' Battle of 11-14 June 1666, with the 'Liefde' and the 'Gouden Leeuwen' in the foreground*

The painting of the *Liefde* and the *Gouden Leeuwen* marks a new stage in Van de Velde's development. Not only did he start working on a larger scale around 1670, but his style was also evolving. He had previously excelled in sublime, calm seas and coastal waters, but now the elements are playing a far more tempestuous role. This is an unusual kind of scene for Van de Velde's Dutch period. In England he quite often depicted ships battling the elements like this.

The Van de Veldes moved to England in the year 1672. In Dutch history, the year 1672 has from that time, to present been known as "*Het Rampjaar*" (The Disaster Year).

So many catastrophes and calamities befell the Dutch Republic in that year, which to the Dutch of that day and later, the whole year merited the description "Disaster." It almost meant the end of the Republic.

The Van de Veldes moved to England because of the collapse of the art market in the Republic and because Ludolf Backhuysen (1630-1708) made his best works in this period and he was a distinguished competitor with many more important relations in Amsterdam. The foregoing can be deduced from letters of Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638).

The introduction of turbulent seas by Willem van de Velde the Younger has long been

a reason for assuming that there was a close relationship between the Van de Veldes' studio and their fellow townsman Ludolf Bakhuizen, who indeed produced many stormy seascapes around the time of this painting.

Michael S. Robinson, the compiler of the monumental catalogue of the paintings of the Van de Veldes, believed that Bakhuysen and Van de Velde collaborated on this and similar pictures, with Bakhuysen contributing the rough sea and thundery skies and Van de Velde the ships.⁶ Although understandable, that is an incorrect assumption. It is more likely that there was a change in the taste and preferences of the customers, with the result that Van de Velde adopted Bakhuysen's dramatic style but applied it with his own looser manner. Nothing is known for certain about any collaboration with other artists in this period, either as assistants or pupils.⁷

This painting is actually a ship portrait of the *London* engaged in battle with the *Vrijheid*, but it is a very lively variant, with all the details of the battle and the secondary elements of the other vessels. And it is also innovative as a ship's portrait. Compared to the stately double portraits of almost motionless ships that the studio had previously been selling, these are ships and crews in action.

Dr Remmelt Daalder

1. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, inv. no. BHC0315, and Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA7421, 300 and 316 cm wide respectively.
2. Paintings that are not quite as wide, between 150 and 200 cm, also date almost exclusively from after 1672. With thanks to Sander Bijl for documenting the sizes of the Van de Velde's' paintings.
3. London, Wallace Collection inv. no. P137.
4. Remmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde & Son, marine painters. The firm of Willem van de Velde the Elder and Willem van de Velde the Younger, 1640-1707*, Leiden 2016, p. 87ff.
5. Ibidem, p. 110.
6. Another example is a picture in the National Gallery of South Africa; Robinson 1990, p. 832.
7. With the possible exception of Hendrick Dubbels, who may have had a hand in the production of pen paintings and works in oils. However, in this particular case there is no reason to suspect his involvement. See Daalder 2015, p. 50.



Fig. 2
 'T. Smith fec. 1707', after a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller
Portrait of Willem van de Velde the Younger
 Mezzotint, 34.9 x 25 cm
 Amsterdam, Scheepvaartmuseum inv. no. A.0484(01)



Fig. 3
Lodewijk van der Helst (Amsterdam 1642-1684)
Portrait of Willem van de Velde the Younger (1633-1707),
painter
Oil on canvas, 103 x 91 cm
Unsigned, c. 1670
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-2236

WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER

(LEIDEN 1633 - LONDON 1707)

Together with his father of the same forename, Willem van de Velde the Younger was one of the finest marine artists in Europe. The following is a brief outline of his life, which is described in detail by Michael Robinson and others.

Willem van de Velde the Younger was born in Leiden in 1633. The family moved to Amsterdam soon afterwards, settling beside IJ Sound. His father had by then become famous as a skilled and meticulous ship's draughtsman (*scheepsteyckenaer*) and producer of what are called pen paintings, large drawings in Indian ink on vellum, canvas or panel with a white ground, 'prepared in such a way that [they] could be hung out in the wind and rain, and could be wiped clean with a sponge just like an oil painting'.

Van de Velde the Elder (1611- 1693) was the leading artist in this curious though fascinating technique, which was in use for no more than 50 years. His wonderfully composed pen paintings also found buyers abroad, some as far away as Italy. Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici was a particular admirer and patron. It was a very time-consuming technique, so the paintings were extremely expensive. Van de Velde the Elder charged 150 guilders for a small pen painting, whereas a landscape by an artist like Jan van Goyen (1596-1656), for example, might sell for around 50 guilders.

It was probably the elder Van the Velde who first showed his son how to portray a ship accurately, before apprenticing him to Simon de Vlieger (ca. 1601-1653), who taught him the art of painting. This was probably in the late 1640s. De Vlieger moved from Amsterdam to Weesp in 1648, and it is quite possible that the son followed him there,

for in 1652 he married a young woman from that area. However, the marriage was dissolved the following year, and De Vlieger acted as a witness at the divorce. The earliest dated painting by Willem van de Velde the Younger is from 1651. It must have been clear from the outset that he had a remarkable talent. A letter to a foreign patron dated March 1652 indicates that he was then working independently, and by the early age of 18 he was already well known as 'a very good painter ... of oil paintings of seascapes and battles'. Father and son were by now working together, although the latter was apparently able to set his own prices, for the intermediary promised the patron to ask 'as to the lowest price for which De Velde's son is willing to make it'.

These and other details have come to light with the discovery of previously unknown archival material abroad, which will soon be made available in published form.

The immense importance of the Van de Velde's lies not only in the development of marine painting; they are also important as chroniclers of historical events. They were unequalled in their accurate portrayal of ships, rigging and the like, and made the most painstaking and accurate studies from life. The elder Van de Velde sailed with the fleet to record events at sea, and was given his own galliot from which he was able to see the battles unfolding before him. On board he drew sketches, which he later worked up in more detail at home or used them as the basis for a pen painting. His son also used the same sketches for his own paintings. The father was thus the first war correspondent to report from the scene of battle.

Willem van de Velde the Younger set the tone for a new development in marine painting, incorporating atmosphere and the effect of light in combination with a sunlit coloration. His subjects range from small pieces intended for private collections, simple and clear in their design, to large or very large historical and spectacular pieces with more complex compositions. It was mainly individuals and institutions with ties to the navy that ordered the larger paintings. Admirals and other naval officers who wanted to have a picture on a wall in their homes of their exploits or of the ships they had commanded. .

It must have been in the winter of 1672-1673 that the Van de Veldes arrived in England and settled there with their families at the invitation of the English King Charles II. He and his brother James, Duke of York, were delighted to have gained the services of the two leading marine painters of the day. Samuel Pepys's papers include their appointment by Charles II, detailing the decision 'to allow the salary of one hundred pounds per annum unto Willem Vandevelde the elder for taking and making draughts of sea-fights; and the like salary of one hundred pounds per annum unto Willem Vandevelde the younger for putting the said draughts into colours for our particular use.'

On top of this basic salary the Duke of York promised them a sum of 50 pounds a year with an additional payment of 50 pounds for every painting delivered. Father and son were also given a large house in Greenwich and a studio was built for them in the Queen's House, which could be enlarged if they were working on large projects, such as the designs for a tapestry series of the Battle of Solebay.

At first they had their hands full dealing with the commissions from their royal patrons, and it was only when William III came to the throne in 1689 and their contract was allowed to lapse that they found more

time to work for other clients. They then moved from Greenwich to Sackville Street, Westminster, and a street off Piccadilly running down beside Burlington House, which has been the home of the Royal Academy of Arts since 1867. There they lived there in great style.

Charles II clearly understood his protégés' value, for in 1673 he expressly forbade Willem van de Velde the Elder from sailing to view the Battle of Texel for fear that he might be killed.

It was around this time, it is likely Sir John Harman likely commissioned the painting of *The Battle of Texel (Slag bij Kijkduin) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the London and the Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid*, with Willem van de Velde the Younger.

The father continued to work until his death in 1693, the year of several of his pen paintings. The son remained in England, although he did visit the Netherlands every now and then. During one such stay he painted a majestic view of ships on the IJ that now belongs to the Rijksmuseum collection, although it is on display in the Amsterdam Museum. For the last two years of his life he lived on Millbank beside the Thames, which is also in Westminster. He died in 1707, and like his father he was buried in St James's Church, Piccadilly. A memorial stone placed there in 1926 honours these two most eminent Dutch marine artists.

WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER

Leiden 1633 – Westminster 1707

The Battle of Texel (Slag bij Kijkduin) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the London and The Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid

Oil on canvas, 111 x 138 cm

Signed: W. V. V.

Dated: ca. 1675

Provenance:

Likely commissioned by Sir John Harman. Believed to have been bought by James Christie (1730-1803) and by descent through the family until offered; Sale, Christie's, London, 14 November 1997, lot 64, Private collection, Great Britain.

Exhibited:

Norwich, Castle Museum, *Norfolk Maritime History*, 1957, no. 2 as *Battle of Solebay*, May 28, 1672. The painting was in the collection of James Christie in 1957 when it was lent to the exhibition. Illustrated on page 91 of the catalogue.

Literature:

J. Luiken, B. Stopendael, T. Doesburgh, T. ten Hoorn and J. van Beverwijk, *Leven en bedryf Van den vermaarden Zeeheld Cornelis Tromp, Graaf van Sylliesburg, Ridder van de Olifant, Baronnet, &c. Lieutenant Admiraal Generaal van Holland en Westvrieslandt*. Amsterdam 1692, pp. 419-422, 438, 444-454.

G. Brandt, *Het leven en bedryf van den heere Michiel de Ruiter, Hertog, Ridder, &c. L. Admiraal Generaal van Hollandt en Westvrieslandt*, Amsterdam 1787, pp. 438, 776-777.

J.C. De Jonge, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Zeewezen*, Haarlem 1859, Vol. II, pp. 203-229.

M.S. Robinson, *Van de Velde drawings. A catalogue of drawings in the National Maritime Museum made by the Elder and the Younger Willem van de Velde*, Cambridge 1973, Vol. I pp. 148, 306.

M.S. Robinson and R.E.J. Weber, *The Willem van Velde drawings in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum*, Rotterdam 1979, Vol. I p.117, Vol. III, p. 238.

M.S. Robinson, *Van de Velde: a catalogue of the paintings of the Elder and Younger van de Velde*, London 1990, pp. 221-223.



Fig. 4

Willem van de Velde the Younger

The Battle of Texel (Slag bij Kijkduin) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the London and The Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid

Oil on canvas, 111 x 138 cm

Signed: W. V. V.

Dated: ca. 1675

Rob Kattenburg Collection

THE PAINTING



Fig. 5
Detail of the *London* 96 guns (Fig. 4)

A sky with much cumulus cloud, heavily laden with the smoke of the battle; a bright sun and a moderate breeze from the left of the picture.

Large on the left is the English three-decker, the *London*, starboard quarter view, with the wind in the port quarter. She is under fore course with the clews hauled up, main course half clewed-up and much torn, fore mast-headed and drawing, the main topsail half lowered and shaking; the mizzen showing behind the red ensign is apparently falling and the mizzen topsail is loosed on the cap. She has a red flag at the fore as vice-admiral of the squadron. She is firing her middle deck guns on the starboard side. The principal ship, the *London* is freely and accurately painted. The stern decoration, the ensign and the masts and rigging and sails have all the variety and accuracy of the work by the Younger. The two round gun ports on the stern of the English ship, at the middle deck level, are close to the rudder-head.

In the right foreground is a boat picking up survivors from a floating wreck of a mast. Beyond in the right middle-distance is a Dutch ship port bow view, a flag at the fore and a pendant in the main; the fore course is lowered almost to the forecastle and the foremast appears to be falling to starboard and the main topmast to port.

In the left middle-distance is a Dutch ship before the wind, her main topsail and the common Dutch flag at the main just showing. On her starboard bow is a smaller ship with a Dutch jack and striped pendant at the main; she is almost concealed by smoke from her starboard guns. There are other ships in the distance.

The painting is a ship portrait of the *London* at the battle of Texel 1673 engaged in battle with the damaged *Vrijheid* (80 pieces) of the Dutch Vice-Admiral Johan de Liefde, on the right in the middle distance. It is in the correct proportion to the English ship, the *London* (100 pieces), built in 1670 on the bottom of what remained of the *Loyal London* after her sinking by the Dutch in the Medway in 1667, on the left.



Fig.6
Sir John Harman on the *London* (nr. 25) engaged in battle with Lieutenant Jan de Liefde on the *Vrijheid* at the battle of Texel 21 August 1673
Detail from *De Zee-slagh tussen de Hr. Admiraal Michiel de Ruiter en de Hr Prins Robbert en Graaf D'Esrée*. From Gerard Brandt, *Het leven en Bedryf van Michiel de Ruiter*, Amsterdam 1673, pp. between pp. 958 and 959

Other details of the background ships would also be correct for the battle of Texel. The Dutch ship with the common Dutch flag at the main would be Aert van Nes in the *Eendracht* (72 guns) as second-in-command to the Ruyter; and the red flag just below the *Eendracht's* topsail yard would be the flag of Sir John Chicheley rear-admiral of the Red on the *Charles*.

Sir Edward Spragge was vice-admiral of the Red on the *London* at the battle of Solebay in 1672, but he was promoted soon after the battle to admiral of the blue, before the Van de Veldes came to England, and is unlikely to have commissioned a painting of the *London* when he was vice-admiral; he was drowned at the battle of Texel.

In 1673, Sir John Harman was vice-admiral of the Red at the battles of Schooneveld and the Texel on the *London*. It was at the battle of Texel that the Dutch admiral Jan (or Johan) de Liefde was killed in battle on the *Vrijheid*, when he was vice-admiral with flag at the fore and pendant at the main in De Ruyter's squadron, which was heavily engaged with the English Red squadron. It was his main naval victory on the Dutch.

The painting of the battle of Texel by Willem van de Velde the Younger has been worked out exceptionally well with a great deal of detail in a well-balanced composition. The attention in the painting is drawn to the *London*, making it almost certainly a commissioned by Harman. Around 1672-73, Van de Velde began painting on a large scale and it would be one of his first large commissions in his English period.

The fierce naval battle that has been recorded in Dutch history books as the "Battle of Kijkduin" is the only military encounter from the English Wars that was observable from the coast. The location is not the town of the same name near The Hague, but the high Kijkduin near Den Helder.

Fig.7

The Location of the Battle of Kijkduin/ the Battle of the Texel 1673: *Paskaarte van de, ZUYDERZEE, / met alle des Zelfs inkomende GAATEN:/ Soo als die op 't Zeekerts kunnen Bezeylt worden: naa Haare / Courekte Course, Opdoeningen/, Droogten en Diepten. Tot AMSTERDAM: By JOANNIS VAN KEULEN Boek verkooper en Graadboog maaker aande Nieuwen brug inde Gekroonde Lootsman. Met Priviligie voor 15 Jaar, [1689].*

Rob Kattenburg Collection





Fig. 8
Detail of the *Vrijheid* 80 guns (Fig. 4)

438 *Leven en bedryf van den vermaarden Zeeheld*1673. *Esquadre van den Lieut. Admiraal Generaal DE RUITER.*

Lt. Adm. Gen. de Ruiter de Zeven Provinc.	Jan Bont	de Stad Utrecht.
Lieut. Adm. van Nes	d'Eendracht	Sim. van Panhuis Zeeland.
Vice-Adm. de Liefde	de Vryheid	David Sweerius de Beschermer.
Sch. by Nacht van Nes	de Maagd van Dort	Philips de Munnik Effen.
Comm. van Meeuwen	de Spiegel	Jan Krook Alkmaar.
Engel de Ruiter	Waasdorp	Klaas Wynbergen Kaleb.
Jan van Gelder	Steenbergen	Frans van Nydek Dordrecht.
Jan van Brakel	de Voorzichtig.	Hendrik Vischer 't Wapen van
Cornelis de Liefde	Gelderland.	Medenblik.

Fregatten.

Jan Snel	Utrecht.	Moises Wichmans Harderwyk.
Willem van Ewyk	Edam.	C. van der Hoeven Schiedam.
Item 8 Branders en 5 Advysjagten.		

Esquadre van den Lieut. Admiraal BANKERT.

Lt. Adm. Bankert.	Walcheren.	Jan van Lier	de Leeuwen.
Vice Adm. Evenfz.	Zierikzee.	Gillis Schey	Tydverdriyl.
Jan Dik als S. by N.	d'Eenhoorn.	Barend Hals	de Gidoon.
Leendert Kuiper	't Wap. van Enkh.	Dirk Jobfz Kiela	Ter Veere.
Jan Hek	Westvriesland.	K. van der Putten	Domburg.
Jan Muis	Justina van Nassau	P. van Middelland	de Comeestlar.
Jakob Roos	't Noorder Quart.	Eland du Bois	de Ridderfchap.
Marten de Boer	Gelderland.	Klaas Valchen	de Prins.
Pieter Kerfleboom	't Wap. van Nassau		

Fregatten.

Simon Lonke	Delft.	J. P. Vinkelbos	de Windhond.
Willem Hendrikfz.	Der Goos.	Roemer Vlak	de Brak.
Item 8 Branders en 6 Advysjagten.			

Esquadre van den Lieutenant Admiraal TROMP.

Lt. Adm. Corn. Tromp de Gonde Leeuw.	Cornelis Tyloos	't Geloof.
Vice-Adm. Sweers	d'Olyfant.	Jan de Jong.
Sch. by Nacht de Haan	Hollandia.	Pieter Dekker.
Cornelis Bakker	de Pacificatie.	Daniel Elfevier
Volkert Swart	Kalantsoog.	Pieter de Sitter.
Barend Rees	Wassenaar.	Matthys Pyl
Philips van Almonde	Delft.	Pieter Bakker.
Adriaan Poort	Schieland.	Jakob Barkhout
Cornelis van der Zaan	Amsterdam.	d'Akerboom.

Fregatten.

Jan van Abkoude	Oud. Kaspel.	Jan Noirot	Popkensburg.
Hendrik Span	Middelburg.	Jan Bogaard	Bommel.
Hans Hartwich	de Haas.		

Item 8 Branders en 5 Advysjagten.

Den

Fig.9

Fleet list showing the Dutch commanders at the Battle of Texel 21 August 1673

From Gerard Brandt, *Leven en bedryf van den Vermaarden Zeeheld Cornelis Tromp. Graaf van Sylliesburg, Ridder van den Olifant, Baronnet, &c. Lieutenant Admiraal Generaal van Holland en Westvrieslandt.* Amsterdam 1692, p. 438

Rob Kattenburg collection

THIRD ANGLO-DUTCH WAR

The Third Anglo-Dutch War, or Third Dutch War (Dutch: Derde Engelse Zeeoorlog), was a naval conflict between England, in alliance with France, and the Dutch Republic. It lasted from 7 April 1672 to 19 February 1674, and was a subsidiary of the wider 1672 to 1678 Franco-Dutch War.



Fig. 10
The Naval Battles of the Third Anglo-Dutch War.

In the 1670 Secret Treaty of Dover, Charles II of England agreed to support an attack by Louis XIV of France (1638-1715) on the Dutch Republic. By doing so, Louis hoped to gain control of the Spanish Netherlands, while Charles sought to restore the damage to his prestige caused by the 1667 Raid on the Medway. Under the treaty, Charles also received secret payments which he hoped would make him financially independent of Parliament.

The French offensive in May and June 1672 quickly over-ran most of the Republic, with the exception of the core province of Holland, where they were halted by water defences. In early June, the Anglo-French fleet was badly damaged by the Dutch under Michiel de Ruyter (1707-1776) at the Battle of Solebay, ensuring they retained control of vital trade routes.

In late June, Johan de Witt resigned as Grand Pensionary, and Charles' nephew William III of Orange (1650-1702) was appointed stadtholder. Charles tried to persuade him to make peace, but William

refused; he knew the alliance with France was unpopular in England, while fear of French success brought support from Emperor Leopold and Spain. By the end of 1672, the Dutch had regained much of the territory lost in May, and with hopes of a quick victory gone, Parliament was unwilling to provide further funding.

Charles II of England (1630-1685); the war was driven by his desire for the French subsidies that offered financial freedom from Parliament

The 1652–1654 First Anglo-Dutch War was the result of commercial rivalry and Orangist support for the exiled Charles II, uncle of William of Orange. Peace terms agreed in 1654 with the English Protectorate included the permanent exclusion of the House of Orange-Nassau from public office, ensuring Republican political control. When Charles regained the English throne in 1660, his Orangist links meant Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625-72) opposed negotiations for an Anglo-Dutch alliance; after these broke down, he agreed a treaty of assistance with Louis XIV in 1662.

Despite their long-standing support in the Dutch Eighty Years' War against Spain, French objectives in the Low Countries threatened Dutch commercial interests. The 1648 Peace of Münster permanently closed the Scheldt estuary, benefiting De Witt's power base of Amsterdam by eliminating their closest rival, Antwerp, and keeping it shut was a vital objective. Changes in this region also concerned England, since control of ports on the North Flemish coast allowed a hostile power to blockade the Channel.

In 1665, an attack by the Duke of York (1644-85) on the West-Indische Compagnie led to the Second Anglo-Dutch War; in the first 18 months, the Dutch suffered a serious naval defeat at Lowestoft, an invasion by Münster and an attempted Orangist coup, both financed by England.

The prospect of an English victory led Louis to activate the 1662 treaty, although the Dutch considered the support provided inadequate. When the States of Holland blocked his requests for territorial compensation, Louis launched the War of Devolution in May 1667 and rapidly occupied much of the Spanish Netherlands and Franche-Comté.

His refusal to recall Parliament forced Charles to pay off his fleet in early 1667, leading to the humiliating Raid on the Medway. Despite this triumph, the Dutch were more worried by French gains; they quickly negotiated an end to the war in July 1667, then started talks in London on a shared approach for reversing them. Sensing an opportunity, Charles proposed an alliance to Louis, who was unwilling to pay the subsidies demanded; however, De Witt welcomed English envoys to The Hague, seeing it as a way to put pressure on France.

French tariffs on imports imposed in early 1667 increased opposition in the States General, who preferred a weak Spain as a neighbour to a strong France. On 23 January

1668, the Republic, England and Sweden signed the Triple Alliance, committing to mutual support in the event of an attack on one by France or Spain. A secret clause agreed to provide Spain military assistance if France continued the war. Charles disclosed the secret clause to Louis, who felt betrayed by the Dutch. Louis returned most of his acquisitions in the 1668 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, although he retained Charleroi and Tournai.

Concluding the Dutch would never voluntarily accept French aims in the Spanish Netherlands, Louis decided the best way to achieve them was to eliminate the Republic. This meant breaking up the Triple Alliance; since the subsidies promised by the Dutch remained unpaid, it was easy to detach Sweden by offering money, making England his next target. The French and English kings negotiated the 1670 Secret Treaty of Dover, using Henrietta of England as a mediator, Charles' sister and Louis' sister in law. Very few English statesmen were aware of its provisions.

THE 1667 RAID ON THE MEDWAY SEVERELY DAMAGED CHARLES' PRESTIGE.

Terms included an Anglo-French military alliance against the Republic, creation of a Dutch rump state for his nephew William and a British brigade for the French army. The treaty was signed in December 1670, but omitted secret clauses not revealed until 1771; Louis agreed to pay Charles £230,000 per year for the brigade, £1 million for the navy and £200,000 for his public conversion to Catholicism, the timing of which was left up to him. Aware Louis was negotiating with De Witt over dividing the Spanish Netherlands, Charles demanded Walcheren, Cadzand and Sluys, whose possession would give him control of Dutch sea routes

National tensions between England and the Republic significantly diminished after 1667, and there was minimal support for an anti-Dutch alliance with France. Exchanging the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam for the spice island of Run resolved a major area of dispute, while both were concerned by French aims in the Low Countries, and English merchants were also affected by French tariffs. Most Dutch and English politicians considered the Triple Alliance an essential protection against French expansion; in early 1671, Parliament allocated money to ensure the Royal Navy could fulfil its obligations under the treaty.

