



The Mariner's Mirror

The International Quarterly Journal of The Society for Nautical Research

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rmir20

The Silk Dress and the Shipwreck: A seventeenth-century wreck near Texel

Lambert D. Westera

To cite this article: Lambert D. Westera (2025) The Silk Dress and the Shipwreck: A seventeenth-century wreck near Texel, The Mariner's Mirror, 111:1, 22-40, DOI: [10.1080/00253359.2025.2445922](https://doi.org/10.1080/00253359.2025.2445922)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00253359.2025.2445922>



Published online: 31 Jan 2025.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 49



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

The Mariner's Mirror 111:1 (February 2025), 22–40

The Silk Dress and the Shipwreck: A seventeenth-century wreck near Texel

Lambert D. Westera

In 2023 renewed attention was paid by Dutch media to the silk dress and other high-quality objects retrieved from a seventeenth-century shipwreck recently found near Texel. The suggestion that the dress originated from the retinue of Queen Henrietta Maria, who lost a baggage ship while travelling to the Netherlands in 1642, was quickly dismissed. However, the connection may well be real, as sources reveal that on the queen's return journey to England in a violent storm, another two baggage ships were shipwrecked, one of them near Texel. In that same storm a second ship went down near Texel, and it might be this unidentified merchantman of which remains have been found, the wreck site also containing the dress and chests with other valuables. The loss of both ships near Texel, in February 1643, was reported in a contemporary newspaper.

Key words silk dress, Texel, Palmwood Wreck, baggage ships, storm, newspaper, Queen Henrietta Maria, Admiral Maarten Tromp

There has recently been renewed attention in the Netherlands for the extraordinarily well-preserved silk dress and other valuables, discovered in 2010 by a diving club in a shipwreck on the Burgzand in the Wadden Sea, off the island of Texel. The personal belongings found were of an exceptional quality, and include a tapestry, a richly decorated toiletry set, silverware and a chest of books, one of which had a cover adorned with the coat of arms of the British royal house of Stuart. In the initial excitement following the announcement of these finds in 2016, some historians suggested that the dress might have belonged to Countess Jean Kerr, a lady-in-waiting to the British Queen Henrietta Maria, who was in the employ of the Spanish crown as a spy. During the queen's crossing to the Netherlands in March 1642, one of her baggage ships was lost. This spectacular find was quickly picked up by newspapers and broadcasters around the world. But almost immediately it became clear that it could not have been Kerr's wardrobe in the Wadden Sea, as the baggage ship carrying her garments had not been lost there, but in the delta of the River Meuse near the island of Goeree, on its way to Hellevoetsluis, an outport of Rotterdam.¹ The accident was described by the contemporary historian Lieuwe van Aitzema in his well-known work *Saecken van Staet en Oorlogh* (Matters of State and War), a source that can be readily consulted.² This quick refutation did not catch

1 Helmers, 'Het Palmhoutwrak'. The attribution to Kerr was derived from correspondence of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, mentioning the loss of Kerr's clothing. The hasty press release yielded a reward: a grant, that was used to research the collection of book bindings; Dickinson, 'Een unieke collectie verdronken boeken'.

2 Aitzema, *Saecken van Staet en Oorlogh*, vol. 2, 815. Among others, two ladies-in-waiting lost their lives in the disaster, as was already mentioned in De Boer, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers*,

the international headlines. Neither did it curb the local enthusiasm, as the Dutch province of North Holland proudly spent €1.2 million on underwater archaeology, mostly for conservation purposes.³ A fine catalogue of the artefacts recovered by the divers is published, entitled *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip* ('World Finds from a Dutch Ship'), showcasing the splendour of the material heritage of the early seventeenth century.

Following the Kerr mishap, alternative theories about the origin of the dress have been proposed, based on characteristics of the various finds and of the wreck itself. The vessel was a *Straatvaarder*, a large Dutch merchantman, on its return journey from the Mediterranean.⁴ The ship is known as the Palmwood Wreck, named after a distinctive part of the cargo. Various possible explanations for why such precious, atypical baggage was apparently aboard a merchant ship, were discussed in four episodes of the VPRO radio programme OVT in 2023.⁵ In that year, Dutch television also renewed its interest in the dress and the shipwreck with a three-part documentary by broadcaster NTR. This series revolved around the frictions surrounding the finds between the amateur divers, scientists and the museum world. It concluded with the divers, who reluctantly gave up their treasures, being moved to tears at the sight of the beautifully preserved collection in Museum Kaap Skil on Texel, which was renovated for this purpose at a cost of (according to the documentary) €20 million.⁶

All's well that ends well? Unfortunately, one detail is still missing. In the documentary, the professor of conservation science at the University of Amsterdam, Maarten van Bommel, stated that over 100 specialists in the Netherlands and beyond have since been involved in researching the finds. Curiosity abounds about the stories behind the objects, but their origins are unknown and, unfortunately, may always remain so. Scientific caution is prudent. Underwater archaeologist Arent Vos of the Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE, the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency, that now manages the Palmwood Wreck), is somewhat more optimistic. And in his analysis, Vos does not completely rule out that there may yet be a connection to the House of Stuart.⁷

In the original RCE report of its surveys of the wreck, the construction was dated as somewhere between 1642 and 1660. This earliest year has since been adjusted to 1645.⁸ As a consequence, the historical enquiry that was subsequently conducted

38. The source can be consulted at the Huygens Instituut, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/aitzema>. The arrival and departure of Henrietta Maria are dealt with in vol. 2, 813–18 and 877–88.

3 Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip*, 7.

4 Among the cargo of the Palmwood Wreck is a large number of chests containing mastic, a type of resin that was only harvested on the Aegean island of Chios; Vos, 'Veldwerk en wrak', 51; Hell, 'Straatvaart', 69. The site bears the rank number BZN17, indicative of the many known wrecks located on the Burgzand.

5 The episodes of *Het spoor terug* from 30 Apr. and 7, 14 and 21 May 2023, can be listened to on the VPRO website, <https://www.vpro.nl/programmas/ovt/luister/fragmenten/het-spoor-terug.html>.

6 The documentary *de Jurk en het scheepswrak* was broadcasted on 3, 15 and 22 Apr. 2023 and can be watched on the NTR website: <https://ntr.nl/site/tekst/De+Jurk+en+Het+Scheepswrak+tv-serie/150>.

7 Vos, 'Discussie en conclusie', 379.

8 Opdebeeck, *Palmhoutwrak*, 47; Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip*, 120–1.



Figure 1 *Henrietta Maria de Bourbon (1609–69), queen of England, Scotland and Ireland (1625–49) by Pieter de Jode II, 1628–70 (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)*

for the catalogue, focused solely on the Mediterranean trade in this shorter period,⁹ while Henrietta Maria's visit to the Netherlands, from March 1642 to February 1643, fell outside its scope. This article argues that the dress found near Texel may very well have been part of the British court's baggage. It will first describe the homeward journey of the British queen, then scrutinize the dating of the Palmwood Wreck, before identifying which of the baggage ships was lost near Texel, and close by providing a glimpse into the group to which the dress's wearer may have belonged.

