

WILLIAM III AND THE NORTHERN CROWNS
DURING THE NINE YEARS WAR 1689-97.

by

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Volume II.

Appendix, Notes and References,
Bibliography and Maps.

AppendixDuncombe's Alliance Negotiations in 1689

I

The English project for a defensive alliance with Sweden, sent to Duncombe on September 20th 1689, now rests in the collection in the Riksarkiv known as *Anglica: Strödda Handlingar: Förhandlingar 1680-1700*. Its terms were as follows -

Tractatus arctorioris amicitiae et Confoederacionis inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Gulielmum Tertium, Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Regem, Fidei Defensorem, etc.: Et Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem, Carolum Dei Gratia, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumq. Regem, Magnum Principem Finlandiae, Ducem Scaniae, Ethoniae, Livoniae, Careliae, Bremae, Verdae, Stetini, Pomeraniae, Cassubiae et Vandaliae, Principem Rugiae, Dominum Ingriae et Wismariae, nec non comitem Palatinum Rheni, Bavariae, Juliari, Clivae et Montium Ducem.

I

Erit imposterum inter ambos Serenissimos Reges, Eorumq. Haeredes et Successores, ut et inter Regna, Ditiones et Terras ad Regum praedictorum alterutrum Spectantes, Eorumq. hinc inde Subditos sincera, firma et perpetua amicitia et bona correspondentia, tam Terra quam Mari, et ubivis locorum, tam extra quam intra Europam.

II

Erit Praeterea inter praedictos Serenissimos Reges, Eorum Successores, nec non Regna, Ditiones et Terras, ad Ipsos spectantes, arctior unio et Confoederatio, ad se invicem tuendos et conservandos in tranquillitate, Pace, amicitia et neutralitate, tam terra quam Mari, nec non in possessione eorum omnium Jurium, Immunitatum et libertatum, quibus aut jam fruuntur, aut de jure frui debent, aut quibus potiti sunt, aut potiri poterint, vigore quorumcunq. Tractatum Pacis, amicitiae,

I See also above, pp. 113-6.

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aut neutralitatis, ante hac initorum aut dehinc ineundorum conjunctim, et de consilio communis cum alijs Regibus, Rebus-publicis, Principibus et Civitatibus: Illud vero omne inter Europae duntaxat Limites.

III

Atq. ita pollicentur mutuoq. seseobstringunt praedicti ijdem Reges Guarantia sua quam amplissima praestare et vindicare non solum eos omnes Tractatus, quos vel jam inierunt cum alijs Regnibus, Rebuspublicis, Princeps et Statibus (qui ante extraditionem Ratificationum invicem communicabuntur) verum eos etiam omnes, quos conjunctim, et de consilio communis imposterum inire poterunt, nec non se mutuo tueri, auxiliari et conservare in possessione Ditionum, Terrarum, urbium et locorum, quae jam spectant, aut imposterum spectabunt, tam ad Serenissimum Regem Magnae Britanniae, quam ad Serenissimum Regem Sueciae, Eorumq. Successores, juxta praefatos Tractatus, quacunq. demum parte Europae dictae Ditiones, Terrae, Urbes et Loca sita sint, si, ut praefertur, dicti Serenissimi Reges, a quopiam aut sub quoq. Demum praetextu hostilitate, aut aperto Bello invadantur, laedantur, aut turbentur.

IV

Vigore hujusce reciprocae obligationis sibi invicem auxilia praestandi et defendendi, praedicti Serenissimi Reges, Eorumque Regna, Ditiones et Subditi se mutuo conservabunt et manutenebunt in omnibus suis Juribus, Possessionibus, Immunitatibus et Libertatibus, tam Navigationis quam Commerciorum et alijs quibuscumq. tam per Mare quam per Terram, quae de Jure communi ad Ipsos spectare, aut ex vi quorumcunq. Tractatum initorum vel modo supradicto ineundorum competere constiterit, adversus et contra omnes Reges, Principes, Respublicas et Status quoscunq. adeo ut si in damnum aut praedudicium dictae tranquillitatis, Pacis, amicitiae, aut Neutralitatis, praesentis aut futurae, supramemorati Serenissimi Reges imposterum invadantur, laedantur, aut quoq. demum modo turbentur, in possessione et fruitione Regnorum Ditionum, Terrarum, Urbium, Locorum, Jurium, Immunitatum et libertatum Commercii, Navigationis aut aliorum quorumcunq. (2) quibus dicti Serenissimi Reges jam gaudent, vel de jure communi, et juxta Tractatus jam initos, aut imposterum modo supradicto ineundos, gaudere debent, praedicti Reges ea de re moniti et alter ab altero requisiti, omnem operam

(2) A word, probably 'juribus', appears to be missing here. It was also omitted from Bodmyn's project (see below, p.341).

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conunctim adhibebant, ut hostilitas aut molestia ccesset, et ut damna et injuria quae alterutri Confoederatorum illata fuerint, resarciantur.

V

Sin vero illa aggrēssio aut molestia in apertum Bellum Proruperit, Confoederatorum ille, qui invasus, laesus aut turbatus non fuerit, intra duos Menses a prima requisitione illius Confoederati, qui jam Bello implicitur fuerit numerandos, in aperti Belli Societatem se jungere tenebitur, quo tempore labente, per Legatos Suos aliosve Ministros omnem operam adhibebit, ut inter aggressorem et Partem laesam Pax aequis conditionibus redintegretur, nihilominus tamen dicto tempore labente ejusmodi auxilia et Copias, de quibus articulis separatis inter Serenissimos Reges convenerit, Confoederato Subministrabit; quorum quidem articulorum tametsi in hoc Articulo nulla fiat mentio, ijsdem tamen haud minus sancte observabuntur et tenebuntur, quam si hic scripti et inserti essent, elapsis tamen dictis duobus Mensibus, optio erit paenes Confoederatum, qui Bellum implicatus erit, ijsdem auxilijs diutius frui, si habita rerum suarum et temporis ratione, ijsdem gaudere eligerit quam confoederatum in apertum Bellum trahere.

VI

Stabilita et confirmata hunc in modum mutua Guarantia, quando alteruter Confoederatorum invadi, laedi, aut turbari contigerit, si Serenissimus Rex Sueciae invadetur, impetetur aut turbabitur, et Bellum inire cogeretur, Serenissimus Magnae Britanniae Rex adversus Aggressorem Bellum pariter suspicere tenebitur, et omnes Vires Copiasq. Suas tam terra quam Mari adhibebit, easdemq. dieti Serenissimi Sueciae Regis copijs adjunget, quandocumq; talis conjunctio e re esse videbitur, et ad communem hostem in Pacis honestae et securae conditiones cum Ipsiis impellendum.

VII

Quo casu Serenissimorum Regum Copia conjunctim aut seorsum Bellum gerent, prout magis specialis ea de re tum Temporis inter Eos fiet conventio, dictiq. Serenissimi Reges consilia invicem inibunt et secum Statuens quibus potissimum modis maximum communi hosti inferri potest damnum, idq. vel Copias distrahendo vel alia qua cunq; ratione, quo scilicet,

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uti praefertur, Pacem quanto ejus amplecti cogatur.

VIII

Id quod articulis duobus proxime praecedentibus pactum et conventum est, praestabit pariter Serenissimus Sueciae Rex, quandocunq. Serenissimus Magnae Britanniae Rex modo supra-dicto invadetur, laedetur aut turbabitur.

IX

Inito semel inter Confoederatos juxta hunc Tractatum, Bello, in facultate alterutrius Confoederatorum non erit, suspensionem quamquam armorum inire se inter Hostemq. nisi conjunctim, et de communi consensu.

X

Casu vero eveniente, ut de Pace aut Treuga (sic) sive Inducijs quorundam armorum Tractatus proponatur is minime institui possit ab uno Confoederatorum sine alterius participatione, et nisi Pars, quae pacisendi animum habet, alteri Parti eodem quo sibi, tempore proceret Facultatem et Salvos Conductus necessarios Solitosq. quibus freta Ministros ad Locum Tractatui destinatum tuto mittere possit, et nisi successive, et de tempore in tempus communicet ea omnia, de quibus in dicto Treuga Paceq. Tractatu agatur. Neuter vero Confoederatorum in conclusionem praedictae Pacis aut Treugae consentire possit nisi Confoederato simul comprehenso, eodemq. si ita voluerit, restituto in possessionem Ditionum, Terrarum aut Locorum, quin etiam omnium Jurium et Immunitatum, quibus ante Bellum utebatur et gaudebat, tum etiam nisi obtentis et concessis suo Confoederato a communi Hoste ijs Juribus. Immunitatibus Exemptionibus et Praerogativis quas sibi Ipsi paciscetur, nisi inter Ipsos aliter conventum fuerit.

XI

Liberum erit Confoederato illi qui invasus, Daesus, aut turbatus fuerit, Milites quoscunq. in alterius Ditionibus conscribere, qui in Exercitu Terrestri mereant, dummodo id fiat ijs Pactis et conditionibus de quibus inter Ipsos mutuo conveniet.

XI

Praesens Tractatus debita et authentica forma rati Habebitur, et Rati habitionum Instrumenta intra duos menses a die subscriptionis numerandos, vel citius, si fieri poterit, extradentur.

In quorum etc. -

Appendix

Articuli Separati

I

Casu illo eveniente, qui articulo quinto describitur, Supra memorati Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae, et Sueciae Reges, tenebuntur sibi invicem Suppetias ferre, quoties invadi, laedi, aut turbari, contigerint, prout dicto Articulo fusius provisum est; Nimirum Serenissimus Magnae Britanniae Rex Serenissimo Regi Sueciae in auxilium mittere tenebitur decem peditum probe armatorum Millia, et Viginti Naves Bellicas, quarum septem a 60 ad 80 Tormenta Bellica majora, et 400 Nautas ferent; septem aliae a 40 ad 60 Tormenta Bellica majora, et 300 Nautas, Nulla vero aliarum sex minus ferat quam 36 Tormenta Nautasq. 150. Tenebitur pariter Serenissimus Sueciae Rex Serenissimo Magnae Britanniae Regi in auxilium mittere sex peditum Millia, et 12 Naves Bellicas quarum quatuor a 60 ad 80 Tormenta Bellica majora et 400 Nautas ferent, quatuor aliae 40 ad 60 Tormenta Bellica majora, et 300 Nautas; Nulla vero reliquarum quatuor minus ferat quam 36 Tormenta, Nautasq. 150. Dieti utring. pedites probe erunt armati, et in tales Legiones et Centurias redigentur, nec non ijs Tribunis alijsq. praefectis subjicientur, quibus Serenissimis Regibus hinc inde visum fuerit, et ejus modi auxilio maxime commodum videbitur; dictaeq. Naves probe erunt armatae et instructae. Praefataeq. suppetiae illius Confoederati; sumptibus emittentur et sustentabantur, qui eas in usum confoederati invasi, laesi aut turbati subministrare tenebitur.

II

Cum vero constiterit rebus sic urgentibus datarum et promissarum Copiarum numerum necesse esse augeri Serenissimi Reges ea de re inter se porro convenient.

III

Copiae sic subministratae ejus Confoederati voluntatem respicere, et mandatis obtemperare tenebuntur, ad quem missae sunt, quo scilicet, prout consultius visum fuerit, adhibeantur, atq. etiam ad loca quaevis, tam mari quam terra transferantur, aut in campum educantur et ad loca quaevis obsidenda vel propugnanda, prout rerum necessitas aut utilitas postulet, disponantur.

In quorum, etc..

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This is identical mutatis mutandis with the project prepared for Robert Bodmyn, who was sent to Copenhagen in 1680 on a brief and unsuccessful mission to conclude a defensive alliance and a new commercial treaty with Denmark, and recorded in PRO:SP 104/2. This was in its turn based on the Anglo-Dutch ³ defensive alliance then in force ⁴ and was used by Molesworth in his negotiations in Denmark in 1689 and 1690. Articles I, II, VIII, IX and X and the latter half of article IV are indeed almost identical with articles I, II, VI, VIII and III of the unratified defensive alliance between Denmark and the Maritime Powers of November 3rd, 1690, while articles IV, V, VI, XI and XII of the main treaty find echoes in its articles III, IV, V, ⁵ IX, X and its first secret article. The project is thus of far from limited importance and worth recording in full.

Duncombe was instructed to add an article excluding trade with France from the provisions of article IV and to have the ⁶ treaty made valid for the war in progress. Since none of his despatches for the period of the negotiations has survived, the minutes of the conference on November 26th, when the whole treaty was reviewed clause by clause by Oxenstierna, Linsköld,

3. PRO:SP 104/2, Instructions from Bodmyn, Feb.28, 1680.

4. See above, pp.93-6, 154-6.

5. See DNT IX, pp.53-63 and above, pp.155-6.

6. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Duncombe, Sept.20.

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Gyldenstolpe and Duncombe himself, which are to be found in *Anglica: Konferensprotokoll I: 1664-99*, also deserve a fuller record than was possible in the main body of this study⁷. The following is a summary of them:

Articles I, IV, VIII, X and XII. No comment made.

Article II. To make the meaning clearer the Swedes proposed that it should end 'et de consilio communi et conjunctim ineundorum cum alijs Regibus, Rebus publicis etc.'

Article III. Duncombe agreed to a slight change of wording which would not affect the sense.

Article V. The chancellor objected that the phrase 'in aperti Belli societatem se Jungere' did not conform with the simple sending of aid mentioned later. Duncombe pointed out that the latter part offered a choice, the obligations being stated first and then limited, and, against Linsköld's claim that all such contradictions should be avoided, he contended that the obligation was mutual. The chancellor then proposed the replacement of the phrase by 'auxilia promissa praestare', and Gyldenstolpe demanded the observance of the usual form of a defensive alliance, whereby limited help was offered before belligerency. Duncombe finally agreed that the Swedes should reword the article so as to provide for prior agreement between the two kings on the desirability of the one rendering assistance entering the war, as well as

7. See above, p.115.

to Oxenstierna's request for the extension of the time limit from two to three months in view of the distance between London and Stockholm.

Article VI. Duncombe claimed that detailed provision would have to be made for the eventuality of war, since in such a case time would be too short for further negotiation, but Lindskjöld objected that only in an offensive alliance did such terms have to be agreed beforehand and that they were out of place in a purely defensive alliance. Duncombe promised to write home for further orders on this point.

Articles VII and IX. Lindskjöld pointed out that these specified agreement between the two kings and claimed that the same should apply to entry into the war by the side not attacked.

Articles XI and XII. It was at this point that Duncombe admitted that his master wished to draw Sweden into the war against France⁸. Lindskjöld replied that two powers concluding a treaty should be in the same condition and that Sweden was at peace. Duncombe considered that this was compensated for by the greater aid England was obliged to send to Sweden, but Lindskjöld made it clear that Sweden wished to remain at peace and try to reconcile the belligerents. To Oxenstierna's stress on the help already sent to the Allies and being prepared, the envoy asked if there was any hope of further troops once the alliance in

8. See above, p.115.

question had been concluded. But Lindsköld could give him no hope of this and repeated the remarks of the chancellor, who pointed out finally, with reference to Sweden's obligations to the Emperor and the United Provinces, that, if help were given to one ally, it could not be expected by others.

Separate Articles were taken ad referendum by both parties.

In the Swedish counter-project given to Duncombe on December 20th article XII is entirely new and article XIII the twelfth of the English project. Although the copies sent to London have not survived⁹, one was enclosed with Rumpf's despatch of December 28th and is to be found in ARA:S-GA 7284, and one rests in the same collection as the English project. The articles differing from those in the latter run as follows -

10
V

Et ut plenius constet quo modo dicta mutua opera adhiberi debeat, placuit utring. subsequentes certos praestationum reciprocum designare gradus, scilicet tenebitur Confoederatorum ille, qui, invasus, laesus, aut turbatus non fuerit, non solum amicorum officiorum interpositione, pacis redingrationem inter aggressorem et partem laesam aequis conditionibus suadere ac tentare, verum etiam adversus aggressorem intra tres Menses/: vel citius si fieri possit: / a prima requisitione illius Confoederati, qui laesus aut turbatus fuerit, numerandos, ejusmodi auxilia eidem subministrare de quibus articulis

9. A second copy of the variations was sent on September 28th in case that despatched on the 21st had miscarried (PRO: SP 95/13, Robinson to Warre, Dec. 28, 1689).
10. The alterations in articles II and II discussed on November 26th and agreed to by Duncombe were not apparently adopted by the Swedes.

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separatis inter utrosq. Reges convenerit, qui articuli haud minus sancte observabuntur ac tenebuntur, quam si hic scripti et inserti essent. Quibus auxilijs praestitis, Requisitus obligationi suae secundum praesens foedus satisfecisse existimabitur, nisi, habita rerum et temporum ratione, intrinq. consultum visumq. fuerit, ut etiam in societatem belli se jungat, qua de re ulterius tum agendum et conveniendum est. Si vero contingat, alterutrum Confoederatorum Regum vel utroque ob hoc foedus ejusq. occasione vel ob supradicta auxilia, armis invadi vel alijs molestijs aut injurijs affici et turbari, sive a primo aggressore sive ab alio quocunq. directe vel indirect: Eo casu ambo Confoederati Reges talem pro aperto et communi hoste reputabunt.

VI

Stabilita et confirmata hunc in modum mutua Guarantia,
quando alteruter Confoederatorum invadi, laedi, aut turbari
contigerit, si Serenissimus Rex Sueciae invadetur, impedetur aut
turbabitur, et Bellum inire cogeretur, Serenissimus Magnae
Britanniae Rex adversus Aggressorem (11) ex hac diversitate
graduum, praecedenti articulo indigitata, cum diversi procedant
effectus, placuit circa primum gradum: quo dicta suppetiae
tantum mittuntur sine bellica declaratione: / illa quidem omnia
observari, quae de numero et modo auxiliariorum articulis separatis
definita sunt, nec ullam cum aggressore ejusve socijs
conventionem inire posse, nisi foederato auxiliatore simul
incluso et comprehenso; A Suppetijs autem mittendis Requisitum
excusari, si vel ipse alio bello sit implicitus, vel si parem at
majorem vim auxiliariorum alii foederato contra eundem aggressorem
prius miserit; si autem minorem miserit ad supplementi praest-
ationem tantum obligari. Quod posteriorem gradum attinet, nim-
irum quando contigerit Serenissimum Regem N.N. ex occasione
hujus foederis ejusve praetextu invadi, impeti aut turbari atq.
bellum inire cogi, tum Sereniss: N.Rex adversus talem aggress-
orem bellum pariter suscipere tenebitur, et omnes Vires Copiasq.
Suas tam terra quam Mari adhibebit, easdemq. dicti Serenissimi
Sueciae Regis copijs adjunget, quandocunq. talis conjunctio e
re esse videbitur, et ad communem hostem in Pacis honestae et
securae conditiones cum Ipsiis impellendum.

IX

Conjunctis Semel in apertum bellum foederatorum armis,
secundum casum supradictum in facultate alterutrius Confoederat-
orum non erit suspensionem quampiam armorum inire se inter
Hostemq. nisi conjunctim, et de communi consensu.

(11) The passages underlined appear also in the English project.

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XI

Liberum erit Confoederato illi qui invasus, laesus, aut turbatus fuerit, Milites quoscunq. in alteruis Ditionibus conscribere, qui in Exercitu Terrestri mereant, dummodo id fiat praevijs pactis et conditionibus (12).

XII

Intellegendum est hoc Foedus de aggressionum casibus futuris, non autem de ijs qui nunc existant durabitque in decennium, (13) quo ad exitum spectante de ejus prolongatione et extensione, prout utrinque consultum videbitur, ulterius agi tunc poterit.

XIII

As article XII in the English project.

Secret Articles

I

Casu illo existente, qui articulo quinto describitur Suprarememorati Serenissimi N.N. et N.N. Reges tenebuntur sibi invicem Suppetias ferre quoties invadi, laedi, aut turbari contigerit, prout dicto Articulo fusius provisum est, nimirum tenebitur Rex requisitus Regi requirenti in auxilium mittere sex peditum millia et duodecim naves bellicas, quarum quatuor a 60 ad 80 tormenta bellica majora, et quadringentos nautas ferent; quatuor alia a 40 ad 60 tormenta bellica majora et 300 nautas, nulla vero reliquarum quatuor minus ferat quam 36 tormenta, nautasque 150; Dicti pedites probe erunt armati et in tales Legiones et centurias redigentur, nec non ijs Tribunis alijsque Praefectis subjicientur, quibus Serenissimis Regibus hinc inde visum fuerit et ejusmodi, auxilio maxime commodum videbitur; dictaeque Naves probe erunt armatae et instructae, praedictaeque suppetiae illius Confoederati sumptibus emittentur et sustentabuntur, qui eas in usum confoederati invasi, laesi aut turbati subministrare tenebitur. Qnd si

(12) The end of the article in the English project is thus omitted.

(13) Duncombe was told at the beginning of December that William agreed that the alliance should be for twelve years, apparently his last orders on the subject.
(PRO:SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Dec. 6, 1689).

contingat Regiam Maj. tem Sueciae a tali hoste invadiri aut turbari, aduersus quem navalibus auxilijs opus non habet, liberum tum eidem erit, loco navium sive omnium sive aliquarum, subsidiarum pecuniam requirere. Quo casu Regia Maj: tas Maj: Britanniae promittit se Regiae Maj. ti Sueciae soluturum in Singulos menses pro unaquaq. navi primi ordinis... Secundi ordinis... tertij ordinis... thaleros imperiales in specie sive Banco. Qua pecunia primo die cujusq. mensis, per anticipationem Hamburgi praestabitur numerabiturq. integerime et absq. omni mora, quamdiu casus foederis duraverit. Quod tamen non de omnibus anni mensibus, sed ijs saltem, qui navigationibus et militaribus actionibus apti consentur, quales sunt, Majus, Junius, Augustus et September, intellegendum est.

In the chancery meeting on December 18th it had been decided that the phrase 'de quibus inter ipsos mutuo conveniet' at the end of article XI in the English project could be retained, but, as is seen, it does not appear in the counter-project. This particular article had received special attention from Åkerhielm in his October memorandum, where he pointed out the difficulty of agreeing to recruiting in view of Charles XI's solemn promise to his subjects to relieve them of such burdens. He decided, however, to recommend that in an emergency troops could be raised in Livonia and the German provinces.¹⁴¹⁵

14. See above, pp.114-5.

15. For a discussion of why no further action was taken in London on the Swedish counter-project, see above, p.116.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES AND REFERENCES

- AAH.....Archief van Anthonie Heinsius.
 Add. MSS....Additional Manuscripts.
 Alm.....Almen.
 ARA.....Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague).

 BDI.....British Diplomatic Instructions.
 BDR.....British Diplomatic Representatives.
 BIHR.....Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London.
 BM.....British Museum.
 BRO.....Berkshire Record Office.

 CHJ.....Cambridge Historical Journal.
 CSP Dom.....Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series.

 DBL.....Dansk Biografisk Leksikon.
 DHT.....Historisk Tidsskrift, Copenhagen.
 DM.....Danske Magazin.
 DNB.....Dictionary of National Biography.
 DNT.....Danmark-Norges Traktater.
 DRA.....Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen.

 EHR.....English Historical Review.
 Eng.....See below, KB and TKUA.
 Eng. besk....Engelska beskickningars memorial och noter
 1591-1730.
 Extr. prot...Extractum protocolli.

 F.O.....Foreign Office papers.

 Geh. kons....Geheime konseilet.

 Handl.....Handlingar.
 HH.....Historiska Handlingar.
 HMC.....Historical Manuscripts Commission.
 Holl. besk...Holländska beskickningars memorial och noter:
 Residenten C.C.Rumpf 1676-1705.
 HT.....Historisk Tidsskrift, Stockholm.

 KB.....Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.
 KB: Eng.....Engeströmska samling.
 KFA.....Karolinska Förbundets årsbok.
 KHA.....Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague.
 Kp.....Kanslikollegii Arkiv: Renskrivna protokoll.
 KUB.....Kabinetet för Utrikesbrevväxling.

- LD.....Lunds Dagblad.
- MRUA.....Betänkanden, promemorior, förslag och
referat i utrikes ärenden: Karl XI:s tid.
- Ned.....Nederlandene.
- NHT.....Nyt Historisk Tidskrift, Copenhagen.
- N.S.....New Style.
- NUL.....Nottingham University Library.
- O.S.....Old Style.
- P.C.....Privy Council Records.
- PRO.....Public Record Office.
- Prot.v.conf.m...Protokoll vid Conferenser med.
- Rd.....Reichsthaler.
- RGP.....Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën.
- Rp.....Rådsprotokoll.
- RSH.....Resolutien van de Staten van Hollandt ende
West Frieslandt 1689-97.
- Saml.....Samlingar.
- SBL.....Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon.
- Sc. Econ. HR..Scandinavian Economic History Review.
- S-G.....States-General.
- S-GA.....Archief der Staten Generaal.
- S-GR.....Resolution of the States General.
- Skr.t.K.Mt....Skrivelser till Kungliga Majestät.
- S.N.....New Style.
- SP.....State Papers.
- SRA.....Riksarkivet, Stockholm.
- SRSH.....Secreete Resolutiën van de Ed. Groot Mog.
Heeren Staaten van Hollandt en West Vrieslandt.
- SRSG.....Secret Resolutions of the States General.
- S.V.....Old Style.
- TKUA.....Tyske Kanslis Udenlandske Avdelning.
- TKUA: Eng.....Do: England.
- TRHS.....Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,
London.
- Utr. Reg.....Utrikes Registratur.
- UUB.....Uppsalas Universitetsbibliotek.