PREPARATIONS

Agreements with Münster and Cologne allowed the French to bypass the Spanish Netherlands.

Louis instructed his ambassador De Pomponne in The Hague to continue negotiations with De Witt as a delaying tactic, while he finalised invasion plans. The same mission had Charles' ambassador William Temple. Since Dutch defences were concentrated along their southern border with the Spanish Netherlands, Louis agreed an alliance with Electoral Cologne, allowing his army to advance through the Principality of Liège for an attack from the east. It also complied with an undertaking to Emperor Leopold I not to use the Spanish Netherlands as an invasion route. In April 1672, France paid Sweden subsidies to remain neutral, while also promising military support if 'threatened' by Brandenburg-Prussia; this offset an agreement of 6 May between the Republic and Frederick William, whose territories included the Duchy of Cleves on their eastern border.

Hoping to gain English support, on 25 February 1672 the States General appointed 22-year-old William captain-general of the federal army, an authorised total of 83,000 men. Uncertainty over French strategy meant most of these were based in the wrong place, while many garrisons were below strength; on 12 June, one commander reported he had only four companies available from an official total of eighteen.

The Republic was better prepared for a naval war, although to avoid provoking the English, on 4 February the States General reduced the naval budget from 7.9 million to 4.8 million guilders. After the 1667 Medway raid, their navy was the largest in Europe; by 1672, the combined Anglo-French fleet outnumbered them by over a third. However, the French were inexperienced, their ships badly designed and co-operation with the English plagued by suspicion. While Dutch numbers were further reduced by Friesland retaining ships for defence against

Münster, better training gave them operational equality.

In the battles of 1666, the Dutch were hampered by lack of familiarity with their new, much heavier, warships, the complex federal command system and conflict between Michiel de Ruyter and Cornelis Tromp (1629-91). By 1672, these had been corrected, and De Ruyter's intensive training of his fleet in line-of-battle manoeuvres installed a new sense of coherence and discipline. Dutch ships were generally better gun platforms, whose shallow draft suited operations close to shore but were slow and less effective in open seas.

Lieutenant-Admiral Michiel de Ruyter (1607-76), whose training compensated for numerical inferiority.

England provided two-thirds of an Anglo-French fleet of 98 "great ships and frigates", whose role was to gain control of Dutch waters, land an expeditionary force and attack its shipping. Parliament generally approved naval expenditure, seen as protecting English trade, but refused to fund land forces. The British brigade was largely composed of Dumbarton's, a mercenary unit in French service since 1631, and very few members saw service before the war ended.

Opposition forced Charles to seek other sources of finance; in January 1672, he suspended repayment of Crown debts in the Stop of the Exchequer, which produced £1.3 million but had disastrous economic effects. Many London merchants were ruined and it shut off the short-term financing essential to international trade. Shortly before the declaration of war, in late March he ordered an attack on a Dutch Levant Company convoy in the Channel, which was beaten off by its escort under Cornelis Evertsen the Youngest (1642-1706).

The unpopularity of an alliance with Catholic France against the Protestant Dutch combined with lack of funding forced Charles to gamble on a quick war. In an attempt to gain support from Nonconformists, he issued a Royal Declaration of Indulgence on 15 March, but by also removing restrictions on Catholics, it did little to reduce opposition. Hostility increased when Charles appointed his Catholic brother James naval commander, rather than his Protestant uncle, Prince Rupert. Even the Royal Navy found it difficult to recruit enough sailors to fully man the fleet.

THE WAR IN 1672

OVERVIEW

When the French invaded the Dutch Republic in May 1672, it initially seemed as if they had won an overwhelming victory. By the end of June, only the Dutch Water Line stood between them and the core province of Holland; by opening the sluices, the Dutch managed to stop the French advance. Dutch survival depended on control of the sea lanes, which ensured they could bring in vital supplies and keep trade routes open. Although outnumbered, on 7 June De Ruyter attacked the combined Anglo-French fleet at the Battle of Solebay; both sides lost one ship each, but it ended significant naval operations for the year.

His unexpected success proved a mixed blessing for Louis, since it distracted from the main objectives of capturing the Spanish

His chief minister, Lord Arlington, was instructed to "break with (the Dutch), yet to lay the breach at their door". This was done using manufactured incidents, including the Merlin affair, which took place near Brill in August 1671. The royal yacht *Merlin* was ordered to sail through the Dutch fleet, who duly struck their flag in salute, but failed to fire white smoke, an honour afforded only to warships. A formal complaint to the States General was dismissed and few in England were even aware of the incident; its use as a pretext, combined with the attack on the Dutch convoy, led some English politicians to declare the conflict "unjust". France declared war on 6 April, followed by England on 7 April.

Netherlands. The possibility of France controlling the Republic, the largest commercial power in Europe, brought the Dutch support from Emperor Leopold (1640-1705) and Spain among others. It also increased opposition in England, where many had opposed an alliance with Catholic France from the start. Peace negotiations made little progress; an over-confident Louis made demands unacceptable even to his English allies, while the Dutch used the opportunity to acquire allies and rebuild their army. By the end of 1672, they had regained much of the territory lost in May; Charles had run out of money and Parliament was unwilling to provide further financing.

FRENCH SUCCESS: MAY TO JUNE

The speed with which the Republic was over-run in 1672 means it is still referred to as the Rampjaar or 'Year of disaster'. On 7 May, a French army of around 80,000 entered Liège; accompanied by Louis, they bypassed the Dutch stronghold of Maastricht, crossed the Meuse and besieged the Dutch-held Rhine fortress towns of Rheinberg, Orsoy, Buderich and Wesel. The last of these surrendered on 9 June, while

troops from Münster and Cologne simultaneously entered the provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland.

On 12 June, the French crossed the Lower Rhine into the Betuwe near Schenkenschans and, recrossing the Lower Rhine to outflank the IJssel Line, occupied Arnhem on 16 June. Now in danger of being cut off from the core province of Holland, William and his troops retreated through Utrecht behind the Holland Water Line; the inundations

were released on 22 June, stopping the French advance in this area. On 5 July, Overijssel surrendered to Bernhard von Galen, Prince-Bishop of Münster, who occupied Drenthe; he reached Groningen, but flooding prevented a proper siege and his troops were soon starving.

The States General had responded to the March attack on the Smyrna convoy by expanding the active fleet from forty-eight to sixty vessels, and ordering the construction of thirty-six new vessels. This still left them outnumbered by the combined Anglo-French fleet, and De Ruyter withdrew into shoal waters near the Dutch coast, awaiting an opportunity. Disasters on land meant De Witt needed a victory; he ordered De Ruyter to attack, accompanied by Cornelis de Witt (1623-72) to ensure these instructions were carried out.

When the Allied fleet withdrew to Solebay near Southwold, Norfolk to resupply, on 7 June De Ruyter surprised it at the Battle of Solebay. The Duke of York led his squadrons against the main Dutch fleet, but his French colleague d'Estrées either misunderstood his intentions or deliberately ignored them, sailing in the opposite direction. The thirty French ships fought a separate encounter at long-range with fifteen ships from the Admiralty of Zeeland, under Adriaen Banckert. D'Estrées was later

condemned by some of his own officers for failing to engage them more closely.

The Earl of Sandwich was killed when the *Royal James* was sunk by fireships, with other ships suffering heavy damage. Although ship losses were roughly equal, Solebay ensured the Dutch retained control of their coastal waters, secured their trade routes and ended hopes of an Anglo-French landing in Zeeland. Anger at the alleged lack of support from Le Comte D'Estrées (1624-1707) increased opposition to the war, and Parliament was reluctant to approve funds for essential repairs. For the rest of the year, this restricted English naval operations to a failed attack on the Dutch East India Company Return Fleet.

However, this did not offset the damage caused by Dutch defeats on land, and it was impossible to hide the gravity of the crisis. A stream of venomous Orangist pamphlets accused the De Witt brothers in particular and the Regent regime in general of betraying the country to the French. There was widespread rioting, with Orangists seizing control of city councils and demanding William take over government. On 22 June, Johan de Witt was badly wounded in an assassination attempt; one of the attackers, Jacob van der Graaf, was quickly arrested, tried and executed, increasing popular anger with the De Witts.

NEGOTIATIONS

The murder of the De Witt brothers secured William's domestic position.

The Dutch were helped by the incompatibility of French and English objectives, while his initial success meant Louis over-estimated the strength of his position. French expansion in the Spanish Netherlands was primarily intended to grow their economy at the expense of the Dutch, but undermined English trade and security as well. If Louis also gained control of Holland, the financial and commercial centre of Europe, the potential increase in French influence threatened every other European state.

On 14 June, the States of Holland opened negotiations, offering Louis the right to occupy key fortresses in the south, plus an indemnity of ten million guilders. He responded with additional demands; religious freedom for Catholics, or French sovereignty over Utrecht and Guelders.

Both sides were using talks as a delaying tactic, assuming their position would improve; Louis knew the envoys were not authorised to negotiate on religion or the territorial integrity of the provinces and would have to request further instructions. The English were to be ceded Delfzijl, in Groningen, already besieged by Münster.

Depicting Charles as the one man who could save them from the French, Orangist pressure led to William's appointment as stadtholder of Holland on 4 July. Hoping for a quick win, Charles sent Arlington and Buckingham to Brill, accompanied by Orangist exiles who had fled the Republic after their failed coup in 1666. They arrived at William's headquarters in Nieuwerbrug on 5 July, cheered by crowds who believed they brought promises of English support. The mood quickly changed when their terms were made public. France and Münster would retain their conquests, and William be appointed Sovereign Prince of Holland; in return, he would pay England ten million guilders, £10,000 per annum for North Sea herring rights, and allow English garrisons to occupy Brill, Sluys and Flushing.

William rejected the offer, since it gave the Dutch nothing they did not already hold. Arlington and Buckingham then met with Louis and agreed the Heeswijk Accord on 16 July. This set out a list of shared demands and undertook not to conclude a separate peace, but neither side placed any reliance on it. Leopold's envoy in the Hague, Francois-Paul de Lisola, gave the States-General assurances of Imperial support and arranged for Spanish troops to hold the Dutch fortress cities of 's-Hertogenbosch

DUTCH RECOVERY: JULY TO DECEMBER

The recapture of Coevorden on 30 December 1672 was a significant boost to Dutch morale.

On 7 July, the inundations were fully set; their effectiveness would be reduced when the waters froze in winter but for now, Holland was secure from French advance. This gave the States time to enact the military reforms approved on 16 July, while they were boosted by the return of 20,000 prisoners ransomed from the French. In addition to unofficial Spanish support, on 25 July Leopold promised to invade the Rhineland and Alsace with 16,000 troops,

and Breda, releasing their garrisons for the field army.

A second letter from Charles on 18 July urged William to accept his terms, claiming the De Witts were the only obstacle to peace. He responded by offering fishing rights, £400,000, Sluys and Surinam, in return for recognition as Prince of Holland and England agreeing a separate peace. Based on the Heeswijk Accord, Louis demanded the Dutch cede their naval base at Hellevoetsluis to England, a demand he knew was unacceptable. After the terms were rejected on 20 July, Arlington and Buckingham returned to London.

Johan de Witt had resigned as Grand Pensionary in June, while Cornelis was arrested for allegedly plotting to murder William. On 15 August, Charles' letter blaming the De Witts was published in Holland; motives are still debated but the effect was to inflame tensions and the two brothers were lynched by an Orangist civil militia on 20th. Orangist Gaspar Fagel became Grand Pensionary; on 27 August, the States of Holland passed legislation removing their political opponents from local office and securing William's political position.

along with the 20,000 promised by Frederick William in May. This forced Louis to divert 40,000 men to meet this threat, with nearly 50,000 tied up in garrisons around the Republic.

English hopes of a quick victory vanished after Solebay, while the removal of the De Witts secured William's position and ended his dependence on Charles. The Münster army disintegrated due to lack of supplies and on 27 August, von Galen abandoned the siege of Groningen; the besiegers lost over 11,000 men, including 6,000 deserters, many of whom joined the Dutch.

William led attacks on Woerden and Charleroi, which were over-ambitious and unsuccessful but restored Dutch morale,

while Coevorden was recaptured on 31 December.

Although their position remained precarious, by the end of 1672 the Dutch had regained much of the territory lost in May and Louis found himself involved in a wider European war of attrition. Despite his French subsidies, Charles had run out of

money and faced considerable domestic opposition to continuing the war. This increased when the Dutch Cape Colony dispatched an expeditionary force to the English-held island of Saint Helena, and took possession on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

1673 OVERVIEW

After the French failed to breach the Holland Water Line, the Anglo-French fleet was tasked with defeating the Dutch navy, allowing them to blockade the Dutch coast and threaten the Republic with starvation, or land an invasion force. However, poor co-ordination meant they failed to exploit their numerical advantage, and De Ruyter was able to prevent his fleet being overwhelmed. Although the Battle of Texel on 21 August was inconclusive, it was a strategic Dutch victory as the damage inflicted on the English fleet forced them to return home for repairs.

Never popular to begin with, English support for the war dissolved along with

hopes for a quick victory. In late 1673, the French withdrew from the Republic, and focused on conquering the Spanish Netherlands, a frightening prospect for most English politicians. Combined with a Dutch pamphlet campaign claiming Charles had agreed to restore Catholicism, Parliament refused to fund the war, while the level of opposition made Charles fear for his own position. In February 1674, the Second Peace of Westminster ended the war; it was greeted with popular enthusiasm in both countries, not least by commercial interests in Amsterdam and London, and the treaty was ratified with exceptional speed.

NAVAL BATTLES

In the first two wars, both navies, particularly the Dutch, employed aggressive tactics that often resulted in heavy ship losses for the defeated side. In the Third Anglo-Dutch War, the priority was to minimise losses, and it was common for fleets to engage using the 'line-ahead' formation, an essentially defensive approach; despite inflicting considerable damage, neither side lost any ships at the Texel.

When the Water Line froze during the winter of 1673, the French were unable to break it,[68] thwarted by thin ice and companies of Dutch sailors equipped with ice skates, under Johan de Liefde (1619-73). Attempts in the spring to drain the northern part of the line or cross on rafts also proved unsuccessful. With an eastern approach impractical, the Royal Navy was ordered to blockade the coast in co-operation with a

French squadron; if possible, they were to land an invasion force, although how this would be accomplished was unclear. Lacking experience of amphibious operations, this meant capturing a Dutch port, despite limited knowledge of the dangerous shoals protecting their approaches.

Hoping to unnerve the Dutch, Prince Rupert (1619-82) leaked information claiming his fleet was accompanied by ships carrying an invasion force; in reality, it remained in Great Yarmouth, and was in any case insufficient for the task. In May, the English fleet of 81 ships approached the Dutch coast, while De Ruyter's 55 ships took up a defensive position in the Schooneveld. Early on 7 June, Prince Rupert detached a light squadron, hoping to tempt De Ruyter into battle where the Allies could

use their superior numbers. The alternative was forcing the Dutch fleet into Hellevoetsluis, where they could be blockaded while transports brought troops over to assault Den Briel or Vlissingen.

However, De Ruyter's speed of response allowed him to attack before the main Allied fleet was ready, launching the First Battle of the Schooneveld. At Solebay the previous year, the French squadron had sailed in the opposite direction to that of the English; to counter accusations this had been deliberate, they now formed the centre squadron. However, their inexperience and poor positioning left gaps which allowed De Ruyter to sail through the Allied centre.

The French commanders had been ordered by Louis not to risk their ships, but focus on learning from the English and Dutch. They therefore disengaged, later writing enthusiastic reports about the tactical genius of the manoeuvre used by De Ruyter. Their defection threatened to cut off the Allied rear under Sir Edward Spragge (c.1620-73); he took his own squadron to attack Tromp, who was also being engaged by Rupert, but fear of running aground meant this was not done with any conviction. Now split into four parts and in considerable confusion, the Allies withdrew after nine hours of fighting; they were not pursued, since De Ruyter decided not to take any unnecessary risks.

**THE GOUDEN LEEUW
DUELLING THE ROYAL PRINCE
AT THE BATTLE OF TEXEL**



Fig. 11
Willem van de Velde the Younger
The Gouden Leeuw at the Battle of Texel, 21 August 1673
Oil on canvas, 49.8 x 299.7 cm
Signature and date verso: *W.V. Velde J 1687*
Royal Museums Greenwich, inv.no BHC0315

The Allies continued to hold their position off the Dutch coast; on 14 June, De Ruyter took advantage of favourable winds and launched the Second Battle of the Schooneveld. Once again, this caused chaos in the unprepared Allied fleet, which suffered severe damage and returned to the Thames for repairs. In late July, Rupert put to sea again, hoping to draw the Dutch north by feinting against The Hague or Den Helder; although De Ruyter preferred to remain where he was, he was ordered out to escort a valuable incoming Dutch East India Company treasure fleet. While both sides suffered severe damage in the resulting Battle of Texel, Prince Rupert was forced to return home for repairs.

The conduct of the French led to widespread recriminations and accusations they had failed to support their English colleagues. Whether this was fair remains a matter of dispute; in all three battles, De Ruyter took advantage of Allied deficiencies in fighting instructions and signalling.

ANTI-WAR SENTIMENT IN ENGLAND

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, WHO LED OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

In previous conflicts, investing in privateers had been very profitable for the English, but from 1672 to 1673 Dutch raiders captured over 2,800 French and English ships, far more than their counterparts. The province of Zeeland alone operated 120 privateers. Being well aware that the war was waged by English and French nobles who disdained the Dutch as, in the words of Louis, a nation of "cheesemongers", at least three privateers sailed under the name of the *Getergde Kaasboer* (provoked cheesemonger). Having failed to blockade the Dutch coast, the English now found themselves excluded from the vital Baltic trade in shipbuilding materials. The fact that the Dutch under Cornelis Evertsen the Youngest had retaken New York City—formerly New Amsterdam—in 1673 mattered little financially, but it hurt the English reputation

Regardless, it deepened suspicions between the English and French, further undercutting popular support for the war, while ending any hopes of starving the Dutch through a naval blockade. The result was an overwhelming strategic victory for the Dutch even though four ships of the Spice Fleet had fallen into Allied hands. For De Ruyter, the successful campaign, by repelling attacks by much superior fleets to save his homeland, had been the highlight of his career, as the English readily acknowledged: the Duke of York concluded that among admirals, "he was the greatest that ever to that time was in the world". The English had to abandon their plans for an invasion from the sea, and the large costs of repair troubled Parliament.

On 1 September 1673, a Dutch squadron under Cornelis van Quaelbergen defeated an English force off Masulipatam, further damaging English trade. The material damage compounded a moral unease about the justifiability of the war; John Evelyn already after Solebay wrote: "the loss of my Lord Sandwich redoubled the loss to me, as well the folly of hazarding so brave a fleet, and losing so many good men, for no provocation in the world but because the Hollander exceeded us in industry, and all things else but envy."

The effect was to increase English disillusionment with the war, while stabilising their military position restored Dutch credit, allowing the Estates to expand the military budget to a hundred million guilders, three times annual tax revenues.

Louis had attacked the Republic hoping for a quick victory; once this failed, he faced a war of attrition on multiple fronts.

In July 1673, French troops captured Maastricht; on 30 August, the Dutch agreed the Alliance of the Hague with Leopold and Spain. In October, they were joined by Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine, whose duchy was occupied by France, forming the Quadruple Alliance.

William made sure the peace negotiations held in Cologne with France and England failed. In September, he recaptured Naarden, Münster and Cologne made peace, and French troops withdrew from the Dutch Republic, retaining only Grave and Maastricht. With a French victory over the Dutch now unlikely, the war became one for control of Flanders, an issue that divided England and France. This was an important factor in English opposition to the French alliance, but internal events were even more significant.

In early 1673, Arlington's former secretary Peter du Moulin fled to the Republic, where he started a propaganda campaign backed by the world's largest per capita printing capacity. England was soon flooded with tens of thousands of pamphlets accusing Charles of conspiring with Louis to make the country Catholic again. Many were convinced of its truth, particularly when

Charles gave permission for his brother and heir James to marry Mary of Modena, a devout Catholic. In February 1673, Parliament refused to approve further taxes unless Charles withdrew his proposed Indulgence and accepted a Test Act barring Catholics from public office. In June 1673, James laid down his position as Lord High Admiral, which was generally (and correctly) interpreted as a sign that James had in secret become a Catholic and was therefore unable to abjure the transubstantiation doctrine, as the Test Act demanded of all officials. As Charles had no legitimate offspring, James' marriage now presented the strong prospect of a Catholic dynasty ruling England in the future.

Buckingham, who learned of the secret provisions of the Treaty of Dover the previous year, reacted to the changed public mood by leaking them to other politicians, including Arlington. As a result, the Cabal Ministry joined those advocating peace with the Dutch; shocked by the revelation of Charles' agreement with Louis, Lord Shaftesbury began to consider removing the House of Stuart entirely. With his backing, John Locke developed the legal concepts that appeared in his work the *Two Treatises of Government*, a general denunciation of absolute monarchy.

SECOND PEACE OF WESTMINSTER

In this situation Charles felt that continuing the alliance was a grave threat to his personal position and that Parliament would no longer fund a war. He informed the French ambassador Colbert de Croissy that to his regret, he had to terminate the English war effort. He told the Dutch via the Spanish consul in London, the Marquess del Fresno, that, his main war aim to install his noble nephew as stadtholder having been attained, he no longer objected to concluding a lasting peace between the two Protestant brother nations, if only some minor "indemnities" could be paid. At first the States of Holland were

disinclined to grant Charles's demands: as England had accomplished nothing in the war, it was, in their opinion, not entitled to any reward. But William convinced them that there was some chance of bringing Charles into the war against France eventually. Furthermore, Spain had not yet declared war on France and was willing to do so only if England made peace, because it feared English attacks on its American colonies.

After a short exchange of proposals by means of trumpeters, the Treaty of Westminster was publicly proclaimed in London on 17 February Old Style.

It was approved by the States of Holland and West Frisia on 4 March (New Style), and ratified by the States General on 5 March.

The treaty stipulated that New York—formerly New Netherland—would henceforth be an English possession and that Suriname, captured by the Dutch in 1667, would remain their colony, confirming the status quo of 1667. An "indemnity" of two million guilders was to be paid by the Dutch. Eventually, William would force Charles to set off these indemnities against the debts he owed to the House of Orange, so the English king actually received very little.

Despite the peace, Monmouth's brigade would not be withdrawn from the French army and it would be allowed to recruit in Britain until the end of the Franco-Dutch War. In April that year, William attempted to convince his uncle to enter the war against Louis but failed.

Until the end of the War of Holland in 1678, Charles tried to negotiate between the two parties, at times pretending to consider a conflict with France, when such pretence was beneficial to him. In 1677, he forced his niece Mary to marry William; this would later prove to be a fundamental cause of the fall of his brother in 1688.