The homeward journey of the British queen

Henrietta Maria de Bourbon (1609–69) (figure 1) was in the Netherlands to garner support for the British crown, which was in conflict with Parliament in England and grappling with armed uprisings in Scotland and Ireland, the three kingdoms

⁹ Hell, 'Straatvaart'.

of her husband Charles Stuart. During her stay in The Hague in the autumn of 1642, the English Civil War broke out. The mission of the Catholic queen was not well received by the States General. Europe at this time was torn apart by religious conflicts, including the Eighty Years War in the Netherlands and the Thirty Years War in Germany. But despite its sympathy for the Protestant British rebels, the Dutch Republic remained neutral. This was partly because shortly before this, the English Princess Mary had married William of Orange, son of Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms. Under this uneasy neutrality, the Dutch were more eager to see the British queen leave than stay.¹⁰ And a year later leave she did, not once but twice.

But before Henrietta Maria embarked on her homeward journey in 1643, she had already postponed her departure once. A royal journey was a grand endeavour. At the end of November 1642, seven state warships were gathered at Goeree for the crossing to Newcastle, because London was in the hands of Parliament. Henrietta Maria was allowed to choose the ship in which she wanted to be transported. Its cabin would be ‘appropriately’ furnished by the Republic,¹¹ while Admiral Maarten Tromp (1598–1653, figure 2) would command the squadron ‘for the greatest honour and respect of the country’. The queen submitted a list of passengers, ‘including many women’, who were provisionally distributed by Tromp among the seven warships. The cargo included six coaches and a hundred horses. The States General had offered mediation in England and did not want British officers and soldiers in their service to also embark, nor war materials to be taken along, in order to ensure ‘sincere neutrality’.¹² However, the queen did not leave. She informed the States General that she had gained hope that the warring parties in England would come to an agreement, in which case she would not have to travel to remote Newcastle but could return to London.¹³

The journey was postponed and the warships went back to their ordinary duties, although the presumed hope for peace soon faded. Meanwhile, on the order of the States General, Tromp had hired four boyers in Rotterdam for the transport of the queen’s coaches, horses and the ‘heavy luggage’. There was a flourishing export trade of horses from the Meuse to northern France. Skippers Jan Jansz den Uyl, Jacob Willems Coopal and Jacob Jacobsz Waterman would transport the horses for the queen. The transfer of the ‘six coaches and some other luggage’ was assigned by Tromp to Albert Thijssen, although this skipper was not yet free to accept the offer. Thijssen had committed himself to a Groninger horse merchant, but that could be

10 Groenvelt, *Verlopend Getij*, 91–108; Akkerman, *De Hartenkoningin*, 317–22.

11 To this end the States General lent out their own tapestries depicting the story of Cleopatra and Mark Anthony, while 22 bear skins were purchased ‘for the better comfort’ of the queen and her ladies; The Hague Nationaal Archief (hereafter HaNA): Archief Staten-Generaal 1.01.02 (StG) 3201: 12 Dec. 1642; 3202: 12, 19, 22 Jan. 1643.

12 There were also several pilots hired among the helmsmen in the Meuse; HaNA: StG/3201: 18, 20, 25–7 Nov. 1642; 5895: ‘Lijstje van suite van hare majesteyt’ exh. 25 Nov. 1642. Holland advised the queen not to travel in the dangerous winter months, but to postpone the journey until spring; Hoorn Westfries Archief (hereafter HoWA): 0715-02/115: 27 Nov. 1642.

13 HaNA: StG/3201: 2 Dec. 1642. In truth, the queen did not desire peace, but she had been warned not to come to Newcastle until the area had been secured; Everett Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 145–6.



Figure 2 *Lieutenant-Admiral Maarten Harpertszoon Tromp (1598–1653) by Michiel van Miereveldt, 1640 (Courtesy of the RKD – Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, The Hague)*

adjusted if ‘the government expressly commissioned and desired him’.¹⁴ This must have happened as on 1 December 1642 freight contracts were drawn up.¹⁵

On 29 January 1643 Henrietta Maria embarked at Scheveningen for the homeward journey to Newcastle. Again, seven warships were assembled to transport her and

¹⁴ HaNA: StG/5895: ‘Lijst van vracht’, exh. 25 Nov. 1642. Den Uyl and Coopal agreed to 750 guilders and 12 guilders primage (bonus), half to be paid in advance. Waterman asked for more than the 875 plus 30 guilders he was offered. Holland approved the agreements when it was not yet clear whether Thijssen would be available, and his freight price is not disclosed; HoWA: 0715-02/114: 27 Nov. 1642; 115: 3 Dec. 1642.

¹⁵ This took place before notary Dirck Block de Oudere whose protocols have not been preserved, as evidenced by a later deed. Den Uyl, Coopal and Thijssen were granted permission on 8 Dec. to make a trip to Dieppe, which they had not yet been able to do when they were summoned again. Arbitrators awarded them compensation of 260 guilders, to be paid after completing the trip to Newcastle; Rotterdam Stadsarchief (hereafter RoSA): Notarieel Archief 18/182: 25. Jan. 1643. The States General allowed the trip to Dieppe in order to save the expenses already made on hay and fodder; HaNA: StG/3201: 8 Dec. 1642; 3202: 22 Jan. 1643.

her 'suite'. The baggage ships completed the fleet. The state-employed sailors, subsisting on stockfish and barley gruel, must have looked with envy at the mountain of luxurious food they loaded for their guests. The States General spared no expense or effort.¹⁶ With a battery of 40 cannon, the queen was sent off from the beach at Scheveningen. But the crossing did not succeed. After a week of rolling and pitching on the North Sea, Tromp was forced to abandon the attempt 'on the serious and sharp order' of the queen. He had neared Newcastle and would have preferred to continue, but decided he could no longer ignore the queen's wishes.¹⁷ With Henrietta Maria still aboard, he returned at Scheveningen on 6 February.

The next day, the admiral presented himself to the States General. He had had quite a struggle with the queen and her ladies, but especially with the gale that had arisen. At sea, he had lost one ship after another and the fleet was scattered. Off Scheveningen, besides his flagship *Princess Mary of Great Britain*, only two warships remained.¹⁸ On 3 February he had had to send Captain Govert Vorens to Texel when the mainmast of his ship broke.¹⁹ Rear Admiral Joris van Catz was also there, his ship having lost its bowsprit, forecastle, anchors and rigging. The two remaining state warships were missing, until it transpired they had managed to reach Newcastle, where they presumably delivered their passengers.²⁰

Vorens and Catz were not the only ones to suffer damage during the heavy storm in early February 1643. Another state warship, returning from the Channel, lay mastless off Texel.²¹ On the return trip, sailing along the Dutch coast from Egmond to Scheveningen, Tromp and Henrietta Maria encountered the boyer *Lieffde* skippered by Jacob Willems Coopal, shipwrecked near Zandvoort. Soon after departure Coopal had lost sight of the convoy. His vessel had suffered damage and during the storm he had anchored off the coast, until he was forced to save himself by beaching his ship.²² The horses had also survived, and through Tromp, the queen requested the

16 A selection of wines was taken along, French white bread instead of ship's biscuits, livestock: 40 sheep, 10 calves, 3 oxen and 80 quails, as well as 3 salted pigs, smoked ox tongues, hams, capons, chickens, turkeys, rabbits, pigeons, snipes, partridges and much more, Edam and Parmesan cheese, while spices, capers, dates, fresh fruit and sweets like candied lemon peel were not forgotten. The bill amounted to 4,797 guilders; HaNA: StG/5895, 'Staet van costen der provisie voor thien daeghen', exh. 22 Nov. 1642.