Introduction

1. See below, pp.46-7.
2. For further details see below, p.47.
3. M. Lane, 'The Relations between England and the Northern Powers 1689-97 1) Denmark' (TRHS:Third Series, vol.V, London, 1911). Hereafter referred to as Lane *Denmark'. The complementary article for Sweden was never forthcoming.
4. British Diplomatic Instructions: III Denmark 1689 - 1789, ed. J.F. Chance (Camden Series, 3rd Series, vol. XXXVI, London, 1926) Hereafter referred to as BDI:Denmark.
5. J.F. Chance, 'England and Sweden in the Time of William III and Anne' (EHR XVI, London, 1901).
6. J.F. Chance, George I and the Northern War, (London, 1909) and The Alliance of Hanover (London, 1923).
7. British Diplomatic Instructions: I Sweden 1689-1727, ed. J.F. Chance, (Camden Series, 3rd Series vol. XXXII, London, 1922). Hereafter referred to as BDI:Sweden.
8. G.N. Clark, The Dutch Alliance and the War Against French Trade (Victoria University Publ. Hist. Ser.42, Manchester, 1923).
9. N.J. den Tex, Jacob Hop, Gezant der Vereenigde Nederlanden (Amsterdam, 1861).
10. Danmark-Norges Traktater 1523-1750 med dertil Hørende Aktstykker, VIII (1683-1689) ed. L.Laursen (Copenhagen 1930). Ibid., IX (1690-3), ed. L.Laursen (Copenhagen, 1933). Ibid., X (1694-1698), ed. C.S. Christiansen (Copenhagen, 1948). The series has now reached 1700. It is hereafter referred to as DNT.
11. C.S. Christiansen, Bidrag til Dansk Statshusholdnings Historie under de to Første Enevoldskonger, Anden Del (1676-1699). (Copenhagen, 1922).
12. See below, pp.76-7.
13. Franz von Jessen, En Slesvigsk Statsmand, Første Del: Danske Udenrigspolitik i Tiden 1680-1703, (Copenhagen, 1930). The author is descended from one of the minister's brothers by six generations (op.cit., p.vii).

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14. Chr. H. Brasch, Om Robert Molesworths Skrift 'An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692', (Copenhagen, 1879).
15. See the review by Bøggild Andersen in DHT IIR I:4.
16. F.F. Carlson, Sveriges Historia Under Konungarne of Pfalziska Huset, IV - VI, (Stockholm, 1875-1881) cover this period.
17. J. Thyrén, Den Första väpnade neutraliteten. Svensk-Danska förbunden af 1690, 1691 och 1693, jämte en inledande öfversigt af Europas politiska ställning vid det stora krigets utbrott 1686-1689, (LUA XXI-XXII, Lund, 1885-7).
18. C. Hallendorf, Bidrag till det Stora Nordiska Krigets Förhistoria, (Upsala, 1897).
19. C.F.I. Wahrenberg, Bidrag till Historien om Sveriges Yttre Politiska Förhållanden från Konung Carl XI:s Död till Freden i Treventhal, (Stockholm, 1855).
20. Arnold Bratt, Sveriges Yttre Politik under de Preliminära Förhandlingarna före freden i Rijswijk (Upsala, 1905).
21. Åke Stille, Studier Över Bengt Oxenstiernas Politiska System och Sveriges förbindelser med Danmark och Holstein-Gottorp 1689-1692 (Upsala, 1947). For a discussion of his views, which have not been generally accepted, see pp.393(28,30), 409 (22,23), 423(55,58), 424(62).
22. Gustaf Jonasson, Karl XII och Hans Rådgivare: Den Utrikes Maktkampen i Sverige 1697-1702, (Upsala, 1960).
23. G. Landberg, Den Svenska Utrikespolitikens Historia I:3 1648-97, (Stockholm, 1952). Hereafter referred to as Landberg.
24. Most of this is published in, Archives ou Correspondence Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau. Troisième Série, Tome I:1689-1697, ed. F.J.L. Krämer, (Leyden, 1907), hereafter referred to as Krämer, but there are omissions both of whole letters and parts of letters, not always indicated. Reference should also be made to H.J. van der Heim, Het Archief van den Raadpensionaris Antonie Heinsius, Del 1-3 (The Hague, 1867-80), N. Japikse, Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, Eerste Gedeelte Deel I-III, (RGPKI Ser.23, 24, 28) (Hague, 1927-37) and Sirtema de Grovestins, Histoire des Luttes et Rivalités Politique entre les Puissances Maritimes et la France Durant la Seconde Moitié du XVIIe Siècle VI (Paris, 1853), which prints extracts in French. Copies and translations into French from the originals, now in the Koninklijke Huisarchief (KHA) in the Hague (Inventory 16:XIC:542-1089), are to be found in BM.Add.Mss.34504-5 (Mackintosh Collection XVIII-XIX).

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24. (continued).
 The publication of the correspondence is fully reviewed in B. van 't Hoff, Het Archief van Anthonie Heinsius, (The Hague, 1950), pp. 33-5.
25. Japikse, Correspondentie, II. P. Grimblot (ed.), Letters of William III and Louis XIV and of their Ministers, vol. I, (London, 1848). There are letters in the collection known as King William's Chest (PRO:SP 8/5-17) which are published in Japikse, Correspondentie, IIIii.
26. His correspondence with Amerongen is printed in Japikse, Correspondentie, IIIiii.
27. See Krämer, op.cit., v.d. Heim, op.cit., and Japikse, Correspondentie, IIIiii. Most of Heinsius' correspondence, with the exception of his letters to William III, which are in the KHA (Inv.16:XIC, 127-396), is housed in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) in the Hague, and calendared in v. 't Hoff, op.cit.. His letters to Blathwayt are in BM:Add.Mss. 21488.
28. See G. A. Jacobsen, William Blathwayt: A late Seventeenth Century Administrator, (New Haven, 1932). His letter books are in BM:Add.Mss. 39860 and 37991-2 (1692-1702), and there are drafts of his despatches in Add.Mss. 9722 (1692-1703).
29. For instructions to Sweden and Denmark see PRO:SP 104/2, 153, 194, 197.
30. His reports are in SRA:Hollandica: Nils Lillieroots skrivelser till K.Mt. 1692-7 (4 volumes). His letter book for 1694 is also found in the same series. See p. 365, note 44.
31. They are to be found in SRA:Radsprotokoll 90a:Strödda Protokoll 1689-92 and Radsprotokoll 90b:Strödda Protokoll 1689-97.
32. And even here the first years of the war are missing. The remainder are in DRA:Geheimekonseilet 3-5, (1692-9).
33. Many of the letters calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC) in such collections as those of Allan George Finch (for the Earl of Nottingham) and of the marquess of Downshire (for Sir William Trumbull) come into this category.

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34. C. Molbech, Kong Christian den Femtes egenhaendige Dagbøger 1689-96 (Nyt Historisk Tidskrift (NHT) I, Copenhagen, 1847) and 'Memorial og Journal for Aar 1691 og 1696', (NHT II, Copenhagen, 1848). Hereafter referred to as Molbech (I) and II. Kong Christians egenhaendige Dagregister 1692-3 and 1696, (Aarsberetninger fra Det Kongelige Geheimearchiv (Aarsberetninger VI: vi-vii, VII, Copenhagen, 1881-3). C.F. Bricka, Kong Christian den Femtes Dagbog for Aaret 1694, (Danske Magazin (DM) V iv, Copenhagen, 1898-1901). E. Marquard, Kong Christian den Femtes Dagjournaler 1695-1699, (DM VI ii, Copenhagen, 1916). The value of these records is uneven.
35. SRA:Kanslikollegii Arkiv: Renskrivna Protokoll, 1687-97 (Rp) (nine volumes) and Memorial och Relationer i Utrikesärenden. (MRUA).
36. Letters from Robinson in Stockholm and Greg in Copenhagen are in BM:Add.Mss. 15572 and 35105. See below, p.16.
37. At the beginning of the war this consisted of Heinsius, Portland, Waldeck and Dijkvelt. Waldeck died in 1693, and Portland later became estranged (G.N. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.144. He does not include Dijkvelt in the group, but see G.W. Vreede, Inleiding tot eene Geschiedenis de Nederlandsche Diplomatie, I, (Utrecht, 1856), p.304).
38. Sir William Trumbull, when secretary of state, complained to Lillieroot of '87 (William III) keeping ye most part of affaires secret between him & 220 (Heinsius) & 100 (Dijkvelt): in w.ch something 89 (Trumbull) has a part: though this is rather with the prospect of sending him abroad, when ye time serves than for any present reason' (BRO:Trumbull MSS.: Littleroote and Trumbull, Trumbull to Lillieroot, July 1695. For this correspondence see my 'En Samtida Redogörelse för det Svenska Riksradet 1695' in HT 1960). The earl of Nottingham was with William in the Hague in 1691 when a secretary of state, but his correspondence (calendared in HMC:Finch MSS.III) does not suggest a great degree of intimacy with his master.
39. The earl of Nottingham (Feb. 1680-June 1690), viscount Sydney (Dec. 1690-Feb. 1692), sir J. Trenchard (Mar.-Nov. 1693), the earl of Shrewsbury (Mar. 1694 - April, 1695) and sir William Trumbull (May 1695 - Dec. 1697). In the intervening periods the secretary of state for the Southern department, the senior of the two posts. undertook the work also of the Northern department. Thus Nottingham (July - Nov. 1690 and Mar. 1692 - Feb. 1693) and Trenchard (Dec. 1693 - Feb. 1694). See M. Thomson, The Secretaries of State (Oxford, 1932), p. 183.

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40. The relevant correspondence of under-secretary Ellis is to be found in BM:Add.Mss.28939-41, 28895-28900. For the office of under-secretary see Thomson, Secretaries of State, pp.130-4.
41. The surviving minutes are in PRO:SP 44/274-5 (1695-7), PC 2/73, 75 (1688-90, 1692-4), BM:Add.Mss.40780, 40782 (1695-7), BRO: Trumbull MSS., Cabinet Notes 1695-7. See also N. Japikse, Prins Willem III de Stadhouder Koning, Deel II (Amsterdam, 1933), p. 286.
42. BM:Add.Mss.17677 MM, Baden to S-G, Dec.5 1692. Onno Klopp, Der Fall des Hauses Stuart, VI:1692-4, (Vienna, 1877), p.142. E.R. Turner, 'Parliament and Foreign Affairs 1603-1760', (EHR XXXIV) p.182.
43. MA. Thomson, 'Parliament and Foreign Policy 1689-1714, (History, XXXVII), pp.23-5. Turner, op.cit., pp.181-2.
44. This is clearly seen in the collection of Greg's letters from 1694-9 in DRA:TKUA:England AII 31d (two volumes). For this paragraph see M. Lane, The Diplomatic Service under William III, (TRHS 4th Series, vol.X, London, 1927), pp.87-91, Thomson, Secretaries of State, pp.7-9, 11-12, D.B. Horn, The British Diplomatic Service 1689-1789, (Oxford, 1961), pp.106, 144, 146.
45. Vreede, op.cit., p.51. Tr. Riemsdijk, De Griffie van Hare Hoog Mogenden (The Hague, 1885), p.26.
46. A.de Fouw, Onbekende Raadpensionarissen, (The Hague, 1946), p.155. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.287. V.'t Hoff, op.cit., pp.78.
47. Ibid., pp.10-11.
48. Riemsdijk, op.cit., p.131. R.M. Hatton, Diplomatic Relations between Great Britain and the Dutch Republic 1714-1721 (London, 1950), pp.21-2. Amerongen, however, complained to Portland in 1691 that he had received only one reply to ten letters he had sent to the king (Japikse, Correspondentie II iii, pp.216-7 (Amerongen to Portland, Mar.17 1691)). There is one letter from Duncombe to William III printed in full in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (CSP Dom.) 1691-2, p.209 (Duncombe to William III, Mar.30 1692). The original is in PRO:SP 8/12 (doc.60).
49. This was the case, for example, with the compensation agreements with neutral powers. See below, pp.175, 242.

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50. For his difficulties over the English claim to a Channel salute see below, pp. 223, 255.
51. Den Tex, op. cit., p.6.
52. Ibid., p. 7. M.Lane, 'The Diplomatic Service', pp. 91, 98. D.B. Horn, op.cit., p.42.
53. See below, pp. 81, 114.
54. See below, p. 184. BM:Add.Mss.27457, Duncombe to Blathwayt, July 9 1692, and R.M. Hatton, 'John Robinson and the Account of Sweden' (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. XXVIII), p. 137.
55. Lane, 'Diplomatic Service', p. 94, and below, p. 95-6, 139, 144, 146.
56. Riemsdijk, op.cit., p.131. For Hop's appointment in this way in 1692 see Krämer, op.cit., p.293 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.12/22 1692) and SRSR, Oct. 3 1692. On this occasion Amsterdam wished his appointment to be taken ad referendum.
57. Horn, op.cit., p.218. Stille, Studier, p.51.
58. These are in PRO:SP 82/17-19, BM:Add.Mss.19514-5, 37663, Lansdowne MSS.1153C-E.
59. '...This place being as it were the center of all intelligence betweene the more Southerne & Northerne countries.' (BM: Lansdowne MSS.1153D, Rycaut to Blathwayt, Mar.15 1691/2). For an example of rumour see CSP Dom., 1689-90, p.255.
60. Stille, Studier, p. 51. See also below, pp. 187, 235, 246. Little work of significance was confided to the regular diplomatic channels between England and the Hague. For them see Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp. 141-5.
61. See below, pp. 29.
62. Nils Gyldenstolpe (1642-1709) had been envoy in the Hague in 1679, was made court chancellor in 1687 and served as lantmarskalk in the 1689 riksdag.
63. Stille, Studier, p.49. Landberg, op.cit., pp.16-17, 19-21, 23. S. Tunberg, C.F. Palmstierna, and others, Histoire de l'administration des affaires étrangères de Suède (Transl. Alfred Mohn. Uppsala, 1940) pp. 175, 177-84.
64. BM:Add.Mss. 27457, Duncombe to Blathwayt, July 9 1692. Swedish envoys were instructed to send their reports in duplicate during the king's absence from Stockholm in order that one copy might be sent after him (SRA:Utr Reg., Charles XI to all envoys, June 23, 1691, July 6, 1692 etc.). See also below, p. 147.

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65. Albert Olsen, 'Conrad Reventlow' in DBL XIX (Copenhagen, 1940), p. 439. Thyrén, op.cit., p.71. R. Molesworth, An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692, (4th ed., London, 1738), p.101. The council normally met on Mondays and Fridays when the post arrived and on Tuesdays and Saturdays when it went out. (BM:Add.Mss.40800, Greg to Trenchard, Feb.17 1693/4. E. Holm, Danmark-Norges Indre Historie under Enevælden fra 1660 til 1720, 1. Del (Copenhagen, 1885), p.59.
66. Stille, Studier, p.50. Holm, op.cit.I, p.58.
67. That is it was not controlled by a committee but by a single official responsible to the king.
68. Holm, op.cit.I, pp.58-9, 62. For Jessen see below, p.364(33).
69. Tunberg, etc.,op.cit., pp.190-4.
70. Ibid., p.192.
71. Ibid., p.192. See below, p.103.
72. Jessen, op.cit.I, pp.137, 149, 165.
73. See below, p. 223. There is no work in Danish comparable to that of Tunberg and his colleagues, but Sweden on the other hand cannot boast the comprehensive list of her envoys which Denmark possesses in Emil Marquard's Danske Gesandter og Gesandtskabspersonale indtil 1914 (Copenhagen, 1952).
74. See below, pp.300-2. He visited Stockholm after the campaign of 1695, apparently with credentials from William III and instructions to seek recruits and to find out what he could of the situation in Sweden. (ARA:AAH 396, B.G. Oxenstierna to Heinsius, Nov.20/30 1695). The 'Revue des Autographes' for December 1895 advertises a seven-page letter from him to the earl of Sunderland of January 21st 1696 (given as 1796) reporting the decisions of the råd. It is unlikely that the two men ever met, and this is the only reference to Sunderland in connection with Northern affairs which I have encountered. This was, however, a period when he was deeply in William's confidence (J.P. Kenyon, Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland 1641-1702 (London, 1958), p.276). I have not come across the letter in question.
75. See below, p.193.
76. See below, pp.43, 80 and DRA:TKUA Alm.Del.II 55, Christian V to Plessen, April 13, 1689.

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77. See below, p. 105.
78. See below, p.221. In the early months of 1689 Lente conferred informally with Petkum in the Hague on the conclusion of an alliance between Denmark and the United Provinces and was instructed by Christian V to ask Petkum to help persuade William III to side with Denmark in her dispute with the duke of Holstein-Gottorp (DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Christian V to Lente, Jan. 22, April 6, May 11, 1689).
79. See below, p.201.
80. See below, p. 211.
81. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, April 21st, 24, 1691. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 20, Credentials for Selkirk, Mar.15 1691. PRO:SP 75/22 Credentials for Reventlow, Feb.3 1691/2. BM: Lansdowne MSS. 1153 C, Rycaut to Duncombe, April 7, 1691. HMC:Finch MSS. III, p.31, (Nottingham to Sydney, Mar.17/27 1691). Molbech, op.cit., (II), p.194 (April 16 1691). Marquard, op.cit., p.378. There is no evidence for the secret purpose of Selkirk's mission suspected by Horn (British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789 (BDR) Camden Series 3, vol.XLVI (London, 1932) p.1). For Rantzau see Marquard, op.cit., p.378 and DBL XIX, pp.115-6. He was grandson on his mother's side of chancellor Frederik Ahlefeldt and born in 1670.
82. Since this subject is being fully examined in Dr. R.M.Hatton's forthcoming book, 'Presents and Pensions: One Aspect of Anglo-Swedish Relations 1689-1709' I have confined myself here to a select number of relevant examples.
83. Landberg, op.cit., pp.20-1.
84. ARA:S-GA 2339, Aug. 27, S-GA 2340, April 11. PRO:SP 44/98, Nottingham to Jephson, Nov. 30 1690. This seems to be the main object of the regular annual pension of £300 paid by England to B. Oxenstierna's secretary. (PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Nov. 28 1694, to Trumbull Feb. 12, 1695/6. HMC:Unpublished Finch MSS., Nottingham to Robinson, Feb. 14 1692/3. HMC:Downshire MSS.I ii, p.577 (Robinson to Trumbull Nov. 2, 1695)). D'Avaux complained that he was too expensive (PRO:F.O.95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 11, 1695).
85. PRO:F.O.95/555, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Oct. 20, Dec. 8. 1695; d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Nov. 2, Dec. 28 1695. F.O.95/556, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Jan.19, Mar. 8, May 31 1696; Croissy to d'Avaux, Mar. 15 1696. F.O. 95/576, Account dated April 16 1693. Stille, Studier, pp.127, 134-5. G.Wittrock, 'Förraderipunkten i Nils Bielkes Process 1704-1705' (KFA,1917, Lund, 1918) pp.65-6. Bielke expected 20,000 livres as pension and 24,000 livres in compensation.

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86. KHA:16XIC, William III to Heinsius, Dec. 8/18 1691. PRO: SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Nov. 28 1694, to Trumbull, Feb. 12 1695/6. BM: Add. MSS. 37992, Blathwayt to Shrewsbury, Oct. 3 1695 (s.n.). Add. MSS. 35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, Dec. 31 1692 (undated but referred to in the following despatch), Jan. 4, 1692/3. Krämer, op.cit., pp. 53, 89, (Heinsius to William III, Mar. 17, William III to Heinsius, Sept. 19/29 1690. HMC: Unpublished Finch MSS., Nottingham to Robinson, Feb. 21, Mar. 3 1692/3. HMC: Downshire MSS. I ii, pp. 388, 577, 579 (Robinson to Trumbull, Aug. 28, Nov. 2 1695, Trumbull to Shrewsbury, Nov. 5 1695.) HMC: Finch MSS. II, pp. 245, 246 (Nottingham to Duncombe, Sept. 10, 13, 1689). Stille, Studier, p. 139 note 2. Klopp, op.cit. V, p. 200. The original proposal seems to have been prompted by reports of lavish French offers to the chancellor (PRO: SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, April 26 1690, and below, p. 25), rather than, as Klopp claims, his threat to retire. Robinson reported to Blathwayt at the end of 1692 that the Emperor had done little and the other Allies nothing to fulfil the agreement, and William indeed seems to have paid the full sum of £2,000 (BM: Add. MSS. 35105, Robinson to Blathwayt (Dec. 31 1692) and references at the beginning of this note). Dr. Hatton examines this question in 'Presents and Pensions'. Oxenstierna's wife was granted £1,000 in 1691. William agreed to pensions for his daughters, and d'Avaux reported that his eldest son and son-in-law (Stenbock), both serving in Flanders, were in receipt of allied pensions of 8,000 écus (Rd.). (KHA:16 XIC, William III to Heinsius, Jan. 30/Feb. 9 1694. PRO: SP 104/2, Sydney to Duncombe, June 6/16 1691. F.O. 95/577, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, April 14 1694. HMC: Finch MSS. III, p. 128 (Sydney to Nottingham, June 25 1691)).
87. Wittrock, op.cit., p. 65. At the beginning of 1696, Louis XIV agreed to allow an annual pension of 12,000 livres each to Gyldenstolpe and Wrede (PRO: F.O. 95/556, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Feb. 2 1696, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Oct. 24). This was in addition to the occasional presents which are featured throughout d'Avaux' correspondence.
88. PRO: SP 95/555, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Jan. 9, May 12 1695. SP 95/577, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, June 17, July 17, 29, 1694. Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux, Ambassadeur extra-ordinaire à la cour de Suède pendant les Années 1693, 1697, 1698, ed. J.A. Wijnne (Werken van het Historisch Genootschap Gevestigd te Utrecht, Nieuwe Serie No. 33-36, Utrecht, 1882-3) t.I. (Hereafter quoted as Négociations d'Avaux), pp. 62, 314-6 (Louis XIV to d'Avaux, April 2, Aug. 6, 1693).

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89. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, p.168 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, Sept. 6/16 1689). Haren was allowed in 1691 to spend 3 - 4,000 Rd. to secure agreement in Stockholm to a regulation of Swedish trade with France and Molesworth in 1690 to give presents totalling £1,000 'in such a manner may best promote the exchange of the Irish prisoners for the recruits w.ch his Maj.ty desires' (ARA:S-GA 2338, Mar.24 1691. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Dec. 2 1690).
90. See below, p.292.
91. ARA:AAH 333, Heekeran to Heinsius, Jan.27, June 16 1694. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, p.179 (Haren to Heinsius, Aug.9/19 1690). Ibid.III, p.9 (Heekeran to Heinsius, May 2 1693).
92. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.24 1690. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept.3 1689. BDI:Denmark, p.6 (Additional instructions to Molesworth, July 12 1689). Stille, Studier, p.117. Horn, op.cit., p.57. Heekeran was empowered to promise a total of 60,000 Rd. when Sweden had either persuaded France to guarantee to restore the territorial arrangements under the peace of Westphalia and the treaty of Nijmijgen or had sent the military aid which she was obliged to provide under her treaties with the United Provinces (V.D.Heim, op.cit.III, p.159 (Heinsius to Heekeran, Aug.27 1695)).
93. Brasch, op.cit., p.151. Horn, op.cit., p.59. Sylvius, James II's envoy in Copenhagen, was given a golden cup with the royal cypher in diamonds worth 1,300 Rd.. (DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Christian V to Treasurer Brandt, April 23 1689).
94. Négotiations d'Avaux I, pp.314-6 (Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Aug.6 1693).
95. This is the conclusion reached in Wittrock's detailed study of the question. in his article in KFA for 1917.
96. See below, p.150.
97. Robinson suspected in 1697 that his despatches were being intercepted by the Swedes since everything he wrote seemed to come back in the reports of the Swedish envoy in London, but there does not seem much support for this in the reports themselves (BM:Add.Mss. 28899, Robinson to Ellis, Feb.27 1696/7).
98. ARA:AAH 333, Heekeran to Heinsius, Mar.13 1694.
99. PRO:SP 8/16. There is a similar collection of over forty letters intercepted by him in 1695 and 1697 in NUL:Portland MSS., PWA 2529 - 73. On Jan.26 1697 Klippe wrote apologizing

99. (continued)

for not sending d'Avaux and Bonrepos' despatches 'le temps qu'on arreste le Courier étant à peine assez long pour copier les relations...' D'Avaux suspected that his letters were being opened in Hanover (PRO:SP F.O. 95/556, d'Avaux to Louis XIV (copy), Aug. 22, 1696). Van der Heim prints extracts and summaries of correspondence between d'Avaux and Louis XIV from November 12th 1693 to March 21 1694 (op.cit.III, pp.42-8), said to have been sent by Robinson. It seems, however, more likely that these are also the work of Klippe or another Dutch agent, especially as no mention is made of this kind of work in any of Robinson's despatches and no letters from Robinson to Heinsius have survived.

100. ARA:AAH 36.

101. Klippe wrote on January 29th 1697 that Bonrepos had changed his cyphers and that 'on n'a pas pu envoyer sa lettre de-chiffré mot pour mot'. He could still, however, communicate its substance (PRO:SP 8/16, Klippe to ?, Jan. 29 1697).
102. See especially those of March 5, 12, 22, 29, 1690 in PRO:SP 95/13. His surviving despatches from 1689 employ a letter code, but from March 1690 the commoner form using numbers was adopted (See SP 95/13).
103. Neutral envoys would naturally need to employ it less frequently, and there are few examples in the Swedish reports of the time. I have not examined a sufficient body in the Danish archives to judge its use by Danish envoys.
104. There is a copy of the key to the code used in correspondence between Blathwayt and Robinson in BM:Add.Mss.35105 (fo.11) and of that used between Trumbull and Lillieroot in BRO:Trumbull MSS., Misc. Corres., Correspondence between Mr. Littleroote and Sir W.Trumbull 1686-98.
105. For the 'Deciphering Branch' see Horn, op.cit., p.277.

Chapter 1

1. S. Loenboem, Handlingar til Konung Carl XIIs Historia, VII Saml. Stockholm, 1765-6), pp.87, 94. Landberg, op.cit., p.213.
2. ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, May 21 1689. Jonasson, op.cit. p.4. Hallendorff, op.cit., pp.7, 20, 31-5. K-E Rudelius, Sveriges Utrikespolitik 1681-1684: Från garantitraktaten till Stillestandet i Regensburg (Uppsala, 1942) pp.6-8. 11-12. L. Stavenow, 'Sveriges poltiik vid tiden för Altona Kongressen 1686-1689' (HT, 1895) p.175. G. Landberg, 'Bengt Oxenstierna och Sveriges Stormaktspolitik' (Lunds Dagblad, 17/6/29) hereafter cited as Landberg, 'Bengt Oxenstierna') p.4. Loenboem, op.cit., VII, pp.21-3, 78, 103. G. Wittrock, 'Nils Bielke underhandlingar i Brandenburg 1696' (KFA, 1918) p.46. Stille, Studier, pp.16-17. Landberg, op.cit., p.215. Jerker Rosen, Den Svenska Utrikes Politikens Historia II: I 1697;1721. (Stockholm, 1952) pp.40-3.
3. Loenboem, op.cit. VII, p.78. Landberg, op.cit., pp.125-6. B. Fahlborg, 'Det senare 1600 talets svenska utrikes politik' (HT, 1954), pp.102-3, 105. Stille, Studier, pp.15-16, 114.
4. Rudelius, op.cit., p.12. Thyrén, op.cit., p.68. Landberg op.cit., p.214. Oxenstierna (1623-1702) had been a principal at Nijmigen.
5. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.8. Landberg, op.cit., p.216. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.12-13. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.66, 68-9. Carlson, sees the riksdag of 1686 as marking the end of the great reforming period (op.cit. IV, p.355). By the outbreak of the European war most of the reduktion programme had been completed in Sweden proper, though much still remained to be done in her trans-Baltic possessions (O. Malmström, Nils Bielke sasom General guvernör i Pommern (Lund, 1896), p.20).
6. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.8. Landberg, op.cit., p.214. Thyrén, op.cit., p.67. Loenboem, op.cit. VII, pp.20, 46, 55. Stille, Studier, pp.39-40. Rudelius, op.cit., p.13. A. Lossky, Louis XIV, William III and the Baltic Crisis of 1683 (University of California Publications in History, Vo. XLIX, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954), p.3.
7. Landberg, op.cit., pp.218-9. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.15-16.
8. Landberg, op.cit., pp.220-1. Loenboem, op.cit. VII, p.23. Bratt, op.cit., p.15. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.16-28, 42-8. Lossky, op.cit., p.4.
9. Landberg, op.cit., pp.221, 223. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.25-8.