The Battle of Texel (Kijkduin) (11/21) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English Vice-Admiral Sir John Harman on the London and Dutch Vice-Admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid

FLAG OFFICERS-ENGLISH AND FRENCH¹

<i>Red Squadron</i>		
Admiral	PRINCE RUPERT (Union flag at the main)	<i>Royal Sovereign</i>
Vice-Adm.	J. HARMAN	<i>London</i>
Rear-Adm.	J. CHICHELY	<i>Charles</i>

<i>White Squadron</i>		
Vice-Adm.	COMTE D'ESTRÉES	<i>Reine</i>
Rear-Adm.	MARQUIS MARTEL	<i>Royal Thérèse</i>
Chef d'escadre	H. DES ARDENS	<i>Terrible</i>

<i>Blue Squadron</i>		
Admiral	E. SPRAGGE	<i>Royal Prince</i>
Vice. Adm.	J. KEMPTHORNE	<i>St. Andrew</i>
Rear-Adm.	EARL OF OSSORY	<i>St Michael</i>

FLAG OFFICERS - DUTCH¹

<i>Centre Squadron</i>		
L.-Adm.	M. DE RUYTER	<i>Zeven Provinciën</i>
L.-Adm.	A. VAN NES	<i>Eendracht</i>
Vice-Adm.	J. DE LIEFDE	<i>Vrijheid</i>
S.b N.	J. VAN NES	<i>Maagd van Dordrecht</i>

<i>Van Squadron</i>		
L.-Adm.	A. BANCKERT	<i>Walcheren</i>
Vice-Adm.	C.EVERTSEN	<i>Zierikzee</i>
Vice-Adm.	E.D. STAR	<i>Groningen</i>
S.b N.	H. BRUYNSVELT	<i>Prins Hendrik Casimir</i>

<i>Rear Squadron</i>		
L.-Adm.	C. TROMP	<i>Gouden Leeuw</i>
Vice-Adm.	I. SWEERS	<i>Olifant</i>
S.b N.	J. DE HAEN	<i>Hollandia</i>

Fig.12

¹ Navy Records Society (1946), *Journals and Narratives of the third Dutch war*, p. 404.
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BATTLE OF TEXEL

The naval Battle of Texel or Battle of Kijkduin took place off the southern coast of island of Texel on 21 August 1673 (11 August O.S.) between the Dutch and the combined English and French fleets.

It was the last major battle of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, which was itself part of the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678), during which Louis XIV of France invaded the Republic and sought to establish control over the Spanish Netherlands. English involvement came about because of the Treaty of Dover, secretly concluded by Charles II of England, and which was highly unpopular with the English Parliament.

The overall commanders of the English and Dutch military forces were Lord High Admiral James, Duke of York, later King James II of England, and Admiral-General William III of Orange, his son-in-law and another future King of England. Neither of them took part in the fight. The Battle of Texel was joined when a Dutch fleet sought to oppose the landing of troops by a combined Anglo-French fleet.

Prince Rupert of the Rhine commanded the Allied fleet of about 92 ships and 30 fire ships, taking control of the centre himself, with Jean II d'Estrées commanding the van, and Sir Edward Spragge the rear division. The Dutch fleet of 75 ships and 30 fire ships was commanded by Lieutenant-Admiral-General Michiel de Ruyter on his flagship the *Zeven Provinciën* (80 guns) with Lieutenant-Admiral Adriaen Banckert in charge of the van and Cornelis Tromp the rear. Although the Dutch warships were smaller on average than both their English and French opponents, they were better trained and more experienced.

In late July, Rupert put to sea again, hoping to draw the Dutch fleet north by feinting against The Hague or Den Helder. De Ruyter initially remained at Schooneveld,

but William ordered him to escort an inbound Dutch East India Company treasure fleet, whose capture could provide Charles enough funds to continue the war.

[1]

De Ruyter first decided not to leave his defensive position in the Schooneveld, from which he had successfully engaged the allied fleet in the double Battle of Schooneveld. However the Dutch Spice Fleet was returning from the Indies, filled with precious cargo. With half the country under French occupation for almost a year, the Dutch Republic's finances were in disastrous straits. The Dutch could not afford to lose the wealth the Spice Fleet was bringing, let alone allow it to be captured by the enemy. If such a price would fall in the hands the English, it would otherwise provide them with financial means to prolong the war still further. The number of canons and troops were thought to be sufficient to defend the coast, which would warrant the taking of such a step. As such stadtholder William of Orange after an inspection of the fleet on 12th August, ordered De Ruyter to seek to engage the enemy.

De Ruyter then sailed to Texel on the lookout for the enemy, whom he engaged in battle before the coast of Kijkduin on 21st August. Although outnumbered, De Ruyter gained the weather gauge and sent his van under Adriaen Banckert in to separate the Allied van (under D'Estrées) from the main fleet. The vanguard with Banckert mounted a successful attack on the French squadron, despite the fact they initially displayed a fierce resistance. The ploy of the Ruyter was effective and the French soon beat a quick retreat before withdrawing their entire force from the battle.

The rest of the battle would be a gruelling encounter between the bulk of the Dutch fleet and the English centre and rear divisions. Both suffered badly during hours of fierce fighting.

The fight between the English and Dutch centre under De Ruyter and Lieutenant-Admiral Aert Jansse van Nes

continued for hours, with each side gaining the weather gauge as the winds shifted. De Ruyter engaged the Red squadron under the command of Prince Rupert on the *Royal Sovereign*, and was later joined by the vanguard under Banckert. Those tactics proved too much for Prince Rupert. He fled westwards to the aid of the Blue squadron, the English rearguard under Sir Edward Spragge, which was coming under fire from Cornelis Tromp, the commander of the Dutch rearguard. The main focus of the fight was a Dutch attempt to capture Spragge's isolated flagship, the *Prince*.

Once again, the rear divisions led by Spragge and Tromp clashed repeatedly, Spragge having publicly sworn to kill or capture his old enemy. The two flagships were engaged in such heavy fire that the admirals were forced to change ship three times because their original ships had been damaged beyond repair. During one of the exchanges a cannonball hit Spragge's cutter, it sank and the unfortunate admiral was drowned. More importantly, his preoccupation with duelling Tromp isolated the English centre, and was a key factor in allowing an inferior but better managed fleet to succeed. [2]

Prince Rupert and De Ruyter did battle again, but the failure of the French to engage resulted in the former conceding defeat and setting sail for home. The English eventually abandoned their attempt to land troops (the landing force known as the Blackheath Army was still waiting in England to be shipped), and withdrew.

Neither side captured any ships. Whereas the English suffered extensive damage to ships and about 3,000 men died, two-thirds of them English or French. [3] Only four of De Ruyter's ships were sent home for repairs, in fact he was even able to stay at sea for one month longer. Unlike the two battles fought earlier the same year at Schooneveld, both of which had proved inconclusive, the battle of Texel was a clear victory for de Ruyter.

AFTERMATH

Lieutenant-Admiral Michiel de Ruyter, whose training compensated for Dutch numerical inferiority. To give an example of how tight discipline was under De Ruyter's command, accounts of the time record the fact that the Dutch were able to reload their guns once or twice in the same time it took the English to fire just one shot.

After the battle, Prince Rupert complained the French had not done their share of the fighting, and their performance is still disputed. While Prud'homme states the French fought hard, he accepts they allowed themselves to become separated from the English fleet. [4] The main dispute is whether this was deliberate; D'Estrées had been ordered by Louis XIV to preserve the French fleet, and thus disobeyed Rupert's orders to attack the Dutch, claiming the wind was too weak. [5] By the admission of several French officers, their fleet was not prominent in the action, but they attributed this to inexperience. [6]

The size of the Allied fleet and length of its battle line combined with inadequacies in fighting instructions and signalling made it hard to control. [6] It deepened suspicions between the English and French, further undercutting popular support for the war, while ending any hopes of starving the Dutch through a naval blockade, making it an overwhelming strategic victory for the Dutch. [3] This campaign was the highlight of De Ruyter's career, as acknowledged by the Duke of York, who concluded, "he was the greatest that ever to that time was in the world" [7].

Despite losing four ships, the Spice Fleet arrived safely; bringing the much needed financial reprieve. In the months following, the Netherlands formed a formal alliance with Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. The threat posed by German and Spanish invasions from the south and east forced the French to withdraw from the territory of the Republic.

The Third Anglo-Dutch War came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Westminster between the English and the Dutch in 1674.

Fourteen years later the Glorious Revolution, which saw Stadtholder William III ascend the throne of England, put an end to the Anglo-Dutch conflicts of the 17th century. Only in 1781 would the Dutch and British fleets fight each other again in the battle of Dogger Bank.

SHIPS INVOLVED ENGLAND AND FRANCE

[cf "*Journals and Narratives of the Third Dutch War*", Roger Charles Anderson, Naval Records Society, London. Complete English ship lists are given for the naval battles of this war, but smaller vessels, e.g. fire ships, of which there were many present during this action, are not included in Anderson's book.] John Winkler

WHITE SQUADRON (FRENCH): 30 SOLS ABOUT 1828 GUNS

- 27 SOLs from the previous battle, plus 3 new ones
- *Royale Therese* 80 - RA Marquis de Martel
- *Pompeux* 70
- *Diamant* 60

RED SQUADRON (ENGLISH): 29 SOLS (I-IV RATES) ABOUT 1870 GUNS + 2-V

- *Sovereign* - A
- *London* - VA
- *Charles* - RA
- *Royal Katherine*
- *Henry*
- *Victory*
- *French Ruby*
- *Edgar*
- *Warspite*
- *Old James*
- *Triumph*
- *Resolution*
- *Rupert*
- *Monmouth*
- *Mary*
- *Crown*
- *Advice*
- *Pearl* - fifth rate

**BLUE SQUADRON (ENGLISH): 27 SOLS (I-IV RATES) ABOUT 1690 GUNS
+ 2-V**

- *Prince - A*
- *Royal Charles*
- *St. Andrew - VA*
- *Cambridge*
- *St. George*
- *Unicorn*
- *Henrietta*
- *Dreadnought*
- *Lion*
- *Gloucester*
- *Dunkirk*
- *Monk*
- *Bristol*
- *Bonaventure*
- *Ruby*
- *Success - fifth rate*
- *Guernsey - fifth rate*

DIVISION OF REAR-ADM. OF BLUE

- *St. Michael - RA*
- *Swiftsure*
- *Rainbow*
- *York*
- *Greenwich*
- *Hampshire*
- *Portsmouth*
- *Foresight*
- *Sweepstakes*

UNKNOWN LOCATION (MOST OF THEM IN RED SQ.)

- *Fairfax*
- *Plymouth*
- *Anne*
- *Happy Return*
- *Princess*
- *Newcastle*
- *Yarmouth*
- *Leopard*

- *Nonsuch (or Portland)*
- *Stavoren*
- *Mary Rose*
- *Diamond*
- *Swallow*
- *Assurance*
- *Falcon*
- *Mermaid* (probable) - fifth rate

THE NETHERLANDS

ADMIRALTY OF AMSTERDAM

SHIPS OF THE LINE

- *Akerboom* 62 (Jacob Teding van Berkhout)
- *Stad Utrecht* 66 (Jan Davidszoon Bondt)
- *Prince te Paard* 55 (Adam van Brederode)
- *Wakende Kraan* 44 (Pieter Claesz Dekker)
- *Zeelandia* 44 (Daniël Elsevier)
- *Steenbergen* 68 (Jan Paulusz van Gelder, killed in battle)
- *Hollandia* 80 (Rear Admiral Jan de Haen)
- *Gideon* 62 (Barend Hals)
- *Provincie van Utrecht* 60 (Jan Janszoon de Jongh)
- *Leenwen* 50 (Jan Gijsels van Lier)
- *Spiegel* 70 (Commodore Jacob van Meeuwen)
- *Komeetstar* 68 (Pieter Middelandt)
- *Essen* 50 (Philips de Munnik)
- *Wapen van Holland* 44 (Matthijs Dirkszoon Pijl)
- *Waesdorp* 68 (Engel de Ruyter)
- *Tijdverdrijf* 56 (Gilles Schey)
- *Agatha* 50 (Pieter Cornelisz de Sitter)
- *Kalantsoog* 68 (Volkert Hendrickszoon Swart, died from wounds)
- *Beschermer* 50 (David Swerius (Sweers), killed in battle)
- *Oliphant* 82 (Vice-Admiral Isaac Sweers, killed in battle)
- *Geloof* 56 (Cornelis Tijloos)
- *Gouden Leeuw* 82 (Lt-Admiral Cornelis Tromp, captain Thomas Tobiaszoon)
- *Zuiderhuis* 45 (Isaak Uitterwijk)
- *Amsterdam* 60 (Cornelis van der Zaan)

FRIGATES

- *Oudkarspel* 34 (Jan van Abkoude)
- *Bommel* 24 (Jan Bogaart)
- *Edam* 36 (Willem van Ewijk)
- *Haas* 24 (Hans Hartwich)
- *Damiaten* 32 (Mattheus Megank)
- *Popkensburg* 24 (Jan Noiroot)
- *Middelburg* 36 (Hendrik Span)
- *Brak* 22 (Roemer Vlacq)

ADVICE YACHTS

- *Egmond* 10 (Jan Kramer)
- *Triton* 10 (Nicolaas Portugaal)
- *Kits* 4 (Gilles Saloy)
- *Kater* 10 (Abraham Taalman)

FIRESHIPS

- *Zaaier* 4 (Wijbrand Barendszoon)
- *Jacob en Anna* (Jan Boomgaard)
- *Leidster* 4 (Pieter van Grootveld)
- *Vrede* 4 (Dirk Klaaszoon Harney)
- *Wapen van Velsen* 4 (Jan van Kampen)
- *Zalm* 4 (Cornelis Jelmertszoon Kok)
- *Kasteel van Loon* 4 (Pieter Hendrikszoon Pop)
- *Melkschuit* 4 (Jacob Schenk)
- *Salvador* 4 (Jacob Vroom)
- *Draak* 4 (Willem Willemszoon)

ADMIRALTY OF DE MAZE/ ADMIRALITY OF ROTTERDAM

SHIPS OF THE LINE

- *De Zeven Provinciën* 80 (fleet flag, Lt-Admiral-General Michiel de Ruyter, flag captains Gerard Callenburgh and Pieter de Liefde)
- *Delft* 62 (Philips van Almonde)
- *Ridderschap* 64 (Eland du Bois)
- *Voorzichtigheid* 84 (Jan van Brakel)
- *Gelderland* 63 (temporary Rear-Admiral Cornelis de Liefde, mortally wounded)
- *Vrijheid* 80 (Vice-Admiral Jan Evertszoon de Liefde, killed in battle)

- *Eendracht* 72 (Lt-Admiral Aert Jansse van Nes)
- *Maagd van Dordrecht* 68 (Vice-Admiral Jan Jansse van Nes)
- *Dordrecht* 44 (Frans van Nijdek)
- *Zeelandia* 42 (Simon van Panhuis)
- *Schieland* 58 (Adriaan Poort)
- *Wassenaer* 59 (Barend Rees)

FRIGATES

- *Schiedam* 20 (Cornelis van der Hoevensoon)
- *Utrecht* 34 (Jan Snellensoon)
- *Rotterdam* 30 (Jacob Pieterszoon Swart)
- *Harderwijk* 24 (Mozes Wichmansoon))

ADVICE YACHTS

- *Hoop* 6 (Isaac Anteunissoon van Anten)
- *Rotterdam* 6 (Wijnand van Meurs)

FIRESHIPS

- *Sint Pieter* (Gerrit Halfkaag)
- *Jisper Kerk* 4 (Lens Harmenszoon)
- *Blackmoor* 4 (Abraham van Koperen)
- *Maria* 4 (Dirk de Munnik)
- *Eenhoorn* (Willem de Rave)
- *Louise* 4 (Jan Daniëlszoon van Rijn)
-

ADMIRALTY OF THE NORTHERN QUARTER

SHIPS OF THE LINE

- *Pacifcatie* 76 (Cornelis Bakker)
- *Jupiter* 42 (Pieter Bakker)
- *Gelderland* 45 (Maarten de Boer)
- *Eenhoorn* 70 (Rear-Admiral Jan Janszoon Dick)
- *Westfriesland* 78 (Jan Heck)
- *Wapen van Nassau* 58 (Pieter Karseboom)
- *Wapen van Alkmaar* 63 (Jan Krook)
- *Wapen van Enkhuizen* 72 (Leendert Kuiper)
- *Justina van Nassau* 66 (Jan Gerritszoon van Muis)
- *Noorderkwartier* 60 (Jacob Roos)

- *Prins van Oranje* 64 (Claes Corneliszoon Valehaen)
- *Wapen van Medemblik* 44 (Hendrik Visscher, killed in battle)
- *Caleb* 50 (Claes Pietersz Wijnbergen)

FIRESHIPS

- *Vis* (Harmen de Boer)
- *Catharina* 2 (Pieter Sievertszoon Bouckertsen)
- *Witte Mol* 4 (Hendrik Munt)

ADMIRALTY OF ZEALAND

SHIPS OF THE LINE

- *Walcheren* 70 (Lt-admiral Adriaen van Trappen Banckert)
- *Zierikzee* 60 (Vice-admiral Cornelis Evertsen de Jonge)
- *Dordrecht* 50 (Willem Hendrickszoon)
- *Ter Veere* 50 (Dirk Jobszoon Kiela, killed in battle)
- *Utrecht* 50 (Simon Loncke)
- *Domburg* 60 (Carel van der Putte)
- *Vlissingen* 48 (Salomon Le Sage)

FRIGATES

- *Delft* 34 (Adriaen van Trappen Banckert de Jonge)
- *Ter Goes* 34 (Anteunis Matthijszoon)

ADVICE YACHTS

- *Hazewind* 7 (Tobias Adriaanszoon)
- *Goes* 8 (David van Geerstdale)
- *Waterbond* 4 (Jacob Hamers)
- *Zwaluw* 6 (Matthijs Lauwerens)
- *Jonge Maria* 10 (Arnoud Leunissen)
- *Tonijn* 6 (Pieter de Moor)
- ? (Hendrik Pieterszoon)
- *Bruinvis* 6 (Jan Corneliszoon Poot)
- *Parel* 6 (Teunis Post)
- *Lapmande* 8 (Schuyen)

FIRESHIPS

- *Samuel en Jacob* 4 (Simon Arendszoon)
- *Dadelboom* 2 (Reinier Dirkszoon)
- *Catharina* 4 (Frederik Konvent)
- *Sevellie* 2 (Anteunis Janszoon Schalje)
- *Burg* 2 (Huibrecht Wolfertszoon)

ADMIRALTY OF FRISIA

SHIPS OF THE LINE

- *Elf Steden* 50 (Witzo Johannes Beima)
- *Prins Hendrik Casimir* 70 (Rear-Admiral Hendrik Bruynsvelt)
- *Groningen* 70 (Vice-Admiral Enno Doedes Star)
- *Oostergo* 58 (Jan Janszoon Vijselaer)

FRIGATE

- *Windbond* 30 (Jan Pieterszoon Vinckelbos)

ADVICE YACHTS

- *Hoop* 6 (Cornelis Reindertszoon Eenarm)
- *Liefde* (Jochem Jansen)

FIRESHIP

- *Welkomst* (IJsbrand Albertszoon)
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- References
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- 1. ^ Prud'homme van Reine 2015, pp. 268–269.
- 2. ^ Jenkins 1973, p. 53.
- 3. ^ Jump up to: a b Prud'homme van Reine 2015, p. 272.
- 4. ^ Prud'homme van Reine 2015, p. 270.
- 5. ^ Jenkins 1973, p. 52.
- 6. ^ Jump up to: a b Davies 2008, p. 268.
- 7. ^ Rodger 2004, p. 85.
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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PAINTING AND OTHER DEPICTIONS OF THE BATTLE OF TEXEL

The battle of Texel is illustrated by several contemporary artists such as Willem van de Velde the Younger, Abraham Storck and Pieter van Maes. The paintings show different moments of the battle, as well as their ships.

After the Second Battle of Schooneveld (June 14, 1673), De Ruyter waited for an opportune moment to launch the Staatse fleet against the "Conjugated Royal Seafaring Fleets," as the Anglo-French fleet was referred to. At a council of war in the presence of Stadholder William III, on August 12, 1673, aboard the *Zeven Provinciën* (80 guns), it had been unanimously decided that an attack would be the best defence against the persistent threat of the Allied fleet. Although the enemy outnumbered them, by some 92 to 75 ships, fear of an invasion of the Dutch coast prevailed in the decision. Never before had the independence of the Republic been in such danger!

Moreover, a richly laden convoy of VOC return ships had to be guaranteed safe passage home.

The wind remained unfavourable for a long time, so that it was only on August 21 that the possibility of an encounter with the enemy presented itself. The enemy had arranged himself in the shape of an ellipse; the attacker attacked him from a crescent moon. The manoeuvres of the Allied fleet under the command of Prince Rupert, who had his ships dispersed from the core, made that the relations were different than De Ruyter had foreseen.

Thus it could happen that two archrivals found themselves on opposite sides.

Cornelis Tromp had dealt Edward Spragge, captain of the Blue Squadron, a crushing defeat during the Battle of the Schooneveld (Texel). During this defeat he had spoken invectively about the English knight.

According to Tromp, Spragge would do better to appoint his wife as captain of the

fleet, a reference to her descent from a Dunkirk privateer family. Spragge took this insult very seriously and swore in front of King Charles II to kill the Dutch lieutenant admiral. However, fate took a very different turn.

While De Ruyter went into battle with Rupert, the French squadron soon took quarter for Lieutenant Admiral Banckert. The blue squadron under Spragge had drifted northeast at the outbreak of the battle. The knight thus ignored the explicit orders from on high to stay near Prince Rupert's squadron. At half past eight in the morning, it was Vice-Admiral Sweers who led the Blue squadron on the *Witte Olifant* (82 guns) who was the first to sail out against the enemy. Subsequently, the centrepieces meet and the battle erupts in all its ferocity.

Print publisher Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge describes the episode as follows: *Van het esquader onder den Heer Tromp, met dat van de Blaenwe Vlag, werd onuytsprekelijk en ongelooffelijck gevochten: men sou schier gesejdt hebben, dat alle de Duyvels te gelijck nyt de Hel waren los gebroken, om aldaer hare algemeene schrickelijcke vergaderingh te houden* (From the squadron under Mr. Tromp, with that of the Blue Flag, there was an unprecedented and unbelievable fight: one could almost have guessed that all the dugouts had broken loose from Hell at the same time, to hold their general frightful meeting there.) The doggedness with which Tromp attacks the larger *Prince* from the *Gouden Leeuw* (80 guns) does justice to his nickname 'Zeeleeuw' (Sea Lion). During the first three hours of this battle, in which both ships lie bow to bow uninterrupted, there are no casualties among the crew of the *Gouden Leeuw*. With 100 pieces, the *Prince* had 18 more cannons than its attacker and almost twice the number of men. Half of the 800 crewmembers of the English ship were killed and 300 were wounded.



Fig. 13

Abraham Storck

The Battle of Kijkduin / The Battle of Texel, 21 August 1673

On the left the *Witte Olifant* under the command of Isaac Sweers, in the centre Cornelis Tromp on the *Gouden Leeuw* and on the right the *Royal Prince* with Sir Edward Spragge.

Oil on canvas, 100 x 134 cm

Signed on driftwood l.l.: *A. Storck fecit*

Ex collection Rob Kattenburg

Description:

The painting depicts the duel between Cornelis Tromp and Sir Edward Spragge, at the moment when the great mast of the *Royal Prince* (100 guns) is shot off. In the foreground an English ship of the Blue squadron sinks. The sailors jump overboard and try to get to safety in a lifeboat. This is not historically accurate; as this was the third time both fleets had clashed without losing a single ship except for some burners and the English yacht *Henrietta*.

Storck may have taken this liberty to indicate that this was a Dutch victory. On the left in the background vice admiral Isaac Sweers' *White Elephant*, which was helpful in repelling the Blue squadron.