17 HaNA: Archief Admiraliteiten 1.01.46 (AA) 138: 11 Feb. 1643.

18 Returned with him were Commander Claes Ham en Captain Jan Gijsen; HaNA: StG 3202: 7 Feb. 1643.

19 De Boer, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers*, 173-4; HaNA: Aanwinsten Admiraliteiten 1.01.47.36 (AA47) 1: Journaal Tromp, 3 Feb. 1643; StG/5530: 'Journael int'cort' of Tromp, 29 Jan.-6 Feb. 1643, shows the duration of the storm, while from 30 Jan. sail was lessened.

20 These were captains Matthijs Gillisz and Pauwels Cool, who were ordered to report to the blockade fleet on the Flemish Coast; HaNA: StG/3202: 20 Feb. 1643. Gillisz first joined the second journey to England; AA47/1: Journaal Tromp, 12 Mar. 1643. He arrived four days after Cool at the blockade fleet; StG/9313: Journaal Witte de With, 12, 16 Mar. 1643. This does not rule out the possibility that they both returned their passengers to the Netherlands, but Dutch sources are silent about the whereabouts of the courtiers.

21 This was the ship of Captain Willem Codde; HaNA: StG/3202: 8,15 Feb. 1643.

22 The *Lieffde* had lost both leeboards, making a return to the Meuse impossible, when it was decided to try to sail downwind to Texel, no doubt hoping to find refuge in the roadstead; RoSA: 18/391: 11 Feb. 1643. According to the deposition, they had departed from the Meuse on 30 Jan.

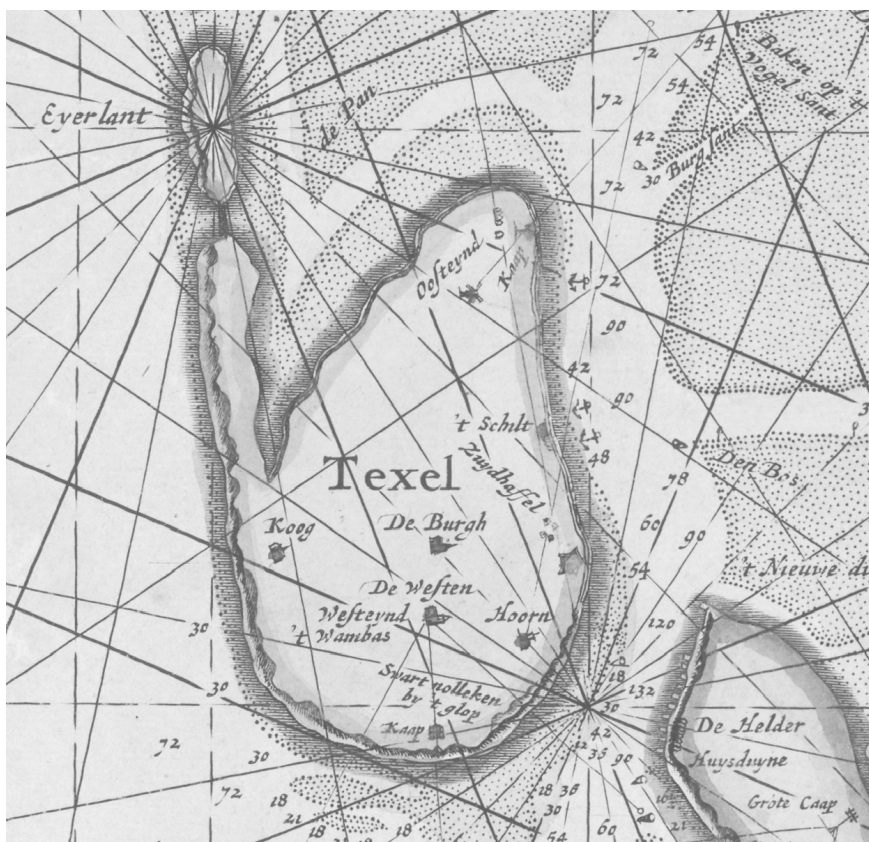


Figure 3 Eierland, connected to Texel by a sand dike, the anchorages on the Texel roadstead, and the Burgzand. Part of a nautical chart of the Zuiderzee by Hendrick Doncker, 1664 (Courtesy of the Zuiderzeemuseum, Enkhuizen)

States General to hire another boyer in Rotterdam to retrieve the animals.²³ But the *Lieffde* was not the only loss. On 11 February, when the extent of the damage had become clear, the Venetian resident in The Hague wrote home that the British queen had returned from the sea in poor health.²⁴ Eighteen people from her entourage had perished and 28 horses were lost. One of her ships was safe, three others were still missing.²⁵

During the western storm that raged from 1 to 5 February, five more ships

under convoy of two warships, but this must be an error in the date, as the fleet had then already been underway for a day, and was estimated to be 7 miles from Scheveningen, where it would have assembled (as happened on the second departure); StG/5530: 'Journael int' cort' 30 Jan. 1643. De Boer, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers*, 173, erroneously mentions a distance of 70 miles.

23 HaNA: StG/3202: 8,10 Feb. 1643.

24 The queen herself wrote that she had not slept at all during the journey at sea; Everett Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, 161–2.

25 *Calendar of State Papers, Venice* (vol. 26) 221: Zuanne Zon to Doge and Senate, 11 Feb. 1643. The preserved ship was said to be loaded with weapons and ammunition, so this must have been the *Endeavour* of William Peacock that had not yet set sail.

were lost off the coast of Holland. One was wrecked at Katwijk, while the English merchant ship *William* also had to seek refuge on the beach, near Scheveningen. The owners reported to Holland for the remains of their ships and cargo.²⁶ And from Eierland (figure 3), near Texel, Captain Tjeerd de Groot wrote to the government on 6 February that he had also had to beach his frigate *Vrieslandt*. After four days of riding the waves ‘off Texel’, indicating the roadstead, the anchor had slipped. The frigate was lost, but the crew was safe and already busy salvaging the ordnance and the ship’s equipment. The States General ordered an investigation into the seamanship of De Groot and his officers. No blame seems to have been assigned, since De Groot continued to serve in the State fleet. In his letter, the Frisian captain reported that during the gale, initially a boyer with horses had lain near his frigate. He had not seen it after 2 February. From the wreckage and dead horses that washed ashore, he concluded that the boyer had perished with all hands.²⁷

When the States General received De Groot’s letter, they had already read about the queen’s loss in the newspaper; the *Tijdinghe uyt Verscheyde Quartieren* (‘Tidings from Different Quarters’) reported on 7 February that during the storm, ‘under Eierland’, a large unknown cargo ship had stranded, ‘as well as one of her royal majesty’s baggage ships’ (figure 4). The bodies of two crew members had washed ashore. Another of the queen’s vessels had been sighted off the coast. The queen herself was presumed safe. This was correct, as seen, although the uncertain rumour that she had landed at Yarmouth was mistaken. Publisher Broer Iansz in Amsterdam gave details that would have been provided by survivors or other first reporters of the disaster at Texel.²⁸ That not one, but two ships simultaneously sunk near Eierland in the Wadden Sea, is crucial to our understanding.