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10. Ibid., p.146-9. Landberg, op.cit., p.223. Landberg, 'Bengt Oxenstierna' (LD 18/6/29), p.4. Dr. H.F.J.Estrup, Bidrag til Kundskab om Frankeriges, Danmarks og Sveriges inbyrdes politiske Forhold mellem Aarene 1663 og 1689 efter franske Legationsberetninger (Copenhagen, 1823), p.52. Bazin's secretary, Michon, remained in Stockholm, in order to send reports to Paris, until 1687. (Lossky, op.cit., pp.47-8, note 10. Rudelius, op.cit., p.148).
11. Bratt, op.cit., p.16. Landberg, 'Bengt Oxenstierna' (LD 18/6/29), p.4. Loenboem, op.cit., VII, p.24. Landberg, op.cit., pp.224-5. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.93-112. Lossky, op.cit., p.4.
12. Landberg, op.cit., pp.222, 226. Landberg, 'Bengt Oxenstierna' (LD 20/6/29), p. 4. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.61-7. Lossky, op.cit., pp.5-6. Stille, Studier, p.41. DNT VIII, pp.24-5.
13. Bratt, op.cit., p.16. Landberg, op.cit., p.225. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.187-95. Lossky, op.cit., p.13. Stille, Studier, pp. 40-1.
14. Landberg, op.cit., pp. 228-9. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.278-90, 294-302. Stille, Studier, p.40.
15. Landberg, op.cit., p. 233.
16. Landberg, op.cit., p.232. Bratt, op.cit., p. 18. Loenboem, op.cit., VII, p.28.
17. Landberg, op.cit., p. 220.
18. Fabian Wrede (1641-1712) was lantmarskalk (speaker of the house of nobles) in the 1682 riksdag and became president in the colleges of mines and reduktion, chairman of the reduktion commission and a councillor in 1685. He gave up his work on the reduktion in 1687 on assuming his new offices.
19. Nils Bielke (1644-1716) took a leading part in the war in 1676 and 1677. He served against the Turks between 1684 and 1687 and in the latter year was made a general and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire (G.Wittrock, SBL IV (Stockholm, 1925), pp. 241-2).
20. Erik Lindskjöld (1634-90). His most important work was in law reform. He was lantmarskalk in the 1686 riksdag and appointed governor of the Crown Prince in 1688. On his death his main duties were taken over by Nils Gyldenstolpe (Carlson, op.cit., IV, pp.356-7, 359).

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21. Johan Larsson Olivercrants (1633-1707) was probably the author of the notorious 'Anecdotes de Suède', an attack on the absolute monarchy first published in 1716. He accompanied Oxenstierna to Nijmijgen but was not allowed to reenter the chancery on his return. (Stille, Studier, p.114).
22. Stille, Studier, pp. 114-5.
23. Landberg, op.cit., p.231. The recapture of Budapest in 1686 was followed by the great victory at Mohacs in 1687. (M. Immich, Geschichte des Europäischen Staatsystems von 1660 bis 1789 Munich and Berlin, 1905) pp. 128-30).
24. Landberg, op.cit., p.232. Bittner and Gross, op.cit. p.234.
25. Landberg, op.cit., p.216.
26. Thyrén, op.cit., p.17. Stille, Studier, pp.35-9. Rudelius op.cit., pp.4-5. Fahlborg, op.cit., pp.110-2. Landberg, Bengt Oxenstierna (LD 17/6/29), p.5.
27. See above,p.30. The marriage of Princess Anne and Christian's brother George had been fostered by France in the hopes of binding England to the Franco-Danish bloc and barring William and Mary from the succession (DNT VIII p.126. Brasch, op.cit. p.1. Lossky, op.cit., p.28).
28. Landberg, op.cit., pp.226-7. Rudelius, op.cit., pp.222-6. Lossky, op.cit., pp.14-18. DNT VIII, pp.97-103.
29. DNT VIII, p.159. Lossky, op.cit., pp.18-22. Landberg op.cit., p. 229. For Holstein-Gottorp see below, pp.51-4.
30. Landberg, op.cit., p.234, DBL XXIII (Copenhagen, 1943), p.482.
31. Conrad Bierman von Ehrenschild (1629-98) entered the council in 1682. He seems to have made no effort to learn Danish (see article by L. Laursen in DBL VI (Copenhagen, 1935), p. 248-52).
32. Molesworth, op.cit., pp.152-3.
33. Thomas Balthazar von Jessen, (1648-1731) married Elisabeth Bierman in 1680 after entering the Chancery in 1677. He was a good linguist (see article by Franz v. Jessen in DBL XI (Copenhagen, 1937), pp.626-32. Molesworth, op.cit., pp.105-6. Thyrén, op.cit., p.72.

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34. Peter Brandt (1644-1701) was first given the title of treasurer (Overrentemeister) in 1684. He was given the province of Tønder after it had been sequestered from the duke of Holstein-Gottorp (see below, p.54) (L.Laursen in DBL IV (Copenhagen, 1934), pp.14-16). For his fall from power see below, p.192.
35. Michael Wibe (1627-90) was made vice-chancellor in 1683. He was learned but accused by foreign envoys of peculation. (C.O.Bøggild Andersen in DBL XXV (Copenhagen, 1943) pp.481-4).
36. See above, p.21.
37. Landberg, op.cit., p.234. Stille, Studier, pp.43-4. DNT VIII, pp.417-24. For Altona see below, pp.55-69.
38. Christian Siegfried von Plessen (1646-1723) came to Denmark in 1677 and followed prince George to London in 1683 (C.O.Bøggild Andersen in DBL XVIII (Copenhagen, 1940) pp.395-9).
39. Molesworth, op.cit., p.104.
40. Jacob Hop (1654-1725) attended peace negotiations in France in 1678. He was elected pensionary of Amsterdam in 1680, opposed the stadholder in the crisis of 1683-4 and did not cease to hold his office until 1687. (A.J. Van der Aa, Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden (Haarlem, 1852-78) VIII, pp.1242-7. Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek (Leiden, 1911-32). (NNBW) II, p.613). For his part in later negotiations see below pp.196-200, 211-3, 289-90, 299-300.
41. DNT IX (Copenhagen, 1933), p.23. Anon., Deffense du Danemark etc., Seconde edition (Cologne, 1696), p.50. See DNT VIII, pp. 297, 332, 366-401 for a full account of negotiations. The unratified treaty of 1684 is printed on pp.332-9 and the preliminary agreement of 1688 on pp. 401-6.
42. See below, pp.90-2, 97-9, 154-8, 197-9, 220-1, 230, 281-3.
43. Carlson, op.cit., IV, pp.370-1. Estrup, op.cit., pp.55-6.
44. Nils Lillieroot (1636-1705) began his diplomatic career on the Barbary coast in 1667. He was secretary in Paris in 1669 and made envoy in 1677. For his future diplomatic activities see below, p.177 et seq.
45. Stavenow, op.cit., p.195. Carlson, op.cit., IV, pp.361-2. Landberg, op.cit., p.235. E.Leijonancker, 'Ett Diplomatiskt Narrspel' (Socialdemokraten, Stockholm for 23/8/1931), p.3.
46. Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.371. Ibid. V, p.9.

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47. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Jan.2 1689. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.10.
48. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Jan. 2.
49. Johan Palmquist (c.1650-1716) was generally considered devotedly pro-French. He was made resident in 1697 and transferred to the Hague as envoy in 1702.
50. A.Fryxell, Handlingar Rörande Sveriges Historia ur Utrikes Arkiver III (Stockholm, 1838), p.191. (Nostitz to Leopold I, Nov.23/Dec.3 1688).
51. Stavenow, op.cit., p.172.
52. Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.371.
53. Ibid., p.367. Landberg, op.cit., p.238. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.25. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.21, 70. Stavenow, op.cit., pp.298-9. For Vellingk see also below, Chp.2, note 16.
54. Stavenow, op.cit., p.299. Landberg, op.cit., p.238. O. Malmström, 'Karl XI:s Bref till Nils Bielke' (HH 18:2, Stockholm, 1900) p.46, note 2.
55. Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.367. Malmström, Karl XI:s Bref, p.45, note 3. Malmström, Nils Bielke, pp.25-6.
56. Ibid., pp.25-6.
57. Stavenow, op.cit., p.299. ARA:S-GA 6547, Eckhardt to Fagel, Jan. 13/23, Feb.27/Mar.9 1689.
58. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, Feb. 13 1689.
59. Fryxell, op.cit., IV, p.337 (Rumpf to Fagel, Jan.8 1689).
60. Landberg, op.cit., p.240. Fahlborg, op.cit., p.106.
61. Gabriel Thuresson Oxenstierna (1642-1707) was envoy in Vienna in 1681.
62. Klopp, op.cit., V, p.285.
63. See below, p.107.
64. Thyrén, op.cit., p.20.
65. DNT IX, p. 23

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66. His instructions are printed in Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les Traites de Westphalie jusqu'a' la Révolution Française: T XIII: Danemarc (Paris, 1895), pp.67-72 and summarized in DNT IX, p.97.
67. Thyrén, op.cit., p.72. DBL VI, p.250. Ibid XI, p.627. Jessen, op.cit., p.131.
68. DNT VIII, pp.625-6. DNT IX, pp.23-4, 100-1.
69. Ibid., pp.1, 104-5. Thyrén, op.cit., p.20.
70. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Christian V to Lente, Jan.1. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.20-5, 28. Brasch, op.cit., p.3. DNT VIII, p.626, DNT IX, p.24.
71. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.26-8. DNT IX, pp.104-8.
72. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del. II 55, Christian V to Lente, Jan.5, 22. Thyrén, op.cit., p.22.
73. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Instructions to Plessen, Feb.2. DNT VIII, p.626. DNT IX, p.24.
74. Frederick Gersdorff (c.1650-91) was appointed envoy to England in 1686, but his mission was delayed until 1688, and his first despatch from London was not written until August of that year (F.Krarup and Bøggild Andersen in DBL VIII (Copenhagen, 1936) pp.49-50. Marquard, op.cit., p.363).
75. Stavenow, op.cit., pp.306-7. Brasch, op.cit., p.3. C.F.Allen, Danske Samlinger for Historie, Topografi, Personal og Literaturhistorie II iv (Copenhagen, 1874-6), p.187. DBL VIII, p.50. Jessen, op.cit., p.134.
76. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, pp.45, 47-8. Klopp, op.cit., IV, pp.33,36. Immich, op.cit., p.137. Japikse, Prins Willem II pp.290-1. D.Ogg, England in the reigns of James II and William III (Oxford, 1955) p.347. Thyrén, op.cit., p.3. In the judgement of van der Heim 'No State was, in all the wars against France, so useful or so dangerous, according to the direction of its policy, for the Republic than its neighbour Brandenburg'. (op.cit., I, p.39).
77. J.M. Kemble, State Papers and Correspondence (London, 1857), p.xxviii.

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78. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, p.134. Klopp, op.cit., IV, pp.478-80.
79. P.L.Müller, Wilhelm III von Oranien und Georg Friedrich von Waldeck, II, (Hague, 1880), p.55. Japikse, Prins Willem, II p.290.
80. Stavenow, op.cit., p.319. Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.377. Anon., An accurate Description of the United Netherlands, and of the most considerable Parts of Germany, Sweden and Denmark (London, 1691), p.122. Robinson calculates a total of 60,000 (An Account of Sweden As it was in the Year 1688 (4th Ed., London, 1738), p.262).
81. See above, pp.30-1.
82. i.e. c.36,000 in Denmark and the Duchies plus 10 - 15,000 in Norway (Holm, op.cit., I, pp.431, 452. Christiansen, op.cit., II, pp.896-7).
83. J. Ehrman, The Navy in the War of William III (Cambridge, 1953), p.55, note 3, quoting from Soc. Naut. Research, Occas. Publins. no.5 pt. III). Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.377 gives the number as 28, which may be excluding the 5th and 6th rates. Stavenow, op.cit., p.319, gives 42, which probably accounts for 2 in process of rebuilding in 1689. As a comparison England had at the same period 108 vessels of equivalent size, the Dutch 88 and the French 131 (Ehrman, op.cit., p.3, note 2, quoting Soc.Naut.Research, Occas. Publins. no.5 pt.II and IV and, for English ships, various authorities listed on p. 625 of his work).
84. Holm, op.cit., I, p.457. Molesworth, op.cit., pp.88-9.
85. R.G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy 1652-1862 (Cambridge, 1926), p.183.
86. Ibid., p.142. E.F. Heckscher, Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia från Gustav Vasa D.I: ii (Stockholm, 1936), p.142.
87. See below, pp.121, 203.
88. See below, pp.204-5.
89. See below, pp.170-2.

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90. Robinson, op.cit., p.266. Heckscher, op.cit., I i (Stockholm, 1935) p.20. Ibid. I ii, pp.475, 555. Chance, 'England and Sweden', pp.677-9. A contemporary summed up the position thus: 'From these Northern Kingdoms we are Supply'd with Pitch, Tar, Hemp, Masts, Iron all very useful in our Navigation, and without which we cannot carry it on, Commodities which we must have though purchased with Money' (John Cary, An Essay on the State of England in Relations to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes, For carrying on the present War against France (Bristol, 1695), p.128).
91. Molesworth, op.cit., p.74.
92. See below, pp.153, 179-82, 191, 194-5.
93. See below, pp.164-7, 200-2 (The first and second armed neutrality leagues).
94. See below, p. 91, 228.
95. See below, pp.55-68 (Holstein-Gottorp crisis in 1689), 209-13 (Saxe-Lauenburg crisis in 1693), 298 (Danish attack on Holstein-Gottorp in 1697).

Chapter 2.

1. A. Friis, A. Lindvald and M. Mackeprang, Schultz Danmarks Historie II (Copenhagen, 1941), pp. 300-2. V. La Cour, K. Fabricius, H. Hjelholt and H. Lund, Sønderjyllands Historie II (Copenhagen, 1937-9), pp. 163-70.
2. Friis, op.cit. II, p. 304, La Cour, op.cit. II, p. 186.
3. Ibid., pp. 247-58, 345-7. Friis, op.cit. II, p. 670. J.C. (rull) Memoirs of Denmark containing the Life and Reign of the late K. of Denmark, Norway &c., Christian V, (London, 1700), pp. 39-40. For 'union' and communion see also, A. Stille, 'Efter Altona kongressen' (KFA 1940), p. 59. There had already been a partition in 1490 between the younger sons of Christian I, but their territories had been reunited on the accession of Frederick I to the Danish throne in 1523 (La Cour, op.cit. II, pp. 199-200, Friis, op.cit. II, p. 304).
4. La Cour, op.cit. II, pp. 358-61. Friis, op.cit. II, p. 672.
5. See my map at end of this volume. In 1564 Frederick's brother Hans also received a small portion, but of his descendants, the Sønderborg dukes of Holstein-Augustenburg, - Nordborg, -Glücksborg, -Beck and Pløn, only the latter, one of whom took command of the Danish Army in 1689 became William III's commander-in-chief on the death of Waldeck and was used by Christian V as a minor agent of Danish policy, were of any significance. (La Cour, op.cit., II, p. 353. Friis, op.cit. II, p. 672. See also below, pp. 78, 219).
6. Stille, Studier, pp. 29-30, 32-3. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', pp. 55-8. Landberg, op.cit., p. 237. L. Stavenow, op.cit., pp. 277-81. M. Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, A History of Sweden, 1611-1632 II (London, 1958), p. 607.
7. La Cour, op.cit., III (1940-2), p. 30. E. Olmer, Konflikten mellan Danmark och Holstein-Gottorp 1695-1700 I (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps - och Vitter hetsamhålls Handlingar IV 1, Gothenburg, 1896), p. 1. C(rull), op.cit., p. 43. Anon, Deffense du Danemark, pp. 270-1.
8. La Cour, op.cit., III, pp. 33-7. Olmer, op.cit., I, p. 2.C(rull), op.cit., pp. 47-52.

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9. La Cour, op.cit., III, pp.160-2, 172-4. DBL V, pp.163-5.
 Friis, op.cit.III, pp.401-2. Stille, Studier, pp.33-4.
 Thyrén, op.cit., p.18. Olmer, op.cit., I, pp.3-4. C(rull), op.cit., pp.56-55. The latter gives an interesting account of Rensborg from a Danish viewpoint. Duke Christian Albrekt (1641-94) succeeded his father in 1659 (DBL V, p.164).
10. La Cour, op.cit., III, p.174. Olmer, op.cit., I, p.4. Thyrén op.cit., p.18. Stille, Studier, p.35. C(rull), op.cit., p.82.
11. La Cour, op.cit., III, pp. 174-80. DNT VIII, pp.440-80. Stavenow op.cit., pp.177-206. Carlson, op.cit.IV, p.362. Landberg, op.cit., pp.224, 229, 234-6. C(rull), op.cit., p.84-8. Defense du Danemark, pp.292-3.
12. DNT VIII, p.480-504. Stavenow, op.cit., pp.270-86. Landberg, op.cit., pp.236-7.
13. Stavenow, op.cit., pp.288-91, 314-6, 320. Carlson, op.cit.IV, pp. 367, 373, 376-85, 405. Landberg, op.cit., pp.238-9.
14. DNT VIII, pp. 519-20. Stavenow, op.cit., pp.317-9. Thyrén, op.cit., p.31. Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.370. Landberg, op.cit., p.238.
15. DNT VIII, p.496. Stavenow, op.cit., p.370.
16. Mauritz Vellingk (1651-1727) was an important diplomatic figure in North Germany during the 1680's and a protégé of Bengt Oxenstierna. He had been made commandant in Stade in 1686.
17. Stavenow, op.cit., pp. 286-7, 292-4. Carlson, op.cit.IV, p.367. DNT VIII, pp.508-9
18. For this agreement, see above, pp.38-41.
19. See above, pp.38-9.
20. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna, Jan.2, 5, 9, 11 (with powers to conduct financial negotiations), Feb.2, 6, 9, 20, Mar.9, 16, April 20. Carlson, op.cit.IV, p.400. Oxenstierna was also at this time engaged in negotiations for hiring of Dutch seamen, but it was later found easier to raise them in Hamburg (Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan.2,21, 30.

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20. (continued)
 Feb.2, 9, March 2, April 20. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.23. Oxenstiernska Saml: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Feb. 27. Carlson, op.cit.IV, p.400. Thyrén, op.cit., p.31.
21. L.v. Aitzema, Saken van Staat en Oorlog II iii 27 (Amsterdam, 1698), p. 107.
22. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Mar.20. Thyrén, op.cit., p.30.
23. Johan Barckman (1625-91) ennobled as Leijonberg in 1658, arrived in England in 1661 and was made a baronet in the same year. He married an English widow. His brother, Leijonclo, was Swedish envoy in Copenhagen. C.F. Allen, op.cit.II iv p.203. Landberg, op.cit., p.33. Bittner and Gross, op.cit. p. 490.
24. SRA: Anglic: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Mar.19. Landberg, op. cit., p. 236.
25. Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, April 5. Anglic: Leijonberg to Charles XI, April 5.
26. DRA:TKUA:Eng.B65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, Mar. 29.
27. Ibid. TKUA:Alm.Del II. 55, Memorial for Plessen, Feb.2. Thyrén, op.cit., p.34. DNT VII, pp. 626-7.
28. SRA:Oxenstiernska Saml., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, April 3. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del.II 55, Christian V to Lente, Mar.30. TKUA:Eng. B 65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, April 2. Krämer, op.cit., pp.11,19 (Heinsius to William III, April 26. William III to Heinsius, April 19). Carlson, op.cit.IV, p. 402. DNT VIII, pp.523-5 (for Altona negotiations), 627 (for Plessen's interview and impressions).
29. DRA:TKUA:Eng B65, Gersdorff to Christian V, Mar.12. TKUA:Alm. Del.II 55, Christian V to Gersdorff, April 9, 13. TKUA:Eng. A II 19, Recredentials for Gersdorff, May 20.
30. Molbech, op.cit., II pp.494-5. Other Danish agents in London sending reports to Copenhagen at this time include Rambouillet de la Sablière and H.G.Ludolf, secretary to Prince George (See TKUA: Eng B65, Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.111, Marquard, op.cit., p. 382
31. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, May 3. DRA:TKUA:Eng B65, Plessen to Reventlow, April 26.

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32. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 21. DRA: TKUA:Eng. B 65, Plessen to Reventlow, April 29. V.d.Heim, op.cit. I, p.142 (Heekeren to Heinsius, April 29).
33. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 28/June 7.
34. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, April 19, 23. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, April 14, Friesendorff to Charles XI, May 18.
35. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B 65, Gersdorff to Christian V, April 23, Plessen to Reventlow, April 29. Krämer, op.cit., p.11 (Heinsius to William III, April 26). DNT VIII, pp. 548, 627.
36. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, April 9, 23.
37. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, April 26, May 3. DNT VIII, p. 530. Leijonberg had an English translation of the reply made and distributed 30 copies. (Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, April 30).
38. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI, to G. Oxenstierna, Feb. 20, April 3. Kp., April 1. Krämer, op.cit., p.19.
39. Coenrad van Heemskerck, heer van Achtienhoven (1646-1702) was Pensionary of Amsterdam ~~on~~ in 1673 and envoy in Vienna in the same year. He represented the States-General in Madrid from 1679 to 1686 (NNBW IX, p. 333. V.d.Aa, VIII, pp.358-60).
40. RSH, April 27, May 5. Krämer, op.cit., p.9 (William III to Heinsius, April 19). DNT VIII, p. 535. DNT IX, p.24.
41. Robert Goes (d.1723) was sent to Copenhagen in 1685 and remained until 1718 (Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.353). Greg says of him 'Mr. Goose is of Brabant...tells his mind roundly at this Court upon all occasions, & therefore is not much belov'd by the Danish Ministers.' (PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre Dec. 14 1689).
42. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, May 10. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, May 21. C.F.Allen, op.cit., II iv pp.204-5.
43. Information about Duncome is scanty. He does not figure in the Dictionary of National Biography. Leijonberg, when reporting his appointment in April, says he is the son of sir John Duncombe who had been in charge of the treasury and left an income of £4,000 p.a., has travelled widely and speaks many languages. He was probably related to Charles Duncombe,

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43. (Continued)
 a city financier, with a shady reputation, who was Lord Mayor in 1708 (SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, April 23. BDI:Sweden, p.1. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.199. Ogg, op.cit., pp.87-9, 408-9, J.F. Chance (ed), 'William Duncombe's Summary Report of his Mission to Sweden 1689-92' (E.H.R.XXXIX) p.572. There appears to have been some talk of sending back sir Edward Wood, envoy in Stockholm between 1672 and 1679, but Leijonberg protested to Shrewsbury that sir Edward knew no other tongue than English, could neither, in spite of his pretensions, express himself nor understand what was proposed to him, had done more harm than good to Anglo-Swedish relations and been recalled in response to Swedish requests. Shrewsbury promised to inform the king. (SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, March 8) For Wood, see Hatton, 'John Robinson' pp.131-3.
44. He had been appointed envoy in 1683 but was not able to leave England until 1687. Leijonberg reported that many favoured his reappointment and that he would have supported him if he had known he wished to stay (SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, April 12). Poley returned in July (Hatton, 'John Robinson' pp.134-6. C S P Dom, 1689-90, p.186). DRA:Eng B65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, May 10. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.184.
45. Robert Molesworth (1656-1725) was the son of an Anglo-Irish landowner who married the daughter of lord Richard of Collony after completing his studies at Trinity College, Dublin. He was a firm supporter of the Protestant cause and had to flee to England in 1688. A portrait is reproduced in Jessen, op.cit., I, p.174. (DNB XIII, pp.568-70. Complete Peerage (London, 1936) IX, pp.31-2. Brasch, op.cit., p.4. BDI:Denmark, p.1. BDR, p.1. C.Robbins, The Eighteenth Century Commonwealth Man (Harvard, 1959), pp.91-2.) For his 'Account of Denmark' see below, pp.231-3.
46. Sir Gabriel Sylvius (? - 1697) was born in Orange and, after serving Frederick-Henry, William II and his widow, entered Charles II's service in 1660. He was employed in diplomatic missions in the 1660s and in 1677 became Mary's maitre d'hotel. Granted credentials as envoy to Denmark in 1683, he went to Copenhagen in 1685. He absented himself from the Danish court on hearing of James' flight, and Leijonclos believed that his reappointment was likely, since he was not unfavourable to William, and that this would be in Swedish interests since he was peeved with the Danes for their rudeness to him. Sylvius appears to have shared this belief but was worried because ordered by Melfort to remain

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46. (Continued)

at his post. He was ordered home in March, but Christian V refused him recredentials, although he finally allowed him to take formal leave on April 16. He left Denmark with the convoy which brought his successor and, although a request to the new English government for money was turned down in June, he was given a pension of £300 p.a. in 1692. (SRA:Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Feb.4, Mar.1, 11th, April 1, 5,12,19. DRA:TKUA:Eng B65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, Mar.5, May 7. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Sylvius, June 28 NNBW I, pp.1493-4)

47. Robert Sutton, second baron Lexington (or Lexington) (1661-1723). He was recalled in the autumn of the same year (DNB XIX pp.184-5. Complete Peerage VII (1929) pp.628-9. BDI:Denmark, p.2. BDR, p.102. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.181). For his negotiations in 1693, see below, pp. 211-3.
48. Sir William Dutton Colt was accredited also to Hesse-Kassel (BDR, pp.48-9, 55, Bittner and Gross, op.cit., pp.181-2,190).
49. The appointments are mentioned in BM:Add.Mss.17677 II, Dutch ambassadors to S-G, May 31. Duncombe arrived in Stockholm on July 18, Molesworth at Elsinore on July 8, Colt in Hanover on July 21. (BDR, p.48). For the arrival of Molesworth and Duncombe see below, pp.81, 113-4.
50. SRA:Hollandica:G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 14. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, pp.144, 147 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, May 18, 27).
51. SRSH, June 14, 24.
52. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del.II 55, Christian V to Lente, May 11. ARA: S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, May 14. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, p.147 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, May 27, 31). DNT VIII, pp.534-43.
53. O.Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.34.
54. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, Gersdorff to Christian V, April 23, Plessen to Reventlow, April 26. DNT VIII, p.528-9. Thyrén, op.cit., p.33. Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.403.
55. For Danish negotiations with France in 1689 see DNT IX, pp. 100-18. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.26-7, 74, 96-7.
56. Walraven van Heekerden, Heer van Nettelhorst (1643-1701) employed on several occasions in the 70s and 80s to negotiate in Brunswick, had been sent in March 1689 to speed the troop contingents from North German princes to the Rhine. (V.d.Aa, VIII, p.327 NNBW VIII, pp.719-20. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.352).