Fig.14

Pieter van Maes

*The Battle of Kijkduin, 21 August 1673,
with in the middle on the bow seen the Comet Star
under the command of Lieutenant Admiral Cornelis Tromp,
with on port side the derelict Royal Prince*

Oil on canvas, 111.5 x 167 cm

Signed and dated on driftwood l.o. PVMAES 1678

Ex collection Rob Kattenburg

Description:

Van Maes depicts the moment Cornelis Tromp attempts to board the *Royal Prince* from the *Komeetster* (68 pieces). Because no faithful reproduction of this ship was available to him, the painter depicted the stern after the example of the *Royal Charles*. The latter ship, not to be confused with its namesake from 1673, was captured by de Ruyter during the Battle of the Medway, 'Tocht naar Chatham' (1667) and has since been anchored off Hellevoetsluis, where the painter may have seen it. Behind the *Komeetster* is an advisory yacht or galleon dispatched with a letter to Captain Thomas Tobias, straggling on the *Gouden Leeuw* (82 guns), to send one hundred men's reinforcement from his ship over to the *Komeetster*. After damage to the forecastle and main stem, the captain had manoeuvred the flagship abandoned by Tromp into the lee of battle. On the *Royal Prince* (100 guns), the spar of the main and jib masts is shot through. Ten sloops away from the *Royal Charles* (96 guns), Spragge's sloop is hit by a bullet.

The admiral spreads his arms to the sky in despair, he is wounded and drowns.

In the foreground, a reconnaissance frigate of the Red Squadron is wrecked. This allows us to place the situation just before six o'clock in the evening, when Prince Rupert comes to the aid of the distressed squadron. The burner *Het Visje of Enkhuizen* then succeeds in burning a frigate rigged as a war frigate to ashes. On the left of the rear plan, the retreat is depicted with the *Zeelandia* (44 guns) led by Daniel Elsevier.

The *Olipbant* with Isaac Sweers, who is killed during the battle, is depicted on the back right. For Tromp, the battle ends in victory in more ways than one; not only does he defeat his rival from the enemy camp, but two of his opponents in his own ranks, namely Isaac Sweers and vice-admiral Johan de Liefde, also die. After returning to land, he will see to it that his part in the battle is widely publicized through propaganda.

Pieter van Maes fitted a number of successive events into a tested composition. The most striking deviation from reality, in addition to the playful interpretations of the decorative carvings on the mirrors, is the damage to the *Prince* shown. Van Maes depicts the ship with a broken mainmast and foresail, whereas tradition clearly reports that the mainmast and mizzenmast are punctured by round timber. The *Komeetster*, as a line ship of the third charter, stands out remarkably large against the English 1st rate *Prince*.

And although by today's standards the battle on both sides was settled without any loss of ships (i.e., line ships or frigates), the English defeat is illustrated on the forecastle by a sinking frigate. In contrast, in the service of the English king, Willem van de Velde the Younger lards his depictions of Kijkduin with a sinking Dutch ship. *L'histoire est une suite des mensonges sur lesquels on est d'accord...*

In honour of Cornelis Tromp, the masts of the *Hollandia* can be seen behind the *Prince*. On this ship the lieutenant-admiral experienced his triumphs during the Four Days Battle (1666). Van Maes completed his 'Kijkduin' during the first lustrum of the battle. In the same year, the *Komeetster* under the command of Engel de Ruyter sailed out to the Mediterranean to assist the Spanish against the French. Engel had been appointed vice-admiral of the admiralty of Amsterdam shortly before to replace Jan de Haen, who was killed at Palermo and who in turn replaced Isaac Sweers. After serving for some time under the Danish king, Tromp retired to the just-restored Trompenburgh - the estate had suffered badly from aggression from the French - in 's Graveland. The country house and its more illustrious occupant, who indulged in drunkenness while off duty, inspired Constantine Huygens to write the following lines:

*Hij sitt op 's Gravenland, die t'scheep veel
wond'ren dee Hij waer veel dienstiger, dunckt mij,
op 's Graven Zee*



Fig. 15

Willem van de Velde II

Battle during the naval battle at Kijkduin

The fight between Cornelis Tromp on the 'Golden Lion' and Sir Edward Spragge on the 'Royal Prince' during the naval battle at Kijkduin, 21 August 1673: episode from the Third English Sea War (1672-74)

Oil on canvas, 114 cm × 183 cm

Dated: ca. 1675

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum inv. no. SK-A-2393

Description

Battle between Cornelis Tromp on the 'Gouden Leeuw' and Sir Edward Spragge on the 'Royal Prince' during the naval battle at Kijkduin, 21 August 1673: episode from the Third English Sea War (1672-74). To the right of the 'Royal Prince' the sinking Dutch warship 'Gouden Leeuw'.

This painting is traditionally called the Nocturnal Battle. However, the naval battle at Kijkduin, between Cornelis Tromp on the *Gouden Leeuw* (80 guns) and Sir Edward Spragge on the *Royal Prince*, actually took place in daylight hours on 21 August 1673. It looks like night only because the encounter is shown partially hidden behind clouds of smoke and gunpowder fumes. While the Dutch flagship is sinking at the right, Tromp battles on from a captured ship.



Fig. 16

Willem van de Velde the Younger

The Battle of Texel (Slag bij Kijkduin) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the London and The Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid

Rob Kattenburg Collection. (fig.4)

Description:

The painting of Willem van de Velde the Younger with the *London* of Sir John Harman in battle with The Dutch Vice admiral Johan de Liefde is interesting because it is painted from an English point of view, in comparison with the previous paintings. It was one of the first paintings of Willem van the Velde the younger of his English period and on such a grand scale. It had a propagandistic value and the English are pretending to be on the winning side.

THE COMMANDERS OF THE BATTLE OF TEXEL 11/21 AUGUST 1673



Fig.17

Bartolomeus van der Helst (Haarlem 1630-1670 Amsterdam) & Ludolf Backhuizen (Emden 1630-1708 Amsterdam)

Johan de Liefde (c. 1619-1673), *Vice-Admiral*

Oil on canvas 139 × 122 cm

Signed b.l: *B. vander helst* / 1668

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-832

Description:

Portrait of Johan de Liefde, vice admiral. Knee piece, standing with a command staff in the right hand. On the left, a table with sea charts, a compass and a globe. Around the neck a chain with a portrait medallion. To the right in the distance a sea battle.

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF JOHAN (or Jan) DE LIEFDE (1619-1673)

Johan (or Jan) Evertsen de Liefde (Rotterdam, probably 1619 - 21 August 1673) was vice admiral of Holland and West Friesland under the council of the Admiralty of Rotterdam. He was killed on his flagship *de Vrijheid* during the Battle of Texel in combat with Sir John Harman on the *London*.

LIFE AND CAREER

Johan or Jan Evertsen de Liefde belonged to a lineage of seafarers; captains Sier de Liefde (±1615-1652) and Cornelis de Liefde (±1617-1673) were his elder brothers, his son was captain Pieter de Liefde (±1650-±1681), his father Evert Henrickxs de Liefde was equip master of the Admiralty College, 't collegie ter Admiraliteit' and his uncle Arent Henricxs de Liefde was skipper of the ship "*De Liefde*". Jan de Liefde was the younger brother of Captain Cornelis de Liefde.

On 16 June 1644 he was appointed captain at the Admiralty of the Maze. That year he fought on the Mediterranean fleet against the Barbary corsairs of Algiers and in the process captured a privateer ship. Shortly afterwards he succeeded in doing the same against Dunkirk pirates.

SEA BATTLES

During the First Anglo-Dutch War, he became captain again, presumably on the *Jonas*, a ship of the municipality fleet of the city of Rotterdam, and subsequently as a commander of the admiralty vessel *Dordrecht*. In 1656 he participated as captain of the *Hollandia* in the relief of Danzig. On November 4, 1657, with part of Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam's blockade fleet off Lisbon, he won a ship from the Portuguese sugar fleet. He participated on the *Dordrecht* in the Battle of the Sound in 1658. In 1659 he became an ordinary captain. In 1661 he was part of Michiel de Ruyter's squadron in

the Mediterranean as captain of the *Stad van Utrecht*.

In the run-up to the Second Anglo-Dutch War, he was appointed acting rear admiral, 'schout-bij-nacht' on 29 January 1665 to succeed Aert Jansse van Nes; permanent appointment to that post followed on 15 June. During the Battle of Lowestoft he fought on the *Klein Hollandia* as second in command in the second squadron under Lieutenant Admiral Johan Evertsen when Michiel de Ruyter had to replace Witte de With.

Promotion to acting vice admiral followed on 24 February 1666, again succeeding Van Nes. De Liefde fought in the Four-Day Sea Battle; on the fourth day his squadron surrounded the flotilla of Admiral Christopher Myngs, and this notorious English buccaneer was mortally wounded by two shots from a sniper from his flagship, the *Ridderschap van Holland*. On September 5, he was appointed vice admiral. De Liefde captured the English flagship the *HMS Royal Charles* in the Raid on the Medway (Tocht naar Chatham), as a sub-commander in the squadron of Willem Joseph van Ghent (1626-72). For this he received from the States General a gold chain of honour and medal.

After this war he had his portrait painted in 1668 by Bartholomeus van der Helst, now the property of the Rijksmuseum. In 1670 he fought again against the Barbary corsairs.

During the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74), he participated in all four major naval battles. At the Battle of Solebay he fought on the *Virgin of Dordrecht*. During the First Battle of the Schooneveld he put up a formidable fight as Vice-Admiral and Deputy Commander of the Second Squadron. He was wounded on the *Vrijheid* by a splinter to the forehead.

After the Second Battle he, like his colleague Cornelis Tromp accused Isaac Sweers, of cowardice, perhaps for political reasons because De Liefde was a personal friend of De Ruyter. Before he could defend his

honour in person, the Dutch admiral was killed on his flagship the *Vrijheid* in battle with Sir John Harman on the *London*, when he was vice-admiral in De Ruyter's squadron at the battle of Texel on August 21, 1673. The fight between the two commanders is depicted in Willem van de Velde the Youngers' *The Battle of Texel (Slag bij Kijkduin) on the 21st of August 1673 with the English vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the London and The Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the Vrijheid*.

DE LIEFDE d'eer der Maas rust onder dezen
steen
Die in acht Krijgen en vervaerlike oorloghistochten
Den Teems, de Seine en Zont en Iber heeft
bevochten
En winnaer aen den Taag vertoonde zijn Trofeen
De Faem, ter grafzerk van den Zeeheldt
uytgeborsten
Strekt Hem een tombe, langh verschuldicht aen zijn
swaert
Vervult al't aerdrijck, met sijn glorie en vervaert,
Noch met de schrik zijns naems, de vijantelijcke
vorsten
Al wierd de zee geverwt met zijn doorluchtig bloet
En 't lighaem hier vergaet, nog leeft hij door zijn
moet.

The two second to last published poems by Joost van den Vondel (Poëzy, 1682) commemorate him:

Zoo leeft DE LIEFDE tot het vrye vaderlant,
Die al den Oceaan in vlammen zette en brant,
En menigh Zeegevecht verduurde een ry van jaren,
Gelyck een ysere rots, beschuimt van bloet en baren.

Vraegh Chattam, Teems, en Zont, en al de kust
rondom.
De Maes stont dikwyl voor dit hollantsch wonder
stom.
's Mans wys en kloek beleyt, en moedt, en zeevaerts
kennis,
En deught beschamen zelfs de nyt en lasterschennis.
Een kogel trof zyn borst, die zoo veel vlooten tart;
Maer dieper Ruyter en 's lants Zeeraet in het hart.
ILLE VELUT PELAGI RUPE
IMMOTA RESISTIT

and

Hier rust 's lants Liefde, of eer een deel gescheurt
aen splenteren,
Hy schuwde schutgevaert van verre, en paste
t'enteren,

His brother Kees was mortally wounded in the same battle. His son Pieter de Liefde was flag captain of *De Zeven Provinciën* in that battle. His later successor Jan Jansse van Nes took over the command.

AFTER HIS DEATH

De Liefde was buried in the Grote Kerk in Rotterdam. Later, as the last admiral of Rotterdam, he was given a mausoleum in the form of a raised tombstone depicting Fame trumpeting the glory of Johan de Liefde, which would be lost in the bombing of 14 May 1940. The epitaph by Johan Antonides van der Goes read:

*Getroost te winnen, oft te sterven, als een belt.
Beleit en moedt betoomt het grootste zee geweld.*
of which poem a second version exists:
*Hier rust 's lants Liefde, die twee koninklijke
vlooten
Bestrijdende onvertsaeght ten leste wert geschooten,
Getroost te winnen, of te sterven als een heldt.
Beleidt en moedt betoomt al 't Britsch en Fransch
gewelt.*



Fig.18
Detail of the *Vrijheid* (detail of fig. 4)

438 *Leven en bedryf van den vermaarden Zeeheld*1673. *Esquadre van den Lieut. Admiraal Generaal DE RUITER.*

Lt. Adm. Gen. de Ruit. de Zeven Provinc.	Jan Bont	de Stad Utrecht.
Lieut. Adm. van Nes	d'Eendracht	Sim. van Panhuis Zeeland.
Vice-Adm. de Liefde	de Vrijheid	David Sweerius de Beschermer.
Sch. by Nacht van Nes	de Maagd van Dort	Philips de Munnik Effen.
Comun. van Meeuwen	de Spiegel	Jan Krook Alkmaar.
Engel de Ruit. Waasdorp		Klaas Wynbergen Kaleb.
Jan van Gelder	Steenbergen	Frans van Nydek Dordrecht.
Jan van Brakel	de Voorzichtig.	Hendrik Vischer 't Wapen van
Cornelis de Liefde	Gelderland.	Medenblik.
<i>Fregatten.</i>		
Jan Snel	Utrecht.	Moises Wichmans Harderwyk.
Willem van Ewyk	Edam.	C. van der Hoeven Schiedam.
Item 8 Branders en 5 Advysjagten.		

Esquadre van den Lieut. Admiraal BANKERT.

Lt. Adm. Bankert.	Walcheren.	Jan van Lier	de Leeuwen.
Vice-Adm. Evenst.	Zienkzee.	Gillis Schey	Tydverdriyt.
Jan Dikals S. by N.	d'Eenhoorn.	Barend Hals	de Gidoon.
Leendert Kuiper	't Wap. van Enkh.	Dirk Jobst Kiela	Ter Veere.
Jan Hek	Westvriesland.	K. van der Putten	Domburg.
Jan Mois	Justina van Nassau	P. van Middelland	de Comeestbar.
Jakob Roos	't Noorder Quart.	Eland du Bois	de Ridderfchap.
Marten de Boer	Gelderland.	Klaas Valchen	de Prins.
Pieter Kerfseboom	't Wap. van Nassau		
<i>Fregatten.</i>			
Simon Lonke	Delft.	J. P. Vinkelbos	de Windhond.
Willem Hendrik	Der Goes.	Roemer Vlak	de Brak.
Item 8 Branders en 6 Advysjagten.			

Esquadre van den Lieutenant Admiraal TROMP.

Lt. Adm. Corn. Tromp	de Goude Leeuw.	Cornelis Tyloos	't Geloof.
Vice-Adm. Sweers	d'Olyfant.	Jan de Jong.	de Prov. v. Utrecht.
Sch. by Nacht de Haan	Hollandia.	Pieter Dekker.	de Wakend. Kraan
Cornelis Bakker	de Pacificatie.	Daniel Elsevier	Zeelandia.
Volker Swart	Kalantsoog.	Pieter de Siiter.	d'Agatha.
Barend Rees	Wassenaar.	Matthys Pyl	't Wap. v. Holland.
Philips van Almonde	Delft.	Pieter Bakker.	de Jupiter.
Adriaan Poort	Schiedam.	Jakob Barkhout	d'Akerboom.
Cornelis van der Zaan	Amsterdam.		
<i>Fregatten.</i>			
Jan van Abkoude	Oud-Kaspel.	Jan Noirot	Popkensburg.
Hendrik Span	Middelburg.	Jan Bogaard	Dommel.
Hans Hartwich	de Haas.		
Item 8 Branders en 5 Advysjagten.			

Den

Fig. 19
Fleet list showing vice- admiral De Liefde
commanding the *Vrijheid* (80 pieces) in De Ruiters
squadron on 21 August 1673

From Gerard Brandt, *Leven en bedryf van den
Vermaarden Zeeheld Cornelis Tromp. Graaf van Sylliesburg,
Ridder van den Olifant, Baronnet, &c. Lieutenant Admiraal
Generaal van Holland en Westvrieslandt.* Amsterdam
1692, p.438

Eerste esquadre.			
R. L. <i>Admiraal de Ruiter.</i>	—	<i>De zeven Provinciën.</i>	80.
R. <i>Viceadmiraal de Liefde.</i>	—	<i>De Vryheit.</i>	80.
R. <i>Schoutbynacht van Nes.</i>	—	<i>De Maaght van Dordt.</i>	68.
R. <i>Kapiteinen Kornelis de Liefde.</i>	—	<i>Gelderlandt.</i>	64.
R. <i>Élandt du Bois.</i>	—	<i>De Ridderſchap.</i>	64.
R. <i>Philips van Almonde.</i>	—	<i>Delft.</i>	62.
R. <i>Adriaan Poort.</i>	—	<i>Schielandt.</i>	60.
R. <i>Barent Rees.</i>	—	<i>Waffenaar.</i>	60.
R. <i>Frans van Nydek.</i>	—	<i>Dordt.</i>	44.
R. <i>Symon van Panhuis.</i>	—	<i>Zeelandt.</i>	40.
N. <i>Pieter Kerſſeboom.</i>	—	<i>T Wapen van Naſſau.</i>	58.
N. <i>Kornelis de Boer.</i>	—	<i>T Wapen van Hollandt.</i>	44.
N. <i>Pieter Bakker.</i>	—	<i>Jupiter.</i>	44.
N. <i>Klaas Wynbergen.</i>	—	<i>De Kaleb.</i>	46.
N. <i>Hendrik Viſſcher.</i>	—	<i>T Wapen van Medenblik.</i>	44.
XIV. <i>Beek.</i>	F ffff	Fre-	

Fig.20

Fleet lists showing ships and their commanders of the first squadron in August 1673

From Gerard Brandt, *Het leven en bedrijf van den heere Michiel de Ruiter*, Amsterdam 1687, p. 777

Onder den Viceadmiraal de Liefde zyn gerangeert.	
<i>Philips van Almonde.</i>	<i>Branders.</i>
<i>Jakob Swart.</i>	<i>Willem de Rave.</i>
<i>Frans van Nydek.</i>	<i>Gerrit Halſkaagh.</i>
<i>Viceadmiraal de Liefde.</i>	<i>Willem Willemszoon.</i>
<i>Kornelis de Liefde.</i>	
<i>Hendrik Viſſcher.</i>	<i>Advysjacht.</i>
<i>Jan Noiret.</i>	<i>Iſaak van Anten.</i>

Fig. 21

Fleet list showing De Liefde commanding different ships and officers. August 1673

From Gerard Brandt, *Het leven en bedrijf van den heere Michiel de Ruiter*, Amsterdam 1687, p. 779



Fig.23

Peter Lely (1618-1680)

Sir John Harman, Admiral of the Blue 1673.

(c. 1625-11 October 1673)

Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.5 cm

Dated: 1666

National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London,
Greenwich Hospital Collection, Part of the Flagmen
of Lowestoft series, inv. no. BHC2750

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF SIR JOHN HARMAN

(ca. 1625 - 1673)

John Harman, Admiral, is conjectured to have belonged to the Harmans of Suffolk (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. vii. 298), a county which furnished several commanders to the navy of the Commonwealth. It seems also not improbable that he was one of a family of shipowners whose ships were engaged for the service of the state (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 3 Sept. 1651, 21 March 1653); but the first distinct mention of John Harman is as commanding the *Welcome* of 40 guns and 180 men in the battle of Portland, 18 Feb. 1652-3 (*State Papers*, Dom. xlvii. 56). He still commanded the *Welcome* in the fight off the mouth of the Thames on 2-3 June 1653, and the ship being disabled he was sent in charge of the prisoners (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 14 June 1653). In August he was transferred to the *Diamond*, in which, in the following year, he accompanied Blake to the Mediterranean, returning to England in October 1655 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 2 Oct. 1655). He was shortly afterwards appointed to the *Worcester* (*ib.* 4 Jan. 1655-6), in which he again accompanied Blake, and shared, it would seem, in the brilliant achievement at Santa Cruz. In 1664 he was captain of the *Gloucester*, and in 1665 of the *Royal Charles*, carrying the Duke of York's flag in the battle of 3 June, when the Dutch flagship, the *Eendracht*, was blown up while actually engaged with the *Royal Charles*. A total rout followed; the Dutch fled in confusion, and might, it was said, have been utterly destroyed had they been vigorously pursued. The *Royal Charles* was leading, under Harman's command; for Penn had retired to his cabin sick and worn out [see PENN, SIR WILLIAM]. The duke also had retired, and Henry Brouncker, the duke's gentleman-in-waiting, begged Harman to shorten sail, in consideration of the risk to the duke. Harman refused, until Brouncker professed to bring positive orders from the duke. Harman then yielded, the other leading ships followed the example, and the Dutch escaped. The incident gave rise to a great deal of scandal, and to a parliamentary

inquiry, from which Harman came out scatheless, the whole blame being laid on Brouncker's shoulders (see PEPYS, *Diary*, ed. Bright, v. 63, 198, 253 n., 258). A few days after the battle Harman was knighted and promoted to be rear-admiral of the white squadron (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 13 June 1665), with his flag on board the *Resolution*. In November he was sent to convoy the trade from Gothenburg, and in the following year, again as rear-admiral of the white, with his flag in the *Henry*, took a prominent part in the great four days' fight off the North Foreland. The brunt of this terrible battle fell on the white squadron: the admiral [see AYSCUE, SIR GEORGE] was captured, the vice-admiral [see BERKELEY, SIR WILLIAM, 1639-1666] was slain, and Harman, the rear-admiral, was severely wounded. The *Henry* was twice grappled by fireships; her sails caught fire; some fifty of her crew jumped overboard, and it was only by the most energetic conduct that Harman compelled the rest to exert themselves to save the ship; his own leg was broken by a falling spar, and at the close of the day the *Henry* was sent into Harwich.

Notwithstanding his wound, Harman had the ship refitted during the night, and the next day put to sea to join the fleet, which he met retreating into the river. Harman was now obliged to resign his command; but early the following year he was sent out to the West Indies as admiral and commander-in-chief, with a special order to wear the union flag at the main. He arrived at Barbadoes early in June, and on the 10th sailed for St. Christopher, which had just been captured by the French. An attempt to recapture it failed, and the council of war was considering as to their future movements when news was brought in that a French fleet of twenty-three or twenty-four men-of-war and three fireships was lying at Martinique. Harman at once resolved to go thither. He found the French ships lying close in shore, under the protection of the batteries; but after several

attempts he succeeded, on 25 June, in setting fire to the admiral's and six or seven of the best ships, some others were sunk, and the rest sank themselves to escape the destruction ; two or three alone escaped. The cost of this signal victory was not more than eighty men killed, besides the wounded ; but, wrote Harman, 'there has been much damage to hulls and rigging, with very great expense of powder and shot' (*Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, Harman to Lord Willoughby, Lyon at Martinico, 30 June 1667). From Martinique Harman passed on to the mainland, where on 15 Sept. he took possession of Cayenne, and on 8 Oct. of Surinam. He returned to Barbadoes on 10 Nov., and, peace having been concluded, sailed for England shortly after, arriving in the Downs on 7 April 1668. In 1669 and 1670 he served in the expedition to the Straits under Sir Thomas Allin, and in 1672 was appointed rear-admiral of the blue squadron, under the immediate command of Lord Sandwich [see MOUNTAGU, EDWARD, first EARL OF SANDWICH], on which the brunt of the Dutch attack fell in the battle of Solebay, 28 May. In the following year he held the post of vice-admiral of the red squadron, and with his flag in the *London* took a distinguished part, especially in the second engagement with De Ruyter, when, being weak and sick, he is said to have had a chair up on the quarterdeck, and to have sat unmoved in the storm of shot. On the death of Sir Edward Spragge he was appointed to be admiral of the blue squadron, but he did not live to enjoy the command, dying on 11 Oct. 1673. His portrait, by Sir Peter Lely (PEPYS, *Diary*, 18 April 1666), is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, to which it was

given by George IV. Sir John Harman likely commissioned the painting of *the Battle of Texel* (*Slag bij Kijkduin*) on the 21st

of August 1673 with the English vice-admiral Sir John Harman on the *London* and The Dutch Vice-admiral Johan de Liefde on the *Vrijheid* to commemorate his victory on his flagship the *London*.