Henrietta Maria awaited a new attempt at departure in Brielle, while the States General returned to work. Convoy ships were requisitioned to complete the queen’s escort once again. For the baggage, another three cargo vessels were hired in Rotterdam,²⁹ this time including two fluyt ships because only a single boyer was available.³⁰ Meanwhile, a skipper brought back ‘some baggage’ from Texel that Captain Vorens had had on board.³¹ By the end of February, everything was ready

26 HaNA: Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3.01.27.01 (GRk) 50: disposition for Henrick Webster, merchant in Rotterdam, for the lost ship *Willem* from Topsham, skipper Pieter Ellisz(?), 6 Feb. 1643; idem for Johan Cuijsten de Jonge, merchant in Amsterdam, for the lost ship of Jan Kalcker, 9 Feb. 1643.

27 De Groot landed his frigate intact ‘aen de eylande Texel aen de Meeuwedyunen’, but out of the water it would soon collapse, and he reported a total loss. Two weeks later, with the salvage completed, De Groot had arrived in Friesland; HaNA: StG/5530: Tyerdt de Groot to States General, 6, 19 Feb. 1643; 3202: 8, 24 Feb. 1643.

28 Dutch newspapers can be consulted online: <https://www.delpher.nl/>

29 RoSA: 18/182: three charter partys of 13 Feb. 1643: one for the boyer ship *Sint Joris* of 120 tons cargo capacity, skipper Peter Andresen from Højer, Denmark, for 780 guilders; one for the fluyt ship *De Fortuyn* of 220 tons, skipper Dyrck Rochussen, for 1,450 guilders; and one for the fluyt ship *de Kersseboom* of 300 tons, skipper Syben Willemsz van der Schellingh, for 1,550 guilders.

30 In the Meuse a convoy lay ready for departure to Dieppe and Rouen, including 25 ships carrying horses; HaNA: AA/138: 10, 14 Feb. 1643.

31 No mention is made about Vorens’ passengers; HaNA: StG/3202: 22 Feb. 1643. They may have been collected by the warships at Scheveningen, which paid a visit to Texel; HaNA: AA47/1: Journaal Tromp, 15 Feb. 1643.

Ende zijn nu door gheschiet.
 Een groot wel-geladen Schip/ noch niet we-
 tende waer van daen het ghekomen is/ is onder
 Eyperlandt dese Weeche door het groot ontwe-
 en hooghe Bloet ghestrant. Als mede een van
 hare Konincklycke Majesteys Bagagie-sche-
 pen / daer van men verstaet twee aen Strant
 doot aenghekomen te zijn. Noch een der selver
 Schepen heeft sich niet verre van Strant sien
 laten. De Koninginne (soo oock de sprake/ doch
 sonder seckerheyt/ gaet) soude dicht by Jac-
 mupen in een Boepet ober ghegaen zijn/ waer
 upt te presumeren is dat sy/ God lof/ wel behou-
 den te Lande gekomen is. Een Fransch-baer-
 der bzencht thdinge dat d'Oost-Indische sche-
 pen/ met andere by-hebbende/ in alles 13 sterck/
 onder de Wielingen gesien waren.

Figure 4 Fragment of the 'Tijdinghe nyt Verscheyde Quartieren' of 7 February 1643 (Courtesy of Delpher)

again.³² The queen and her remaining entourage boarded four large warships at Scheveningen, while three convoy ships with Tromp aboard accompanied the five baggage vessels from the Meuse.³³ Among those was a buss,³⁴ which will already have been present during the first departure. Only one of the four boyers hired in December still joined the fleet. Moreover, the English merchant ship *Endeavour* under skipper William Peacock from Newcastle still lay at Brielle, as it had not been ready to depart at the end of January.³⁵ This vessel required special attention.

Two parliamentary yachts, lying in wait in the Meuse, had earlier been told by Tromp to stay away, under threat of violence. Holland knew that Peacock's ship was packed with arms and ammunition, a clear breach of the neutrality the province aspired to. When Holland decided to seize the ship, in order to prevent the illegal export of arms, Henrietta Maria made such a fuss, with 'sharp and fierce words', that Holland had to let go. This was facilitated by the queen's solemn declaration that it concerned an innocent baggage ship. Diplomatically, the States General decided to accept her word. They ordered Tromp to leave Peacock's ship and the other cargo vessels 'unvisited'.³⁶ Like the Dutch government, the parliamentary yachts were well

32 Another 2,319 guilders were spent on provisions; HaNA: StG/5896: 'Memorie ravictuaeille', [Feb. 1643].

33 HaNA: AA/436: Tromp to Admiralty of Rotterdam, 13, 16 Feb. 1643.

34 RoSA: 18/391: 11 Feb. 1643.

35 HaNA: StG/5530: Tromp to States General, 29 Jan. 1643; De Boer, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers*, 172.

36 HoWA: 0715-02/115: 24, 25 Feb. 1643; HaNA: StG/3202: 24, 25 Feb. 1643; Groenveld, *Verlopend Getij*, 106–8.

aware of what was actually being transported. When the fleet set sail, Peacock's ship was immediately attacked by them. Tromp was forced to intervene. With gunshots he hailed the parliamentarians and warned them that he was under obligation to act, as the States General had instructed him that 'defence is a natural right'. The neutral Dutch would not idly stand by, and after a toast and under the exchange of salutes, the yachts retreated. During the remainder of the journey Peacock's ship was left undisturbed.³⁷

Meanwhile, in Britain the war was in full swing, and it was not without danger that Henrietta Maria was finally able to set foot on English soil in early March. Due to contrary winds, the fleet diverted to the small port of Bridlington. Five parliamentary ships that arrived a few days later carried out a bombardment under cover of darkness and an early morning mist. This was halted after a Dutch threat, causing the parliamentarians to eventually withdraw. When the disembarkation was completed on 10 March, Tromp and the state captains were generously rewarded for their services. And sea officers who had previously assisted the queen were not forgotten. Thus Captain Tjeerd de Groot also received a royal gratuity.³⁸ On 16 March Tromp reported to the States General.³⁹ From the *Tijdinghe uyt Verscheyde Quartieren* the gentlemen had already learned that the queen had safely landed in England.⁴⁰ Tromp was able to report that no more baggage ships had been lost.

Dating of the Palmwood Wreck through the onboard artillery

It has been confirmed that a baggage ship of the Royal House of Stuart had indeed sunk near Texel. This is not the wreck lying on the Burgzand, which is of a much larger vessel. In the catalogue *Wereldvondsten*, the date of construction of what is now the Palmwood Wreck is set at around 1645 or later. The main evidence for this is that the oak timber, from which the ship was built, was harvested no later than the winter of 1640/1. According to Vos, the period 'from tree to boat', the time between the felling of the wood and the fitting out of a ship, was three years at least.⁴¹ However, this estimate errs on the side of incaution. Building with freshly cut wood was far

37 HaNA: StG/5530: Tromp to States General, 28 Feb. 1643; 3202: 7 Feb. 1643; De Boer, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers*, 54-6.