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57. PRO:SP 84/220, Copia Authentica (in English). V.d.Heim,op.cit.I, pp.155-6, 161 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, June 7/17 21). DNT VIII, pp.544-5. Carlson, op.cit.IV,pp.407-8. The exact nature of this separate act is not clear. The former dispatch from Heemskerck merely states that it allows '14 daegen, binnen welke HH.Mo. haer daerop dan naeder souden moeten verklaeren'.
58. V.d.Heim, op.cit.,I,pp.155, 161. (Heemskerck to Heinsius, June 7/17, Heekerken to Heinsius, July 5).
59. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Christian V to Lente, June 11. DNT VIII, pp. 545-6.
60. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 65, Plessen to Christian V, April 23, 29. DNT VIII, p. 627 C.F. Allen, op.cit., II V, p.304.
61. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, May 20. Jessen,op.cit.p.137.
62. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Christian V to Prince George and Plessen, May 14. DNT VIII, p.627. C.F.Allen,op.cit.,II V, p.305. Bittner and Gross, op.cit.,p.115. Marquard,op.cit.,p.363.
63. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, June 21.
64. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55 and PRO:SP 75/22, Credentials for La Forest, May 14. La Forest (d.1701) came to Denmark in 1682 and rose rapidly in royal favour. Two of his sons also died in the Amalienborg fire. Goes called him ' een man...van intrigue' and reported that he was the brother-in-law of the mysterious Rambouillet de la Sablière. On his title Molesworth told Warre that '...Mon.sr. de la Forest (tho I believe in ye King of Denmarks letters to be named so)is no more a marquis than myself' (ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, May 28. PRO:SP 75/22, Molesworth to Ware, July 16. DBL XIII, p. 521. Brasch,op.cit. p.5. C.F.Allen, op.cit. II V,pp. 304-6. Jessen,op.cit.,p.137).
65. DNT VIII p.628.
66. Ibid. For La Forest's troops negotiations see below, p.80.
67. BM:Add.Mss.17677 II, Dutch Ambassadors to Fagel,May 24/June 4.
68. SRA:Hollandica:Friesendorff to Charles XI,June 1. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, May 14/24. RSH, June 14, 24.
69. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI,May 3, June 11. Friesendorff to Charles XI, May 25.
70. P.L.Müller, op.cit.II,p.159 (Waldeck to William III,June 24). V.d.Heim,op.cit.I,p.157 (Diest to Heinsius, June 20).
71. DNT VIII, pp.532-3.
72. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 28.

73. Printed in BDI:Sweden, pp.3-4, BDI:Denmark, pp.2-5. See also Brasch, op.cit., p.4.
74. In SP 104/194.
75. Krämer, op.cit., pp.25-6 (William III to Heinsius, June 7). V.d.Heim, op.cit,I, p.157 (Heinsius to Heemskerck, June 22).
76. SRA:Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, June 14.
77. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, June 18. DNT VIII, pp. 543-4.
78. SRA:Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, June 28. DRA: TKUA:Eng B 65, Gersdorff and Plessen to Christian V, June 29.
79. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, June 11.
80. BDI:Sweden, p.5.
81. There is some indication of a change of plan in Duncombe's sailing. On the day of his appointment Leijonberg was told by Nottingham that he had been given 14 days to get ready, and on May 11th a warrant was issued to Schomberg to supply six guns and ammunition to Capt. William Alington of the 'William and Jane', on which Duncombe was to be carried. Two days later Duncombe's own request for colours, a commission and protection for 60 men was granted, and on May 24 a certificate was issued stating that Duncombe 'departed on his employment'. His original instructions are, however, dated May 30, and the list of documents delivered to him of June 11. On this latter date Leijonberg reported that he was sailing on the 'Swan' and Molesworth on the 'Ruby' convoying 26 merchantmen to Riga and Danzig. He is quite possibly mistaken in the names of the ships, but Duncombe himself reports his sailing on June 16 in a convoy escort (SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, April 23, June 11. PRO:SP 44/166, May 11. SP 44/98, May 13. SP 104/153, List of documents, June 11. SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, July 8 (N.S.) . CSP, Dom, 1689-90, pp.99, 102, 119. BDI:Sweden, p.1).
82. BDI:Denmark, pp.5-6.
83. PRO:SP 104/194, Instructions, June 15.
84. Sir Paul Rycaut (1628-1700) was the author of 'The Present State of the Ottoman Empire' published in 1668 after he had served for six years as legation secretary in Constantinople. He was secretary to the second earl of Clarendon during his lord lieutenancy of Ireland (1685-7). He arrived in Bremen on August 28th. (DNB XVII, pp.527-9, BDR, p.70.

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84. (continued)
Horn, op.cit., p.290. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.186, 190).
85. PRO:SP 104/194 and BM:Add.Mss.19515, Instructions and letter to duke of Holstein-Gottorp, June 22.
86. ARA:S-GA 2336, July 2. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, p.159 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, June 11). The district of Trittau had been given to Christian V by the duke of Holstein-Plön in 1684 without Christian Albrekt's consent. It was held by Denmark as security for the duke's debt and returned at Altona but was not involved in the negotiations with Prince George. (Stavenow, op.cit.p.178 n.2. DNT VIII, pp.457, 550-1, 556, 559. See map at end of this volume.)
87. C(rull), op.cit., p.88. DBL XII, p.189. DNT VIII, p.454.
88. DNT VIII, pp.550-2. The text of the agreement is printed on pp.560-1 of this latter volume.
89. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, p.159 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, June 11).
90. BM:Add.Mss. 17677 II, Dutch ambassadors to Fagel, July 9/19. Krämer, op.cit., pp.27,28. (William III to Heinsius, June 28, July 6). C(rull), op.cit., p.89.
91. DNT VIII, pp. 521, 547-52. DNT IX, pp. 1-2. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', pp.62-3. Stille, Studier, pp.53-4.
92. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, pp.161-2 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, June 21, July 1). DNT VIII, pp. 552-4.
93. The full text is printed in DNT VIII, pp. 555-7. See also Landberg, op.cit., p.239. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', p.61.
94. A. Fryxell, op.cit., II,p.441. (Stockfleth to Christian V, June 29). Carlson, op.cit., IV, p.410.
95. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Vellingk. Danica:Leijoncло to Charles XI, July 19, Aug.9. ARA:S-GA, 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, July 20/30.
96. PRO:SP 75/22, Heemskerck to William III, Aug. 23. In his dispatch on August 24th, Duncombe reported an encounter between a Swedish ship and one flying Danish colours but gave no further details. 'The Swedes' he claimed 'seem resolved to be last in port, because they were first out' (PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Aug. 24).

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97. PRO:SP 82/17, Rycaut to Nottingham, Aug.20. Stille, Studier, pp. 58-61. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', pp.60, 64-8.
98. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 56, Christian V to Lente and La Forest, Aug.24, 31. DNT IX, p.40.
99. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Sept.20. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B 65, La Forest to Christian V, Sept, 20.
100. DRA:TKUA B 65, La Fouleresse to Christian V, Sept. 24. BDI: Denmark, p.10. (Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept.24). Jean Payen de la Fouleresse (c.1650-1701(?)) was a member of the Huguenot nobility who came to Copenhagen about 1685 and obtained employment in the German chancery. He was appointed secretary to Gersdorff in March 1688 and remained in London after his master's return. (DBL XII, pp.522-3. Marquard,op. cit., pp. 363-4).
101. PRO:SP 81/159, Larroque (Colt's secretary) to Warre, Oct. 1, Colt to Warre, Oct. 15. Stille, Studier, pp.58, 61-7, 95. DNT IX, pp. 48-9. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', pp.74-6. G. Ueberhorst, Der Sachsen-Lauenburgische Erbfolgestreit bis zum Bombardement Ratzeburgs 1689-1693 (Historische Studien, 126. Berlin, 1915) pp. 27-8, 42-6. For the later stages in the Saxe-Lauenburg dispute see below, pp.207-13, 312.
102. SRA:Utr.Reg.,Charles XI to Leijonberg, Oct.19. Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec. 24. Stille, Studier, pp.58,69. DNT IX, p.49. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', pp.76-7.
103. SRA:Oxenstiernska saml., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Sept.25. Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Nov.20, Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec.24. Danica:Charles XI to Leijonclo, Nov.13,Leijonclo to Charles XI, Nov.22, Dec.2. Utr.Reg.,Charles XI to Leipnclo and Dohna, Dec. 11. Stille, Studier, p.58.
104. DNT VIII, p.553.
105. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Aug.6, Sept.28. Utr.Reg.,Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Oct.12. DRA:TKUA:Alm. Del II 56, Christian V to Lente, La Forest etc. Sept. 24. TKUA:Eng B 65, La Fouleresse to Christian V, Oct. 8. Krämer, op.cit., p.31 (William III to Heinsius, July 30/Aug. 9).
106. SRA:Hollandica:Friesendorff to Charles XI, Sept. 10. Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Nov, 5, 8. Utr.Reg.,Charles XI to Leijonberg, Dec. 4, Jan.15. ARA:S-GA 2337, Jan.2. By the latter resolution made in answer to Rumpf's report of December 7/17th the resident was to deny any intention to associate the guarantee and Sweden's treaty help.

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107. SRA: Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Nov.1.
108. SRA: Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Jan.21, Feb.14. DRA: TKUA: Eng B 65, La Fouleresse to Christian V, Oct.8, Dec.24, to Jessen, Oct.18, to Reventlow, Oct.29. TKUA: Eng B 66, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, Jan.7, to Christian V, Jan.17, 21. PRO: SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Dec.31.
109. SRA: Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.13.
110. SRA: Hollandica,:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Aug.6, 13, Dec. 10. Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.9. ARA: S-GA 2337, Jan.2. BM: Add.Mss.17677 II Citters to Fagel, Nov. 8/18; Dursley's memo., Dec.8/18. Add MSS.28939, Additional Instructions for Dursley, Sept.4. BDI:Sweden, p.6. (Nottingham to Duncombe, Aug.13). Charles Berkeley, Viscount Dursley (1649-1710) was the eldest son of the first earl of Berkeley, whom he succeeded in 1698. He had his first audience with the States-General on December 14th (Complete Peerage II, (1912), pp.140-1. BDR, p.155. Bittner and Gross, op. cit., p.192. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.142).
111. SRA: Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Oct.19, Nov.2,6. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna, Nov.6. Oxenstiernska saml., G.Oxenstierna to Cuyper, Oct.29. ARA: S-GA 2336, Nov.11.
112. SRA: Hollandica:Friesendorff to Charles XI, Sept.10, G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Nov.2. BM: Add.Mss.17677 II, Dutch ambassadors to Fagel, Aug.30/Sept.9.
113. SRA: Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Nov.26, Dec.10, 17, Jan.17. Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.17. BM: Add.Mss. 17677 II, Citters to Fagel, Nov.8/18, Jan.7/17, 10/20. BDI:Sweden, p.7 (Nottingham to Duncombe, Dec.31).
114. SRA: Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.14. Carlson, op.cit.IV, p.411.
115. He had his final audience with William on September 2nd and arrived in the United Provinces on September 23rd. (SRA: Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Sept. 3/13, Sept.24/Oct.4. The dates quoted in Bittner and Gross (pp.490, 495) are those (in new style) of the dispatches in which his audience and arrival are reported, not those of the events themselves).
116. SRA: Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.21, Jan.4,11. ARA: S-GA 2337, Jan.2. BM: Add.Mss.17677 KK, Citters to S-G, Feb.4/14. PRO: SP 84/221, Aglionby to Warre, Jan.7.
117. SRA: Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Feb.7. PRO: SP 104/194, duke Christian Albrekt to William III, Dec.23. BM: Add.Mss. 17677 KK, Citters to S-G, Feb.4/14, to Fagel, Feb.18/28.

118. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, Feb.12. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 66, La Fouleresse to Christian V, Jan.17.
119. SRA:Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, July 31, Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.20. Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Sept.3. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, p.166 (Dijkveldt to Heinsius, Sept.13).
120. SRA:Oxenstiernska saml., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna, Sept.25. Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.10. ARA:S-GA7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Dec.7/17. In the latter the Dutch resident reports the chancellor's denial of any such intention.
121. SRA:Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.15.
122. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Feb.21, 28, April 8. PRO SP 103/4, Copy of guarantee dated January 30. BM: Add.Mss. 17677 KK, Citters to S-G, April 8/18. The duke was addressed as 'Celsitudine' instead of 'Serenissimo' which, the duke claimed, was the title normally used by England. The duke was blamed for not pointing out the difference in title used by Brandenburg and England, and it was claimed there was no precedent under James II. In his last dispatch on the subject Leijonberg feared there was little hope of the title being changed.
123. ARA:S-GA 2337, Feb.9.
124. BM: Add.Mss.28939, Instructions to Dursley, Sept.4. Add.Mss. 17677 II, Dutch ambassadors to Fagel, July 9/19, Dursley's memo., Dec.8/18. Krämer, op.cit., p.30 (William III to Heinsius, July 12/20. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, pp.165, 166 (Heemskerck to Heinsius, July 30/Aug.9, Dijkveldt to Heinsius, Aug. 9/19). DNT VIII, pp.554, 562-3.
125. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Nov.22/Dec.2. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Nov.22, Feb.10, Dursley's memo. Feb.4, extract from S-GR of Feb.6. BM: Add.Mss.28939, Instructions to Dursley, Sept.4. Add.Mss.17677 II, Dutch Ambassadors to S-G, Sept.17/27, Dursley's memo., Dec.8/18, V.d. Heim, op.cit.I, p.166 (Dijkveldt to Heinsius, Aug.9/19).
126. BM: Add.Mss.28939, Instructions for Dursley, Feb.20.
127. PRO:SP 75/22, Memo. to Nottingham on behalf of prince George, Sept.30; Record of debt (signed by Plessen), Nov.28. SP 84/222 Dursley to Nottingham, July 17; Plessen to Nottingham, Nov.8. RSH, Feb.9.
128. DRA:TKUA:Eng.A II 31c, 'The State of the Debt due to the Prince of Denmark'. PRO:SP 75/22, Account of July 1691.

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129. BM:Add.Mss.18606, Villiers to Shrewsbury, May 10, 1697.
HMC:Buckleuch MSS. II ii, p.460 (Shrewsbury to Villiers,
April 23 1697. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.264 (Feb.6).)
130. Stille, Studier, p.69. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen'
pp.77-9.
131. See below, Chp.11, sect.ii, Chp.12, sect.iii, Chp.13, sect.
ii c. A further interesting detail of William's relations
with duke Christian Albrekt in 1689-90 is provided by the
negotiations about Heligoland which took place at the turn
of the year. Heligoland was part of Schleswig but had not
been included specifically in the earlier partition. It had,
however, long been recognized as part of the duke's domains
and was returned by Denmark in the Altona settlement after
Christian had put forward claims for partition (DNT VIII,
pp.456, 482, 491, 539). In November 1689 the duke's
treasurer, Massau, informed Rycaut that his master was
willing to sell the island for £10,000, and an unsigned
memorial in SP 75/22 (fo.183) proposes taking a mortgage
on Heligoland for £10,000, which would probably never be
redeemed. Rycaut requested further details but was informed
in January that Christian Albrekt had changed his mind and
found he could do nothing without Danish consent. (PRO:SP
82/17, and BM:Add.Mss.19514, Rycaut to Nottingham, Nov. 12,
Jan. 7. M.Lane, 'Heligoland in 1689' (EHR XXX, 1915),
pp. 704-5. Lane, 'Denmark', pp.161-2).

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1. Landberg, op.cit., p.240. DBL XIX, p.439. Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', pp.60-1. See above, pp. 41-3.
2. Christiansen, op.cit., p.949.
3. Ibid., pp.482, 727. Jessen, op.cit., pp.153-5.
4. In DBL V, pp.126-7. See also Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', p. 62. Christiansen, op.cit., pp.4, 58-9.
5. Krämer, op cit., p.10 (Heinsius to William III, April 19).
6. BDI, Denmark, p.3.
7. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B 65, Plessen to Reventlow, April 29. DNT VII, p.627.
8. Krämer, op.cit., p.22 (Heinsius to William III, May 24).
9. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, p.151 (Heekeran to Heinsius, June 7).
10. ARA:S-GA 2336, July 2,5, S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, July 7.
11. Krämer, op.cit., p.22 (Heinsius to William III, May 24).
12. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, June 24, July 7, Aug.7 RSH, July 16.
13. ARA:S-GA 2336, July 2.
14. DNT VIII, p.628. Stille, Studier, p.91. See also above, pp.64-5.
15. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 55, Christian V to Lente, Jan.26 Müller, op.cit., p.124 (Waldeck to William III, Dec. 28, 1688).
16. Simancas: Legajo:Estado 3964, Ronquillo to Charles II, Sept. 12. (I am indebted to Dr. C.F. Scott for this reference.) HMC:Finch MSS.II, p.237 (Memo. from Nottingham for William III, p.898) has calculated that Christian made in fact little or no profit from the final transaction, and Greg came to the same conclusion (PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Sept. 24, 1689). Danish troops were also offered to Brandenburg and Saxony at the beginning of July (Stille, 'Efter Altonakongressen', p.63).
17. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 56, Christian V to duke of Holstein-Plön, Sept. 7. DNT IX, p.27.

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18. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B 65, La Forest to Christian V, June 18.
DNT VIII, p.628. Stille, Studier, p.91.
19. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, Plessen to Christian V, June 14, La Forest to Christian V, June 25, to Reventlow, June 19.
DNT VIII, pp.628-9. Stille, Studier, pp.91-2.
20. BDI:Denmark, p.6 (Further Instructions for Molesworth, June 19).
21. Duque de Maura (ed), Correspondencia entro dos Embajadores I (Madrid, 1951), p.242 (Ronquillo to Cogolludo, July 8).
DNT VIII, p.629.
22. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 19, Molesworth's credentials, July 12.
BDI:Denmark, p.6 (Additional Instructions for Molesworth, July 12).
23. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, La Fouleresse to Jessen, July 5. Krämer, op.cit., p.28 (William III to Heinsius, July 6/16).
24. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Aug.5. For Fotherby, see BDI:Denmark, p.1. BDR:p.1. His instructions of July 12 are printed in BDI:Denmark, pp.8-9.
25. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 19, William III to Christian V, July 12. There is a copy in PRO:SP 104/2.
26. Jessen, op.cit., pp.141-2. Brasch, op.cit., pp.4,5.
27. See below, pp. 231-3.
28. PRO:SP 75/22, Molesworth to Nottingham, July 8, to Warre, July 13. BDI:Denmark, p.1.
29. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, July 12. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, Aug.13. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, July 23 ('...many persons ill-affected to his Maty would have taken yt advantage to give out yt He found it necessary to get himself acknowledg'd by foreign Princes at any rate. And things of this nature will be much taken notice of now, yt would have pass'd without Observation in another Reign.') Molesworth agreed to the king being seated and covered at his reception, a concession for which he was rated by Nottingham, but refused to agree that the Crown-Prince and the master of ceremonies should also be seated. He demanded three instead of two carriages, a larger escort and a salute from the royal guards every time he visited the court. (SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, July 15,19. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Aug.10. SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, July 31, Aug.2. Brasch, op.cit., p.4-5, (where it is incorrectly stated that Molesworth refused to agree to the king's being seated and covered), p.203 (Jessen to

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29. (continued)
Ehrenschild, July 19.) Jessen, op.cit., p.143-5 (where the same error is repeated in following Brasch).
30. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, July 29. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, July 30. Molbech, op.cit., p.498 (July 27). Brasch, op.cit., p.5. Jessen, op.cit., p.145.
31. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 56, Christian V to La Forest, July 27. Molbech, op.cit., p.498 (July 26).
32. PRO:SP 104/2, Instructions to Molesworth, July 12. This passage is omitted from the instructions published in BDI: Denmark, pp.6-8.
33. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II, 56, Christian V to La Forest, July 27.
34. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Aug. 5. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Aug.3. Brasch, op.cit., p.5. DNT VIII, p.629. Molbech, op.cit., p.498 (Aug.12).
35. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 19, Forhandl., Aug. 5. DNT VIII, p.629. Stille, Studier, p.92.
36. DNT VIII, p.629.
37. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 19, Forhandl., Aug.5, 6. DNT VIII, p.630.
38. Molbech, op.cit., p. 498 (Aug. 6). DNT VIII, p.630. Thyrén, op.cit., p. 78.
39. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 19, Forhandl., Aug.10. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Aug. 10. DNT VIII, p. 630.
40. Thyrén, op.cit., p.74. DNT IX, p.114. DNT VIII, pp. 630-1.
41. Ibid., p.631.
42. Ibid., p.631. DNT IX, p.115.
43. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, La Fouleresse to Christian V, Aug.20. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Aug. 20 ('...You have exceeded your instructions as well as the just and reasonable value of the transport of the troops...') DNT VIII, p.631. Jessen, op.cit., p.147.
44. Landberg, op.cit., p.243. Jessen, op.cit., p.147. Stille, Studier, p.93. DNT VIII p.631. BDI:Denmark, p. viii. The text of the treaty is printed in DNT VIII, p.633-5.
45. PRO:SP 75/22, Molesworth to Nottingham, Aug. 16, to Warre, Sept. 3.

46. PRO:SP 104/2. Nottingham to Molesworth, Aug.20. Krämer, op.cit., p.34 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.3/13).
47. Ibid., HMC: Finch MSS.II, p.237 (Nottingham's memorial for king, Sept.2).
48. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept.3 (with the ratification of the treaty). DNT VIII, p.632. In spite of the change in article 5, Christian V often filled the higher posts on the corps during the war. (J.H.F.Jahn, De Danske Auxiliar Tropper. Et Krigshistorisk Udkast. 1ste Afdeling, (Copenhagen, 1840), p.29.
49. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Sept.23. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Sept.24. DNT VIII, p.632. Stille, Studier, p.93.
50. Thyrén, op.cit., p.83. Jessen, op.cit., p.148. Brasch, op.cit., p.104. Molbech, op.cit., pp.500 (Sept.4), 501 (Sept. 17).
51. Christoffer Sehested (1628-99) was a member of the Naval Commission (Søetatens Kommission) from 1677 to 1694 and of the Combined Services Administration (Sø-og Landetatens Forvaltning) from 1685 to 1690. (DBL XXI, pp.553-4).
52. Jørgen Ehlers (1647-92) was appointed with Sehested to supervise naval finances and took much of the credit for the mobilization of the fleet in 1689. The death of two of his children in the opera house fire affected him deeply (DBL VI, pp.285-6). For Brandt, see above, p.365 (34).
53. Molbech, op.cit., pp.500, 501 (Sept.4, 17). Brasch, op. cit., p.104. Jessen, op.cit., p.148. Jahn, op.cit., p.29. News of the English ratification had reached Copenhagen by September 14th.(PRO:SP 72/22, Molesworth to Warre, Sept. 14).
54. PRO:SP 75/22, Molesworth to Warre, Sept.21.
55. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Sept.23. PRO:SP 72/22, Molesworth to Warre, Aug.20, Greg to Warre, Aug.28.
56. Jahn, op.cit., p.30. Ferdinand-Wilhelm von Württemberg-Neustadt (1659-1701) regarded Denmark as his homeland. He commanded the Danish troops against Hamburg in 1686 (DBL VI, p.652).
57. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del.II 56, Christian V to La Forest, Oct.8. HMC: Finch MSS.II, p.224 (Nottingham to Portland, July 9). Jahn, op.cit., p.30. Jessen, op.cit., p.148.

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58. BDI:Denmark, p.10 (Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept. 24). DNT VIII, p.632. Jahn, op.cit., p.32. Brasch, op.cit., p.104.
59. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Oct.21. DRA:TKUA:Alm. Del II 56, Christian V to various envoys, Oct. 9. Molbech, op.cit., p.504, note 34. Jahn, op.cit., pp.32-4.
60. PRO:SP 75/22, Molesworth to Warre, Nov. 12, Greg to Warre Nov.19. DNT VIII, p. 632. Jahn, op.cit., p.34. Brasch, op. cit., p.105.
61. Jahn, op.cit., p.34. Brasch, op.cit., p.105.
62. Christopher Ernst von Stöcken (1664-1711) had been promoted rear-admiral in 1688. The fact that he was in French service from 1691 to 1692 lends some colour to allied suspicions (DBL XXIII, p.97).
63. HMC:Finch MSS.II, p.260 (Stöcken to prince George, Nov.12/22) DNT VIII, loc.cit., Jahn, op.cit., pp.34-5. Brasch, op.cit., p.105.
64. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Nov. 15. DRA:TKUA: Eng. B65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, Oct. 29, Nov.12. BM: Add.Mss.19514, Rycaut to Halifax, Oct. 25, to Nottingham Oct. 29. BDI:Denmark, p.10. (Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept. 24). Brasch, op.cit., p.108.
65. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, La Fouleresse to Reventlow, Nov. 12. Brasch, op.cit., p.107.
66. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Oct. 25.
67. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Nov. 8. BM:Add.Mss. 19514, Rycaut to Molesworth, Oct. 18, 22. The treaty stipulated that half the transport money was to be paid once the troops embarked (art.6).
68. PRO:SP 75/22, Fotherby to Molesworth, Oct. 31. C.F. Allen, op. cit., IIv, p.202. Brasch, op.cit., pp.104-5.
69. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Nov.8. PRO:SP 75/22, Fotherby to Molesworth, Oct. 31. Brasch, op.cit., p.105. C.F. Allen, op.cit., IIIv, p.202.
70. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 19, Commissioners to Christian V, Nov. 19. Molbech, op.cit., p.504 (Oct. 29). Brasch, op.cit., p.106.
71. Brasch, op.cit., pp. 108-10.