Harman's widow, Dame Katherine Harinan, was still living in 1699 (*Cal. State Papers*, Treasury, 25 May 1698). His only son, James, a captain in the navy, was slain in fight with an Algerine cruiser on 19 Jan. 1677 (CHARNOCK, *Biog. Nav.* i. 396). His only daughter married Dauntesey Brouncker, of Earl Stoke, Wiltshire, who died in 1693, leaving two daughters; they died without issue (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. vii. 298).

Fig. 24
Detail of the *London* (detail of fig. 4)

THE LONDON, FLAG SHIP OF SIR JOHN HARMAN, ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE

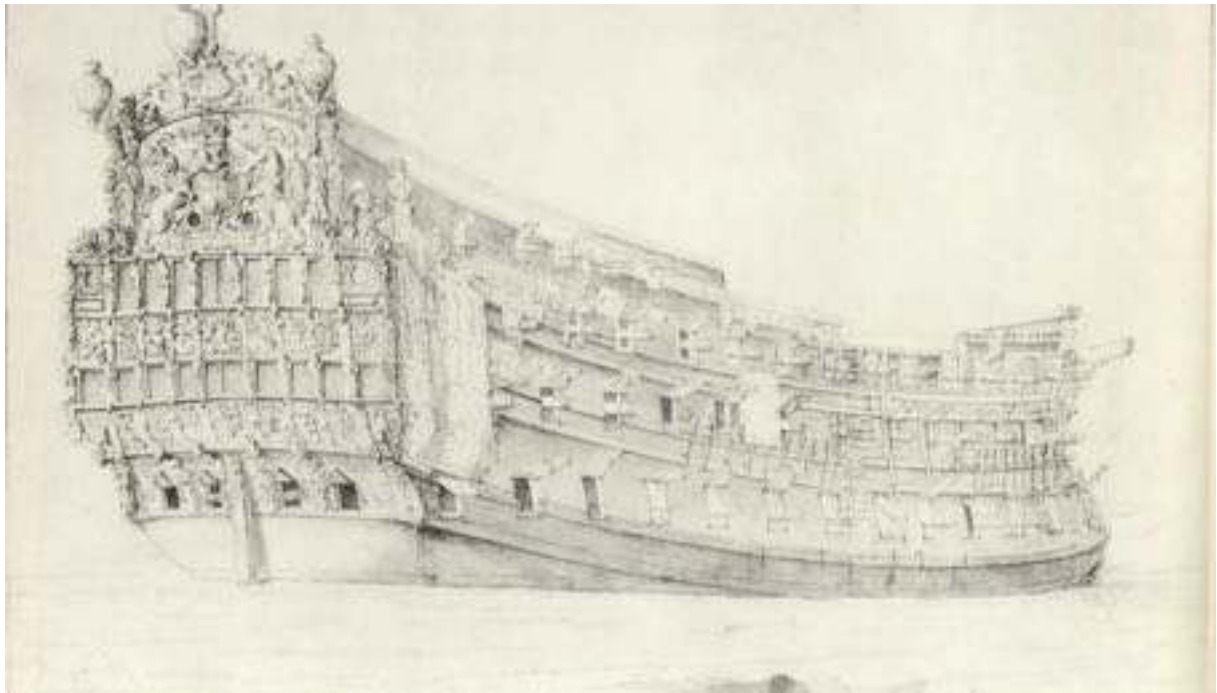


Fig.25
 Willem van de Velde The Elder
 The English ship *London*
 Pencil and wash, possibly based on an offset,
 405 x 672 mm
 Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam
 inv. no. MB1855/T441, plate III 238

Description:
 The *London* viewed from the starboard quarter.
 First rate, built 1670, 96 guns, rebuilt 1706.
 Inscribed bottom left: *De London*
 Noted that the lion head decoration on the upper
 counter conceals ports (*poorten*)

VICE ADMIRAL CORNELIS EVERTSEN THE YOUNGER

(Vlissingen, 16 April 1628 - 20 September 1679)

Cornelis was the second son of the Zeeland lieutenant-admiral Johan Evertsen and Maayken Gorcum; he was the nephew of lieutenant-admiral Cornelis Evertsen the Elder and the full nephew of his son lieutenant-admiral Cornelis Evertsen the Younger, with whom he is sometimes confused.

As is customary with sons of captains, Kees sailed on his father's ship at an early age. At the age of fifteen he was quartermaster; in 1648 skipper (highest non-commissioned officer) on his father's flagship the *Hollandia*; in 1651 he was lieutenant-commander, thus acting captain. Cornelis became captain on the *Vlissingen*, a boarding ship (privately financed warship), in June 1652 during the First Anglo-Dutch War. In the Battle of Ter Heijde he was flag captain to his father; he was severely wounded in that battle and the admiralty paid three hundred guilders for the medicines.

After the war he was given convoy duties. In 1659 he became an ordinary captain, that is, in permanent service. In 1661 he succeeded in capturing Jean Collaert at the *Lizard*, a descendant of the notorious Dunkirk privateer family, who now operated as a pirate from the British Isles and worked as a privateer for Portugal. He received a gold chain of honor for this. That same year he was captain of the *Delft* in the Mediterranean Fleet. He freed sixteen Christian slaves.

After the Battle of Lowestoft in 1665 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, when he was third in command on the *Utrecht* in his father's squadron, he was appointed a scout-at-arms to the Admiralty of Zeeland on July 15. He fought on the *Zierikzee* in the Four-Day Sea Battle.

He became vice admiral on September 5, 1666, the year his father and uncle were killed. He did not take part in the 1667 Raid on the Medway (Dutch: *Tocht naar Chatham*) because Zeeland was late in equipping a squadron.

In the Third Anglo-Dutch War he was present in all naval battles, with the *Zierikzee* still as his flagship. In the Dutch War he was part of Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter's unsuccessful expedition against Martinique in 1674. In 1676 he fought the Swedes with the Danish commander-in-chief Cornelis Tromp as commander of a Dutch auxiliary fleet, but again arrived with the Zeeland ships too late for actual combat. In 1678 he conducted operations against the French fleet in the Mediterranean and on the French west coast, in cooperation with Spain. He forced the French to give up Messina.

Cornelis was a developed man who married a regent's daughter and after her death, in 1655 remarried a wealthy lady of standing. He died very well off on September 20, 1679 from an illness. Because the family tomb in the Noordmonsterkerk in Middelburg was not yet ready, he was buried in the Sint Jacobskerk in Vlissingen.



Fig.26
 Vice Admiral Cornelis Evertsen on the *Zierikzee*
 (60 pieces)
 Detail of Pieter Cornelisz. van Soest
The battle of Schooneveld on June 7 and June 14, 1673
 Oil on canvas, 151.5 x 239.8 cm.
 Indistinctly signed: PV....
 Ex collection Rob Kattenburg



Fig.27
 Hendrick Berckman
Portrait of Adriaen Banckert (c 1620-1684), *Vice Admiral of Zeeland*
 Oil on canvas, 110 x 85.5 cm
 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1644
 Signed and dated: 'HBerckman F. 1673'

Description:

One of the greatest naval tacticians of his time, Adriaen Banckert (ca. 1615 – 1685) is shown here wearing the golden medal presented to him by the Admiralty of Zeeland for his bravery during the combined Dutch and Danish expeditions against the Swedes in 1659. In March of that year Banckert's ship was attacked fiercely by Swedish men-o'-war, but succeeded in fending them off and managing his ship virtually undamaged. The right hand of Michiel de Ruyter, Banckert was appointed Vice-Admiral in 1665 and Lieutenant- Admiral of Zeeland in 1666.

ADRIAEN BANCKERT

Adriaen van Trappen Banckert (ca. 1615 – 1685) was a 17th century Dutch admiral who became commander of the Zeeland fleet.

YOUNG YEARS

Adriaen was probably born in Vlissingen, somewhere between 1615 and 1620. His name has not been found in the baptismal books. He was the second son of the Zeeland fleet guard Joost van Trappen Banckert (1597-1647), who was vice-admiral with the WIC, and Adriana Janssen. His first record of sea service dates from 1637: an anecdote recounts how Joost Banckert, when threatened with a successful entry by two Dunkirk privateers, snapped at his son: "You put the fuse in the powder [barrel] on my command. If you do not, I will split your head off with my own hand!" During the Battle of Duins in 1639 he was skipper (highest non-commissioned officer) under his father. In 1642 he became captain on a naval ship with the Admiralty of Zeeland. Adriaen married in 1644 and, after his wife died childless, remarried to a regent's daughter in 1647. The second marriage produced two children, his son Adriaen junior and a daughter. He fought in the First Anglo-Dutch War from 1652 to 1653. He was then flag captain to Vice Admiral Johan Evertsen on the *Hollandia*. In the Three-Day Sea Battle, his older brother Captain Joost Banckert the Younger was killed. In the concluding Battle of Ter Heijde his ship sank and he became a prisoner of war; after several months he was released in an exchange of prisoners.

NORDIC WAR

In the Nordic War he fought on the Seeridder against the Swedes in the Battle of the Sound of 1658; he was then second in command under Vice Admiral Witte de With. Due to an unfavorable current, he did not manage to come to the aid of his commander when he ran aground. In March 1659, after losing his anchors, he ran aground himself near Hven, with his ship

stuck in the ice, but managed to repel an attack by a company of Swedish soldiers, supported by five ships, for three days. He first had to stop his own crew from running away with a drawn saber. For this he received a gold medal worth a hundred thalers from the Zeeland admiralty and was received in audience by Frederick III of Denmark. Joost van den Vondel wrote poetry:

*Zyn moedt ontnam den Zweed de land' en
zeelaanwrier,
De Deensche Croon erkent, en eert hem als
beschermer:
In vrede blinket zijn raedt, sijn deucht in 't oorloghs
vier:
Men druck hem niet in print, maer bouw syn beeld
uyt mermer.*

In these conflicts he gained the reputation of being a determined and intelligent officer. The former was especially appreciated: it was the rule rather than the exception for captains to take refuge in the heat of battle.

SECOND ANGLO-DUTCH WAR

In the run-up to the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the number of flag officers was greatly increased, providing many career opportunities for aspiring talent, something that was further enhanced by the regular demise of superiors. On 16 December 1664 Adriaen became rear admiral (unpaid), almost immediately acting vice-admiral and on 15 July 1665 permanent vice-admiral - that year his younger brother captain Johan Banckert on the *Delft* died in the disastrous Battle of Lowestoft in which Adriaen on the *Vere* was second in command of the sixth squadron; on September 15, 1666, after the deaths of Cornelis Evertsen the Elder in the Four-Day Sea Battle and Jan Evertsen in the Two-Day Sea Battle, lieutenant-admiral of the Zeeland fleet. Banckert had taken command of the Zeeland-Frisian squadron in the latter battle, although his own ship the *Thoolen* sank and he had to transfer his flag to the *Ter Veere*; at the end, after first drifting, he covered the main force's retreat to Flushing. The promotion, however, did

not immediately bring great fame: Banckert, due to slow provisioning and recruitment, was just too late to take part in the honorable part of the 1667 Raid in the Medway (Dutch: *tocht naar Chatham*). In 1671 he married for the third time, again to a lady of standing.

THIRD ANGLO-DUTCH WAR

However, he took great credit with the Third Anglo-Dutch War, when the Republic faced off against the combined Anglo-French fleet. Banckert was engaged against the French fleet in three of the four major naval battles of that campaign. At the Battle of Solebay, he lured the French squadron away from the English on the *Walcheren* so that Michiel de Ruyter could inflict great damage on them. At the First Battle of the Schooneveld, he first fought the English rearguard at Domburg but part of the French fleet turned against him, giving De Ruyter the opportunity to split the French fleet. At the Second Battle of Schooneveld, the confusion and mutual suspicion among the enemies was so great that the French immediately took to the road when he attacked. At the Battle of Kijkduin, the 21st of August 1673, again on the *Walcheren*, Banckert won his most important victory: with his smaller squadron he prevented the intervention of the French fleet in the fighting between the Dutch main force and the English fleet which could thereby be inflicted terrible damage, upon which England withdrew from the conflict for good. As a reward he received a letter of interest worth 4000 guilders from the Zeeland admiralty; otherwise his fame was not great in Holland - with the enemy his reputation was much more formidable.

In 1674 Banckert took part in a raiding party along the French west coast; however, when lieutenant admiral Cornelis Tromp came to the aid of the Spaniards in the Mediterranean with part of the fleet, lieutenant admiral Aert Jansse van Nes was given command of the remainder, although Banckert had seniority (at least in years of life: Van Nes had become lieutenant admiral

a little earlier). Banckert complained about this treatment to the Staten van Zeeland: '*dat de vlagge van de provincie van Zeeland altyd moet aghter staen, even als off haer Luitenant-admirael niet bequaem was, om een esquadron ofte vlote te connen commanderen*'. The States reacted somewhat more fiercely to this than Banckert had intended, for they decided in protest not to send out their lieutenant-admiral any more: then he could not be disadvantaged any more either. On December 3, 1674, Banckert thus left active naval service.

COUNSEL

Banckert now functioned as the main "counsellor" (advisor) of the Zeeland admiralty and in 1678 was even given a seat on the admiralty council, an exception for a flag officer. In that year his son, Captain Adriaen Banckert the Younger, died. He bought an expensive house in Middelburg, *De Trappen*, a reference to his more original family name: The Van Trappens were *gheseyt* oftewel "meergenaamd" Banckert ("bastaard").

He died on 22 April 1684 and was buried in the Sint-Pieterskerk in Middelburg, without a mausoleum: that was reserved for admirals who died in battle.



Fig.28
Lieutenant Admiral Adriaen Banckert
on the *Walcheren* (70 pieces)
Detail of Pieter Cornelisz. van Soest
*The battle of Schoonevelt on June 7 and June
14, 1673*
Oil on canvas, 151.5 x 239.8 cm.
Indistinctly signed: PV....
Ex collection Rob Kattenburg



Fig.29

Bartolomeus van der Helst (Haarlem 1630-1670 Amsterdam) & Ludolf Backhuizen (Emden 1630-1708 Amsterdam)

Portrait of Aert van Nes (1626-93). Lieutenant Admiral
Oil on canvas, 139 x 125 cm

Signature and date, on the right of the chair rail: 'B. vander. helst. 1668'

Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-140

Description

Portrait of Aert van Nes, lieutenant admiral.

Kneepiece, standing with command stick in right hand and left arm raised. Standing in front of a wall on which to the right are an inkstand and sea charts. On the left, a globe and a messenger bringing a letter. In the background a seascape with a naval battle.

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF AERT JANSSE VAN NES (Rotterdam 1626-1693)

Aert Jansse van Nes was a 17th-century Dutch naval commander and the right-hand man of the famous Dutch naval hero Michiel de Ruyter. Van Nes turned out to be a brilliant military strategist and as a result quickly made a career in the navy of The Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. He was notable for commanding the second squadron in the raid on the Medway in 1667.

ORIGIN

Aert was born in 1626 to naval captain Jan Jacobse van Nes the Younger, nicknamed "De Jonge boer Jaap" (The Young Farmer Jaap) and baptized on April 13. He was the grandson of naval captain Jacob Jansen van Nes, the nephew of Jan Jacobse van Nes the Elder ("De Oude Boer Jaap") with whom he is still sometimes confused and the older brother of vice-admiral Jan Jansse van Nes (1631-1680) and lieutenant-ter-seaman Cornelis Jansse van Nes. Aert himself was apparently also called the "Young Farmer," but later received the more martial nickname "The Dutch Ajax" in praise poems.

CAREER

Aert went to sea at age eleven. By the start of the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1653, Van Nes had worked his way up to skipper (the highest non-commissioned officer) of an armed merchantman commanded by his father. On August 23, 1652, Van Nes was appointed captain of the *Gelderland* by the States of Holland as a direct replacement for his deceased father, when that ship was interned for some time by the French in the port of La Rochelle. He fought in the Three Days' Sea Battle, the Battle of Nieuwpoort and the Battle of Ter Heijde. He also participated in the Relief of Danzig in 1656 and in the expedition against Portugal in 1657. In the process he won two "prizes," that is, he captured two ships.

COLLABORATION WITH DE RUYTER

During the Northern War, he fought against Sweden in 1658 and 1659 on the Arms of Rotterdam, distinguishing himself at the Battle of the Sound. In the spring of 1661, he joined the Mediterranean Fleet. He fights in the Mediterranean Sea against Turkish corsairs in 1662. On March 3, 1662, he was appointed, in absentia, to the position of scout-at-arms of the Admiralty of the Maze at Rotterdam. In 1664, in the run-up to the Second Anglo-Dutch War, he participated on the *Princess Louise* in Michiel de Ruyter's famous punitive expedition against the English along the coast of West Africa and then the east coast of America. This led, after some mended initial quarrels, to a long-lasting close friendship and cooperation between the two men. Both had a calm nature in common, but while the conscientious De Ruyter was often deeply weighed down by the heavy burden of his responsibility, the shrewd Van Nes always remained optimistic and was always ready with a quip to show his melancholy commander the positive side of a situation. When De Ruyter became commander of the Dutch fleet in 1665, he chose Van Nes as his second in command. This was only possible because Van Nes had already been appointed vice-admiral during his absence on 29 January 1665. This met with the antipathy of lieutenant admiral Cornelis Tromp, who already found it hard to bear that he had not been able to continue his provisional command and felt even more humiliated that he had also been passed over for the direct sub-command. Van Nes would also become known for being the first commander of the heavy warship *De Zeven Provinciën*, built in 1665, the later flagship of Commander-in-Chief De Ruyter, as vice-admiral. On February 24, 1666 (Julian calendar), the appointment as lieutenant admiral of the Maze followed for Van Nes, after Tromp had been transferred to the Admiralty of Amsterdam in January.

THE FOUR-DAY SEA BATTLE

The Four-Day Sea Battle (11-14 June 1666), took place in the southern North Sea and it began off the Flemish coast. During the battle it immediately became apparent that Van Nes also possessed the necessary capabilities as a lieutenant admiral: when in the middle of the second day De Ruyter withdrew the *Zeven Provinciën* from the battle line for repairs, Van Nes effortlessly took over the lead and drove the English to flight; he remained in command during the pursuit until De Ruyter took over again at the end of the third day. The Four Day Sea Battle ended near the English coast and it remains one of the longest naval engagements in history.

TWO-DAY SEA BATTLE

The 'Two-Day Sea Battle or St James' Day Battle (4-5 August 1666) was fought between the fleets of England, commanded by Prince Rupert of the Rhine and George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, and the United Provinces commanded by Lieutenant-Admiral Michiel de Ruyter.

During the 'Two-Days' Battle, the seemingly hopeless situation of the fleet caused De Ruyter to have a temporary nervous breakdown in the morning of the second day. Van Nes remained calm and took over the actual command until the critical condition of his superior and the fleet had passed. When thereupon De Ruyter was seriously ill for more than six months, Van Nes temporarily became commander-in-chief of the fleet until the Raid on the Medway (Dutch: *Tocht naar Chatham*). When De Ruyter had already returned, he repelled two more English attacks on the fleet with fireships.

In the peace period after this, Van Nes remarried the much younger Geertruida den Dubbelde; there is still a famous pendant of the two of them, painted by Bartholomeus van der Helst with the cooperation of Ludolf Bakhuysen for the ship scenes in the background. He bought a house on the Spaanse kade in 1668 for 15,150 guilders.

SQUADRON COMMANDER

In the Third Anglo-Dutch War, Aert van Nes was given an even more important position: De Ruyter now left the command of the squadron in which his flagship resided permanently in the hands of Van Nes who sailed on the new *Eendragt*. This makes it somewhat difficult to determine to whom exactly the brilliant maneuvers during the First Battle of the Schooneveld or the Battle of Kijkduin should be attributed. As a reward for his performance at the Battle of Solebay, he was awarded a letter of interest. In the winter of 1673 he was in command of the land defenses of Rotterdam against the French and defended the waterline.

PENSION

After 1674, when he had a conflict with the Zeeland lieutenant-admiral Adriaen Banckert during an attack on France, Van Nes remained ashore; the navy was being neglected, and the new regime of Stadholder William III of Orange-Nassau wanted to limit the role of naval heroes in general, and of the politically somewhat unreliable Van Nes in particular, as much as possible to that of living legend. He was retired in April 1693 with retention of pay. Van Nes would go down in history as one of the few Dutch naval heroes who survived the massacres during the naval battles against the English of the First, Second and Third Anglo-Dutch War and the Dutch War against the French and simply died in bed at home. He died on 13 or 14 September 1693 and was buried in the St. Laurenskerk in Rotterdam. His simple grave - mausoleums were reserved for those who died in battle - was lost in the German bombardment of 1940.

Three modern ships of the Royal Dutch Navy have been named after him - a destroyer in 1931, a frigate in 1966 and a multipurpose frigate (F833) in 1992.

THE EENDRACHT FLAGSHIP OF LIEUTENANT ADMIRAL AERT VAN NES.

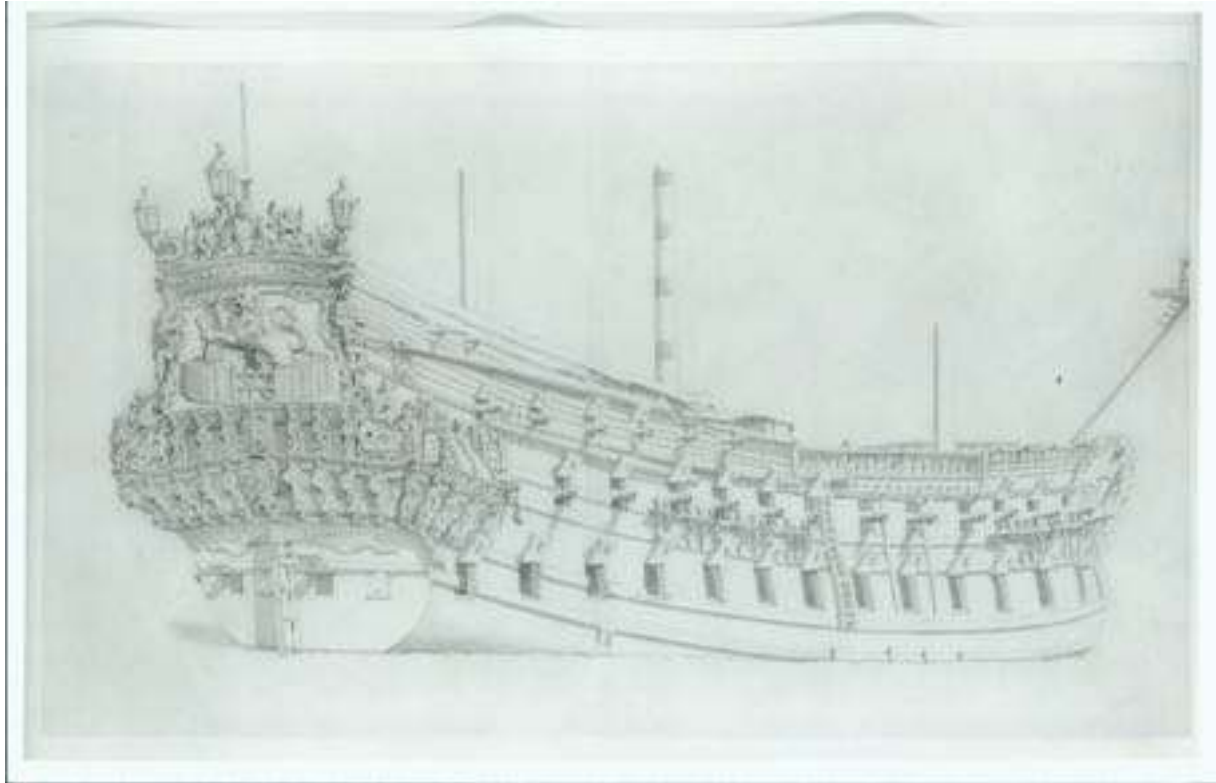


Fig. 30
 Willem van de Velde the Younger
Portrait of the 'Eendracht'
 Brush and grey ink, 35.2 x 57.8 cm
 Ex collection Rob Kattenburg

Description:

The *Eendracht* was one of twelve large warships built by the Province of Holland in 1666. It was built at the Rotterdam Admiralty Shipyard, and had 80 guns.