38 Tromp received a gold chain, De Groot 300 guilders. From Tromp's flagship the royal warchest was offloaded, consisting of 4 chests and 14 barrels of coins; HaNA: AA47/1: Journaal Tromp, 5, 10 Mar. 1643.

39 HaNA: StG/3202: 16 Mar. 1643. He had first reported to the Prince of Orange, the Councilors of Holland and the President of the States General; HaNA: AA47/1: Journaal Tromp, 14 Mar. 1643. Afterwards, he also reported to the Estates of Holland, which is extensively summarized in: HoWA: 0715-02/115: 17 Mar. 1643.

40 *De Tijdinghe* reported on 14 Mar. 1643 about the landing at Bridlington, which was 'loyal to Parliament, but small in power' and had alarmed the parliamentary ships patrolling near Newcastle. The newspaper closely followed the queen during her stay. It wrote on 21 Feb. that her departure was imminent, on 7 Mar. that there was no reliable news about her, due to the absence of mail from England, on 21 Mar. that Tromp had reported in The Hague, and on 28 Mar. that the queen had been reunited in Oxford with the king.

41 Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip*, 120-1. As stated in the introduction, the report of the archaeological surveys dates the earliest possible year of construction, more cautiously, as 1642; Opdebeeck, *Palmhoutwrak*, 47.

from ideal, but it is known that despite the drawbacks it frequently happened.⁴² In the early 1640s, there was every reason for this. Factors such as uprisings against the Spanish crown in Portugal and Catalonia meant demand for armed ships was high. At the end of 1640, the well-known arms manufacturer Louis de Geer ordered his factories to produce as much cast-iron ordnance as they could. These pieces were mainly used as naval artillery. De Geer directed all gun-founding in Sweden, and during the 1630s waged a fierce battle with the English industry for the market in the Dutch Republic. Holland dominated European freight shipping, and Holland's merchant fleet was the main buyer of iron ordnance due to the dangers at sea arising from enemies from Flanders and Spain as well as Barbary corsairs. From 1641, the output of De Geer's foundries increased by half compared to previous years.⁴³

Thus, we come to the ordnance of the Palmwood Wreck, which is roughly dated to have been cast between 1630 and 1685.⁴⁴ This is in itself correct, but the salvaged iron pieces bear a special feature, allowing for a more precise dating. In the competition for the Dutch market, the weight of the cannon played a crucial role, as this author has recently argued.⁴⁵ Ordnance was charged by weight. The lighter a piece, the lower the price and the less cargo capacity was lost. Among the pieces recovered from the Palmwood Wreck are two 8-pounders weighing 2,020 and 2,060 Amsterdam pounds, close to a modern tonne of 1,000 kg. Everything points to these being of Swedish manufacture. The competition between the Swedish and English artillery industries led to a general reduction in the weight of cast-iron ordnance. Earlier in the century, 8-pounders weighed up to 1½ tons each; after 1630, they were less than 1¼ tons, usually weighing about 2,400 Amsterdam pounds. In 1636, De Geer halted all casting of cannon, temporarily, because the market was oversaturated, and prices had halved. His archive shows that from 1638, experiments to produce even lighter models were being conducted in Sweden. The lightest 8-pounder cast that year weighed only 1,800 pounds, and on average ordnance of this calibre weighed only 1,938 pounds. However, at mandatory testing in Amsterdam, the ultra-light pieces exploded in droves, and at the urging of De Geer's son Laurens, who handled sales in the Republic, they reverted to the older models. By 1640, all calibres of De Geer's artillery were made to heavier specifications.⁴⁶ That year the Swedish 8-pounders weighed around 2,200 pounds, and by 1642 they averaged 2,362 Amsterdam pounds, almost back to their previous weight, which they then maintained well into the eighteenth century.⁴⁷

42 An example is the French frigate *Dauphine*, wrecked in 1704 near Saint Malo and built in 1703 from timber harvested in 1702/3; <https://archeologie.culture.gouv.fr/epaves-corsaires/en/dauphine-royal-300-tonne-frigate>

43 Westera, 'Met list en vlijt', 70, 229, 241.

44 Brinck, 'Kanonnen'. Brinck is uncertain of the exact calibre of the smaller pieces, which he identifies as 'possibly 6-pounders'. With a weight of 1,400 pounds they are 5-pounders, since even ultra-light 6-pounders would have weighed 200 pounds more. The retrieved 12-pounder of 3,310 pounds was of ordinary weight.

45 Westera, 'Met list en vlijt', 129–35, 234–6.

46 *Ibid.*, 229, 234–6.

47 These figures (as well as slightly different ones, likely from other batches) in: Stockholm Riksarkivet: Leufsta Arkivet 50: documents about the foundries at Nyköping and Nävekvärn, operated by the family De Besche.

The 8-pounders found on the Burgzand are therefore exceptional pieces, precisely dateable to have been cast between 1638 and 1640. This is confirmed by the 5-pounders also present in the wreck, a calibre that was falling out of use and after 1641 was no longer made by De Geer.⁴⁸ New ships were generally equipped with new ordnance. Combined with the felling date of the ship's timber according to the dendrochronological research, this indicates that the Palmwood Wreck could have been completed at the end of 1641 or in the beginning of 1642. The construction of a ship like this would take four months, plus several months for fitting out.⁴⁹ This minimum of half a year, or slightly longer, is compatible with the date of early February 1643 as the moment when the unknown cargo vessel, likely returning from the Levant on its maiden voyage, sank within sight of its home port.

From the contemporary report in the *Tijdinghe* and the remains found on the seabed, it is clear that the Palmwood Wreck is not the lost baggage ship of the English crown, but it is possibly the anonymous freighter that also stranded near Eierland. This would have been a heavily armed *Straatvaarder*, intended for general cargo transport (more valuable than bulk), with a minimum cargo capacity of 360 tons according to regulations,⁵⁰ and probably larger (figure 5). Such a ship had little in common with the much smaller and unarmed boyers. For instance, the *Sint Augustijn* of skipper Jacob Jacobsz Waterman measured 80 tons.⁵¹ Tromp assigned Waterman the transport of 38 horses and skippers Jan Jansz den Uyl and Jacob Willems Coopal each 32 horses, so their boyers would have been proportionately smaller, around 68 tons.⁵² The wreck site on the Burgzand might be a mixture of the remains of both ships lost in the same storm, due to collision or the effects of currents and tides.⁵³ The heavily loaded merchantman would have sunk quickly, while the lightly constructed boyer may have been broken up by the waves, just leaving some cargo on the seabed.⁵⁴ So far, archaeologists of the RCE have conducted only non-intrusive surveys at the site, in order to establish the condition of the wreck and take measures

48 Of the 2,137 iron pieces that were cast between 1637 and 1641 for De Geer by De Besche, 942 were 8-pounders, the calibre most in demand, and a mere 31 were 5-pounders; Westera, 'Met list en vlijt', 241.

49 Opdebeeck, *Palmhoutwrak*, 47. Even the building and equipping of 18 warships at the same time was in 1690 projected by the government for completion in about six months' time; Westera, 'Met list en vlijt', 25.

50 According to regulations, the armament of ships heading to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean numbered at least 24 cannon with a minimum calibre of 5 pounds; Westera, 'Met list en vlijt', 56-7.