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72. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Dec. 20. Jessen, op.cit., p.151. C.F. Allen, op.cit., II v, pp. 199-200. Brasch, op.cit., pp. 110-2.
73. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Feb. 21, 1690. See also below, p.190. 156.
74. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Oct. 22.
75. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Oct.25. CSP.Dom. 1689-90, pp. 300, 346 (Harbord to William III, Oct. 23, Schomberg to William III, Dec. 6). Jahn, op.cit., pp.35-6. Brasch, op.cit., pp.104-5, 111,2. Christian himself noted the difficulties of the place chosen for the embarkation. (Molbech, op.cit., p.502 (Oct. 9)).
76. Jahn, op.cit., pp. 36-46. For further references to the troops see below, pp.189-91, 312.
77. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del.II 55, Christian V to Lente, Jan. 22, 26, April 6, 9, to Plessen, April 9, 13. Krämer, op.cit., p.10. (Heinius to William III, April 19).
78. BDI:Denmark, p.5.
79. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, La Forest to Reventlow, June 19.
80. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B65, Plessen to Christian V, June 14.
81. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 56, Christian V to Lente, July 9. Thyrén, op.cit., p.73. DNT IX, p.25.
82. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Aug. 2, 6. PRO:SP 75/22, Heemskerck to William III (the letter is undated but records correspondence between Heemskerck and Reventlow in which the latter invites Heemskerck to come to Copenhagen to conclude an alliance. Heemskerck replies that this would be irregular in view of Molesworth's presence, and must have written soon after the English envoy's arrival).
83. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, July 17. Hollandica:Friesendorff to Charles XI, Aug.3/13. Stille, Studier, p.53.
84. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del. II 56, Christian V to Lente, Sept. 10. TKUA: Ned. A II 21, Memo. from Goes, Sept. 3/13 and reply of Sept. 4/14. DNT IX, p.27.
85. DNT IX, p.28.
86. Ibid., p.28.

87. Ibid., pp.28-30.
88. ARA:S-GA 2336, Dec.5. RSH, Nov.24. DNT IX, p.30.
89. ARA:S-GA 2336, Dec.11. DNT IX, p.31. Thyrén, op.cit., p.97.
90. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Dec.17. Thyrén, op.cit., p.97. DNT IX, p.32.
91. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 20, Reply to Goes, Dec.7/17. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Dec.17. DNT IX, p.32.
92. Molbech, op.cit., p.506 (Dec.14). DNT IX, p.32.
93. Stille, Studier, p.75. Molbech, op.cit., p.504 (Oct.29). DNT IX, pp.116-8.
94. See below, pp. 130-1.
95. See above, p. 82.
96. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Aug.9,16.
97. ARA:S-GA 2336, Sept.29. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept.17. BM:Add.Mss.17677 II, Dutch ambassadors to Fagel, Sept. 13/23. SRSRSH, Sept.30. For the text of the project, also sent to Duncombe, see Appendix. There is a summary in DNT IXpp.33-5.
98. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept.17.
99. PRO:SP 104/2, Powers of Sept.14. Nottingham to Molesworth, Dec.3. Leijoncloc claimed in his dispatch of November 4th that Molesworth had shown him his powers (SRA:Danica), but these must either have been his instructions of September 17th or copies sent on in advance. Molesworth could not produce the originals at the first conference. (DNT IX, p.33).
100. Molbech, op.cit., p.505 (Dec.4). DNT IX, p.33. Jens Juel (1631-1701) had been president of the College of Commerce since 1680 and was ambassador to the States-General from 1684 to 1685. He had a great interest in trade and Scandinavian union, & stood somewhat apart from Christian's other advisers as a member of the old Danish nobility, which caused him to be treated with a certain suspicion. In spite of his criticisms of the absolutist regime he was found indispensable to it (DBL XII, pp.102-111. Thyrén, op.cit., p.71. Molesworth, op.cit., p.102).
101. DNT IX, p.35.
102. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del 56, Instructions for Ahlefeldt, Dec.17. DNT IX, p.35. Jessen, op.cit., p.150. Thyrén, op.cit., p.99.

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102. (continued)
Hans Henryk Ahlefeldt (1656-70) was envoy to Saxony from 1683-4, and entered the German chancery in 1689. He was distantly related by marriage to Jessen. He had his first audience in London on March 2nd (DBL I, p.190. Jessen, op.cit., pp.150-155. Marquard, op.cit., p.363. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.111).
103. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Dec. 17. BM:Add.Mss.17677 KK, Citters to Fagel, Dec. 30, Jan. 17.
104. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Jan. 24.
105. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Dec. 24/Jan.3, Jan.21/31.
106. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Dec. 13. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Dec. 20.
107. BM:Add.Mss. 17677 KK, Citters to Fagel, Dec. 30, Feb. 7. DNT IX, p. 36. The demand for a clause banning trade with France was in accordance with a house of commons resolution of July 1st, 1689 (Clark, Dutch Alliance, p. 30).
108. Molbech, op.cit., p.507 (Jan. 9). DNT IX, pp. 36-7.
109. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 20, Principal points on the conclusion of a trade treaty with England. DNT IX, p.37.
110. Molbech, op.cit., p. 509 (Feb. 4). DNT IX, p.41.
111. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Feb. 10.
112. DRA:TKUA:Eng.B66, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, to Revenlow, Feb. 4. Molbech, op.cit., p.509 (Feb.7).
113. DNT IX, p.42.
114. Ibid., pp.37-8.
115. BM:Add.Mss. 17677 KK, Hop to Fagel, Feb. 7. DNT IX, pp.38-40. Hop discussed the problem of a Danish alliance with William in December and urged the States-General to make an alliance before England lest they should later find themselves treated on the same terms and obtain less advantageous commercial concessions (v.d.Heim, op.cit., I, p.10-11). Heinsius reported to William in March that Lente was still urging the need for an alliance, but the pensionary was uncertain of the Allies' ability to raise the necessary subsidies. Krämer, op.cit., p.56 (Heinsius to William III, Mar.18).
116. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, April,7. SP 104/194, Nottingham to Paget, Jan. 17. BM:Add.Mss.34340, Instructions.

116. (continued)

to Dursley, Feb. 20. Krämer, op.cit., p.50. (Heinsius to William III, Feb.3.) Japikse, Correspondentie, pp.74-5, (William III to Portland, Jan.24). DNT IX, p.43. Franz Anton Berka was Imperial envoy at the Hague Congress and in the United Provinces from February 1690 to March 1691 (Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.153). William Paget (later Baron Beaudesert) (1637-1713) arrived in Vienna in March 1690 (Ibid., p.185. DNB XV, p.63).

117. See below, p. 136.

118. Stille, Studier, pp.170-1. DNT IX, pp.231-4.

119. See below, p. 146.

Chapter 4.

1. ARA:S-GA 2336, Jan. 11.
2. ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Feb. 5.
3. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, 20, Reply to Rumpf, Mar. 2, Instructions for Swanehielm, April 23. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan. 5/15. Kp., Feb. 4/14. ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Mar. 12.
4. ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, June 25, July 9.
5. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, June 29, July 10, to Leijonclo and Vellingk, July 13. Kp., July 10. Anglica: Charles XI to Leijonberg, July 10. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.10. Oxenstierna warned Rumpf that either Denmark must disband some of her troops or Sweden send troops to Germany to check Christian's ambitions (ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, July 20).
6. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Aug. 9.
7. SRA:Skr.t.K.M:t: B. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Aug. 13. Ericsberg Arkiv: B. Oxenstiernas concept: B. Oxenstierna to Gyldenstolpe, Aug. 11. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.11.
8. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Aug. 14. Krämer, op.cit., p.31. (William III to Heinsius, July 30/Aug.9).
9. SRA:Skr.t.K.M:t, B. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Aug. 21. ARA: S-GA 2336, July 27. S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Oct. 8. The articles referred to were the fourth of the main treaty and the first and second separate clauses.
10. SRA:Hollandica; Friesendorff to Charles XI, Aug. 20/30, Sept. 10/20.
11. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Sept. 28/Oct. 8.
12. Ibid., Oct. 12/22, ARA:S-GA 2336, Oct. 15, Nov. 11, 26.
13. KHA:16 XIc, William to Heinsius, Oct. 18/28.
14. BM:Add.Mss.17677 II, Citters to Fagel, Nov. 15, 18.
15. SRA:Anglica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Dec. 24 1689, Jan. 21 1690. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Nov. 2/12, Dec. 28/ Jan. 7. ARA:S-GA 2336, Nov. 11. Müller, op.cit., p. 203. Oxenstiernska Samling, Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Nov. 20.
16. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec. 28/Jan. 7.

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17. See below, pp. 131-2, 134, 136.
18. SRA: Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Jan. 14, 21, 31. Krämer, op.cit., p.48 (Heinsius to William III, Jan.7). Japikse, Correspondentie, II, p.81 (William III to Portland, Jan.27).
19. SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Jan.24. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.8/18.
20. ARA:S-GA 6548, Rumpf to S-G, Jan.14. Stille, Studier, p.115. Benoit Bidal's (1658-1715) father, Pierre, was given the title of baron and lands including Harsefeldt in Bremen for services to Queen Christina. Some confusion seems to have grown up with regards to three of Pierre's six sons. The Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise t.III makes no mention of Benoit's diplomatic mission but ascribes it to Etienne, the Jansenist, who is in his turn confused with Jacques-Vincent (see p.1246 of this work.) Bittner and Gross also confuse the three (op.cit., pp.211,213,215,219,222,224,226).
21. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.10. ARA:S-GA6548, Rumpf to S-G, Jan.14, Feb.4. Landberg, op.cit., p.244. Stille, Studier, pp.115-6. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.20.
22. See below, pp. 125-6.
23. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan.8.
24. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.22.
25. SRA:Rp.90a, April 8. Stille, Studier, pp.117, 129. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.63.
26. See above, p.102.
27. Stille, Studier, pp.117-8, 129.
28. Ibid., pp.138,144. Olof Jägerskiöld in his review of this book (HT,1947) claims that Stille underestimates Bidal's effectiveness in creating a more united pro-French group among the chancellor's rivals (p.404). Landberg seems to accept this criticism (op.cit., p.244).
29. SRA:Rp. 90a, Mar.4,22, April 8. Stille, Studier, p.129.
30. Stille, Studier, pp.140-41. Landberg, op.cit., p.244. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.23-4. The original memorial is found in Memorial och Relationer i Utrikes Arenden (SRA) and printed with a full introduction by Stille in 'Historiska Studier Tillägnade Nils Ahnlund' (Stockholm, 1949) pp.205-14. Stille admits in

30. (continued)

answer to Jägerskiöld's criticisms that it could have been a means of misleading an opposition the Chancellor could not break (HT 1948, p.96).

31. Stille, Studier, pp.124-5.

32. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Mar.11/21, Mar. 22/April 1. Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Mar.29. ARA:S-GA 2337, Mar.30. Although G. Oxenstierna asked in the conference on March 19th for an extract from the written agreement (SRA:Hollandica:G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Mar.22/April 1), I have failed to find any such document.

33. SRA:Rp.90a, April 8. Stille, Studier, p.129.

34. Ibid., pp.129-31, 176. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.21-24. Landberg, op.cit., p.245.

35. SRA:Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan.18. Carlson, op. cit.V, pp.10-11, 31.

36. SRA:Kp:Mar.28, April 5. Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan.25/Feb.4, Mar.22/April 1.

37. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Mar.4. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Feb.3. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Jan 14/24, Jan27/Feb.7, Copy of S-GR of Jan.15 (in French). BM:Add.Mss.17677 KK, Dursley's memo. to S-G, Jan.24. BDI:Sweden, p.7 (Nottingham to Duncombe, Dec.31).

38. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan.25/Feb.4, Feb.1/11, 15/25.Oxenstiernska samling:Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan.11,B. Utr. Reg: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna April 11. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.32.

39. SRA:Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Jan.18. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.15/25, April 12/22. Utr. Reg: Charles XI to Leijonberg, Mar.29, to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, April 11. Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Dec.4 1689. ARA:S-GA 2337, Mar.29, April 17. PRO:SP104/153 Nottingham to Duncombe, Mar.7. BM: Add.Mss.17677 KK, Cetter's to Fagel, Mar.7, 10.

40. SRA:Utr.Reg.Charles XI to Leijonberg (quoted in Carlson, op.cit.V, p.32).

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41. SRA:Rp 90a, April 8. Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, April 30. ARA:S-GA 2337, April 17. Thyrén, op. cit., pp.110-1. Johan Gabriel Stenbock (1640-1705) had opposed Oxenstierna's foreign policy during the 1680s but retained his popularity with the king.
42. SRA:Utr.Reg: Charles XI to Ankarsjärna, May 2. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.31-2. Stille, Studier, p.164. Molbech, op.cit., I, p.517 (June 16).
43. Japikse, Correspondentie I i, p.157-8 (Portland to William III, Mar.29), Ibid. II iii, p. 160 (Memorial from Portland, March 29). Krämer, op.cit., pp.56-7 (William III to Heinsius, March 21/31). Heinsius had already proposed the exchange to Friesendorff in August (SRA:Hollandica: Friesendorff to Charles XI, August 21/Sept.1) and Leijonberg to Citters in December (BM:Add.Mss.17677 II, Citters to Fagel, Dec.13).
44. Krämer, op.cit., p.63 (William III to Heinsius, May 6/16). The proposal is first mentioned in despatches from G. Oxenstierna (SRA:Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan.18/28, Feb.1/11) as his own idea.
45. ARA: S-GA 2337, April 18 (Citters was ordered to press this on William).
46. SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, May 23. BM:Add.Mss. 17677KK, Citters to Fagel, April 18. Krämer, op.cit., p.63 (William III to Heinsius, May 6/16).
47. SRA:Utr.Reg.:Charles XI to B. Oxenstierna, July 1, 15, to G. Oxenstierna, July 15. Skr.t.k.M:t: B. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 9. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, June 21/July 1, June 28/July 8. KB:Eng. B IV 2.9: Charles XI to College of Commerce, July 15. Carlson, op. cit.V, p.32.
48. SRA:Skr.t.k.M:t: B. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 9 (Where he also argues that it would create a bad impression too soon after Beachy Head). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.33. For Haren's mission, see below, Chp.6, sect. ia.
49. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.33. The fitting out of the ships cost 155, 650 silverdaler (=c.77,800 Rd.). (Loenboem, Handlingar V, p.35).

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50. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Feb. 15 (enclosing copy of Nostitz' report of Jan. 16), Feb. 19. Anton Nostitz was Imperial envoy to Sweden from 1685 to October 1690 (Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p165).
51. See above, p.60.
52. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, June 11/21. Krämer, op.cit., p.30 (William III to Heinsius, July 12/22).
53. SRA:Leijonberg to Charles XI, July 9.
54. Krämer, op.cit., p.27 (William III to Heinsius, June 28/July 8). HMC:Finch MSS.II, p.226 (Nottingham to Duncombe, July 13). Maura, op.cit.I, p.248 (Ronquillo to Gastañaga, July 15).
55. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 5/15, 12.
56. Maura, op.cit.I, p.290 (Ronquillo to Borgomanero, Aug.25). The birth of the duke of Gloucester in August 1689 dimmed Hanoverian hopes of the English succession (Klopp, op.cit. IV, p.481-4).
57. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 23/Aug.2.
58. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.13. v.d. Heim, op.cit.I, p.121 (Dijkveldt to Heinsius, Aug. 30).
59. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, July 31.
60. BDI: Sweden, p.1 (Instructions to Duncombe, May 30).
61. ARA:S-GA 6547, Rumpf to S-G, July 30. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, July 7/17, Aug.7. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.199, Hatton, 'John Robinson', p.136.
62. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, July 31, Aug. 7.
63. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Aug. 27.
64. Ibid, Duncombe to Nottingham, Sept. 4.
65. SRA:Anglica:Eng. besk.:Duncombe to B. Oxenstierna, Sept. 12. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Sept. 28.
66. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Aug. 27, Sept. 18.

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67. SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Sept. 20. It appears from an annotation on the back of the project itself that it was sent at the same time as this letter, which contains the instructions for its amendment, and received on October 6th. The copy of the powers in SP 104/153 and the two in SRA:Anglica: Eng. besk. are dated October 14th, but a copy of them is stated in SP 104/153 to have been sent to Duncombe on October 1st reserving the original for despatch with the trade treaty project. It must thus have been the copy which was, according to the endorsement on one of the documents in the latter collection in SRA:Anglica, presented on October 18th, while the original, received on November 4th, was given in on the day following. This would account for the apparent delay in considering the project itself in the rad. For Molesworth's negotiations, see above, pp. 93-7. The alliance project with its amendments is printed in the Appendix.
68. ARA:S-GA 6547, Rumpf to S-G, Nov. 16/26. Åkerhielm's memo. is in KB:Eng B IV 2.9. Samuel Agriconius, ennobled as Åkerhielm (1639-1702) had been chancery secretary since 1676.
69. SRA:Anglica: Konf.prot.I, Nov. 26. Duncombe in a letter to Warre of November 20th blames the delays on Oxenstierna's illness (PRO:SP 95/13).
70. SRA:Kp, Dec. 18. ARA: S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Jan. 7, 1690 (enclosing copy of the Swedish counter-project). See my Appendix for details of the variations.
71. SRA:Anglica: Konf.prot., Nov. 26. Kp., Dec. 18. KB:Eng BIV 2.9., Memo. dated Oct. 1689. ARA:S-GA 6548, Rumpf to S-G, Jan. 18, 1690. PRO:SP 95/13, Robinson to Warre, Dec. 28. Ibid., Duncombe to Nottingham, Nov. 8, 1690. See also, Appendix.
72. In PRO:SP 95/13.
73. Duncombe, op.cit., p. 581.
74. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Aug. 7 ('... I am informd when ye Emp.ers treaty comes here, this court will goe in w.th out hesitation') Aug. 14 ('..It may be they will stay till they enter with ye Master into ye treaty lately made between ye Emperour and ye Dutch..'). Krämer, op.cit., pp. 36, 38, 40. (William III to Heinsius, Sept. 20/30, Sept. 29/October 9, Oct. 25/Nov. 4).
75. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec. 14/24. ARA: S-GA 2336, Dec. 11. (There is a copy of the resolution in English in SP 84/220), S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Dec. 21.

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76. SRA:Utr.Reg.: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Dec.18. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.17.
77. SRA:Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Dec.24. Danica:Charles XI to Leijonclo, Dec.21. Leijonclo replied that Denmark was awaiting Sweden's reactions (SRA: Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.3).
78. Krämer, op.cit., p.50 (William III to Heinsius, Jan.21/31). Japikse, Correspondentie, Ii, p.96 (William III to Portland, Feb.7).
79. G.v.Antal and J.C.H. Pater, Weensche Gezantschapsberichten van 1670 tot 1720 (The Hague, 1929) p.449.
80. ARA:S-GA 2337, Instructions for Haren, April 28.
81. SRA:Hollandica:G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Mar.8/18.
82. Ibid., G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Sept.3/13, Utr.Reg:Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Sept.25.
83. BM.Egerton MSS.1707, G. Oxenstierna to Portland, Nov.8.
84. SRA:Hollandica:G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.14/24.
85. ARA:S-GA 2336, Dec.11. This extract is taken from an English translation in PRO:SP 84/220.
86. SRA: Utr.Reg: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Mar.20,29.
87. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.22/Mar.4, Mar.1/11, April 5/15, May 10/20. Oxenstiernska saml.:Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Mar.29.
88. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 10/20, June 14/24.
89. SRA:Utr. Reg.:Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, May 24, to B. Oxenstierna, July 4. (There is a copy of the latter in KB:Eng. B IV, 2.9).
90. SRA:Kp., Nov.2, 1691. Utr.Reg:Instructions to Lillieroot Feb.24. The former document records a meeting at which the instructions were discussed and it was agreed that Lillieroot should draw them up.
91. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.143-4.

Chapter 5

1. See below , p.124.
2. D.I.Katchenovaky, Prize Law (London, 1867), pp.35-6, 39-41.
Th.Boye, De Vaebnede Neutralitets forbund (Kristiania, 1912), pp.4-5, 9-10, 17, 19, 21-2, 24, 28, 70. R. Pares, Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights (Oxford, 1938), pp.165-7, 173.
G.N. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.4, 121.
3. Katchenovsky, op.cit. p.45. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.44-8.
4. Boye, op.cit., p.59. The text of the treaty is printed in du Mont, op.cit. VII i, pp.437-440. Article XXI lays down the principle of 'free ships, free goods'.
5. For the negotiations leading up to this see, DNT VIII, pp. 366-401. The text is printed on pp.401-6 of the same work.
6. PRO:SP 75/21, Instructions to Bodmyn, Feb. 28, 1679/1680.
(There is a copy of a trade treaty recorded after these instructions in Sp 104/2). SP 104/2, Instructions to Sylvius, April 17 1685. Pares, op.cit. pp.176-7. BDI:Denmark, p. viii. The original treaty of July 11, 1670 is printed in DNT VI, pp. 317-333. It was of uncertain duration, and the Danes protested that the attempted enforcement of the ban on French trade in 1689 was an infringement of it. (DNT IX, p.36).
7. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Oct.12, 1689, to Leijonberg, Feb.12, 1690. Rp.90a, Dec.15, 1690. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Mar.10 (N.S.)1691. Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.29, Sept. 2, 1690. Oxenstiernska saml., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Oct.15, 1690, Mar.4, 1691. The Swedes claimed that the treaty had been included in the provisions of the treaties of 1665, of which only the defensive alliance, according to them, had expired in 1677, (SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.29 1690) but do not themselves seem to have been very convinced of the strength of this argument (SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Oct. 12, 1689, to Leijonberg, Feb.12, 1690. Loenboem, Handlingar VII, p.44) and generally fell back on the claim that it had never been specifically revoked on the English side and that both parties had observed its provisions. (SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Mar.10 (N.S.), 1690). The English copy of the 1661 treaty is in SP 108/518 and it is printed in du Mont, op.cit.VI i, pp.384-7. A translation of the 1665 treaty is printed in G. Gostling, Extracts from the treaties between Great Britain and other kingdoms and

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7. (continued)
States of Such Articles as Relate to the Duty and Conduct of the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships of War (London, 1792) p.268 and the Treaties of Westminster, extending the validity of the 1665 agreement until 1677, in du Mont, op. cit. VI ii, pp.83-5.
8. Thyrén, op.cit., p.55.
9. Pares, op.cit., p.171. Boye, op.cit., pp.6-8. Duncombe, op. cit., p.578.
10. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan.5/15, Feb. 2/12.
11. Ibid., G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan. 5/15.
12. Scheltema, op.cit., p.154. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.31-2. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.293. Wagenaar, op.cit., XVI, pp.34-5. There is a copy of the agreement in PRO:SP 108/327. It is printed in du Mont, op.cit. VII, p.238.
13. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, p.6. note 2 (William III to Heinsius, July 30/Aug.9). Scheltema, op.cit., pp.160-1. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.31-3. Thyrén, op.cit., p.32.
14. J.G. Büsch (Über das Bestreben der Völker neuerer Zeit einander in ihren Seehandel recht wehe zu thun (Hamburg, 1800, p.232) attributes William's policy to pride in his new power and perhaps also to a wish to flatter his new subjects and strengthen his shaky throne. These motives may have had some part, but there is no later pronouncement by William to support the view, and evidence of the early discussion tends to disprove it.
15. Krämer, op.cit., p.58 (William III to Heinsius, April 4/14, 1690)
16. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Aug.9/19 1690.
17. SRA: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan. 5/15.
18. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Feb.6. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.21-2.
19. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan.11/21 1690.
20. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.143

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21. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, July 20. Anglic: Leijonberg to Charles XI, May 24. PRO:PC 2/73, May 23, June 13. (Concerning the seizure near Dartmouth by the frigate 'Tiger' of the Swedish ship 'Carolus' from Halmstad carrying brandy from France and taken to Plymouth). DRA:TKUA: Eng B 65, La Fouleresse to Jessen, July 19 (a Danish ship taken by a Dutch privateer). TKUA:Alm.Del.II 56, Jessen to La Fouleresse, Aug.3 (two Norwegian ships). ARA:S-GA 5926, Lente to S-G, Oct.20.
22. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, July 12. DRA:TKUA:Alm. Del II 56, Christian V to Lente, July 9, 23. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Aug.8, S-G 5926, Lente to S-G, Aug. 4. DNT IX, p.25.
23. DRA:TKUA: Eng B 65, La Forest to Christian V, Aug.2, La Fouleresse to Christian V, Aug.6. PRO:PC 2/73, Aug.15, Sept.4. Clark, Dutch Alliance p. 106. DNT IX, pp.26-7.
24. ARA:S-GA 2336, Dec. 30. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Dec.17/27. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.106.
25. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 65, La Fouleresse to Jessen, July 19. TKUA:Alm. Del II 56, Jessen to La Fouleresse, Aug.3.
26. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg and G. Oxenstierna, July 20. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 56, Christian V to Lente, July 27. Thyrén, op.cit., p.79.
27. BDI:Sweden, p.6. BDI:Denmark, p.9.
28. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Aug.26. DRA:TKUA:Alm:Del. II 56, Jessen to Lente, Aug.24. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, Sept.3. Thyrén, op.cit., p.78.
29. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, July 12. DNT IX, p.4.
30. ARA:S-GA 7274, Goes to Fagel, April 15 1690. Stille, Studier, p.55. Christiansen, op.cit., p.9. DBL XIX, pp.439-40.
31. Stille, Studier, p.54. DNT IX, p.6.
32. SRA:Utr.Reg. Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg,Aug.3. Stille, Studier, p.55. Thyrén, op.cit., p.80.
33. SRA:Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna,Dec.28. DRA:TKUA,Eng B 66, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, Feb.14. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.22
34. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, Nov. 30, 1689. Anglic:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug.16,30.