In 1673 at the first battle of Schooneveld and the battle of Texel it was the flagship of Lieutenant Admiral Aert van Nes.

In 1675 the *Eendracht* was Michiel de Ruyter's flagship on his voyage to the Mediterranean, replacing his favorite *Seven Provinces*, which was under repair.

During a battle near Catania in Sicily on April 22, 1676, De Ruyter was struck by a cannonball and died a few days later. His body was brought back to Holland on the *Eendracht* and he was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam.

The *Eendracht* was lost in 1690.



Fig. 31
Jan Mijtens
1613/4 - The Hague - 1670
*Portrait of Cornelis Tromp (1629 - 1691), three- quarter
length, in armour, a naval battle beyond*
Oil on canvas: 113 x 91 cm
Signed: *a 1660 J Mijtens F*
Rob Kattenburg Collection

Description:
The present three- quarter length portrait shows Cornelis Tromp in black armour holding a baton in his right hand. A naval action is shown in the right background. In line with the sitter's character Mijtens executed the portrait with deft and vigorous strokes of the brush, creating a vibrant image of an energetic man. The engaging fight between the English and Dutch fleet, appearing in the right background of the portrait is attributed to Reinier Nooms, alias Zeeman.

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF CORNELIS TROMP (1629-1691)

Cornelis Maertensz Tromp was the son of Maerten Harpertsz Tromp, who was commander-in-chief of the Dutch fleet on several occasions during the First Anglo-Dutch War. He received his training as a naval officer by going to sea with his father from an early age. In 1647 he was a lieutenant and acting captain, and two years later he was made a full captain with a permanent commission. He took part in various battles of the First Anglo-Dutch War and requested to be made his father's successor after the latter's death in the Battle of Scheveningen in July 1653. This was not granted, but in November he was appointed rear admiral of the Amsterdam Admiralty, probably in acknowledgement of his father's service to the nation.

In the 1650s he took part in various actions against the Swedes, and in 1657 escorted a convoy to the Mediterranean. He was suspended from active duty when it was discovered that he had been using warships to trade in luxury goods. As a result he was fined and not allowed to have an active command until the end of 1662, when he was asked to sail to the Mediterranean again, this time to reinforce De Ruyter's fleet, which had been sent out earlier to negotiate peace treaties with Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers.

In January 1665, on the eve of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Tromp was made a vice-admiral of the Amsterdam Admiralty. At the first engagement with the English on 13 June 1665 off Lowestoft he commanded the fifth squadron on board the *Liefde*. The battle ended in a heavy defeat for the Dutch and the death of the fleet commander, Jacob van Wassenaer van Obdam.

Tromp, however, succeeded in bringing the bulk of the fleet safely home, which brought him instant fame. He was made lieutenant-admiral of the Rotterdam Admiralty of the Maze and acting fleet commander.

He considered that he had a natural right to be appointed Van Obdam's

successor, but was passed over in favour of De Ruyter, who had returned in August from his highly successful punitive expedition to the west coast of Africa and the Caribbean. The fleet was commanded by De Ruyter during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. After initially refusing to serve under him, Tromp and his flagship *Hollandia* nevertheless took part in the Four Days' Battle and the St James's Day Fight in July and August 1665. However, he was censured again after the latter engagement for pursuing an English squadron, leaving De Ruyter in a highly dangerous and isolated position. He was accused of causing the defeat, and Johan de Witt relieved him of his command, which prevented him from taking part in the Battle of Solebay, the first naval action of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). His fortunes revived after De Witt and his brother were lynched by a mob in August 1672, for as a fervent supporter of the princely Orangeist cause he could count on the support of the new stadholder, Willem III (later King William III of England). Since Willem had promised Tromp that he would be made commander-in-chief of the fleet after De Ruyter's death he was prepared to serve again. He fought and distinguishing himself at the two battles of Schooneveld and at the Battle of Kijkduin (also called the Battle of Texel). However, Tromp was too ambitious and impatient to wait until De Ruyter died, and in 1676 he took service with Danish navy, where he was made fleet commander and received the title of Knight in the Order of the Elephant and in 1677 that of Count of Sølvesborg (then a Danish nobility title). On 11 July 1676, in a combined Danish-Dutch fleet, he defeated the Swedes at the Battle of Öland. It was his only victory as a fleet commander.

After De Ruyter's death in 1676 and his own dismissal from Danish service Tromp was, as promised, appointed commander-in-chief of the Dutch fleet. He never fought in that capacity, being replaced by Cornelis Evertsz the Youngest in 1684.



Fig.32
 Pieter Cornelisz. van Soest
 Lieutenant -Admiral Cornelis Tromp on the *Gouden Leeuw* (82 pieces) in combat with Admiral Edward Spragge on the *Royal Prince* (100 pieces)
 Detail of *The battle of Schoonevelt on June 7, 1673 and on June 14, 1673*
 Oil on canvas, 151.5 x 239.8 cm
 Indistinctly signed: PV....
 Ex collection Rob Kattenburg

THE GOUDEN LEEUW FLAG SHIP OF LUITENANT ADMIRAAL CORNELIS TROMP AT THE BATTLE OF TEXEL 1673

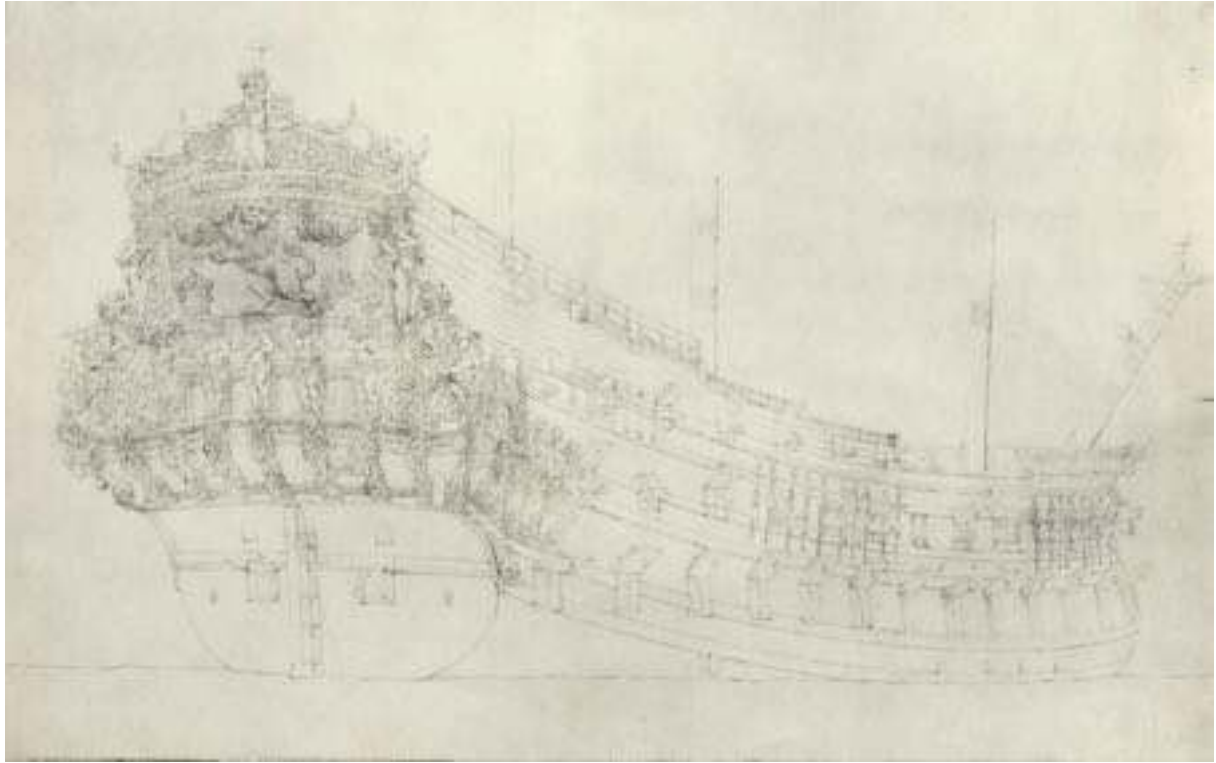


Fig.33

Willem van de Velde The Elder

The Dutch ship *Gouden Leeuw*

Pencil and brown wash over the taffarel,

454 x 706 mm

Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam inv. no.

MB1866/T299

Description:

The *Goden Leeuw* viewed from the starboard quarter.

First rate, built 1666, 80 guns, obsolete 1686.

On the taffarel, a large lion rampant. On the rail above, a seated female holding a shield in each hand, inscribed starboard side *Pax/Vrede* and port side *Libertas/Vrijheit*



Fig. 34
Attributed to Bartolomeus van der Helst
(Haarlem 1613–Amsterdam 1670)
*Enno Doedens Star (1631–1707),
Dutch mariner and fleet commander*
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF ENNO DOEDENS STAR

Enno Doedes Star (1631-1707) was born in East Friesland and began his naval career in 1658 as a supernumerary captain with the Amsterdam Admiralty. He came from the merchant fleet but was hired for convoy duty for several years, probably because of his excellent seamanship. He escorted a number of convoys through the English Channel until 1660, and also captured several Portuguese ships and Dunkirk privateers. After the expiry of his contract with the admiralty he returned to the merchant marine as a master. In 1661, though, he was recalled by the Amsterdam Admiralty, and in May that year he was captain of the *Groene Kameel*, a flute in a fleet of 10 ships under the command of De Ruyter that was due to sail to the Mediterranean. The ship was described as a 'necessities flute' or provisioning ship. Star remained at sea with it until 20 March 1663 before returning home with the ships of Rear Admiral Aert van Nes and Captain Jan de Liefde.

In May 1664 De Ruyter returned to the Mediterranean on the *Liefde* with 13 ships, and Star was once again given command of the *Groene Kameel*, which had 10 guns and a crew of 30. He was to be away from home for more than a year on a long voyage with De Ruyter down the coast of Africa and across to the Caribbean. After arriving back in triumph in Delfzijl in August 1665 De Ruyter was sent directly on to Texel to take over command of a fleet lying there from Cornelis Tromp. That same month Star was rewarded with an appointment as a regular captain at the Amsterdam Admiralty. He was captain of the *Gouden Leeuwen* at the Four Days' Battle of 11-14 June 1666, and was part of the van division of the centre squadron under the direct command of De Ruyter in the *Zeven Provinciën*. De Ruyter had a fierce battle, and was even forced to accept a tow away from the action

and hand his admiral's flag over to Lieutenant-Admiral Aert van Nes. Since the centre squadron usually faced the most attacks, Star did not emerge unscathed either. Twelve of his men were killed and 22 wounded. On 15 June the *Gouden Leeuwen* sailed into Goeree with Rear Admiral Isaac Sweers on board, whose ship the *Gouda* was lost on the fourth day of the battle. Star remained captain of the *Gouden Leeuwen* and was again assigned to the van of the centre squadron. The St James's Day Fight followed on 4 August 1666, when the English once more focused their fire on De Ruyter. Tromp could not resist chasing a retreating English squadron, leaving De Ruyter so isolated from the rest of the fleet that he was forced to withdraw. When his ship lay in Vlissingen harbour on 7 August it was discovered that it had been holed more than 450 times, 17 them below the waterline. Although the Dutch had sunk ten ships, it was at the cost of 4,000 dead and wounded. Star, who had not left De Ruyter's side, was promoted Rear Admiral by the Admiralty of Friesland and Groningen. However, since the post of Vice-Admiral had fallen vacant because of the death of Rudolph Koenders, the admiralty asked De Ruyter to name the most suitable person to succeed him, and his choice fell on Star. As Vice-Admiral Star was involved in the Raid on the Medway between 19 and 24 June 1667, when he commanded the *Groningen* in Van Nes's squadron, and took part in the blockade of Harwich to prevent the English breaking out.

The *Groningen* was Star's flagship during the Third Anglo-Dutch War. He commanded it on 7 June 1672 at the Battle of Solebay, on 14 June 1673 at the second Battle of Schooneveld, and on 1 August 1673 at the Battle of Kijkduin. In October 1678 he sailed to Spain as vice-admiral with a relief fleet under the command of Cornelis Evertsz the Younger, which forced the French to abandon Messina. His final expedition was in 1691, when he commanded a squadron in an Anglo-Dutch fleet in the Irish Sea, and escorted a fleet of homeward bound East Indiamen. He died in 1707 at his country estate in Wirdum, near Groningen.



Fig. 35
 Ferdinand Bol (Dordrecht 1606-Amsterdam 1680)
Portrait of Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter (1607-1676),
Lieutenant-Admiral
 Signed and dated on the right of the
 balustrade: 'FBol. fecit. 1667'
 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-44

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF MICHIEL DE RUYTER (1607-1676)

Michiel de Ruyter's career began in the 1620s as a master in the mercantile fleet working for the Lampsins firm of merchants in Vlissingen. He first saw naval service when he was appointed captain of a director's ship owned by the Lampsins brothers and representing the town of Vlissingen. Ships of this kind fell under the admiralty's authority but were private warships that were leased and used to convoy merchant shipping. In 1641 De Ruyter sailed as rear admiral on the armed merchantman *Haze* to take part in the Battle of Cape St Vincent in support of the Portuguese struggle for independence from Spain. He then returned to his work in the merchant fleet and bought a ship of his own, with which he traded on his own account in the Mediterranean and Caribbean. On the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War in July 1652 the Zeeland Admiralty asked him to rejoin the fleet, and from then on he remained in naval service. His first major action was on 26 August 1652 when, in the absence of Vice-Admiral Witte de With, he was appointed vice-commander (the Zeeland equivalent of rear admiral) and escorted a merchant convoy to Spain. He repulsed an attack by a powerful English fleet of some 40 ships so successfully that it was forced to break off the engagement. He returned home to discover that the action had made his name as a naval hero. From 1652 to 1654 he served under Maerten Harpertsz Tromp and saw action in the First Anglo-Dutch War battles of the Kentish Knock, Dungeness, Portland, the Gabbard and Scheveningen.

After the war, on 2 March 1654, Johan de Witt appointed him Vice-Admiral of the Amsterdam Admiralty. In the years that followed he was sent on various expeditions to the Mediterranean, Danzig and the Sound under the command of Jacob van Wassenaer van Obdam. In 1661 he was ordered to the Mediterranean on the *Liefde* with a squadron of his own in order to conclude treaties with the cities of Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers that

would put an end to the constant threat of Barbary pirates, who were harrying Dutch merchantmen and holding their crews to ransom. The expedition lasted until 1653, but within a year of De Ruyter's return he was sent back again because the treaties were not being honoured. Immediately on arriving in the Mediterranean, though, he was ordered to sail to the west coast of Africa to retake Dutch forts that had been captured by the English. The final act of this punitive expedition was a crossing to the Caribbean to raid the English possessions there and capture English merchantmen wherever possible. De Ruyter returned home in August 1665 after a two-year voyage. Jacob van Wassenaer van Obdam had been killed at the Battle of Lowestoft, and De Ruyter was now appointed to succeed him as commander-in-chief of the Dutch fleet, a position that he occupied until his death.

De Ruyter chalked up several victories in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, among them the Four Days' Battle and St James's Day Fight in 1666 and the Raid on the Medway in 1667.

Another appeal for his services was made to De Ruyter on the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). The Dutch Republic was now at war with an Anglo-French alliance, mainly with the French on land and the English at sea. On four occasions, at the Battle of Solebay in 1672, the two battles of Schooneveld in 1673 and the Battle of Kijkduin (the Texel) that same year he prevented the English from making a landing from which they could blockade the Dutch coast.

Peace was signed with the English in March 1674, but the Franco-Dutch War went on until 1679. Despite the fact that the Dutch had repulsed his attack, Louis XIV had still not given up his claim to the Spanish Netherlands, and that brought him face to face with a coalition Dutch-Spanish army. As a diversionary tactic he supported a popular uprising against Spain in Messina on Sicily, and De Ruyter was sent to the

Mediterranean once more to sort everything out and join the Spanish in confronting the French fleet. The King of Spain had more or less demanded that De Ruyter be the commander-in-chief of the coalition fleet. Before setting sail he had let it be known that he had too few heavy ships with which to keep the French at bay and that he had little faith in the strength of the ships that Spain would be supplying. In January 1676 the combined Dutch and Spanish fleet met the French at Stromboli, north of Sicily, and they clashed again in April at the Battle of Etna, west of Augusta near Syracuse (Sicily), during which De Ruyter was mortally wounded, dying a week later. He was proved right in his presentiment that his force was too light to overcome the French. Before his departure he had uttered the immortal words: 'If I am ordered to go with a single ship, and to carry the flag, I should not refuse. Wherever the State wishes to risk its banner, I am ready to risk my life'.

De Ruyter was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) in Amsterdam in a monumental tomb on which his effigy lies in front of a sculpted copy of a painting of the Four Days' Battle by Willem van de Velde the Younger.

THE ZEVEN PROVINCIEËN

Fig.36

Willem van de Velde the Elder

The Dutch ship Zeven Provincieën 80-guns

Graphite and grey wash on three joined sheets 368 x 791 mm

Inscribed in pen and brown ink, lower right: *d seffe provense* and above the bowsprit: *nañe*

The United Kingdom, Private collection

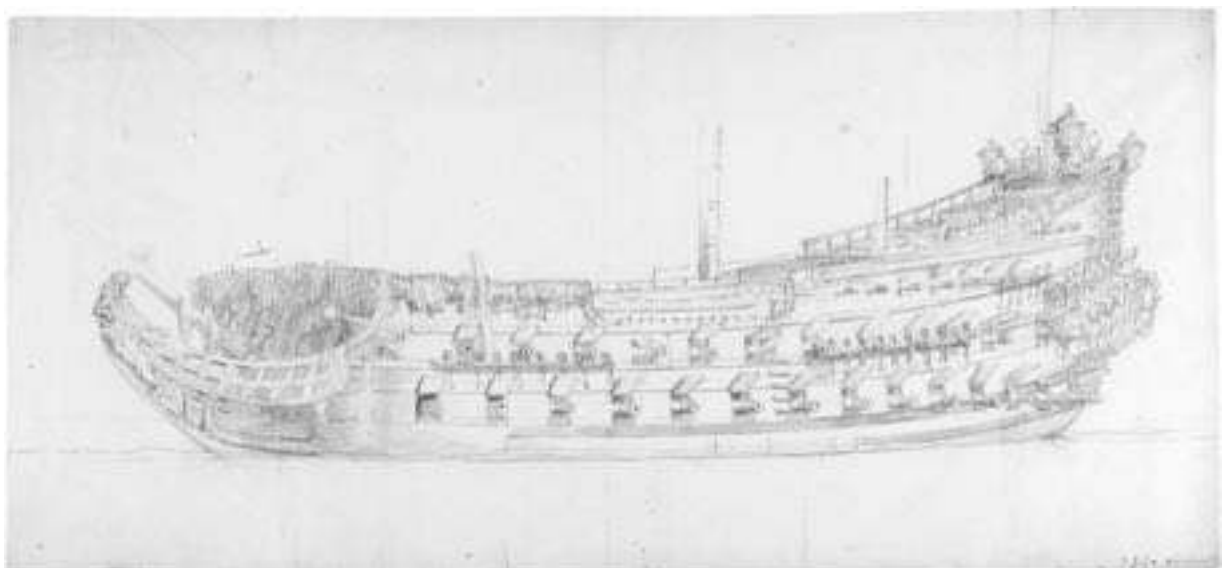




Fig.. 37
Simon Pietersz Vereist
Prince Rupert of the Rhine
Oil on Canvas, 126 x 102 cm
Petworth House, inv.no. 486254

**RUPERT, COUNT PALATINE OF
THE RHINE, DUKE OF BAVARIA,
DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, EARL OF
HOLDERNESS**

**THE LIFE AND CAREER OF
PRINCE RUPERT OF THE RHINE
(1619-1682)**

Prince Rupert of the Rhine, Duke of Cumberland, KG, PC, FRS (was a German-English army officer, admiral, scientist and colonial governor. He first came to prominence as a Royalist cavalry commander during the English Civil War. Rupert was the third son of the German prince Frederick V of the Palatinate and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James VI of Scotland and I of England.

Prince Rupert had a varied career. He was a soldier as a child, fighting alongside Dutch forces against Habsburg Spain during the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648), and against the Holy Roman Emperor in Germany during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Aged 23, he was appointed commander of the Royalist cavalry during the English Civil War, becoming the archetypal "Cavalier" of the war and ultimately the senior Royalist general. He surrendered after the fall of Bristol and was banished from England. He served under Louis XIV of France against Spain, and then as a Royalist privateer in the Caribbean Sea. Following the Restoration, Rupert returned to England, becoming a

senior English naval commander during the Second Anglo-Dutch War and Third Anglo-Dutch War, and serving as the first governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. He died in England in 1682, aged 62.

Rupert is considered to have been a quick-thinking and energetic cavalry general, but ultimately undermined by his youthful impatience in dealing with his peers during the Civil War. In the Interregnum, Rupert continued the conflict against Parliament by sea from the Mediterranean to the Caribbean, showing considerable persistence in the face of adversity. As the head of the Royal Navy in his later years, he showed greater maturity and made impressive and long-lasting contributions to the Royal Navy's doctrine and development. As a colonial governor, Rupert shaped the political geography of modern Canada: Rupert's Land was named in his honour, and he was a founder of the Hudson's Bay Company. He also is alleged to have played a role in the early Atlantic slave trade. Rupert's varied and numerous scientific and administrative interests combined with his considerable artistic skills made him one of the more colourful public figures in England of the Restoration period.

PARENTS AND ANCESTRY

Rupert's father was Frederick V of the Palatinate, of the Palatinate-Simmern branch of the House of Wittelsbach. As Elector Palatine, Frederick was one of the most important princes of the Holy Roman Empire. He was also head of the Protestant Union, a coalition of Protestant German states. The Palatinate was a wealthy state, and Frederick lived in great luxury.

Frederick's mother, Countess Louise Juliana of Nassau, was daughter of William the Silent and half-sister of Maurice, Prince of Orange, who as stadtholders of Holland

and other provinces were the leaders of the Dutch Republic.

Rupert's mother was Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of King James I of England. Thus Rupert was nephew of King Charles I of England, and first cousin of King Charles II of England, who made him Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness. His sister Electress Sophia was the mother of George I of Great Britain.

Rupert was named in honour of Rupert, King of Germany, a famous Wittelsbach ancestor.