51 RoSA: 18/471: 24 Nov. 1642, 18/86: 18 Feb. 1643.

52 HaNA: StG/5895: 'Lijst van vracht', exh. 25 Nov. 1642. Another deed put the *Sint Augustijn* at 72 tons; RoSA: 18/182: 12 Feb. 1643.

53 Another conceivable scenario is that the *Straatvaarder* salvaged several chests floating in the roadstead after the boyer had sunk, before it went down itself to become the Palmwood Wreck.

54 That well-packaged cargo from sunken ships could wash ashore elsewhere is well documented. When the East-Indiaman *Bantam* sank near Texel in 1613, the VOC paid salvage for silk recovered on the islands Vlieland and Wieringen, while the company also sent a messenger to Friesland to assert its right on washed-up cargo there; HaNA: Archief Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie 1.04.03/14.854: Grootboek Kamer Enkhuizen, p.421, 426, 438. I thank Menno Leenstra for this reference. See Hell, 'Straatvaart', 78, for another example.

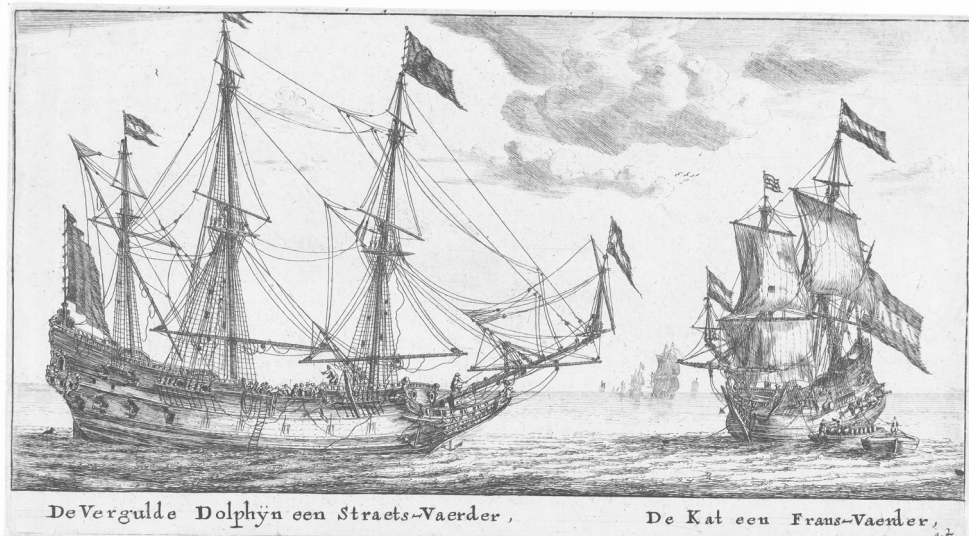


Figure 5 A *Straatvaarder* and a *fluyt* ship by Reinier Nooms, 1652–4 (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

to protect it from erosion.⁵⁵

Now that the possibility exists that the dress may have belonged to the royal baggage after all, an excavation might provide clarity about what exactly lies in the Palmwood Wreck. An initial clue would be the chests in which the silverware and other items recovered by the divers were packed. This packaging material was left behind at the site and may still bear the owners' marks, which could reveal their identity.⁵⁶

Which boyer sank near Texel?

Despite the gaps and uncertainties that are inevitable when researching sources relating to the early modern era, the fate of the baggage ships can be reconstructed with some precision. In Tromp's journal, no mention is made of their presence (or disappearance) during the first journey. However, it seems clear that the baggage ships were unable from the start to leave the Dutch coast behind. More about the shipwrecks may have been written in newspapers, but the *Tijdinghe* of 7 February 1643 is one of the few that has survived from that month. Texel belonged to the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, whose resolutions and correspondence from 1643 have been largely lost. Consequently, any communication with the commissioner at Texel regarding the incident is also missing. The admiralty did not write about the subject to the States General, whose incoming letters have been

⁵⁵ Opdebeeck, *Palmhoutwrak*, 5, 25, 45, 47.

⁵⁶ The four chests were not visible during the surveys of the RCE; Vos, 'Veldwerk en wrak', 51–2. They could remain in place, again covered by sand. Only some 8 per cent of the wrecksite was explored by the amateur divers. Future results will be published and reports made available on the site of the RCE at <https://www.cultureelerfgoed.nl>

preserved.⁵⁷ The Receiver of Wreck on Texel was Bailiff Pieter van der Does, who was accountable to the Treasury of the County of Holland. Of his records none have survived.⁵⁸ The notes of the Treasury do not indicate, as they do for the ships wrecked near Katwijk and Scheveningen, whether anyone came forward for the two lost boyers. It may have been that nothing of value was salvaged or reported on Eierland.⁵⁹ Besides, the Treasury wrote on its own accord to Van der Does about the salvage of the frigate *Vrieslandt*, instructing him beforehand to assist those entitled to the boyer.⁶⁰ Those who came forward would therefore have been referred orally. Neither is there any mention of the owners, charterers, or insurers of the *Straatvaarder*. The same may apply here. Maybe nothing was salvaged or perhaps they contacted Van der Does directly. There is also no mention of the *Lieffde* lying off Zandvoort, but in this case, oral instructions might have been given in The Hague to the competent official. If that was even necessary as everyone knew whom this case concerned.

Fleets did not always sail in the predetermined composition, but improvisation usually left few traces in the sources. As seen, in December 1642 Tromp had assigned the transport of the coaches to Albert Thijssen and only horses to the other three boyers (figure 6). This may have been a preliminary (and too optimistic) capacity calculation; it is in any case unlikely that this is how it went. The charter contracts of the boyers have not been preserved, but the skippers hired for the second departure all signed for transporting both coaches and horses. Boyers intended for horses all had the necessary cribs on board. During the first departure attempt, coaches and animals would also have been distributed across all the ships. That is why when the *Lieffde* stranded in Zandvoort, it did not have 32 horses on board, as noted by Tromp, but only 16.⁶¹ The crew who testified to this, declared that they had departed in the company of two other boyers and a herring buss. The latter had replaced Waterman's *Sint Augustijn*, which on request of the queen had been sent ahead, ostensibly in

57 The admiralty did submit an extract of the commissioner's response to the question of why he had not prevented the export of two frigates for the English Parliament, as ordered by the States-General on 5 Feb. This order only reached the commissioner on Texel when the frigates had already sailed; HaNA: StG/5530: Admiralty of Amsterdam to States General, 18 Feb. 1643.

58 Weyntgen van Foreest, widow of Cornelis van Neck, a predecessor of Pieter van der Does as bailiff on Texel, submitted to the County Treasury her late husband's account 'of the goods found in sea and stranded' that fell during his term; Stadsarchief Amsterdam: Notarieel Archief 5075/639: 30 Dec. 1631.

59 Eierland was in 1604 given in fief to (a son of) Anna de Cocq, heir of the feudal lord Maximiliaan van Blois who was beheaded by Duke Alba in 1568, 'nevertheless the finds that fall or come to drift there are exempt and retained by the County' and to be accounted for by the vassal. Eierland will have been leased, as Holland had done in the intervening period on condition that the tenants 'faithfully preserve the stranded goods' and handle them according to the 'order and instance' of the Treasury, 'also to regulate themselves according to the placards made' on the matter; HaNA: Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3.01.27.02 Afgehoorde Rekeningen 1025,1054-1055: accounts over 1601,1643-1644; GRk/13: fol.124, 12 Mar 1606.