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34. (continued)

Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Sept.28/Oct.8,
Oct.28/Nov.8. Duncombe, op.cit., p. 578.

35. Heckscher,op.cit., I ii, p.551.

36. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Mar.16 1690. Thyrén,
op.cit., p.43 note 2. Molesworth, op.cit., p.123. Fhr.v.
Dankelmann, 'Die Blockade Frankreichs durch die Seemächte'
(Die Grenzboten, 80 iv (Berlin, 1921))p.170.

37. SRA:Anglica:Eng.besk.:Duncombe to G.Oxenstierna, Aug. 30.
ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Sept. 10.

38. SRA:Skr.t.K.Mt.: B.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Sept.4.PRO:SP
95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Sept.28. Clark,Dutch Alliance,
p.106.

39. DNT IX, p.8. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.83-4. Stille,Studier pp.70-1.

40. SRA:Rp.90a,Oct.9. Stille,Studier, pp.70-2. Landberg,op.cit.,
pp.240-1. DNT IX, pp.8-9. Thyrén, op.cit. pp.84-6. Thyrén
claims (pp.91-2, 99) that the chancellor wished to appear
sympathetic to the arguments of his opponents in order to
be able to raise difficulties later and that he feared that
too great a complacency on Sweden's part would encourage the
Allies to overreach themselves and so weaken his own position.
The latter seems likely, but,in view of the embarrassment
which the ban caused him,it seems equally likely that he was
genuinely sympathetic to many of the arguments against it,
which he hoped to use in convincing William to compromise.

41. SRA:Utr.Reg.,Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna and Leijonberg,
Oct.12. Thyrén, op.cit., p.83.

42. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec.24. Hollandica:
G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Nov.30/Dec.10.

43. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg,
Nov.30. Kp., Nov.29. Thyrén, op.cit., p.98.

44. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.93-4. Stille, Studier,pp.77-8.
DNT IX, pp.12-13.

45. Thyrén, op.cit., p.94. Stille,Studier, pp.78-9. DNT IX,pp.33-4.

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46. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, Nov.30. Thyrén, op.cit., p.98.
47. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec.24. Thyrén, op.cit., p.100. C.F. Allen, op.cit., II iv, p.205.
48. SRA:Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.21. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Jan. 3.
49. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Jan. 3.
50. ARA:S-GA 2336, Dec. 30. PRO:SP 84/222,Dursley to Nottingham, Dec. 17/27.
51. SRA:Utr.Reg., Reply to Rumpf's memorial, Jan.24, Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, Jan.25. ARA:S-GA 6548, Rumpf to S-G, Jan.18,21. Thyrén, op.cit., p.100.
52. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, Feb. 1. ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, Feb. 11.
53. ARA:S-GA 5926, Lente to S-G, Jan.16.
54. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Mar.22. ('By Count Oxenstiern's advise I discoursed these particulars at large with Monsr. Guldenstolpe because the Count on this occasion as he had done on others before did give me strong intimations that Guldenstolpe was well intentioned and might be made good use of.....I resolved to feel his pulse though at a great distance and he came on so fast and seemd so ambitious of any markes of his Majtys favour that I have good hopes he is ours...'(all in code)). Thyrén, op.cit., pp.80-101. DNT IX, pp.8-17. Stille, Studier, pp.56-8, 70-80.
55. Thyrén, op.cit., p.102.
56. Ibid., pp.103,104 note 1. DNT IX, pp. 73. Stille, Studier p.80. Molbech, op.cit., p.509 (Feb.1). The text of the alliance is printed in DNT IX, pp.17-22. Leijonclo attributed the Danish delay in sending convoys to a wish to await the outcome of the talks in Stockholm and for the ending of the French alliance. (SRA:Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.10).
57. BM:Add.Mss.17677 KK, Citters to Fagel, Feb.10, 17. BDI: Denmark, pp.10-11, (Nottingham to Molesworth, Jan.17). BDI: Sweden, pp.7-9 (Nottingham to Duncombe, Jan.17).
58. PRO:SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Jan. 14.

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59. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan. 4/14, Feb. 1/11.
60. Dankelmann, op.cit., p.169 (quoting a report from Schmettau on a conversation with William).
61. DRA:TKUA:Alm Del II 57, Christian V to Ahlefeldt, Jan. 11. Thyren, op.cit., p.106.
62. DRA:TKUA Eng. B 66, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, Jan. 31. PRO: SP 104/ 153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Jan. 31. Krämer, op.cit., p.67 (William to Heinsius, May 30/June 10).
63. ARA:S-GA,7274, Goes to Fagel, Feb. 7. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Feb. 14. SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Feb. 28/Mar. 10.
64. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, Mar. 1. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 57, Christian V to Ahlefeldt, Feb. 18. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Mar. 17. Stille, Studier, pp.60-1. Thyren, op.cit. p.106. DNT IX, pp.42, 74.
65. PRO:SP 104/2 Nottingham to Molesworth, Mar. 25. SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Mar. 25.
66. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 57, Christian V to Ahlefeldt, Mar. 25. TKUA:Eng.B 66, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, May 10. DNT IX, pp.43-4.
67. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del. II 57, Christian to Ahlefeldt, April 12, May 10,17. TKUA:Eng. B 66, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, April 22, May 10, to Reventlow April 22. DNT IX, p.45.
68. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 57, Christian V to Lente, April 29. Thyren, op.cit., p.113. DNT IX, pp.74-5. For the Swedish decision see below, p.143.
69. Krämer, op.cit., p.67 (William III to Heinsius, May 30/June 10).
70. DNT IX, p.45.
71. SRA:Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Oct.19. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Nov.2/12, 16/26.
72. Ibid., G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Nov.2/12, 16/26.
73. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec.24.
74. SRA:Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Oct.19. Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec.24.
75. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, Mar.8. PRO:SP 104/153, Memorial from Leijonberg, Feb.11. Thyren, op.cit., p.107, note 1.

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76. BM:Add.Mss.28896, Duncombe to Nottingham, Jan. 18.
77. SRA:Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.1/11. PRO:SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Feb.25. Clark,Dutch Alliance, p.100.
78. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Mar. 18.
79. BM:Add.Mss.28896. Duncombe to Nottingham, Jan.18.
80. Plas Newydd:Paget MSS., Duncombe to Paget, Mar.11, ('I had encouragements to ask that conference, and no small one att and after it, that wee should...come very soon to an amicable agreement about ye prohibition').
81. SRA:Rp 90a, Mar.4. Plas Newydd: Paget MSS.Duncombe to Paget, Mar.11. Stille, Studier, pp.159-62. DNT IX, p.74. Thyrén, op.cit., p.107-8.
82. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Mar.12, 26, April 2. Dankelmann, op.cit., p.174. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.100. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.109-110.
83. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, April 5. Hollandica:G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 13/23. Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, May 13. PRO:SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, April 22.
84. SRA:Kp., Mar.21. KB:Eng. B IV 2:9, Mar 21. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Mar. 22.
85. SRA:Rp. 90a, Mar.22, April 8. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, April 11 to G. Oxenstierna, April 26. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, April 19. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.111. Stille,Studier, pp.163-4. Thyrén, op.cit., p.109. Duncombe protested against the 'convoy money' in May, and Oxenstierna tried to explain it away to him as a new duty which had been misnamed by clerical error (PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, May 24).
86. PRO:SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, April 11. SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, April 12.
87. SRA:Utr.Reg., Memo. for G. Oxenstierna and Leijonberg, April 26. ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, April 29. PRO:SP 95/13,Duncombe to Nottingham, April 16. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.109. Thyrén, op.cit., p.112. The Swedish tables, the originals of which follow the latter despatch, are printed in appendixes in Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.153-4.
88. SRA:Rp. 90a, Mar.22. Kp., June 3.

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89. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B66, Ahlefeldt to Jessen, June 3. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, May 27/June 6. HMC:Finch MSS. III, p.379 (June 2). Krämer, op.cit., p.67 (William III to Heinsius, May 30/June 10). Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.108.
90. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B66, Ahlefeldt to Jessen, June 3.
91. SRA:Anglica: Eng. Besk., Memorial, XVIII Kal.Jul. (June 14). Kp, June 16. ARA:S-GA 2337, June 10, S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, June 21/July 1, enclosing copy of Nottingham's orders of May 20 not found in SP 104/153. DNT IX, p.75.
92. SRA:Kp, June 16. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.118-9. Copies of the reply to Duncombe are to be found in SRA:Anglica: Förhandlingar and ARA:S-GA 7284, Rumpf to Fagel, June 21/July 1. There is an extract in BM:Add.Mss.9746.
93. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, June 18.

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1. Krämer, op.cit., p.49 (Heinsius to William III, Jan.28). This is the earliest reference to the sending of new envoys and is very tentative. A more concrete proposal may have been put forward in the pensionary's letters of February 14th and 17th (new style), which are acknowledged in William's of the 14th (old style). (See below, note 2), but which have not survived. Citters was obviously acquainted with the proposal in his talks with Nottingham at the end of January. (See below, note 2).
2. Ibid., p.52 (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 14/24). BM: Add.Mss. 17677KK, Citters to Fagel, Feb.7,10.
3. Willem van Haren (1626-1708) was sent to assist peace negotiations in the Baltic in 1659 and in 1671 to try to bring Sweden into the Triple Alliance. On the latter occasion, although unsuccessful, he won the king's favour and was offered a countship, which he refused. He was again in Sweden in 1683. (See A.J. van der Aa, op.cit.VIII, pp.185-8).
4. Godard Adriaan van Amerongen (1621-91) was sent to Denmark in 1655 and 1659 and to Sweden in 1656 and 1657. He also attended the peace conferences in 1659. A further embassy to Denmark in 1665 resulted in no fewer than seven treaties, and in 1667 on a new mission he was awarded the Order of the Elephant, Denmark's highest honour, and in 1671 was made also a baron and a knight of the Dannebrog. He was frequently employed in the Empire in the 1670s and 80s. His grandfather-in-law was an English captain, and his son became duke of Athlone. (v.d.Aa, opcit., XVI, pp.137-8. NNBW III (Leiden, 1914), pp.1008-9).
5. ARA:S-GA 140 (RS-G), March 13, 23. RSH, March 11. SRSH, March 3.
6. ARA:S-GA 2337, April 38 (Instructions for Amerongen and Haren). Thyrén, op.cit. p.114.
7. Kramer, opcit., p.63 (William III to Heinsius, May 6/16). Thyrén, op.cit., p.119.
8. SRA:Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, June 28/July 8. SRA:Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, July 18. KB:I:0:14:4, July 10. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p. 80. Charles' first

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8. (continued). reaction to the allied disasters seems to have been largely one of thankfulness that his troops and ships had not been involved, which he saw as a mark of divine providence. (SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to B.Oxenstierna, July 15).
9. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, July 12/22, September 27. PRO: SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, June 7. v.d. Heim, op.cit. I, pp 176, 179. (Haren to Heinsius July 12/22, August 9/19). Thyrén, op.cit., p.119.
10. SRA: Utr.Reg., Charles XI to B.Oxenstierna, July 18, ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, Aug. 23. Stille, Studier, pp. 202-3.
11. See pp. 158-61.
12. See pp. 107-8, 110.
13. SRA:Kp., July 12. SRA:Skr.t.K.Mt.: B.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 12.
14. ARA:S-GA 6548, Haren and Rumpf to S-G, September 6/16. Carlson op.cit. V, p.41. Charles returned on September 2nd after two months' travelling with prince Frederik of Holstein-Gottorp (PRO:SP 95/13, Robinson to Warre, September 3).
15. SRA:Utr.Reg: Charles XI to Leijonberg, September 27, d.o. to B.Oxenstierna, September 22. SRA:Kp: September 15, 20. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, September 27 (enclosing extractum protocolli).
16. SRA:Kp., September 16. v.d. Heim op.cit I, p.182 (Haren to Heinsius, September 27/October 8).
17. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna, Sept.24. Stille, Studier, p.173. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.42.
18. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, August 7 1689.

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19. Charles XI made Bielke a field-marshall in May and wrote to him on July 11th assuring him of his special grace and favour (Carlson, op.cit. V, p.216. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.95, Landberg, op.cit., p.245. Wittrock, SBL IV, p.242).
20. Thyrén, op.cit., p.117. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.37. Jägerskiöld in HT 1947, p.405. Leijonberg reported in July that 'a large body' of Charles' admirers, whom he fails to define more closely, would welcome Sweden's mediation in the autumn (SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, July 8).
21. SRA: Utr. Reg., Charles XI to B. Oxenstierna, July 31. Kp., Sept.2, 9. Thyrén, op.cit., p.118. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.86. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.38.
22. SRA:Skr.t.K.Mt., B. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 26. The matter had already been raised in the chancery on July 10 (SRA:Kp.) and Stille (Studier, p.169, note 1) attacks the impression given by Carlson (op.cit. V, pp.37-8); Thyrén (op.cit., p.122) and Malmström (Nils Bielke, pp.86-9) that Bielke alone was responsible for putting the idea in the king's mind at this time and that Oxenstierna opposed the idea; he quotes the letter noted above and the discussions in the chancery in support. He is in his turn criticised by Jägerskiöld, who points to Oxenstierna's reluctance to support mediation and suggests that the question might have been first raised in the chancery by Gyldenstolpe, who had frequent correspondence with Bielke. (HT 1947, pp.405-6).
23. SRA:Rp.90, Sept.17. Carlson op.cit., V, p.40. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.87. Stille, Studier, pp.172-3. Bratt, op.cit., p.24. Stille attacks Bratt for claiming that Oxenstierna opposed the mediation in the council and accuses him of relying wholly on Stockfleth's report (Studier, p.173, note 1). Jägerskiöld points out that the chancellor's negative vote was recorded in the council minutes (op.cit., p.406).
24. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Oct.21. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Oct. 17/27. Bratt, op.cit., p.25. Krämer, op.cit., p.106 (William III to Heinsius, Oct. 21/31)

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25. PRO:SP 104/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Oct. 21. Krämer, op.cit., p.115 (William III to Heinsius, Oct. 28/Nov. 7).
26. SRA:Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Oct.18/28. ARA:S-GA 6548, Memorial of Oct.27. (Printed in Actes et Mémoires des Négociations de la Paix de Ryswick T 1. (The Hague, 1725), pp.2-3).
27. SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Nov.21, SRA: KUB: Koncept: B. Oxenstierna to Leijonberg, Nov.28. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Nov.29. SP 102/153, Nottingham to Duncombe, Nov.11.
28. This is suggested by Thyren (op.cit., p.126).
29. SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Dec.2. Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.13/23. (Both containing copies of William's answer).
30. Stille, Studier, p.176, Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.85. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.30.
31. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to Charles XI, Nov.28. Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Oct.25/Nov.4. ARA:S-GA 2337, Nov.20. Krämer, op.cit., p. 106 (William III to Neinsius Oct. 21/31).
32. SRA:Rp. 90b, Oct. 29.
33. Ibid. SRA:Utr.Reg.: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Nov.5. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, Nov.12/22. Heemskerck considered that the Imperial government had handled the whole negotiation with unpardonable slackness (Antal and Pater, op.cit., p.466. (Heemskerck to Fagel, Oct.12)).
34. SRA:Utr.Reg.: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Dec.13, Rp.90a, Dec.15. SRA:Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Dec.17. Thyren, op.cit., pp.127-8.
35. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, Dec.27. PRO:SP 95/13, Duncombe to Nottingham, Nov.5, 8.

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36. PRO:SP 80/17, Paget to William III, Jan. 3 (where he mentions an express sent to the Hague on Dec. 23 and encloses a copy of the agreement). KHA:16 XI c: Heinsius to William III, Jan. 5. Krämer, op.cit., pp.156,160-1 (Heinsius to William III, Jan. 5, 12). HMC: Finch MSS. III p.7 (Nottingham to Carmarthen, Feb. 6/16). Heemskerck claimed that the size of the proposed subsidy had been based on Gastāna's grant to Hanover, which was considered a good one in Germany (Antal and Pater, op.cit., p.474 (Heemskerck to Fagel, Jan. 3)).
37. A copy was apparently sent to Duncombe (PRO:SP 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, Mar. 19). William's reaction to the scheme is not recorded. None of his letters to Heinsius between January 10th and March 18th have survived.
38. SRA:Kp. 90b, Oct. 29. SRA:Anglica:Leijonberg to B. Oxenstierna, Nov. 25. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.89. Thyrén, op.cit., pp. 63-4. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.89.
39. SRA:Kp., Nov. 13.
40. Stille, Studier, p.174. Thyrén, op.cit., p.131. Jägerskiöld, op.cit., p.406 (where he emphasizes the chancellor's eclipse at this time).
41. Stille, Studier, pp.182-6. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.50. Malmström Nils Bielke, pp.96-100. Landberg, op.cit., pp.245-6.
42. SRA:Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, March 28. Japikse, Correspondentie II iii, pp.158-60, 162. (Amerongen to William III, March 28, April 21). See note 4 above.
43. DNT IX, p. 45, Molbech, op.cit., p.517. Bittner and Gross, (p.324), Brasch (p.129), DNT IX (p.45), and Molbech (p.516) give June 4/14 as his date of arrival, but he himself reported that he reached Copenhagen late on the day before. (ARA:S-GA 5926, Amerongen to S-G, June 17).
44. DRA:TKUA:Alm.Del II 57; Jessen to La Fouleresse, June 21. ARA:SGA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, July 1. BM:Add. MSS. 9746 Amerongen to (Southwell), July 8. Molbech op.cit., p.518 (June 20). DNT IX, p.45

45. ARA: S-GA 7274, Amerongen, to Fagel, July 4. BM: Add. MSS. 9746, Molesworth to Nottingham, June 24, Amerongen to (Southwell) July 8. Japikse, Correspondentie II iii, p.170 (Amerongen To William III, July 25).
46. ARA:S-GA 2337, July 17, 28. KHA: 16 XI c: Heinsius to William III, July 28. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, July 18/28, July 24/Aug. 4. RSH, July 24. SRSH, August 3.
47. PRO:SP 75/22, Molesworth to Warre, July 15 (quoted in Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.93).
48. DRA:Geh.kons. 35a, July 12. Molbech, op.cit., pp.520-521 (Aug. 1,4). DNT IX, pp.46-8. HMC:Finch MSS.II, p.312 (Nottingham to William III, June 24). BDI:Denmark, p.11. (Nottingham to Molesworth, June 24).
49. ARA:SGA 2337, Sept. 8. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Sept. 30. V.d. Heim, op.cit., I, p.171. (Heinsius to Amerongen, Sept.12). SRSH, Aug.31, Thyrén, op.cit., p.120. DNT IX, p.50.
50. HMC:Finch MSS. II, p.419 (Nottingham to William III, Aug.19).
51. Krämer, op.cit., p.89 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.19/29).
52. DNT IX, p.51.
53. Ibid., p.51. Thyrén, op.cit., p.121. Molbech, op.cit., p.522 (Aug.24), V.d. Heim, op.cit., I, p.170 (Amerongen to Heinsius, Sept.5). Denmark offered to prolong the preliminary treaty until the end of the year (Christiansen, op.cit., p. 727).
54. ARA:S-GA 2337, Oct. 13. DNT XI, p.52.
55. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Nov.14. Molbech, op.cit., p.526, (Oct.27) DNT IX, pp.52-3. The treaty is printed in DNT IX, pp.53-63.
56. KHA: 16 XI c: Heinsius to William III, Nov.24.

57. DRA:TKUA: Eng. B66: Ahlfeldt to Christian V, Dec.26. Ibid.: Alm. Del II 58: Jessen to Ahlfeldt, Nov. 15. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Dec. 2,30. Krämer, op.cit., p.127 (William to Heinsius, Nov. 21/31). DNT IX, pp.144-5, 275-6. Thyrén, op.cit., p.123.
58. DNT IX, pp.144,149
59. DNT IX, pp.75, 123-5, 149. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.121,124, note 5, 125, note 3. Stille, Studier, p.203.
60. SRA: Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, July 18. PRO: SP 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, Sept. 21. SP 82/17, Rycaut to Nottingham, July 22.
61. PRO:SP 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, July 20.
62. HMC: Finch MSS.III, p.384.
63. PRO:SP 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, Aug. 17/27, Dec.21. SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Aug.8, SP 104/194, Nottingham to Paget, Aug.1.
64. DRA:TKUA Eng. B 66: Ahlfeldt to Christian V, Aug.8. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Aug.5/15. DNT IX, p.237
65. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Aug.5/15. Rycaut protested against the opinion of 'the Pensioner of Holland, & the Emp.rs Envoy at the Hague...that it is highly necessary in this coniuncture, that the Danes should be sweetened & permitted to get a little mony by some easy, & honest way, ther w.ch nothing could be found out to be lesse burdensome, then this Toll on the Elbe' (PRO:SP 82/17 Rycaut to Nottingham, Aug.8) and Paget considered that 'ye approving ye Toll in Holland, makes ye reasons ye English give ag.st it, and their interest to oppose it, much more considerable yn when they were first offered'. (PRO:SP 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, Sept.21. (N.S.)).
66. PRO:SP 104/194, Nottingham to Paget and Johnston, Aug.12.
67. PRO:SP 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, Sept.21, Dec.21.
68. Antal and Pater, op.cit., pp.464-5, 466. (Heemskerck to Heinsius, Sept.7, Do. to Fagel, Oct.12).

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69. BM:Add.Mss. 34095, Molesworth to Colt, Sept. 16.
70. PRO:Sp 80/17, Paget to Nottingham, Dec. 21. SP 104/194, Nottingham to Paget, Sept. 19.
71. DRA:TKUA: Eng B 66, Ahlfeldt to Christian V, Sept. 26, Dec. 26.
72. ARA:AAH 218, Heinsius to Amerongen, Jan. 30. S-GA 2338, Feb. 9 SRSH, Feb. 8. HMC: Finch MSS. III (Nottingham to Sydney Feb. 3/13).
73. Molbech op.cit., p.185 (Feb. 21).
74. For trade negotiations in Denmark, see pp. 176, 199. and for Danish negotiations with France, p. 164.
75. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, April 4/14.
76. DNT IX, pp. 141/2.
77. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, July 15. (Also in the Oxenstiernska samling with a copy of Wrede's observations of June 18).
78. SRA:Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, July 28/Aug. 8.
79. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, July 18.
80. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Aug. 23. Kp., Aug. 5. Carlson, op.cit., V, p. 36.
81. BM:Add.Mss. 17677 KK, Hop to Fagel, August 24. HMC: Finch MSS. II, p.411 (Nottingham to William III, Aug. 13). Carlson, op.cit., V, p. 36. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp. 107-8.
82. HMC: Finch MSS. II, p.411 (Nottingham to William III, Aug. 13). There is a copy of Delaval's report of August 12th with Hop's letter to Fagel of August 24th referred to in note 82.
83. SRA:Anglica: Leijonberg to Charles XI, Aug. 15. Sept. 26. HMC: Finch MSS. II, p.428 (William III to Nottingham, Aug. 25).

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84. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lei jonberg, Oct.25. Anglica:
Leijonberg to Charles XI, Oct.3, Nov. 11. PRO:SP 84/222,
Dursley to Nottingham, Oct.10/20. BM:Add.Mss. 17677 KK,
Hop. to Fagel, Oct.17.
85. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Oct.10/20.
86. Ibid., Aug.22.
87. Ibid., Aug.22.
88. PRO:Sp 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Oct.3/13.
89. ARA:SG 2337, Oct.16. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham,
Oct. 7/17. SRSR, Aug.26. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.109.
DNT IX, p.142.
90. SRA:Hollandica:G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Oct.18/28.
Nov. 1/11. Krämer, op.cit., p.113 (Heinsius to William III,
Nov.7). Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.110.
91. Krämer, op.cit., p.119 (Heinsius to William III, Nov.14).
92. ARA:S-GA 2337, Nov.27. KHA:16 XI c: Heinsius to William III,
Oct.21. SRSR, Nov.29, Dec.2. Krämer, op.cit., p.135
(William III to Heinsius, Nov. 29/Dec.8). Clark, Dutch
Alliance, p.110.
93. Ibid., p.110.
94. ARA:S-GA 2337, Dec.18. Krämer, op.cit., pp.136, 145, 148,
159. (Heinsius to William III, Dec.8, 22, Jan.12, William
III to Heinsius, Dec.19/29).
95. SRA:Kp., Dec.30. Rp.90a, Jan.2.
96. SRA:Utr.Reg.: B. Oxenstierna to G. Oxenstierna, Jan.14,
Project for an answer to Haren, Jan.10. Kp., Jan.12.
97. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, January 2. Molbech, op.
cit., p. 528 (Dec.12). DNT IX, p.146. Clark, Dutch
Alliance, p. 102. Stille, Studier, p. 205

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96. DRA:TKUA: Ned.A II 23, Amerongen to Christian V, Jan. 4/14. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Dec.26, Jan.2, 23. AAH 200, Amerongen to Heinsius, Jan.13. Molbech (NHT II), p. 177 (Jan.10). DNT IX, pp.145-6, 148-9. Thyren, op.cit., pp.134-5.
99. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Feb. 20, DNT IX, pp.154-5.
100. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Jan.23. DNT IX, pp.150, 154-5. See p. 158.
101. SRA:Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Feb.20. DRA:TKUA: Eng. A II, Memo of Jan.29. Molbech (II), p. 184 (Feb.15 and 18). Thyren, op.cit., pp.135-6.
102. Molbech (II), p.184 (Feb.13, 14). BDI: Denmark, pp.12-13 (Nottingham to Molesworth, Feb.24). DNT IX, pp. 157-7. C.F. Allen, op.cit., II. 4., p.210.
103. Molbech (II), p.189 (Mar.9). DNT IX, p.161.
104. PRO:SP 75/22, Schmettau's memo. of Feb.20, SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Feb.20. DNT IX, p.159.
105. ARA:S-GA 5927, Lente's memorial of Mar.21. S-GA 2338, Mar.6. Molbech (II), pp.185-7 (Feb.24,25, Mar.3). DNT IX, pp.160, 163.
106. Molbech (II), p.189 (March 13). Stille, Studier, pp.203-4, 207. Landberg, op.cit., p.247. DNT IX, 129-133, 160-1. (The neutrality treaty with France is printed on pp.134-140).
107. PRO:SP 75/22, Greg to Warre, Nov.25. For earlier fears of common action see pp.135, 137-8.
108. Stille, Studier, pp.181, 202.
109. DNT IX, p.79. Landberg, op.cit., p.246. Thyren, op.cit., p.132.
110. SRA:Rp. 90a, Nov.25. Kp., Dec.22, 23, 24. Thyren, op.cit., pp.126-7.