EARLY LIFE AND EXILE

Rupert was born in Prague, Bohemia in 1619, and was declared a prince by the principality of Lusatia. His father had just been elected King of Bohemia by the largely Protestant estates of Bohemia. This was perceived as an act of rebellion by the Catholic House of Habsburg, who had been Kings of Bohemia since 1526, and initiated the Thirty Years' War. Frederick was not supported by the Protestant Union, and in 1620 was defeated by Emperor Ferdinand II in the Battle of White Mountain. Rupert's parents were mockingly termed the "Winter King and Queen" as a consequence of their reigns in Bohemia having lasted only a single season. Rupert was almost left behind in the court's rush to escape Ferdinand's advance on Prague, until courtier Kryštof z Donína (Christopher Dhona) tossed the prince into a carriage at the last moment.

Rupert accompanied his parents to The Hague, where he spent his early years at the Hof te Wassenaer (the Wassenaer Court). Rupert's mother paid her children little attention even by the standards of the day, apparently preferring her pet monkeys and dogs. Instead, Frederick employed a French couple, Monsieur and Madame de Plessen, as governors to his children. They were raised with a positive attitude towards the Bohemians and the English, and as strict Calvinists. The result was a strict school routine including logic, mathematics, writing, drawing, singing, and playing

instruments. As a child, Rupert was at times badly behaved, "fiery, mischievous, and passionate" and earned himself the nickname Robert le Diable, or "Rupert The Devil". Nonetheless, Rupert proved to be an able student. By the age of three he could speak some English, Czech, and French, and mastered German while still young, but had little interest in Latin and Greek. He excelled in art, being taught by Gerard van Honthorst, and found mathematics and science easy. By the time he was 18 he stood about 6 ft 4 in (1.93 m) tall.

Rupert's family continued their attempts to regain the Palatinate during their time in The Hague. Money was short, with the family relying upon a relatively small pension from The Hague, the proceeds from family investments in Dutch raids on Spanish shipping, and revenue from pawned family jewellery. Frederick set about convincing an alliance of nations—including England, France and Sweden—to support his attempts to regain the Palatinate and Bohemia. By the early 1630s Frederick had built a close relationship with the Swedish King Gustavus, the dominant Protestant leader in Germany. In 1632, however, the two men disagreed over Gustavus' insistence that Frederick provide equal rights to his Lutheran and Calvinist subjects after regaining his lands; Frederick refused and set off to return to The Hague. He died of a fever along the way and was buried in an unmarked grave. Rupert had lost his father

at the age of 13, and Gustavus' death at the battle of Lützen in the same month deprived the family of a critical Protestant ally. With Frederick gone, King Charles proposed that

the family move to England; Rupert's mother declined, but asked that Charles extend his protection to her remaining children instead.

TEENAGE YEARS

Rupert spent the beginning of his teenage years in England between the courts of The Hague and his uncle King Charles I, before being captured and imprisoned in Linz during the middle stages of the 'Thirty Years' War. Rupert had become a soldier early; at the age of 14 he attended the Dutch *pas d'armes* with the Protestant Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange. Later that year he fought alongside him and the Duke of Brunswick at the Anglo-German siege of Rheinberg, and by 1635 he was acting as a military lifeguard to Prince Frederick. Rupert went on to fight against imperial Spain in the successful campaign around Breda in 1637 during the Eighty Years' War in the Netherlands.[18] By the end of this period, Rupert had acquired a reputation for fearlessness in battle, high spirits and considerable industry.

In between these campaigns Rupert had visited his uncle's court in England. The Palatinate cause was a popular Protestant issue in England, and in 1637 a general public subscription helped fund an expedition under Charles Louis to try and regain the electorate as part of a joint French campaign.[18] Rupert was placed in command of a Palatinate cavalry regiment, and his later friend Lord Craven, an admirer of Rupert's mother, assisted in raising funds and accompanied the army on the campaign. The campaign ended badly at the Battle of Vlotho (17 October 1638) during the invasion of Westphalia; Rupert escaped death, but was captured by the forces of the Imperial General Melchior von Hatzfeldt towards the end of the battle.

After a failed attempt to bribe his way free of his guards, Rupert was imprisoned in Linz. Lord Craven, also taken in the battle, attempted to persuade his captors to allow him to remain with Rupert, but was refused.[21] Rupert's imprisonment was surrounded by religious overtones. His mother was deeply concerned that he might be converted from Calvinism to Catholicism; his captors, encouraged by Emperor Ferdinand III, deployed Jesuit priests in an attempt to convert him. The Emperor went further, proffering the option of freedom, a position as an Imperial general and a small principality if Rupert would convert. Rupert refused.

Rupert's imprisonment became more relaxed on the advice of the Archduke Leopold, Ferdinand's younger brother, who met and grew to like Rupert. Rupert practised etching, played tennis, practised shooting, read military textbooks and was taken on accompanied hunting trips. He also entered into a romantic affair with Susan Kuffstein, the daughter of Count von Kuffstein, his gaoler. He received a present of a rare white poodle that Rupert called Boy, or sometimes Pudel, and which remained with him into the English Civil War. Despite attempts by a Franco-Swedish army to seize Linz and free Rupert, his release was ultimately negotiated through Leopold and the Empress Maria Anna; in exchange for a commitment never again to take up arms against the Emperor, Rupert would be released. Rupert formally kissed the Emperor's hand at the end of 1641, turned down a final offer of an Imperial command and left Germany for England.

CAREER DURING THE FIRST ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

Rupert is probably best remembered today for his role as a Royalist commander during the English Civil War. He had considerable success during the initial years of the war, his drive, determination and experience of European techniques bringing him early victories. As the war progressed, Rupert's youth and lack of maturity in managing his

relationships with other Royalist commanders ultimately resulted in his removal from his post and ultimate retirement from the war. Throughout the conflict, however, Rupert also enjoyed a powerful symbolic position: he was an iconic Royalist Cavalier and as such was frequently the subject of both Parliamentary and Royalist propaganda, an image which has endured over the years

EARLY PHASES, 1642–43

Charles I (in blue sash) holding a council of war at Edgecote on the day before the Battle of Edgehill. Rupert, seated, commanded the King's cavalry.

Rupert arrived in England following his period of imprisonment and final release from captivity in Germany. In August 1642, Rupert, along with his brother Prince Maurice and a number of professional soldiers, ran the gauntlet across the sea from the United Provinces, and after one initial failure, evaded the pro-Parliamentary navy and landed in Newcastle. Riding across country, he found the King with a tiny army at Leicester Abbey, and was promptly appointed General of Horse, a coveted appointment at the time in European warfare. Rupert set about recruiting and training: with great effort he had put together a partially trained mounted force of 3,000 cavalry by the end of September. Rupert's reputation continued to rise and, leading a sudden, courageous charge, he routed a Parliamentary force at Powick Bridge, the first military engagement of the war. Although a small engagement, this had a propaganda value far exceeding the importance of the battle itself, and Rupert became an heroic figure for many young men in the Royalist camp.

Rupert joined the King in the advance on London, playing a key role in the resulting Battle of Edgehill in October. Once again, Rupert was at his best with swift battlefield movements; the night before, he had undertaken a forced march and seized the

summit of Edgehill, giving the Royalists a superior position. When he quarrelled with his fellow infantry commander, Lindsey, however, some of the weaknesses of Rupert's character began to display themselves. Rupert vigorously interjected—probably correctly, but certainly tactlessly—that Lindsey should deploy his men in the modern Swedish fashion that Rupert was used to in Europe, which would have maximised their available firepower. The result was an argument in front of the troops and Lindsey's resignation and replacement by Sir Jacob Astley. In the subsequent battle Rupert's men made a dramatic cavalry charge, but despite his best efforts a subsequent scattering and loss of discipline turned a potential victory into a stalemate.

After Edgehill, Rupert asked Charles for a swift cavalry attack on London before the Earl of Essex's army could return. The King's senior counsellors, however, urged him to advance slowly on the capital with the whole army. By the time they arrived, the city had organised defences against them.[38] Some argue that, in delaying, the Royalists had perhaps lost their best chance of winning the war, although others have argued that Rupert's proposed attack would have had trouble penetrating a hostile London. Instead, early in 1643, Rupert began to clear the South-West, taking Cirencester in February before moving further against Bristol, a key port.[40] Rupert took Bristol in July with his brother Maurice using Cornish forces and was appointed

Governor of the city. By mid-1643 Rupert had become so well known that he was an issue in any potential peace accommodation—Parliament was seeking to see him punished as part of any negotiated solution, and the presence of Rupert at the court, close to the King during the negotiations, was perceived as a bellicose statement in itself.

LATER STAGES, 1644–46

During the second half of the war, political opposition within the Royalist senior leadership against Prince Rupert continued to grow. His personality during the war had made him both friends and enemies. He enjoyed a "frank and generous disposition", showed a "quickness of... intellect", was prepared to face grave dangers, and could be thorough and patient when necessary. However, Prince Rupert lacked the social gifts of a courtier, and his humour could turn into a "sardonic wit and a contemptuous manner": with a hasty temper, he was too quick to say whom he respected and whom he disliked. The result was that, while he could inspire great loyalty in some, especially with his men, he also made many enemies at the Royal court. When Prince Rupert took Bristol, he also slighted the Marquess of Hertford, the lethargic but politically significant Royalist leader of the South-West. Most critically, he fell out with George Digby, a favourite of both the King and the Queen. Digby was a classic courtier and Rupert fell to arguing with him repeatedly in meetings. The result was that towards the end of the war Prince Rupert's position at court was increasingly undermined by his enemies.

Rupert continued to impress militarily. By 1644, now the Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness, he led the relief of Newark and York and its castle. Having marched north, taking Bolton and Liverpool along the way in two bloody assaults, Rupert then intervened in Yorkshire in two highly effective manoeuvres, in the first outwitting the enemy forces at Newark with speed; in

the second, striking across country and approaching York from the north. Rupert then commanded much of the royalist army at its defeat at Marston Moor, with much of the blame falling on the poor working relationship between Rupert and the Marquess of Newcastle, and orders from the King that wrongly conveyed a desperate need for a speedy success in the north.

In November 1644 Rupert was appointed General of the entire Royalist army, which increased already marked tensions between him and a number of the King's councillors. By May 1645, and now desperately short of supplies, Rupert captured Leicester, but suffered a severe reversal at the Battle of Naseby a month later. Although Rupert had counselled the King against accepting battle at Naseby, the opinions of Digby had won the day in council: nonetheless, Rupert's defeat damaged him, rather than Digby, politically. After Naseby, Rupert regarded the Royalist cause as lost, and urged Charles to conclude a peace with Parliament. Charles, still supported by an optimistic Digby, believed he could win the war. By late summer Prince Rupert had become trapped in Bristol by Parliamentary forces. Faced with an impossible military situation on the ground, Rupert surrendered Bristol in September 1645, and Charles dismissed him from his service and command. Rupert responded by making his way across Parliamentary held territory to the King at Newark with Prince Maurice and around a hundred men, fighting their way through smaller enemy units and evading larger ones. King Charles attempted to order Rupert to desist, fearing an armed coup, but Rupert arrived at the royal court anyway. After a difficult meeting, Rupert convinced the King to hold a court-martial over his conduct at Bristol, which exonerated him and Maurice. After a final argument over the fate of his friend Richard Willis, the governor of Newark, who had let Rupert into the royal court to begin with, Rupert resigned and left the service of King Charles, along with most of his best cavalry officers.

Earlier interpretations of this event focused on Rupert's concern for his honour in the face of his initial dismissal by the King; later works have highlighted the practical importance of the courts martial to Rupert's future employability as a mercenary in Europe, given that Rupert knew that the war by this point was effectively lost. Rupert and Maurice spent the winter of 1645 in Woodstock, examining options for employment under the Venetian Republic, before returning to Oxford and the King in 1646. Rupert and the King were reconciled, the Prince remaining to defend Oxford when the King left for the north. After the ensuing siege and surrender of Oxford in 1646, Parliament banished both Rupert and his brother from England.

REPUTATION

Rupert's contemporaries believed him to have been involved in some of the bloodier events of the war, although later histories have largely exonerated him. Rupert had grown up surrounded by the relatively savage customs of the 'Thirty Years' War in Europe. Shortly after his arrival in England he caused consternation by following similar practices; one of his early acts was to demand two thousand pounds from the people of Leicester for the King as the price of not sacking Leicester. Although in keeping with European practices, this was not considered appropriate behaviour in England and Rupert was reprimanded by the King.

Rupert's reputation never truly recovered, and in subsequent sieges and attacks he was frequently accused of acting without restraint. Birmingham, a key arms producing town, was taken in April 1643, and Rupert faced allegations—probably untrue—of wilfully burning the town to the ground (see the battle of Camp Hill). Shortly afterwards Rupert attempted to take the town of Lichfield, whose garrison had executed Royalist prisoners, angrily promising to kill all the soldiers inside. Only the urgent call for assistance from the King prevented him from doing so, forcing him to agree to more lenient terms in exchange

for a prompt surrender. Towards the end of the war, practices were changing for the worse across all sides; a rebellious Leicester was retaken by the Prince in May 1645, and no attempt was made to limit the subsequent killing and plunder.

Rupert was accordingly a prominent figure in Parliamentary propaganda. He faced numerous accusations of witchcraft, either personally or by proxy through his pet dog, Boy, sometimes called Pudel; a large white hunting poodle, accompanied Rupert everywhere from 1642 up until the dog's death at Marston Moor and was widely suspected of being a witch's familiar. There were numerous accounts of Boy's abilities; some suggested that he was the Devil in disguise, come to help Rupert. Pro-Royalist publications ultimately produced parodies of these, including one which listed Rupert's dog as being a "Lapland Lady" transformed into a white dog; Boy was able, apparently, to find hidden treasure, possessed invulnerability to attack, could catch bullets fired at Rupert in his mouth, and could prophesy as well as the 16th century soothsayer, Mother Shipton. Similar stories from the period relate to Rupert's pet monkey. Like his dog, the monkey was featured in newsprint of the day and was also reputed to have shape shifting powers, being able to disguise itself behind enemy lines.

SECOND ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND INTERREGNUM

After the end of the First English Civil War Rupert was employed by the young King Louis XIV of France to fight the Spanish during the final years of the 'Thirty Years' War. Rupert's military employment was complicated by his promises to the Holy Roman Emperor that had led to his release from captivity in 1642, and his ongoing commitment to the English Royalist faction in exile. He also became a Knight of the Garter in 1642. Throughout the period Rupert was inconvenienced by his lack of secure income, and his ongoing feuds with other leading members of the Royalist circle.

SERVICE IN THE FRENCH ARMY

Rupert first travelled to the Royal court in exile at St Germain but found it still dominated by the Queen and her favourite, Rupert's enemy Digby. Instead, Rupert moved on, accepting a well paid commission from Anne of Austria to serve Louis XIV as a mareschal de camp, subject to Rupert being free to leave French service to fight for King Charles, should he be called upon to do so. In 1647 Rupert fought under Marshal de Gassion against the Spanish. After a three-week siege, Rupert took the powerful fortress of La Bassée through quiet negotiations with the enemy commander—an impressive accomplishment, and one that won him favour in French court circles. Gassion and Rupert were ambushed shortly afterwards by a Spanish party; during the resulting fight, Rupert was shot in the head and seriously injured. Afterwards, Gassion noted: "Monsieur, I am most annoyed that you are wounded." "And me also," Rupert is recorded as replying. Gassion was himself killed shortly afterwards, and Rupert returned to St Germain to recuperate.

SERVICE IN THE ROYALIST NAVY

In 1648, the relatively brief Second English Civil War broke out, and Rupert informed the French King that he would be returning to King Charles's service. The Parliamentary navy mutinied in favour of the King and sailed for Holland, providing the Royalists with a major fleet for the first time since the start of the civil conflict; Rupert joined the fleet under the command of the Duke of York, who assumed the rank of Lord High Admiral. Rupert argued that the fleet should be used to rescue the King, then being held prisoner on the Isle of Wight, while others advised sailing in support of the fighting in the north. The fleet itself rapidly lost discipline, with many vessels' crews focussing on seizing local ships and cargoes. This underlined a major problem for the Royalists—the cost of maintaining the new fleet was well beyond their means. Discipline continued to deteriorate and Rupert had to intervene personally several times, including defusing one group of mutinous sailors by

suddenly dangling the ringleader over the side of his vessel and threatening to drop him into the sea. Most of the fleet finally switched sides once more, returning to England in late 1648.

Then, following a degree of reconciliation with Charles, Rupert obtained command of the Royalist fleet himself. The intention was to restore Royalist finances by using the remaining vessels of the fleet to conduct a campaign of organised piracy against English shipping across the region. One of the obstacles that this plan faced was the growing strength of the Parliamentary fleet and the presence of Robert Blake, one of the finest admirals of the period, as Rupert's opponent during the campaign.

RUPERT'S MARITIME CAMPAIGN IN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN AND CARIBBEAN SEAS, 1650–1653.

Rupert's naval campaign formed two phases. The first involved the Royalist fleet sailing from Kinsale in Ireland to Lisbon in Portugal. He took three large ships, HMS Constant Reformation, the Convertine and the Swallow, accompanied by four smaller vessels. Rupert sailed to Lisbon taking several prizes en route, where he received a warm welcome from King John IV, the ruler of recently independent Portugal, who was a supporter of Charles II. Blake arrived shortly afterwards with a Parliamentary fleet, and an armed stand-off ensued. Tensions rose, skirmishes began to break out and King John became increasingly keen for his Royalist guests to leave. In October 1650, Rupert's fleet, now comprising six vessels, broke out and headed into the Mediterranean. Still pursued by Blake, the Royalist fleet manoeuvred up the Spanish coast, steadily losing vessels to their pursuers.

The second phase of the campaign then began. Rupert crossed back into the Atlantic and, during 1651, cut west to the Azores, capturing vessels as he went. He intended to continue on to the West Indies, where there

would be many rich targets. Instead he encountered a late summer storm, leading to the sinking of the *Constant Reformation* with the loss of 333 lives—almost including Rupert's brother, Prince Maurice, who only just escaped—and a great deal of captured treasure. Turning back to regroup, repair and re-equip in early 1652, Rupert's reduced force moored at Cape Blanc, an island near what is now Mauritania. Rupert took the opportunity to explore and acquired a Moorish servant boy, who remained in his service for many years.[94] Rupert also explored 150 miles up the Gambia River, taking two Spanish vessels as prizes and contracting malaria in the process.

Rupert then finally made a successful crossing into the Caribbean, landing first at Saint Lucia, before continuing up the chain of the Antilles to the Virgin Islands. There the fleet was hit by a hurricane, which scattered the ships and sank the *Defiance*, this time with Prince Maurice on board. It was a while before Maurice's death became certain, which came as a terrible blow to Rupert. He was forced to return to Europe, arriving in France in March 1653 with a fleet of five ships. It became clear, as the profits and losses of the piracy campaign were calculated, that the venture had not been as profitable as hoped. This complicated tensions in the Royalist court, and Charles II and Rupert eventually split the spoils, after which Rupert, tired and a little bitter, returned to France to recuperate from the long campaign.

In 1654, Rupert appears to have been involved in a plot to assassinate Oliver Cromwell, an event that would then have been followed by a coup, the landing of a small army in Sussex, and the restoration of

Charles II. Charles himself is understood to have rejected the assassination proposal, but three conspirators—who implicated Rupert in the plan—were arrested and confessed in London. Rupert's presence at the royal court continued to be problematic; as in 1643, he was regarded by Edward Hyde (later Earl of

Clarendon) and others as a bellicose figure and an obstacle to peace negotiations; in 1655 Rupert left for Germany.

SERVICE IN GERMANY



Rupert's largest and most famous mezzotint work, *The Great Executioner*, considered by critic Antony Griffiths to be "one of the greatest mezzotints"

After his quarrel with the Royalist court in exile, Rupert travelled to Heidelberg to visit his brother Charles Louis, now partially restored as Elector Palatine, where the two had an ambivalent reunion. Charles Louis and Rupert had not been friendly as children and had almost ended up on opposite sides during the Civil War. To make matters worse, Charles Louis had been deprived of half the old Palatinate under the Peace of Westphalia, leaving him badly short of money, although he still remained responsible under the Imperial laws of apanage for providing for his younger brother and had offered the sum of £375 per annum, which Rupert had accepted.

Rupert travelled on to Vienna, where he attempted to claim the £15,000 compensation allocated to him under the Peace of Westphalia from the Emperor. Emperor Ferdinand III warmly welcomed him, but was unable to pay such a sum immediately—instead, he would have to pay in installments, to the disadvantage of Rupert.

Over the next twelve months, Rupert was asked by the Duke of Modena in northern Italy to raise an army against the Papal States—having done so, and with the army stationed in the Palatinate, the enterprise collapsed, with the Duke requesting that Rupert invade Spanish held Milan instead. Rupert moved on, having placed his brother Charles Louis in some diplomatic difficulties with Spain.[104] Rupert travelled onwards, continuing to attempt to convince Ferdinand to back Charles II's efforts to regain his throne.

In 1656 relations between Rupert and Charles Louis deteriorated badly. Rupert had fallen in love with Louise von Degenfeld, one of his sister-in-law's maids of honour. One of Rupert's notes proffering his affections accidentally fell into the possession of Charles Louis' wife Charlotte, who believed it was written to her. Charlotte was keen to engage in an affair with Rupert and became unhappy when she was declined and the mistake explained. Unfortunately, Degenfeld was uninterested in Rupert, but was engaged in an affair with Charles Louis; this was discovered in due course, leading to the annulment of the marriage. Rupert, for his part, was unhappy that Charles Louis could not endow him with a suitable estate, and the two parted on bad terms in 1657, Rupert refusing ever to return to the Palatinate again and taking up employment under Ferdinand III in his Kingdom of Hungary.

INTEREST IN ART

During this period Rupert became closely involved in the development of mezzotint, a "negative" or intaglio printmaking process which eventually superseded the older woodcut process. Rupert appears to have

told a range of associates that he had conceived of the mezzotint process through having watched a soldier scrape the rust from the barrel of his musket during a military campaign. John Evelyn credited Rupert as the inventor of the technique in 1662, and Rupert's story was further popularised by Horace Walpole during the 18th century. Considerable academic debate surrounds the issue, but the modern consensus is that mezzotint was instead invented in 1642 by Ludwig von Siegen, a German lieutenant-colonel who was also an amateur artist. Siegen may or may not have met Rupert: Siegen had worked as chamberlain, and probably part-tutor, to Rupert's young cousin William VI, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, with whom Rupert discussed the technique in letters from 1654. Rupert did, however, become a noted artist in mezzotint in his own right. He produced a few stylish prints in the technique, mostly interpretations of existing paintings, and introduced the form to England after the Restoration, though it was Wallerant Vaillant, Rupert's artistic assistant or tutor, who first popularised the process and exploited it commercially. Rupert's most famous and largest art work, *The Great Executioner*, produced in 1658, is still regarded by critics such as Arthur Hind and Antony Griffiths as full of "brilliance and energy", "superb" and "one of the greatest mezzotints" ever produced; other important works by Rupert include *the Head of Titian* and *The Standard Bearer*.

CAREER FOLLOWING THE RESTORATION

Following the Restoration of the monarchy under Charles II in 1660, Rupert returned to England, where Charles had already largely completed the process of balancing the different factions across the country in a new administration. Since most of the better government posts were already taken, Rupert's employment was limited, although Charles rewarded him with the second highest pension he had granted, £4,000 a year. Rupert's close family ties to King

Charles were critical to his warm reception; following the deaths of the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Mary, Rupert was the King's closest adult relation in England after his brother, the Duke of York, and so a key member of the new regime. Rupert, as the Duke of Cumberland, resumed his seat in the House of Lords. For the first time in his life, Rupert's financial position was relatively secure, and he had matured. Near-contemporaries described how "his temper was less explosive than formerly and his judgement sounder". Rupert continued to serve as an admiral in the Royal Navy throughout the period, ultimately rising to the rank of "General at Sea and Land".