60 HaNA: GRk/50: County Treasury to Bailiff and Sheriff Pieter van der Does on Texel, 9 Feb. 1643.

61 RoSA: 18/391: 11 Feb. 1643. No mention is made of any loss of horses during the storm or the beaching.

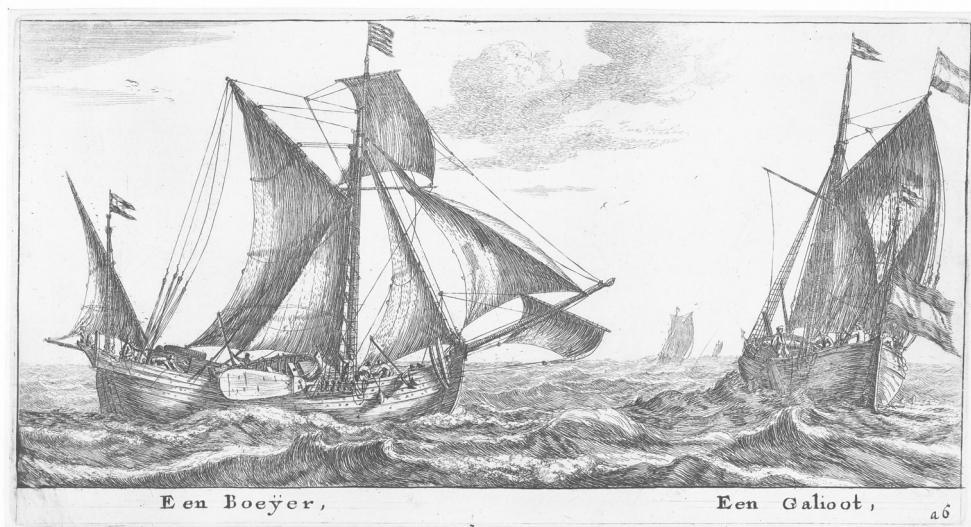


Figure 6 A boyer and a galliot, by Reimier Nooms, 1652–4 (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

order to transport 26 horses and some of the coaches.⁶² In January, it had safely returned after completing the journey to Newcastle.⁶³ In its stead helmsman Geerloff Pouwels was hired, who normally sailed his buss to catch herring.⁶⁴ Apparently the capacity of the three other boyers was insufficient to carry all the remaining cargo. Fluyt ships would have been less efficient for transporting horses than boyers, but the additional hired cargo capacity of about 430 tons, while for the second journey there were fewer horses and less luggage to transport, is remarkable. One explanation could be that Henrietta Maria possibly acquired many new horses, as war material. Despite the journey of the *Sint Augustijn*, the queen still received passport for 100 horses. After her involuntary return she requested and was assigned stables in Brielle.⁶⁵

62 For this separate journey, the queen received passport for 26 horses and any number of coaches; HaNA: StG/3201: 13, 27 Dec. 1642. As an exception, the lonely *Sint Augustijn* was escorted by a warship from the Admiralty of Rotterdam, that normally did not provide convoy to Newcastle; HaNA: AA/137: 7,10,15 Dec. 1642.

63 Waterman's charter party was adjusted to 1,100 guilders; HaNA: StG/3202: 19 Jan. 1643. Damage in a collision with a warship in early Dec. did not prevent the journey, which was made by 'hired skipper' Dirck Claessen. In Feb. the *Sint Augustijn* rejoined the horse trade to Dieppe; RoSA: 18/471: 24 Nov. 1642, 27 Jun. 1643; 182: 12 Feb. 1643; 86: 18 Feb. 1643; 27 Oct. 1643.

64 HaNA: StG/3202: 22 Jan. 1643; RoSA: 18/170: 6 May 1642; 434: 4 May, 25 Oct. 1642. No charter party of Pouwels has been found.

65 HaNA: StG/3020: 22 Jan., 18 Feb. 1643. Additionally, British soldiers from the States' army may have joined the fleet, with or without permission of the States General; Groenveld, *Verlopend Getij*, 106–8. When skipper Coopal stranded near Zandvoort, two officers and nine soldiers were on board, though they could have belonged to the regular retinue. This number does not indicate a mass phenomenon, making the report that Henrietta Maria landed with 300 officers and 1,000 soldiers in her wake seem exaggerated; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (vol. 26), 244: Gerolamo Agostini to Doge and Senate, 13 Mar. 1643.

The second fleet that sailed at the end of February 1643 consisted of '4 coast ships, 3 fishery convoyers, and 6 baggage ships', the latter including Peacock's cargo fluyt, stocked with war materials for the royal army. The same 13 ships left England again in mid-March.⁶⁶

When the journey was completed, skipper Jan Janz den Uyl of the boyer *Fortuyn* reported in The Hague to claim his payment. The skippers or owners of the other baggage ships also appeared before the States General.⁶⁷ None of the three remaining boyer skippers that were chartered in December by Tromp showed up. As seen, Waterman had already completed the journey in January and Coopal was stranded at Zandvoort. Therefore, it must have been skipper Albert Thijssen who lost his boyer near Eierland in early February 1643, most likely with all hands, and of course including the cargo. Wry irony is that his ship may have been named the *Engelsche Groetenis*,⁶⁸ which could be understood as 'English Greetings'.⁶⁹

Whose dress was it?

It has been established that the silk dress (figure 7), the book with the Stuart coat of arms, and the other valuable finds near Texel may have belonged to British courtiers. One of these was Thomas Howard (1585–1646), Earl of Arundel, a major art collector who at his death owned hundreds of paintings, prints and drawings by, among others, Leonardo and Rembrandt, as well as ancient sculptures, antique jewellery and a large library with manuscripts and books. In 1642 the earl was a member of Princess Mary's retinue in The Hague, and in 1643 he did not return to England.⁷⁰ Instead, he settled in Antwerp, which the Dutch considered enemy territory. Therefore the earl secured approval from the Prince of Orange for transporting his household goods. Arundel's art collection keeper, the Flemish–German painter Hendrik van der Borcht (1614–76), received confirmation from the Admiralty of Rotterdam in early February 1643 that twenty chests with 'paintings and other furniture' belonging to the earl could be transported to Antwerp without hindrance.⁷¹

66 De Boer, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers*, 174. 'Coast ships' were large warships used to blockade the Flemish coast. Peacock's fluyt ship was bought by Tromp in England and thus returned with the fleet. Skipper Andresen apparently sailed under the flag of Hamburg; HaNA: AA47/1: Journaal Tromp, 12 Mar. 1643.

67 Den Uyl was paid the remainder of his freight, 381 guilders, plus 260 guilders compensation for the expenses for the missed trip to Dieppe. Pouwels received 1,560 guilders, comparable to the two fluyt ships. Andresen's shipowner demanded an additional 400 guilders in compensation for damage the *Sint Joris* had sustained during the bombardment of Bridlington. This claim was referred to Tromp; HaNA: StG/3202: 18,20 Mar., 1 Apr. 1643.