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111. Stille, Studier, p.205. DNT IX, p.78. Thyrén, op.cit., p.127.
112. SRA: Rp.90a, Jan.2. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, Jan.7. Stille, Studier, p.206. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.128-31. DNT IX, p.78.
113. Stille, Studier, pp.206-7. DNT IX, pp.80-1. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.131-2, 134-5.
114. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan.7, 10. Danica:Charles XI to Leijonclo, Jan.10.
115. SRA: Hollandica: G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Feb.17/27. Japikse, Correspondentie II iii, pp.209-11 (Amerongen to William III, Feb.26,27). DNT IX, pp.77, 125.
116. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Feb.6, Mar.7, Åkerhielm to Duncombe, March 7. Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Mar.4. Danica: Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.16. Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Mar.4. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, Feb.25/Mar.7. BM:Add.Mss. 34095, Duncombe to Colt, Feb.7. Carlson, op.cit., V, pp.66-8. Thyrén, op.cit., p.136.
117. Stille, Studier, p.207. Thyrén, op.cit., pp.135,138. DNT IX, pp.81-4.
118. Thyrén, op.cit., p.141. DNT IX, p.85.
119. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.104. DNT IX, p.86. The text of the treaty is to be found on pp.86-90 of the latter work.

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1. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 20 and Ned. A II 23, Christian V to Lente, Mar.21. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Mar.21. DNT IX, p.161. See also above, p. 166.
2. DNT IX, p.163.
3. DRA:TKUA: Ned. A II 22, Mar.24. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Mar.24. Molbech, op.cit. (II), p.192 (Mar,24). DNT IX, p.162.
4. ARA:S-GA 2338, April 23.
5. DRA:TKUA: Eng. A II 20, April 15. DNT IX, p.164. Thyrén, op.cit., p.149, note 2.
6. DRA:TKUA: Eng. A II 20, April 18. Molbech, op.cit. (II), pp.195, 196 (April 17,23). DNT IX, pp.164-5.
7. DNT IX, pp.167-8.
8. DRA:TKUA: Eng. A II 20, April 30. Molbech, op.cit. (II), p.197 (April 30, May 1). Krämer, op.cit., p.180 (William III to Heinsius, June 7). DNT IX, pp.168-70.
9. Molbech, op.cit. (II), p.202, (May 18,19). DNT IX, p.170.
10. DNT IX, p.172.
11. Ibid., pp.172-3.
12. Molbech, op.cit. (II), p.210 (June 13). DNT IX, pp.173-4.
13. SRA: Danica: Ieijonclo to Charles XI, July 3. DRA:TKUA: Ned. A II 22, June 20. ARA: S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, June 30. AAH 200, Amerongen to Heinsius, June 30. Molbech, op.cit. (II), pp.210, 212 (June 12, 20). DNT IX, p.174. The texts of the agreement are printed in the latter pp.181-192.
14. DNT IX, p.174.
15. Krämer, op.cit., pp.185, 126 (William III to Heinsius, July 3, 10).

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16. Groot Placaat Boek IV. (The Hague, 1705), p.235. DNT IX, p.175
17. Molbech, op.cit.,(II), p.216 (July 10). DNT IX, pp.175-6.
18. Krämer, op.cit., pp.186, 187 (William III to Heinsius, July 25, Aug.1).
19. ARA:AAH 218, Heinsius to Amerongen, July 24. SRSRSH, July 24. DNT IX, pp. 176-7.
20. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Aug.21. Molbech, op.cit. (II), pp.221,222 (Aug.10,11,15). DNT IX, pp, 177-8.
21. ARA:S-GA 143, Aug.31. DNT IX, p.178.
22. DRA:TKUA:Ned. A II 22, Goes to Christian V, May 2. Eng. A II 20, Sept.14,16, 18. ARA:S-GA 5927, Goes to S-G, May 2/12, S-GA 7274, Haren to Fagel, Dec.12/22. S-GA 2338, Oct.27. AAH 200, Amerongen to Heinsius, Sept.25. KHA: 16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Nov. 27. PRO:SP 104/2, Sydney to Molesworth, Nov. 13. BM:Add.Mss.7076, Greg to Stepney, Sept.29. Molbech, op. cit.,(II), pp.198,226,229,230,249,254 (May 2,Aug.31, Sept.1,3, 14,16,18, Dec.8,9,21). DNT IX, pp.179-81. Texts of the agreement are printed in the latter pp.220-8. For Amerongen's quarrel with Molesworth see 'Deffense du Danemark', an anonymous translation and expansion of King's 'Animadversions' published in 1696, possibly written by Ia Fouleresse. For the literature arising out of Molesworth's 'Account of Denmark' see pp.232-3.
23. DRA:TKUA:Ned. A II 22, Christian V to Lente and La Fouleresse, Nov.7. Geh.Kons.3, Jan.12. ARA:AAH 233, Haren to Heinsius, Dec.26/Jan.5. KHA:16 XI c, Heinsius to William III,Nov.27. BM:Add.Mss.17677 II, Hop to Fagel, Dec.4, 21. Molbech, op. cit.(II),p.241 (Nov.7). Krämer, op.cit., pp.150,213,219,220, 224 (Heinsius to William III, Jan.1.(misdated 1691), Nov.30, Dec.11). Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.118. DNT IX, pp.180,501.
24. SRA:Utr.Reg., Reply to Stockfleth, June 18. ARA:S-GA 2338, Mar. 20,24. Thyrén, op.cit., p.152.
25. SRA:RP. 90a, May 5. Kp., June 19.
26. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna, June 20, to B. Oxenstierna, Aug.8. ARA:AAH 190, Haren to Heinsius, July 18/28. Thyrén, op.cit., p.153, note 2.
27. SRA:Utr.Reg.,Oct.14, Points in conference with Haren, Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna, Oct.14. ARA:S-GA 7274, Haren to Fagel, Oct.27. BM:Add.Mss.37407, Robinson to Stepney, Oct.28, Krämer, op.cit., p.205 (William III to Heinsius,Nov.20/30).

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28. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, Dec.1. (enclosing a translation of letter from Duncombe dated Nov.10). KHA: 16 XIC, Heinsius to William III, Dec.14. In fact only 78,216 Rd. had to be paid by the final settlement because the owners of the cargo of the ship 'Gyldene Flucht' agreed to sell it to the highest bidder. (SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstiern Nov.21).
29. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to various envoys, Nov.21. Kp., Nov.14,16,19. ARA:S-GA 7284, Haren to Fagel, Dec.1. Thyren, op.cit., pp.152-3. Stille, Studier, p.213. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.69. Landberg, op.cit., p.247. There is an English translation of the agreement in SRA: Extranea II: England a.
30. Krämer op.cit., p.219 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.8/18).
31. SRA:Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Mar.15/25. ARA: S-GA 144, Mar.31. S-GA 6549, Rumpf to S-G, April 19. Utrecht and Groningen protested at paying for actions from which only the coastal provinces drew benefit (SRA:Kp., Jan.27, Feb.23. RSH, Feb.1.)
32. For the problem of governmental control over privateering enterprise see Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.45-53, 55-60.
33. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, June 28/July 8. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, Aug.23/Sept.2. BM:Add. MSS. 37991, Blathwayt to Nottingham, Mar.15/25, Mar.31/Apr.10, June 23. Nottingham to Blathwayt, Mar.22, June 21 (see also Letter Book III in the unpublished Finch MSS.) Lillieroot sent a copy of the Dutch regulations dated July 10 with his despatch of July 9/19. (SRA:Hollandica). William did not publish his until 1693 (see below, pp.204-5).
34. DRA:TKUA:Eng.A II 20, Dec.30, Jan.21. 24. Geh.Kons.3, Jan.25, 26. Ibid. 36, Dec.30, Jan.24. ARA:S-GA 7275, Goes to Fagel, Dec. 29, Jan.12, Feb.2. S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, Jan. 19. Molbech, op.cit. (II), p.257 (Dec.30). Aarsberetninger VI vi, pp.258, 261, 262 (Jan.2, 21, 25) DNT X, pp.253-5.
35. ARA:S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, Feb. 9. DNT X, 255-8.
36. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.296 (July 5).

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37. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 68, La Fouleresse to Christian V, April 12.
38. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonclo, Mar.16. Geh.kons.3, Mar.12. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.271 (Mar.12). Bolle Luxdorph (1643-98) fell from favour in 1690 and was dismissed from his posts but returned with Gyldenløve's help. He died in Stockholm (C.O.Bøggild Andersen in DBL XIV, pp.610-1).
39. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 68, La Fouleresse to Christian V, April 1 12. Geh.Kons. 3, June 27. BM:Add.Mss. 37991, Nottingham to Blathwayt, Mar.15,29. Blathwayt to Nottingham, Mar.21/31, July 18/28 (see also Letter Book III in unpublished Finch MSS.) Brasch, op.cit., p.116. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.294, (June 27). In a note to Nottingham the Danish Secretary claimed, it appears with justice, that 'bien loin d'avoir surpassé mes ordres Je les ay adoucis ce que je pourray prouver' (BM:Add.Mss.37991, Nottingham to Blathwayt, Mar.29). La Fouleresse was refused a farewell audience with queen Mary, which, Greg was instructed to point out, was not to be taken as a slight on his office. (BM:Add.Mss. 37991, Nottingham to Blathwayt, Aug.9, Blathwayt to Nottingham, Aug.18/28. TKUA: Eng. A II 20, Nottingham to Greg, Aug.26 (copy in French)). He accompanied Rantzau on the latter's mission to the Hague and London in 1694, and a favourable report on his attitude in Denmark was sent in advance by Greg to Blathwayt, who, La Fouleresse reported, did him 'a thousand civilities' and arranged for him to be kindly received by William who, however, wanted him watched. He returned to Denmark in the same year but was back in London at the end of 1696 and, having failed to obtain any credentials, left finally in the spring of 1697. (BM:Add.Mss. 40800, Greg to Blathwayt, April 14 1694. Kemble, op.cit., p.218. HMC: Buccleuch MSS. II i, p.79 (Blathwayt to Shrewsbury, June 11/21 1694). Brasch, op.cit., pp.118-9, 121).
40. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonclo, Mar.16, April 16, Notes for conference with Luxdorph, Mar.20, May 6, Answer to Luxdorph's memorial, July 16, Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, June 10. Fryxell, op.cit., III, pp.249, 253, 258 (Luxdorph to Christian V, April 6, May 28, July 16). Aarsberetninger VI vi, pp.285-6 (May 20,23).
41. DRA: Geh. Kons. 3, May 13. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.285 (May 14). DNT X, pp.261-2.
42. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonclo, June 17. Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, May 31/June 10. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.220-267. For Lillieroot see p.365(44).He was long suspect for his close connexion with Bengt Oxenstierna's opponents; he

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42. (contd.) married Oliverkrants' daughter in 1692 (V.d.Heim, op. cit., III, p.1 (Dijkvelt to Heinsius, July 12/22 1692). Krämer, op.cit., p.290 (William III to Heinsius, Aug.27/Sept. 6 1692)).
43. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Aug.20/30. ARA:S-GA 6549, Aug.17/27.
44. BM:Add.Mss. 37991, Nottingham to Blathwayt, Aug.5, 12. HMC: Unpublished Finch MSS., Nottingham to Russell, Aug.10. In his letter to Blathwayt of August 12th Nottingham wrote, 'if his Mat.y has ye same Jealousy of ye Danes as we have here these and all other Expedients y.t occur to him should be taken if We would have a ffleet ye next year.'
45. BM:Add.Mss. 37991, Blathwayt to Nottingham, Aug.11/21, 14/24, 18/28.
46. Ibid. ~~do to do.~~, Aug.29/Sept.8. Unpublished Finch MSS:LB II, Nottingham to Greg, Sept. 2. For Molesworth's departure see p.232.
47. BM:Add.Mss. 15572, Greg to Nottingham, Sept. 20.
48. BM:Add.Mss. 37991, Blathwayt to Nottingham, Sept. 12/22.
49. BM:Lansdowne MSS. 1153D, Rycaut to Paget, Mar.12.
50. Lane, 'Denmark', pp.164-5. Rycaut reported particularly the activities of the Hamburg family of Abenseur who obtained Danish passes in exchange for 2% of the value of the cargo carried (BM:Lansdowne MSS. 1153c, Rycaut to Molesworth, Jan.9, 27 1691. See also Christiansen, op.cit., p.466). After the 1691 convention with the Maritime Powers Christian made an effort to control this trade from Glückstadt and Altona, which were under his control, and to punish its perpetrators using the fines imposed to swell his treasury, but with little apparent effect. (Ibid., p.466. BM:Lansdowne MSS. 1153D, Rycaut to Molesworth, Jan.5. Add.Mss.37663, Rycaut to Clarendon, Nov.4 1692).
51. Lane, 'Denmark', pp.169-70. BM:Add.Mss.37991, Blathwayt to Nottingham, Mar.18/28.
52. BM:Lansdowne MSS.1153c, Rycaut to Blathwayt, April 5 (copy in SP 82/18). Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.274 (Mar.26).

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53. Christiansen, op.cit., p.774. DNT IX, pp.348-54. Jessen, op.cit., p.192. The burgher party, which favoured defiance of the Imperial avocatoria against trade with France, was opposed by a weak senate (Lane, 'Denmark', p.164). The Hamburg subsidy was intended as a temporary and partial substitute for the Elbe toll, which Hamburg opposed. (Christiansen, op.cit., p.774. DNT IX, pp.348,350). The treaty is printed in the latter pp.355-8, and the declaration promising to use Denmark's good offices with the French king on pp.358-9.
54. SRA:Skr.t.K.Mt., B Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 17, Oct.29.
55. Landberg, op.cit., p.247. Carlson, op.cit. V, pp.57-8. Malmström, Nils Bielke p.121. Stille challenges the two latter historians' interpretation of the developments leading up to the revival of the mediation offer (Studier, p.194, note 3). He tries, as always, to minimize the amount of conflict within the råd and to maintain that Oxenstierna was more wholeheartedly in favour of mediation than is generally supposed. See Jägerskiöld, op.cit., pp.406-7.
56. SRA:Anglica: Charles XI to Leijonberg, Jan.14. ARA:AAH 190, Haren to S-G, Jan.7/17. Fryxell, op.cit.III, p.237, (Stockfleth to Christian V, Jan.14). Carlson, op.cit. V, pp.45-6, 50-6. Stille, Studier, pp.192-3.
57. Krämer, op.cit., pp.169,170 (William III to Heinsius, April 7, 19). Sirtema de Grovestins, op.cit. VI, p.255. Clark, Dutch Alliance p.93.
58. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonberg, G. Oxenstierna and Snoilsky, April 22. Fryxell, op.cit. III, p.207. (Starhemberg to Kinsky, April 22/May 2). Thyrén, op.cit., p.151. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.55, 58. Landberg, op.cit., p.247. Stille, of course, challenges this view and sees it as based wholly on Starhemberg's report (see above, note 55). It has never been claimed that Oxenstierna's rivals were uncritical supporters of a third party policy, and it does seem that the chancellor resumes something of his original authority at this time.
59. Krämer, op.cit., p.177 (William III to Heinsius, May 14/24).
60. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.59.
61. SRA:Rp.90a, May 5. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijonclo, May 6. Fryxell, op.cit.III, p.211 (Starhemberg to Stratman, May 20/30). Molbech, op.cit. (II) p.197 (April 27). Malmström, Karl XI's Bref, p.84. Ueberhorst, op.cit., pp.209-10. Stille, Studier, pp.183, 187-8, 196. DNT IX, pp.497-9. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp. 60-1. Malmström, Nils Bielke, pp.122. Landberg, op.cit., p.247.

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62. Malmström, Nils Bielke, pp.122-3. Carlson, op.cit. V,p.64. Stille, Studier, p.187. Landberg,op.cit., p.247. Stille quotes the Hanoverian treaty as evidence of Oxenstierna's support of a limited third party programme (Answer to Jagerskiöld's criticisms in HT 1948, p.97).
63. DNT IX, pp.500-1.
64. SRA:Kp., Aug.4. Skr.t.K.Mt: B.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Aug.1. 'Plas Newydd: Paget MSS., Duncombe to Paget, May 30. Krämer, op.cit., p.190. (William III to Heinsius, Aug.27). V.d.Heim, op.cit.II, p.42 (Heinsius to Nottingham, Aug.7). Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.117.
65. Klopp, op.cit.VI, pp.46-7. DNT IX, p.401. Stille, Studier, pp. 182,192,198. Ueberhorst, op.cit., pp.210,214, 222-4. C.F. Allen, op.cit.II vi, pp.74-7.. Landberg, op.cit., p.246.
66. See below, section (ii).
67. ARA:S-GA 2336, Dec.17. Krämer, op.cit., p.219 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.8/18).
68. SRA:Kp., Nov.20. Utr.Reg., Reply to Haren's memo., Nov.25. Thyrén, op.cit., p.153, note 2. Carlson,op.cit., V, p.69.
69. SRA:Anglica: Charles XI to Leijoncrona, Oct.24. Stille, Studier, p.187. Carlson, op.cit.V,pp.47,208. Landberg, op.cit., p.248.
70. Molbech, op.cit. (II) pp.205, 211 (May 26, June 16). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.207. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.174.
71. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Palmquist, Sept.30, Nov.11. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.207. In September Palmquist had been instructed to convey Charles' displeasure at Louis' delay in appointing an official representative in Stockholm. It is not clear whether the Swedish king intended by this that La Picquetière should be given an official character or that an envoy should be sent from France and therefore that the question had been reconsidered before the orders in November. The report that Rébénac was Louis' choice caused alarm in Stockholm and may have prompted Charles to change his mind. (SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Palmquist, Sept.30).

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72. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Palmquist, Nov. 21. Stille, Studier, p.187. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.207. Francois Gaston de Béthune, marquis de Chabris, comte de Selles was French envoy in Poland 1676-8, 1684-92 (Bittner und Gross, op.cit., p.229). His instructions are printed in Instructions données...Suède, pp. 152-164. He was sent as an envoy extraordinary until Louis consented to his request to take the title of ambassador on condition he had a written promise that no others would be given better treatment. (Ibid., p.151).
73. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to various envoys, Jan. 9. KB:I:O:14:5, Jan.6.
74. BM:Add.Mss.36662, Duncombe to Colt, Jan.9. 'I know not his business, But I'm sure tis not to engage this Crowne in warr; for that France it selfe knows it will not doo.' (Plas Newydd: Paget MSS., Duncombe to Paget, Jan 9).
75. PRO:SP 104/153, Sydney to Duncombe, Jan.26, 1692. BM:Add.Mss. 27457, Duncombe to Blathwayt, July 9 1692. Add.Mss.36662, Duncombe to Colt, Sept.16 1691. Hatton, 'John Robinson', p.137.
76. Krämer, op.cit., p.261 (Heinsius to William III, Feb.19).
77. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Feb. 16/26.
78. BM:Add:Mss.37991, Nottingham to Blathwayt, May 18 ('Mrs. Duncombe is very pressing to have her husband come home... pray help me to some answer to Mrs. Duncombe'), Blathwayt to Nottingham, Mar.24/April 3.
79. BM:Add.Mss.27457, Duncombe to Blathwayt, July 9. In the same letter he again complains of the Swedish climate, which 'my Body will beare...no longer..I would...escape so uncomfortable and sickly a life as I lead the whole last winter'.
80. ARA:S-GA 6549, Rumpf to S-G, Sept.13 (s.n.) Rumpf states that Duncombe left on the night of Saturday/Sunday. Since Rumpf wrote on a Saturday this must refer to the previous week-end i.e. August 27/28.
81. John Robinson (1654-1723) first came to Sweden in 1678 with his sister, who had married the envoy sir Edward Wood, who made him his secretary and chaplain. After serving in the same capacity to his successors, he returned to England in 1687. He sailed with Duncombe in 1689 (Hatton, 'John Robinson', pp.131-6. BDI:Sweden, pp.14-15, DNB XVII, pp.23-4).

82. See p. 205-6.
83. Instructions données... Suède, p.151. Fryxell, op.cit.III, p.252 (Luxdorph to Christian V, May 14). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.218. Stille, Studier, p.215 note 1.
84. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.210, 216-7. Malmström, Nils Bielke, pp. 123, 128, 138. SBL IV, p.256.
85. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, July 2/12, 5/15. Krämer, op.cit., p.290 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.6). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.203. See also above, note 42.
86. Krämer, op.cit., p.291 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.18). Klopp, op.cit.VI, p.110.
87. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct.1/11. Klopp, op.cit. VI, p.110.
88. Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.230. Stille, Studier, p.246. The treaty is printed in DNT IX, pp.264-9.
89. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.223. Stille, Studier, pp.247-8. Stavenow, op.cit., p.204.
90. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.303 (Aug.5). DNT IX, pp.502-3. Stille, Studier, pp.247-8. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.223.
91. SRA:Utr.Reg.:Answer to Luxdorph's memo., Sept.10. Stille, Studier, pp.244,249. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.223.
92. SRA:Oxenstiernska samling: Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Jan. 21 1693.
93. Molbech, op.cit (II), pp.588-90 ('Ungefährliche Gedanken bei itzigen Conjuncturen'), p.180 (Jan.27).
94. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Jan.27.
95. HMC: Finch MSS. III, p.7 (Nottingham to Camarthen, Feb.6/16). EDR Denmark, pp.12-13. (Nottingham to Molesworth, Feb.24).
96. ARA:S-GA 7274, Amerongen to Fagel, Mar.10. AAH 200, Amerongen to Heinsius, Feb.20.
97. DRA:TKUA:Eng.B67, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, Jan.27. Ibid.: Eng. A II 20, Feb.8, Proposal by Molesworth and Amerongen. ARA:AAH 200, Amerongen to Heinsius, Feb.20. PRO:SP 104/2, Nottingham to Molesworth, Jan.30/Feb.9. The Danish troops left Ireland for Flanders in February. (Jahn, op.cit.,p.87).

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98. PRO:SP 104/2, Feb.23, Memo. to Barre. PRO:SP 75/22, Barre to Nottingham, Mar., 10/20. Molbech, op.cit. (II), p.192 (Mar.25).
99. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, July 25. PRO:SP 84/222, Dursley to Nottingham, June 5. BM:Add.Mss. 7076, Greg to Stepney, April 21 (o.s.) Add. MSS.37513, Colt to Nottingham, May 22, June 1. Ibid.: Lansdowne MSS. 1153c, Rycaut to Molesworth, April 10, May 26, June 5. Krämer, op.cit., p.180 (William III to Heinsius, June 4). Rycaut mentions some fears by the city in his letter to Molesworth of April 10 without taking them very seriously (loc.cit.), but in May the latter wrote to Colt giving twelve reasons why he believed a Danish design against Hamburg to be intended. Among them was a fortifications tax, the equipping of twenty ships, a heavy post by special messenger between Denmark and the city, the disbanding of Hamburg seamen and the fact that 'the humour of this people is always aspiring & endeavouring to profit themselves by their neighbours damage.' (BM:Add.MSS.34095, Molesworth to Colt, May 12).
100. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B 67, Ahlefeldt to Christian V, Oct.10/20. ARA:S-GA, 7274, Blanche to Fagel, Nov.10. PRO:SP 104/2, Sydney to Molesworth, Oct.16/26, 17/27. Molbech, op.cit.(II), pp.224, 239,240 (Aug.25, Oct.28,30,31). Meyercrone was ordered to prepare the French court for such an arrangement (Molbech, op. cit. (II), p.242 (Nov.10)).
101. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Dec.18. Krämer, op.cit., pp.208-9,210,217 (William III to Heinsius, Nov. 13/23, 17/27, Heinsius to William III, Dec.7). Christian renewed this offer in December and resolved to give 600 recruits from Oldenburg instead of the 400 Norwegians he had previously offered (ARA:S-GA 7275, Goes to Fagel, Jan.1. Molbech, op.cit.(II) p.256 (Dec.29)).
102. PRO:SP 104/2, Instructions to Württemberg, Feb.16, Sydney to Molesworth, Feb.16. DNTIX, p.278.
103. Molbech, op.cit.(II), pp.600-1(February). Among the main reasons given were the unreliability of Sweden, who 'cannot believe that we could forget the lands which they have taken from us' and was building up her own forces and making alliances with Brunswick, Mecklenburg and Gottorp in preparation for the first favourable opportunity. The effect which a reduction would have on Denmark's standing in the eyes of the powers and the weakening of Denmark's ability to defend her trade were also listed. This

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103. (contd.). was expanded by Harboe in a document dated February 9th (*Ibid.*, pp.602-5).
104. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 3lcI, Molesworth to Blathwayt, Mar.15.
105. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 68, Ia Fouleresse to Jessen, Feb.2. Aarsberetninger VI vi, pp.259,260,264,268,273 (Jan.6, 12, 16, Feb. 10, 27, Mar.21). DNT IX, pp.277-8.
106. DRA:Geh.:kons.: 3, March 28, 29. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.274 (March 29). DNT IX, pp.278-82. The treaty is printed in the latter, pp.287-99.
107. DRA:TKUA:Eng.A II 3lc I, Molesworth to Blathwayt, April 2. Würtemberg blamed Rycaut's opposition to the Hamburg treaty for his lack of success, but the latter assured him that the deciding factor had been fear of French reactions (BM:Lansdowne MSS. 1153c, Rycaut to Nottingham, April 26).
108. Molbech, op.cit.(II), p.218 (July 24).
109. Krämer, op.cit., p.222, 231, 226,248 (Heinsius to William III, Dec.25, Jan.8, William III to Heinsius Dec.22/Jan.1, Jan.22/Feb.1).
110. BM:Lansdowne MSS.1153c, Rycaut to Paget, Jan.20/30. DNT X, p. 258. Molbech, op.cit.(II), p.256 (Dec.28). C.F.Allen, op.cit. II.v, p.330. DBL IV, p.16. DBL XVIII, p.397. Christiansen op. cit., pp.88-92. For Brandt, see p.365(34), for Plessen p. 365(38).
111. Mogens Skeel (1650-94) was in William's service in 1674 and sent as Danish envoy to Brandenburg in 1675. He went with Juel to Sweden in 1680 and with Prince George to England in 1683. The disgrace of his father-in-law Rosencrans for his criticism of absolutism and Skeel's own outspoken disatches caused his recall and kept him out of favour until 1686, after which he rose rapidly (Brasch, op.cit., pp.35-40. C.O.Bøggild Andersen in DBL XXII, pp.101-3).
112. Molbech, op.cit.(II), p.231 (Sept.19). Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.264 (Feb.6). Jessen, op.cit., p.165. Brasch, op.cit., p.115. Marquard, op.cit., p.263. Ahlefeldt was appointed chamberlain to prince Frederik of Denmark on his European tour (Brasch, op.cit., p.115).
113. Aarsberetninger VI vi, pp.259, 261.(Jan.5,19). DNT X pp.259-60.