RESTORATION STATESMAN

Rupert was appointed to the King's Privy Council in 1662, taking roles on the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Admiralty Committee and the Tangier Committee. Accounts vary of Rupert's role in all these committees of government. Samuel Pepys, no friend of Rupert's, sat on the Tangier Committee with him and later declared that all Rupert did was to laugh and swear occasionally: other records, such as those of the Foreign Affairs Committee, show him taking a full and active role in proceedings.

In 1668, the King appointed Rupert to be the Constable of Windsor Castle. Rupert was already one of the Knights of the Garter, who had their headquarters at the castle, and was a close companion of the King, who would wish to be suitably entertained at the castle. Rupert immediately began to reorder the castle's defences, sorting out the garrison's accommodation, repairing the Devil's Tower, reconstructing the real tennis court and improving the castle's hunting estate. Rupert acquired his own apartments in the castle, which were recorded as being "very singular" with some decorated with an "extraordinary" number of "pikes, muskets, pistols, bandoliers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and head

pieces", and his inner chambers "hung with tapisserie, curious and effeminate pictures". King Charles II and Rupert spent much time together over the years hunting and playing tennis together at Windsor, and Rupert was also a close companion of James, the Duke of York. Rupert was considered by Pepys to be the fourth best tennis player in England. Rupert became romantically engaged to Frances Bard (1646–1708), the daughter of the English explorer and Civil War veteran Henry Bard. Frances claimed to have secretly married Rupert in 1664, although this was denied by him and no firm proof exists to support the claim. Rupert acknowledged the son he had with Frances, Dudley Bard (1666–86), often called "Dudley Rupert", who was schooled at Eton College. In 1673, Rupert was urged by Charles Louis to return home, marry and father an heir to the Palatinate, as it appeared likely that Charles Louis's own son would not survive childhood. Rupert refused, and remained in England.

CAREER IN THE RESTORATION NAVY



Fig. 38
The Four Days' Battle, 1–4 June 1666, by Abraham Storck, during which Rupert's new aggressive fleet tactics were first applied.

For much of the 17th century, England was embroiled in conflict with commercial rival Holland through the Anglo-Dutch Wars. Rupert became closely involved in these as a

senior admiral to King Charles II, rising to command the Royal Navy by the end of his career. Although several famous admirals of the day had previously been army commanders, including Blake and Monck, they had commanded relatively small land forces and Rupert was still relatively unusual for the period in having both practical experience of commanding large land armies and having extensive naval experience from his campaigns in the 1650s. At the start of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–67), Rupert was appointed as one of the three squadron commanders of the English fleet, under the overall command of the Duke of York, taking HMS Royal James as his flagship.[130] As the commander of the White Squadron, Rupert fought at the Battle of Lowestoft in 1665, breaking through the enemy defences at a critical moment; Rupert's leg was injured in the battle, an injury that caused him ongoing pain. Recalled to accompany the King during the plague that was sweeping London, Rupert continued to argue in favour of the fleet's seeking a set-piece engagement with the Dutch that would force the Dutch back to the negotiating table. The following year, Rupert was made joint commander of the fleet with Monck and given the opportunity to put this plan into practice. In June 1666, they fought the Dutch at the Four Days' Battle, one of the longest naval battles in history; the battle saw the new aggressive tactics of Rupert and Monck applied, resulting in "a sight unique till then in sailing-ship warfare, the English beating upwind and breaking the enemy's line from leeward." However, the Four Days' Battle was considered a victory for the Dutch, but the St. James's Day Battle the following month allowed Rupert and Monck to use the same tactics to inflict heavy damage on the Dutch and the battle resulted in a significant English victory. The Dutch however would see a favourable end to the war with the decisive Raid on the Medway.

THE THIRD ANGLO-DUTCH WAR (1672–74)

Rupert also played a prominent role in the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–74). This time Louis XIV of France was a key English ally against Holland, and it was decided that the French would form a squadron in a combined fleet. The English fleet had been much expanded, and Rupert had three ships, HMS Royal Charles, HMS Royal James and HMS Royal Oak, equipped with a high-specification, annealed and lathe-produced gun of his own design, the Rupertine. Unfortunately the cost of the weapon—three times that of a normal gun—prevented its wider deployment in the fleet. The French role in the conflict proved a problem when Charles turned to the appointment of an admiral. Rupert's objection to the French alliance was well known, and accordingly the King appointed the Duke of York to the role instead. Rupert was instead instructed to take over the Duke's work at the Admiralty, which he did with gusto. The Allied naval plans were stalled after the Duke's inconclusive battle with the Dutch at Solebay.

THE BATTLE OF TEXEL

The Battle of Texel, by Willem van de Velde the Younger, a Dutch victory which marked the end of Rupert's career as a sea admiral. The English plan for 1673 centred on first achieving naval dominance, followed by landing an army in Zeeland. The King appointed the Duke as supreme commander, with Rupert as his deputy, combining the ranks of general and vice admiral of England. During the winter of 1672, however, Charles—still (legitimately) childless—decided that the risk to the Duke, his heir, was too great and made Rupert supreme Allied commander in his place. Rupert began the 1673 campaign against the Dutch knowing the logistical support for his fleet remained uncertain, with many ships undermanned. The result was the Battle of Schooneveld in June and the Battle of Texel in August, a controversial sequence of engagements in which, at a minimum, poor

communications between the French and English commanders assisted the marginal Dutch victory. Many English commentators were harsher, blaming the French for failing to fully engage in the battles and Rupert—having cautioned against the alliance in the first place—was popularly hailed as a hero. Rupert finally retired from active seagoing command later that year.

Rupert had a characteristic style as an admiral; he relied upon "energetic personal leadership backed by close contact with his officers"; having decided how to proceed in a naval campaign, however, it could be difficult for his staff to change his mind. Recent work on Rupert's role as a commander has also highlighted the progress the prince made in formulating the way that orders were given to the British fleet. Fleet communications were limited during the period, and the traditional orders from admirals before a battle were accordingly quite rigid, limiting a captain's independence in the battle. Rupert played a key part in the conferences held by the Duke of York in 1665 to review tactics and operational methods from the first Dutch war, and put these into practice before the St James Day battle. These instructions and supplementary instructions to ships' captains, which attempted to balance an adherence to standing orders with the need to exploit emerging opportunities in a battle, proved heavily influential over the next hundred years and shaped the idea that an aggressive fighting spirit should be at the core of British naval doctrine.

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL

After 1673 Rupert remained a senior member of the Royal Navy and Charles's administration. Rupert allied himself with Lord Shaftesbury on matters of foreign policy, but remained loyal to King Charles II on other issues, and was passionate about protecting the Royal Prerogative. As a consequence he opposed Parliament's plan in 1677 to appoint him to Lord High Admiral—on the basis that only the King

should be allowed to propose such appointments—but noted that he was willing to become Admiral if the King wished him to do so. The King's solution was to establish a small, empowered Admiralty Commission, of which Rupert became the first commissioner. As a result, from 1673 to 1679 Rupert was able to focus on ensuring a closer regulation of manning, gunning and the selection of officers. He was also involved in setting priorities between the different theatres of operations that the Royal Navy was now involved in around the world.^[152] Rupert was also appointed to the supreme position of "General at Sea and Land", effectively assuming the wartime powers of the Lord High Admiral.

LATER LIFE

After the end of his seagoing naval career Rupert continued to be actively involved in both government and science, although he was increasingly removed from current politics. To the younger members of the court the prince appeared increasingly distant—almost from a different era. The Count de Gramont described Rupert as "brave and courageous even to rashness, but cross-grained and incorrigibly obstinate... he was polite, even to excess, unseasonably; but haughty, and even brutal, when he ought to have been gentle and courteous... his manners were ungracious: he had a dry hard-favoured visage, and a stern look, even when he wished to please; but, when he was out of humour, he was the true picture of reproof". Rupert's health during this period was also less robust; his head wound from his employment in France required a painful trepanning treatment, his leg wound continued to hurt and he still suffered from the malaria he had caught while in the Gambia.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

Rupert had demonstrated an interest in colonial issues for many years. On arriving in England in 1660, he had encouraged the government to continue his own exploration of the Gambia in an attempt to find gold, leading to Robert Holmes's expedition the following year. Rupert was an active shareholder in the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa that was established as a result in 1662. The company continued operations for the next eight years, with backers including the King, the Duke of York and the Royal Society, with operations including engaging in the West Africa slave trade until it folded in 1670. The company's operations merged with those of the Gambia Merchants' Company into the new Royal African Company, with a royal charter to set up forts, factories, troops and to exercise martial law in West Africa, in pursuit of trade in gold, silver and slaves; Rupert was the third named member of the company's board. By then, however, Rupert's attention had turned to North America. The French explorers Radisson and des Groseilliers had come to England after conducting a joint exploration of the Hudson's Bay region in 1659; there their account attracted the attention of the King and Rupert. Rupert put an initial investment of £270 of his own money into a proposal for a fresh expedition and set about raising more; despite setbacks, including the Great Fire of London, by 1667 he had formed a private syndicate and leased the *Eaglet* from the King for the expedition. The *Eaglet* failed, but her sister vessel, the *Nonsuch*, made a successful expedition, returning in 1669 with furs worth £1,400. In 1670, the King approved the charter for "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay" that would form the Hudson's Bay Company, which was granted a trading monopoly in the whole Hudson Bay watershed area, an immense territory named Rupert's Land, with Rupert appointed the first Governor. Rupert's first company secretary was Sir James Hayes and Radisson named the Hayes River, in present-day Manitoba, in his

honour. The company continued to prosper, forming the basis for much of the commercial activity of colonial Canada. Rupert's role in colonial commerce was marked by his being asked to lay the cornerstone of the new Royal Exchange in 1670, and being made one of its first councillors.

SCIENCE AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY



Rupert was a founding member of the Royal Society, which, as shown in this 1667 engraving celebrating its creation, mirrored his wide interests in science and technology. After Rupert's retirement from active seafaring in around 1674, he was able to spend more time engaged in scientific research and became credited with many inventions and discoveries, although some subsequently turned out to be the innovative introduction of European inventions into England. Rupert converted some of the apartments at Windsor Castle to a luxury laboratory, complete with forges, instruments and raw materials, from where he conducted a range of experiments.

Rupert had already become the third founding member of the scientific Royal Society, being referred to by contemporaries as a "philosophic warrior", and guided the Society as a Councillor during its early years. Very early on in the Society's history, Rupert demonstrated Prince Rupert's Drops to King Charles II and the Society, glass teardrops which explode when the tail is cracked; although credited with their invention at the time, later interpretations suggest that he was instead responsible for the introduction of an existing European discovery into England. He demonstrated a new device for lifting water at the Royal Society, and received attention for his process for "painting colours on marble, which, when polished, became permanent".

During this time, Rupert also formulated a mathematical question concerning the paradox that a cube can pass through a slightly smaller cube; Rupert questioned how large a cube had to be in order to fit. The question of Prince Rupert's cube was first solved by the Dutch mathematician Pieter Nieuwland. Rupert was also known for his success in breaking cypher codes.

Many of Rupert's inventions were military. After designing the Rupertine naval gun, Rupert erected a water-mill on Hackney Marshes for a revolutionary method of boring guns, however his secret died with him, and the enterprise failed. Rupert enjoyed other military problems, and took to manufacturing gun locks; he devised both a gun that fired multiple rounds at high speed, and a "handgun with rotating barrels". He is credited with the invention of a form of gunpowder, which when demonstrated to the Royal Society in 1663 had a force of over ten times that of regular powder; a better method for using gunpowder in mining; and a torpedo. He also developed a form of grapeshot for use by artillery. Rupert also focussed on naval inventions: he devised a balancing mechanism to allow improved quadrant measurements at sea, and produced a diving engine for retrieving objects on the ocean floor. While recovering

from his trepanning treatment Rupert set about inventing new surgical equipment to improve future operations. Other parts of Rupert's scientific work lay in the field of metallurgy. Rupert invented a new brass alloy, slightly darker in hue than regular brass involving three parts of copper to one part of zinc, combined with charcoal; this became known as "Prince's metal" in his honour—sometimes also referred to as "Bristol Brass". Rupert invented the alloy in order to improve naval artillery, but it also became used as a replacement for gold in decorations. Rupert was also credited with having devised an exceptional method for tempering kirby fish hooks, and for casting objects into an appearance of perspective. He also invented an improved method for manufacturing shot of varying sizes in 1663, that was later refined by the scientist Robert Hooke, one of Rupert's Royal Society friends during the period.

DEATH AND FAMILY

Rupert died at his house at Spring Gardens, Westminster, on 29 November 1682 after a bout of pleurisy, and was buried in the crypt of Westminster Abbey on 6 December in a state funeral.

LEGACY

According to Ian Gentles:

Charles I's nephew. Prince Rupert of the Rhine, was a famed warrior who won hardly any battles on land or sea. Beloved by his men for his death-defying courage and his high sense of military honour, he was nonetheless a bad tempered and arrogant leader. His defects of character became more accentuated with age. Yet he remains one of the most romantic figures in English history, admired for his reckless cavalry charges, and his equally reckless naval charges against the much stronger Parliamentary, and later Dutch, fleets....The prince alienated many because he was frequently irascible, tactless, impatient, and—most seriously—a poor judge of character.



Fig.39

Jean Pierre Franque

Jean II, comte d'Estrées (1624-1707), vice-amiral, maréchal de France

Comte d'Estrées 1707 by , from a wall painting

[in Musée du château de Versailles, commissioned by Louis-Philippe I]. Original in colors.

Oil on canvas

Palace de Versailles, inv. no. MV 8246E

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF JEAN II D'ESTRÉES (1624 - 1707)

Jean II d'Estrées, comte d'Estrées, born in 1624 in Solothurn (Switzerland) and died in Paris in 1707, was a marshal of France, a great war captain in the navy of Louis XIV, who was viceroy of New France.

BIOGRAPHY

ORIGINS AND FAMILY

Jean d'Estrées, from the House of Estrées, a family of the Picardy nobility, was born on 3 November 1624 in Solothurn, a canton of the Swiss Confederation, the residence of the French ambassadors at that time. He was the second son of François-Annibal I, Duke of Estrées, Marshal and Peer of France in 1663, and his first wife, Marie de Béthune (1602-1628), daughter of Philippe de Béthune, Count of Selles, younger brother of the Duke of Sully. He was therefore both the nephew of Gabrielle d'Estrées, favourite of Henri IV, and a descendant of the House of Béthune, one of the oldest noble families in France, whose origins go back to the 10th century. From the union of Jean's parents two other sons were born:

the eldest, François-Annibal II d'Estrées (1623-1687), who inherited the title of Duke of Estrées in 1670;

the youngest, César d'Estrées (1628), bishop of Laon, duke and peer of France, commander of the order of the Holy Spirit

IN THE ARMY

Like his father, Jean embarked on a career in arms at a very early age. At 23 he became colonel of the Navarre regiment, at 25 marshal of camp and at 33 lieutenant general. He served under the orders of the Grand Condé at Lens on 20 August 1648. He then served with Turenne in Lorraine in 1652 and 1653 and then in Flanders. He was taken prisoner at Valenciennes in 1656. He supported the royal family during the Fronde. During the War of Devolution, he fell out with Louvois (which prevented him from gaining access to the highest commands¹) and, on the advice of Colbert,

with whom he had good relations, he left the army for the Royal in 1668. There he met up with his cousin the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of Navigation, who was to help him integrate. Colbert was delighted to be able to make such an acquisition for the Navy, which at the time was to be created rather than re-established.

SERVICE IN THE ROYAL NAVY

His rise in the Navy was meteoric due to his birth and family protections (his father was a marshal of France). He joined the Navy at the rank of lieutenant general of the naval armies and the following year, in 1669, he was the first to be promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Ponant, since the position was introduced at that time.

However, this appointment was apparently rather curious. In addition to his maritime incompetence, like many senior naval officers of the time, d'Estrées had a detestable character that alienated sympathy. Colbert himself remarked that "his way of living with all the officers, a little too dry, did not win their friendship". This led Rear Admiral Daveluy to write: "You need to know nothing about maritime history to call a ship d'Estrées".

Nonetheless, there was a clear reason why Louis XIV and Colbert appointed d'Estrées: this decision was part of a wider reform plan designed to attract people from the upper nobility to the Navy, a field which did not attract them.

FIRST NAVAL EXPEDITIONS

His first campaign in 1668 sent him to the West Indies to confront the English. He made five campaigns in the West Indies and became the best specialist of the Royal of the American islands. D'Estrée advocated an offensive strategy driven by the fierce desire to overthrow the Spanish-Dutch colonial power. This offensive and adventurous spirit earned him a harsh judgment from the officers of the Royal Navy, but not from the

King, who appointed him vice-admiral in 1669.

At the head of six ships, he then confronted privateers in the Mediterranean and spread terror in Salé (Morocco), which led to the signing of a peace agreement with the dey of Algiers, then with Tunis in 1676.

DUTCH WAR EUROPE

During the Dutch War, he was promoted to the command-in-chief of the French squadron of thirty ships, which fought alongside the English fleet. On the Saint Philippe, he took part in the battle of Solebay on 6 June 1672 and the following year, on the Reine, in the battle of Walcheren (the first battle of Schooneveld and the second battle of Schooneveld, in June 1673), and finally the battle of Texel (August 1673). The results were mixed, but the Dutch never managed to land on the French coast, except at Belle-Île and Noirmoutier in June 1674, during a huge operation led by Cornelis Tromp involving 114 ships and attempting to rally the Protestant strongholds of the French west coast: the news had a terrible effect in Paris and d'Estrées's strategy at the end of 1674 was judged by some parties to be ineffective, when Abraham Duquesne was mobilised in the Mediterranean³. An investigation was carried out by Seignelay. One of his subordinates, the Marquis de Martel, implicated by d'Estrées, responded with a vengeful letter which he allowed to be published in England. This earned him a stay in the Bastille.

According to other witnesses of the time, his prowess was praised by the chief admiral of the United Provinces, Michiel de Ruyter.

CARIBBEAN EXPEDITIONS

First battle of Tabago, 3 March 1677 Battle plan of the island of Gorée, 1st November 1677

In the summer of 1676, d'Estrées, supported by Colbert, went to the king and urgently suggested arming ships against the Dutch possessions in the West Indies. The Dutch

fleet commanded by Jacob Binckes had taken Cayenne in March 1676 and then recaptured Tobago from the English, then continued northwards, plundering the French trading posts of Saint-Domingue and Marie-Galante in favour of Tobago, where 200 soldiers were stationed. In October, d'Estrées sailed from Brest with four fifty-gun ships and four armed frigates, including 400 men. The names of the ships are the *Glorieux*, flagship, the *Fendant*, the *Laurier*, the *Soleil d'Afrique*, the *Intrépide* commanded by Louis Gabaret, the *Marquis*, the *Friponne* and the *Fée*. On 21 December, they recaptured Cayenne, by night.

On 20 February, from Martinique, the French squadron arrived off Tobago in the bay of New Walcheren where the Dutch squadron was concentrated. Thanks to the prisoners taken in Cayenne, the French are informed of the strengths and weaknesses of the enemies. D'Estrées had the idea of attacking them both by land and by sea, since a number of them were busy building a fort there, but this plan failed and caused the colonists to flee to the sea, where most of them died. On 3 March the "Battle of Tabago" took place, during which the French attack, although repulsed, significantly weakened the Dutch forces, thanks to a fire that spread to all the ships. But the *Glorieux*, the *Intrepid*, the *Precious* and the *Laurel* were lost or damaged by the fire in the panic. After three days, the survivors of the French squad reached Grenada.

In July 1677, d'Estrées returned to Versailles and rearmed. On 1 November, he managed to seize the island of Gorée, taking it back from 250 Dutchmen. On 20 November, he was again ready to attack Tobago, stopping first at Barbados, where the English informed him of the Dutch positions and he was joined by the Count of Blénac. On 6 December, the French troops went ashore not far from the fort. On the 12th, exchanges began with cannon fire and the fort's powder magazine exploded, killing Jacob Binckes and his officers, as well as nearly 250 Dutch soldiers. Subsequently,

the enemy fleet was captured, sixteen ships. On 29 December, the surrender of the Tobago fort was signed. These successes are therefore to be credited to d'Estrées.

This victorious campaign was followed by a catastrophe. On 5 May 1678, d'Estrées, anchored at Saint-Christophe, wanted to seize the Dutch island of Curaçao. During the preparation of the attack, he stubbornly refused to follow the advice of his officers and pilots who knew the configuration and dangers of these waters better than he did, and chose a new pilot who knew nothing of the place and was a stranger to the ship. This decision, in addition to upsetting the officers, caused most of his squadron, i.e. 7 ships, 3 frigates and 7 auxiliary vessels, to run aground on the reefs of the Las Aves archipelago (Islands of the Birds), which were not marked on the charts at the time but were only known as a perilous area. Most of the sailors were nevertheless rescued. After receiving a series of reports on the incident, Colbert had d'Estrées consigned to New France where he was charged with secretly investigating the Spanish actions until peace was achieved.

THE END OF HIS CAREER

Louis XIV and Seignelay kept all their confidence in him. On 24 May 1681, he was promoted to Marshal of France. Then, as a reward for his intelligence services, he was elevated to the honorary title of Viceroy of America.

Between April and July 1685, following in the footsteps of Abraham Duquesne, he campaigned against the Barbary pirates, bombarding Tripoli and obtaining from the dey a peace treaty and enormous financial compensation (around 350,000 pounds). In the following years, he continued the "bombardments" in the Bay of Algiers, which Vauban stigmatised, but which were in fact the result of the non-respect of the treaties obtained in 1683, which required France to demand that the corsairs cease their piracy.

In December 1688, he was appointed Knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit.

He was appointed Governor of Nantes and Lieutenant General in Brittany in 1701. He died in Paris on 19 May 1707.

The Estrée fort on the island of Gorée was named in 1856 in his honour. It is now the historical museum of Senegal in Gorée.

MARRIAGE AND DESCENDANTS

In 1658 he married Marie Marguerite Morin¹⁰ (†1714). From this union were born :

Victor-Marie d'Estrées (1660-1737), fifth duke of Estrées in 1723 on the death of his cousin Louis-Armand, son of François-Annibal III, he also campaigned in the Royale and was also marshal of France;

Jean III d'Estrées († 1718), archbishop of Cambrai, member of the French Academy;

Jean-César d'Estrées († 1671), died young;

Marie-Anne d'Estrées († 1723), nun at Notre-Dame de l'Assomption in Paris;

Marie-Anne-Catherine d'Estrées (1663-1741), she married on November 28, 1691 Michel François Le Tellier (1663-1721), eldest son of the famous Marquis de Louvois;

Elisabeth-Rosalie d'Estrées (about 1672-1750), demoiselle de Tourpes, dame de Beaufort.

FLEET OF THE PONANT

Vice-Admirals (1669-1792)

Jean, comte d'Estrées - Victor Marie, duc d'Estrées - Antoine François de Pardaillan de Gondrin, marquis d'Antin - François de Bricqueville, comte de La Luzerne - Claude-Élisée de Court de La Bruyère - François-Cornil Bart - Charles-Félix de Poilvilain, Count of Cresnay - Jean-Baptiste Mac Nemara - Hubert de Conflans, Count of Brienne - Joseph de Bauffremont, Prince of Listenois - Paul-Hippolyte de Beauvilliers, Marquis of La Ferté-Saint-Aignan - Pierre-Antoine de Raymond, Bailiff of Éoux.

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