68 Earlier, passengers testified for a skipper Aelbert Tijssen, possibly the same, that during storm on a voyage from Calais, his boyer ship, the *Engelsche Groetenis*, had sprung a leak, after which they barely made it to Rotterdam, where the ship was lying at the shipyard for repairs; RoSA: 18/142: 24 Nov. 1640.

69 These words had a two-fold meaning, the intended one referring to the Annunciation by Archangel Gabriel.

70 His wife Lady Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, remained in the Netherlands. She retrieved the art from Antwerp when the earl later moved to Italy; Cust, 'Notes on the collections formed by Thomas Howard', 281.

71 HaNA: AA/138: 3 Feb. 1643. Arundel knew his way around The Hague, having been there in 1636 en route on embassy to Vienna (and making himself understood in Italian); Aitzema, *Saecken*



Figure 7 *The silk dress from the Palmwood Wreck (Courtesy of the Provincie Noord-Holland).*

Arundel did not return home, but dozens of other prominent courtiers and high-ranking military officials did. According to the list Henrietta Maria provided to the States General in November 1642, she took along 520 people, in addition to her personal entourage. These included the Duchess of Lennox with 15 followers, 20 ladies-in-waiting and 60 maidens, 69 officers and 73 nobles, 18 equerries with 38 grooms, 100 'extraordinary persons, both men and women' and not least four priests and three musicians.⁷² Up to a quarter of the 'heavy luggage' of this group might have been lost near Texel. Not everyone would have travelled as heavily laden as

van Staet en Oorlogh, vol. 2, 310. A year later, he received permission from the States General to freely export eight chests with paintings he had acquired in Venice; HaNA: StG/3196: 5 Oct. 1637. 72 HaNA: StG/5895: 'Lijstje van suite van hare majesteit', exh. 25 Nov. 1642. This amounts to only 400 people, while Tromp distributed four times 100 and twice 60 persons over six warships and would take the queen and her personal entourage on board himself. The same figures are given, also without explanation for the discrepancy, in the private notes of Nicolaes Stellingwerff; HoWA: 0715-02/114,115: 26 Nov. 1642. On her arrival in Mar. 1642 the queen had a train of 300 people and Princess Mary another 80; Aitzema, *Saecken van Staet en Oorlogh*, vol. 2, 815.

Arundel,⁷³ but the sizeable loss of personal belongings has presumably left traces in British sources, despite the ravages of the Civil War. In the royalist camp, candidates ought to be available who may have lost their precious clothing, silverware, or special book collection during the violent storm of early February 1643.⁷⁴

This is not breaking news. It had already been reported in a newspaper over 380 years ago.

Conclusion

It has been established that a baggage ship of the British crown sank near Texel in early February 1643, as reported in a newspaper at the time and confirmed by naval officer Tjeerd de Groot in a letter to the States General. Therefore there is an unexpected chance that the recently discovered treasures from the shipwreck on the Burgzand belonged to the household of Queen Henrietta Maria. The newspaper reported that a merchantman also sank near Texel during the storm. This anonymous cargo vessel is possibly the Palmwood Wreck, which could have been newly built and equipped in 1641 or 1642 and sank simultaneously with the baggage ship. This article highlights the value of historical research in primary sources. But besides a chance find in a British archive collection, only an archaeological excavation could determine whether the extraordinary objects found on the seabed near Texel, including the famous silk dress, indeed belonged to someone from the British royal household.

Acknowledgements

Clues for this article, in particular the report in the *Tijdinghe uyt Verscheyde Quartieren*, were found by the author during research for his dissertation. I notified the Dutch newspaper *Dagblad Trouw* in 2018 of a possible scoop about ‘old news’, but it did not result in *Trouw* publishing about the *Tijdinghe*. When the catalogue, the podcasts and the documentary about the dress made clear that my findings remained unknown, it seemed time to write this article. I thank Rob Edens (LLM), Menno Leenstra (MSc), Prof. Dr Henk van Nierop and Prof. Dr Robert Parthesius for their comments, and Maggie Westera-Bailey (BTr) for correcting my translation of the originally Dutch text, though this article is solely my responsibility. I would also like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable comments.

Lambert D. Westera studied early modern history in the 1980s in Groningen and Amsterdam and completed his PhD in 2018, examining the pivotal role of the Amsterdam staple-market in the production of, and trade in, cast-iron ordnance during the seventeenth century. His current interest is the safeguarding of the navigation by Holland during the Dutch Revolt and the Eighty Years’ War against Spain.

73 Some, of course, maintained an even grander state than Arundel. The goods of the French Queen Mother Maria de’ Medici, who in Jul. 1642 had died in Cologne, and of her domestics, were also in this time repatriated via Rotterdam, consisting of ‘188 packs or bales’; HaNA: StG/3202: 7 Mar. 1643.

74 It is possible, for instance, that Arundel had acquired a collection of books that he wanted to ship home.

References

- Aitzema, L. van, *Saecken van Staet en Oorlogh*, vol. 2 (2nd edn, Den Haag, 1669)
- Akkerman, N., *De hartenkoningin. Het leven van Elizabeth Stuart* (Amsterdam and Antwerp, 2023)
- Boer, M. G. de, *Tromp en de Duinkerkers, 1640–1646* (Amsterdam, 1949)
- Brinck, N., 'Kanonnen', in: Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip. Basisrapportage BZN17/Palmboutwrak* (Haarlem, 2019), 150–9, 386–7
- Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. 26, 1642–1643 (London, 1925)
- Cust, L. and M. L. Cox, 'Notes on the Collections formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K.G.', *The Burlington Magazine*, 19:101 (1911) 278–86, 323–5
- Dickinson, J., 'Een unieke collectie verdrinken boeken', in: Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip. Basisrapportage BZN17/Palmboutwrak* (Haarlem, 2019), 292–311
- Everett Green, M. A. (ed.), *Letters of Henrietta Maria including her correspondence with Charles the First* (Londen, 1857)
- Groenvelt, S., *Verlopend Getij. De Nederlandse Republiek en de Engelse Burgeroorlog 1640–1646* (Dieren, 1984)
- Hell, M., 'Straatvaart', in: Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip. Basisrapportage BZN17/Palmboutwrak* (Haarlem, 2019), 54–79, 382–3
- Helmers, H., 'Het Palmboutwrak: van mediahype tot onderzoeksproject', *Tijdschrift voor Zeegeschiedenis* 38:2 (2019) 65–70
- Opdebeeck, J., T. Coenen and A. Vos, *Palmboutwrak: een venster naar de gouden eeuw. Archeologisch onderzoek Burgzand Noord 17 (gem. Texel) in de periode 2014–2017* (Amersfoort, 2018)
- Vos, A., 'Veldwerk en wrak', in: Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip. Basisrapportage BZN17/Palmboutwrak* (Haarlem, 2019), 38–53
- , 'Discussie en conclusie', in: Vos, et al. (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip. Basisrapportage BZN17/Palmboutwrak* (Haarlem, 2019), 364–81
- Vos, A. D., B. van den Hoven and I. Toussaint (eds), *Wereldvondsten uit een Hollands schip. Basisrapportage BZN17/Palmboutwrak* (Haarlem, 2019)
- Westera, L. D., '“Met list en vlijt”: Koningen en kooplieden en de kanonnnhandel in de Republiek' unpublished PhD thesis (University of Amsterdam, 2018)