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114. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.264 (Feb.6). DNT X, p.259. The Emperor promised to use his good offices in support of the acceptance of Danish mediation in a document of April 2. Brandenburg did not issue a similar declaration until June 21 (DNT IX, pp.259, 343-5).
115. Aarsberetninger VI vi, pp.276-8 (April 6,9,12). DNT X, p.259, Brasch, op.cit., p.116.
116. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 20, Würtemberg to Reventlow, May 14/24. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, May 22. DNT X, p.261.
117. DRA:Geh:kons: 3, May 27. Aarsberetninger VI vi, pp.287,298, 299 (May 27, July 11, 18). Ibid. VI vii, p.310 (Sept.13). DNT X, pp.265-6.
118. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 68, Skeel to Christian V, Aug.23. William named Trumbull and Henshaw as his first choices for Denmark and Sweden respectively. Trumbull excused himself on the grounds of private business which kept him in England, and Nottingham suggested first Richard Hill, the deputy paymaster of the troops, who was, however, needed in Flanders, sir John Werden, who had been to Sweden and James Vernon, who was in fact sent to Copenhagen in 1702. Blathwayt doubted whether sir John would 'be willing to undertake a Northern Journey the inconveniences of which he knows so'well, or whether Mr. Vernon be desirous of the employment.' It does seem that Charles Bertie was seriously considered for Denmark, and Rycaut even wrote to congratulate him on his appointment. (BM:Add.Mss. 37991, Blathwayt to Nottingham, Sept.1, 1/11, 12/22, Nottingham to Blathwayt, Aug.27, Sept.6. Add.Mss.37663, Rycaut to Bertie, Nov.29, do. to Colt, Nov.30. BDR,pp.2, 6-7) For lord Douglas' appointment to Sweden in 1693 see p.365.
119. S-GA 2339, Oct.8. Krämer, op.cit., p.293 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.12/22). SRSH, Oct.3. DNT X, p.270.
120. DRA:Geh.:kons.: 3, May 30, Sept.14. Aarsberetninger VI vi, p.287 (May 30). Ibid. VI vii, p.311. (Sept.14). Christiansen, op.cit., pp.100-1. DNT X, p.269.
121. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 20, Plessen to Reventlow, Oct.15/25. Christiansen, op.cit., p.102. DNT X, p.271.
122. Stille, Studier, p.239. Ueberhorst, op.cit., pp.215,224. DNT X, pp.401-8. Klopp, op.cit. VI, p.87.
123. DNT X, pp.410-1.

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1. Krämer, op.cit., p. 293 (William III to Heinsius, Sept. 22).
2. See p. 178.
3. ARA:S-GA 5927, Memorial from Lente, Nov. 7. Krämer, op.cit., p.295 (William III to Heinsius, Nov. 1/11). Aarsberetninger VI vii, p.316 (Oct.4).
4. BM:Add.Mss.37663, Rycaut to Molesworth, Nov. 1.
5. Den Tex, op.cit., pp.186-7.
6. ARA:AAH 261, Heinsius to Hop, Nov. 25.
7. DNT X, p.271.
8. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Nov. 7. Aarsberetninger VI vii, p.327 (Nov.6). Goes was married to Hop's sister Johanna (Den Tex, op.cit., p.198 note 1).
9. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 20, Nov.16. ARA:S-GA 5927, Hop to S-G, Nov. 8/18. Aarsberetninger VI vii, p.330 (Nov.16) DNT X, p.273.
10. DRA:TKUA:Eng. A II 20, Nov.24. Aarsberetninger VI vii, p.331, 332 (Nov.19, 20, 24). DNT X, p.273. Den Tex, op.cit., pp.188-90.
11. Den Tex, op.cit., pp.185,190.
12. DRA:Geh.kons. 3, Dec.9. TKUA:Eng A II 20, Dec. 5. Aarsberetninger VI vii, pp.332, 333, 334 (Nov.25, 29, Dec.5). DNT X, pp.273-4. Den Tex, op.cit., pp.190-2.
13. Krämer, op.cit., p.303 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.3/13).
14. ARA:AAH 261, Heinsius to Hop, Dec.16.
15. Krämer, op.cit., p.305 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.16/26).
16. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Dec.30/Jan.9. For Heekerens mission see pp. 205-7.

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17. DNT X, pp.275-6. Den Tex, op.cit., pp.195-6, 198.
18. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 68, Skeel to Reventlow, Oct.1. He complained that Sweden was revealing all Denmark's secrets and aiming to discredit her and that the Allies offered more in the way of commercial advantages and subsidies (loc.cit.). Skeel arrived in the Hauge at the end of April and was in England by the end of November (DRA: TKUA: Eng B 68, Skeel to Christian V, Dec.2. Brasch, op.cit., p.116).
19. DRA:TKUA Eng B 68, Skeel to Reventlow, Jan.17. Skeel reported that William spoke 'd'un air fort froid' (loc. cit.).
20. DRA:TKUA: Eng A II 31c I, Jan. 2. ARA:AAH 289, Hop to William III, Jan.10. Aarsberetninger VI vii, p.341 (Dec.30). DNT X, pp.276-8.
21. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Jan.2. DNT X, pp.278-9. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.104-5.
22. DNT X, p.279.
23. DNT X, p.279. Den Tex, op.cit., p.198-9.
24. ARA:AAH 289, Hop to William III, Feb.7/17. Den Tex, op.cit., p.196. Hop warned the Danish government of allied displeasure if Asfeld, who was implicated in the Grandval conspiracy, received official recognition. He was assured on this score but told that the Frenchman could not be forbidden to reside as a private citizen (v.d.Heim, op.cit.I, p.175 (Goes to Heinsius, Dec.16). ARA:S-GA 7275, Hop to Fagel, Dec.16).
25. ARA:AAH 312, Heinsius to Hop, Feb.3. KHA:16 XI c, William III to Heinsius, Dec.30/Jan.9. Den Tex, op.cit., p.199.
26. DRA:Geh.kons.35a, Feb.6. TKUA:Eng A II 20, Feb.21. ARA:AAH 289, Hop to William III, Feb.7/17. DNT X, p.280. Aarsberetninger VII, p.2 (Feb.17).
27. ARA:S-GA 2336, Feb.19. S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, Feb.28/Mar.10, AAH 289, Hop to Heinsius, Feb.28/ Mar.10. Aarsberetning VII, p. 2 (Feb.23). Den Tex, op.cit., p.200.
28. See pp. 177-8, 181-2, 187-8, 191.
29. Aarsberetning VI vii, p.313 (Sept.22).
30. SRA:Utr.Reg.:Charles XI to Convoy Commander, Nov.22. Aarsberetning VI vii, p.342 (Jan.4). Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.104 DNT IX, pp.505-6. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.174, note 1. E. Abrahamson, Karl XI's Almanacks anteckningar för 1693 och

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30. (contd.). 1696 I (HT 70, 1950), p.148. Thyren, op.cit., p.155. Reedtz H.C., Om Danmarks og Sverrigs Forbindelse til de neutrale Handelsrettigheders Beskyttelse i Aarene 1690 til 1693. (Copenhagen, 1825), p.51.
31. ARA:AAH 312, Heinsius to Hop, Jan.24. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Jan.14/24. Greg had some fears that Sweden might join against the ninth electorate (C.F.Allen, op.cit., II iv, p.218 (Greg to Stepney, Jan.3)).
32. SRA:Rp. 90b, Jan.30. BM:Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, Jan.7. DNT IX, p.508. C.F. Allen, op.cit., II, vi, pp.80-1. Thyren op.cit., p.156, note 1.
33. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.105. DNT IX, pp.511,516. Thyren, op.cit., p.156. Reedtz, op.cit., p.51. Landberg, op.cit., p.249. The treaty is printed in DNT IX, pp.517-26.
34. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, May 2. BM:Add.Mss. 15572, Greg to Blathwayt, May 2. He shows himself to be unaware of the secret article agreeing on September 1st as the time limit for satisfaction. (loc.cit.).
35. Copies of Lillieroot's memorial of May 11/21 are to be found in ARA:S-GA 6549 and 5927 and PRO:SP 100/60 and of Lente's of the same date in PRO:SP 100/1 and SP 75/23.
36. BM:Add.Mss.37992, Blathwayt to Trenchard, May 21/31.
37. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Aug.19/29.
38. Klopp, op.cit., V, p.170.
39. HMC:Unpublished Finch MSS.: Blathwayt to Nottingham, Sept. 22/Oct.2.
40. SRA:Hollandica:G. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Dec.30/Jan.9. Nottingham also revived the offer to purchase naval exports (loc.cit.).
41. SRA:Kp., Mar.8. Robinson's offer to accept the treaty is recorded here, but no instructions from London to do so have survived. See also Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.112.
42. HMC:Unpublished Finch MSS.: Nottingham to Commissioners of the Admiralty, Mar.4.
43. Ibid.: Nottingham to Robinson, Mar.14.
44. BM:Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Nottingham, Mar.15, quoted in Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.116.

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45. Ibid. 37992, Blathwayt to Trenchard, May 3/13, June 4 (s.n.)
46. ARA:AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekerden, May 23.
47. DRA:TKUA: Eng B 69, Skeel to Christian V, Mar. 3. See also Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.117.
48. SRA:Utr. Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, April 5. DRA: TKUA: Eng B 69, Skeel to Christian V, Mar.10. PRO:SP 100/60. G. Oxenstierna's memorial of May 14. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.116-7. Lane, 'Denmark', p.172.
49. MMC: Unpublished Finch MSS., Blathwayt to Nottingham, May 25/ June 4. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.117,
50. PRO:SP 44/204, Trenchard to Hedges, Feb.21, 1693/4. BM:Add. MSS.27992, Blathwayt to Shrewbury, May 14/24 1694. The seizures in 1694 involved Robinson in a dispute with the Swedes as to whether 'commeatus', named in the 1661 treaty as contraband, included corn (SRA: Anglicana: Eng. Besk., Robinson to B. Oxenstierna, July 31. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Aug.15. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.117).
51. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekerden to Fagel, July 25.
52. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Sept.27/Oct.7. DNT X, pp.271-2.
53. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct.15/25, Oct.29/ Nov.8. The Swedish mission was not proposed to the States-General until November 8th (ARA:S-GA 2339, Nov.18).
54. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Nov.12/22. ARA: S-GA 2339, Nov.28.
55. Jean Antoine de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux (1640-1709) was at Nijmijgen and ambassador in the Hague from 1679 to 1688. He served as Louis' representative with James II while the latter was in Ireland. Négociations d'Avaux, III ii, pp. v-vi. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p.217).
56. Krämer, op.cit., p.314 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.21/Mar.3).
57. ARA:AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekerden, Jan.3. Krämer, op.cit., p.314 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.28/Mar.10).

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58. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, April 8/18.
59. BM:Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, April 12. Abrahamson, op.cit., p.148.
60. SRA:Utr.Reg.:Charles XI to Leijonclo, Dec.21. Fryxell, op.cit., III, p.277 (Luxdorph to Christian V, Dec.24). Négociations d'Avaux, pp.139-40 (D'Avaux to Louis XIV, April 15). Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.180. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.351. Landberg, op.cit., p.251.
61. Carlson, op.cit., V, p.349.
62. BM:Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, April 5.
63. ARA:AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekerlen, May 23. BM.Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, April 12. In the former Heinsius acknowledges a letter from Heekerlen of May 9th (n.s.) which clearly emphasized the primacy of the compensation question. This letter has not survived.
64. ARA:AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekerlen, Aug.29.
65. See p.205.
66. Claims were also held by Brandenburg, who granted hers to Anhalt, and by Mecklenburg-Schwerin and the Palatinate on behalf of Julius Franz' two daughters. (Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.25. Stille, Studier, p.97).
67. Ueberhorst, op.cit., pp.19-167. Lane, 'Denmark', p.173. Stille, Studier, pp.95-6.
68. Ueberhorst, op.cit., pp.196,224. Stille, Studier, pp.154-5.
69. DNT IX, pp.578-9.
70. Ibid., pp.579-80.
71. Ibid., pp.412, 415-6, 420,425,428. Stille, Studier, p.251. Instructions données:Danmark, pp. xliv-xlv. Landberg, op.cit., p.251. Jessen, op.cit., pp.193,195. The treaties are printed in DNT IX, pp.432-7.
72. DRA:Geh.Kons. 3, Jan.9. ARA:S-GA 7275, Hop to Fagel, Jan.10/20, AAH 289, Hop to William III, Jan 10/20. Aarsberetninger, Vi vii, p.342 (Jan.9).
73. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Jan.28/Feb.7.
74. Krämer, op.cit., pp.314-5 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.28/Mar.10).

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75. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, April 22/May 2.
ARA:S-GA 2339, May 4.
76. BM:Add. MSS. 28218, Rycaut to Blathwayt, May 2/12. Add. MSS. 37663, Rycaut to Colt, May 3.
77. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, May 9.
78. PRO:Sp 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, July 8. Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.244. DNT X, p.281.
79. V.d.Heim, op.cit., I, p.188 (Heinsius to Haren, June 6). Rycaut could find no solid foundation for such rumours (BM:Add. MSS. 37663, Rycaut to Trenchard, May 30).
80. BM:Add. MSS. 35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, July 22. Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.243. DNT IX, p.591.
81. SRA: Kp., July 31. Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, July 22/Aug.1. ARA:S-GA 2339, July 31, S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, Sept.19. AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekeren, June 13. BM:Add. MSS. 35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, May 31, July 22.
82. ARA:S-GA 2339, Aug.3. Krämer, op.cit., p. 324 (William III to Heinsius, July 27).
83. For Lexington see p. 375 (47).
84. BM:Add. MSS. 37992, Blathwayt to Trenchard, Aug.10 (s.n.). Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.256. HMC:Rutland MSS.II, pp.141-2. BDI:Denmark, p.14.
85. Aarsberetninger VII, p.41 (Aug.10). DNT IX, pp.597,599, Ibid. X, p.282.
86. Aarsberetninger VII, p.41 (Aug.14). DNT IX, p.599.
87. Aarsberetninger VII, p.41 (Aug.17). Ueberhorst, op.cit., pp.254-5.
88. HMC:Rutland MSS.II, p.144 (Blathwayt to Lexington, Aug.23/Sept.2).
89. Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.256.
90. BM:Add. MSS. 15572, Greg to Blathwayt, Sept.4. DNT IX, pp.609. 612, 616.

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91. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Aug. 31. Ueberhorst, op.cit., p.257.
92. HMC:Rutland MSS. II, p.148 (Blathwayt to Lexington, Sept. 24 n.s.).
93. Négociations d'Avaux I, pp.347-8 (Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Aug. 27). DNT X, pp.281-2.
94. HMC:Unpublished Finch MSS., Nottingham to Blathwayt, Aug. 4.
95. BM:Add. MSS. 37992, Blathwayt to Trenchard, Sept. 10, 14, 14/24. HMC:Rutland MSS. II, pp.143, 148 (Blathwayt to Lexington, Aug. 16/26, Trenchard to Lexington, Sept. 19/29). Rooke was to lead the squadron being despatched to the Mediterranean in 1694, but for this, it was claimed, only six third and fourth rates could be spared (Ehrman, op.cit., p.497).
96. Lane, 'Denmark', p.176. Jessen, op.cit., p.195. Stille, Studier, p.247. Landberg, op.cit., p.251. The treaty and guarantees are printed in DNT IX, pp.629-36.
97. Den Tex, op.cit., p.206.
98. Krämer, op.cit., p.330 (William III to Heinsius, Sept. 21).
99. See pp.215-8.

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1. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Aug. 26/Sept. 5.
DRA:Geh.kons. 3, Aug. 15. ARA:S-GA 5927, Hop to Fagel,
Aug. 15/25. AAH 289, Hop to Heinsius, Aug. 15/25. Aarsberetninger VII, p.41 (Aug. 14). DNT X, pp.282-3.
2. DNT X, p.295.
3. DRA:Geh.Kons. 3, Oct. 27. TKUA: Eng AII 20, Sept. 27. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Lexington, Oct. 31.
4. DRA:Geh:kons. 3, Oct. 23. Aarsberetninger VII, pp.55-6 (Oct. 30, 24). Fryzell, op.cit.III, pp.318-9 (Luxdorph to Christian V, Oct.21). DNT X, pp.283-4.
5. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Nov. 20, Dec. 15. DRA: Geh.kons. 3, Nov.27. Aarsberetninger VII, p.62 (Nov.27). DNT X, p.288.
6. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Nov. 7. Aarsberetninger VII, p.63 (Nov.4).
7. SRA:Kp., Dec.6. Négotiations d'Avaux, I, pp.517-8 (D'Avaux to Louis XIV, Nov.25). DNT X, p.287-8.
8. See below, p. 242.
9. Aarsberetninger VII, p.61 (Nov.21). DNT X, p.289.
10. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Dec.9.
11. DRA:Geh.kons. 3, Dec.8. Aarsberetninger VII, p.68 (Dec.8 and 9). DNT X, p.289.
12. Aarsberetninger VII, p. 69 (Dec.11). DNT X, p.289.
13. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Dec.15. ARA:S-GA 7275, Goes to Fagel, Dec.22. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Dec. 12/22. Aarsberetninger VII, pp.67,69 (Dec.11,12,15,16). DNT X, p.289.
14. ARA:AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekeren, Dec.21.
15. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Jan.13/23. PRO:SP 100/21, Citters memorial of Jan.16/26. For Denmark's part in mediation and her communication of French terms see below Chp.10, sect.a (ii).

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16. The assertion is made first in SRSG (S-GA 2340) of Jan. 1 1694. See also DNT X, p. 290.
17. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Dec. 15.
18. DNT X, pp. 290-1.
19. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Jan. 16. DNT X, p. 291.
20. SRA:Kp., Jan. 27, 29. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Feb. 17. BM:Add.Mss.40800, Greg to Trenchard, Feb. 13. Danske Magazin, V Raekke iv Bind (hereafter quoted as DM V iv), p. 237 (Jan. 19). DNT X, pp. 292-5. The discussion in the Swedish chancery revealed a belief in the fraud said to be practised by Danish ships and an unwillingness to be associated with it and so weaken Sweden's own case (loc.cit.).
21. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Feb. 3/13. ARA:S-GA 148, Feb. 9.
22. BM:Add.Mss.37663, Rycaut to Cresset, Feb. 21. DM V iv, pp. 244, 245 (Feb. 10, 12, 13). DNT X, pp. 296-8.
23. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Christian V, Feb. 27. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Mar. 13. DM V iv, p. 252 (Mar. 9). DNT X, p. 298.
24. DRA: Ned.A II 23, Mar. 19. ARA:S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, Mar. 20/30, April 7/17. S-GA 2340, April 10. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Vernon, Mar. 20, April 7. DM V iv, p. 254 (Mar. 19). DNT X pp. 301-2.
25. See below, pp. 276-9.
26. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p. 122 and below, pp. 242, 251.
27. BM:Add.Mss.37663, Rycaut to Blathwayt, Aug. 8. Rycaut commented that this, together with assurances from the duke of Holstein-Plön that Denmark would join the Allies once the Ratzeburg crisis was over, 'serves to show us that the Danes find themselves embroiled & fallen into a snare out of w.ch they know not how to extricate themselves' (loc.cit.).
28. PRO:SP 8/14, Duke of Holstein-Plön to William III, Aug. 14/24.
29. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 20, Sept. 27. Aarsberetninger VII, p. 49, (Sept. 27). DNT X, p. 283.
30. Aarsberetninger VII, p. 54-5 (Oct. 23, 31). DNT X, p. 284. Christiansen, op.cit., p. 795.

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31. DRA:Geh.kons. 3, Dec. 29. DM V iv, p.234 (Jan.2). DNT X, pp.285-7.
32. DM V iv, p.233,236 (Jan.27,16). Kemble, op.cit., p.158 (Dankelman to Falaiseau, Jan.12/22). DNT X, p.292.
33. Krämer, op.cit., p.345 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.16/26).
34. Krämer, op.cit., pp.346,351 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.24/Mar.5, Mar.6/16). DM V iv, p.244 (Feb.23). DNT X, p.296.
35. DRA:Geh.Kons. 4, June 4. Krämer, op.cit., p.357 (William III to Heinsius, June 4/14). DNT X, p.305. Christiansen suggests that Petkum was the son of Simon de Petkum, Frederick III's agent in the Hague in 1652, about which very little is known after the 1670s (loc.cit.. For the latter, see DBL XVIII, p.288).
36. DRA:TKUA: Eng A II 21, July 31. Geh.kons. 4, June 22. DM V iv, pp.279, 284 (June 26, July 27, 31). DNT X, pp.309-10.
37. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 21, Barfod to Christian V, Aug.12. Eng B 70, Pauli to Christian V, Aug.13. PRO:SP 42/4, Aug.11 CSP Dom. 1694-5, p.259 (Stock to Trenchard, Aug.11). DBL II, p.160. T.A. Topsøe-Jensen and E. Marquard, Officerer i Den Dansk-Norske Søetat 1660-1814, Første Bind (Copenhagen, 1935), p.71.
38. T.W.Fulton, The Sovereignty of the Sea (Edinburgh and London, 1911), pp.42,117,206,382.
39. BM:Add.Mss.40800, Greg to Shrewsbury, Oct.27 1694. Fulton, op.cit., p.517.
40. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.376 and reference under note 63 below.
41. HMC:Buccleuch MSS. II 1, p.94 (Shrewsbury to Blathwayt, July 3). DNT X, p.311. DBL II, p.159. The convoy had sailed from Flekkerø on June 9th after Barfod had secured command of the outward journey by lot, as was the custom. (Topsøe-Jensen, op.cit., p.71).
42. DM V iv, pp.284, 286 (July 27, 16). The 'Wachtmeister' under Captain Gustav Watstrang left the convoy on June 24th (Topsøe-Jensen, op.cit., p.71). Both this ship and the Swedish captain were involved in disputes over the Channel salute in 1695 (see below, p.253).
43. BM:Egerton MSS.920, Vernon to Blathwayt, July 24. Add.Mss. 17677/00, L'Hermitage to S-G, Aug.10. HMC:Buccleuch MSS. II 1, p.97 (Blathwayt to Shrewsbury, July 12/22). Lane, 'Denmark', p.181.

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44. Admiral sir Cloudesley Shovell was joint admiral-of-the-fleet with Killigrew and Delavall in 1693. Berkeley was admiral of the blue when the encounter took place. (Ehrman, op.cit., pp.412,647).
45. DBL II, pp.159-60. Topsøe-Jensen, op.cit., p.71.
46. HMC:Buccleuch MSS. II i, p.117 (Council minutes for Aug.15). CSP Dom. 1694-5, p.265 (Shrewsbury to Lords of the Admiralty, Aug.15). DBL II, p.160. Topsøe-Jensen, op.cit., p.71.
47. Jacob Henrik Pauli (ennobled as von Rosenschild in 1698) (1637-1704) was a scholar and appointed historian-royal in 1668. Legation secretary in the Hague from 1669 to 1676, in England in 1678 and France in 1680-2, he was a secret agent in Hamburg at the time of the Danish attack in 1686 and escaped only with some difficulty. His appointment to London in July 1693 can be attributed to Plessen's influence. (Jessen, op.cit., p.127. Brasch, op.cit., p.117. Marquard, op.cit., p.381. DBL XX, p. 136).
48. Skeel suffered from ill-health and financial worries and his repeated requests to be recalled were finally granted in March 1694. He wrote from Gravesend on May 4th and died at Lingen on his way back to Copenhagen on August 5th. (Brasch, op.cit., pp.158-64. DBL XXII, p.102).
49. PRO:SP 100/1, Pauli to Shrewsbury, Aug.13. In this he spoke of the incident as one 'dont le bruit retentira par toute l'Europe et dont la memoire ne sera jamais effacee ... qui merite indisputablement que ceux qui en sont les Autheurs ... en respondent de leur vie, et de leur teste'. A copy of the letter was enclosed in his report to Christian V on August 13 (In DRA:TKUA:Eng B 70).
50. Greg claimed that the title commissary was equivalent in authority to consul and was granted to persons of liberal education. (BM:Add.Mss.40800 and PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Vernon, Sept.22).
51. PRO:SP 104/197, Shrewsbury to Greg, Aug.17. HMC:Buccleuch MSS. II i, pp.116,118 (Shrewsbury to Blathwayt, Aug.14, 17).
52. Krämer, op.cit., p.364 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.2). HMC:Buccleuch II i, pp.120-1. (Blathwayt to Shrewsbury, Aug.23/Sept.2). Shrewsbury's original letter read 'her Majesty resolves to Call the Commander to an account as a private person in this regard, and to do herself right in such a manner as is agreeable to justice.' (SP 104/197, Shrewsbury to Greg, Aug.17), Blathwayt to Greg, Aug.22/Sept.1 (extract)).

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53. DNT X, p. 311.
54. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 31d II, Greg to Shrewsbury, Aug. 7/17.
55. DRA:Geh.kons. 4, Aug. 6. DM V iv, pp. 288, 292, 294 (July 21, Aug. 7, 3). DNT X, p. 311.
56. DRA:Geh.kons. 4, Oct. 16, 20. KHA:16 XI d, Extr. prot. Sept. 4. PRO:SP 104/197, Shrewsbury to Greg, Nov. 16. SP 100/1, Christian V to Pauli, Aug. 28. BM:Add. MSS. 35107, Council minutes of Nov. 15. DM V iv, pp. 293, 299, 307 (Aug. 28, Sept. 3, Oct. 15).
57. PRO:SP 104/197, Blathwayt to Greg, Sept. 12/22 (copy), Shrewsbury to Shovell, Nov. 16. SP 44/100, Shrewsbury to lords of the Admiralty, Nov. 27.
58. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 70, Pauli to Christian V, Nov. 7. DM V iv, p. 312 (Nov. 6). Brasch, op.cit., p. 119. Pauli complained of intrigues against him by La Fouleresse, who was in England at this time with Rantzau (Brasch, op.cit., p. 119). See also above, chp. 7, note 39).
59. Topsøe-Jensen, op.cit., pp. 71-2.
60. See below, p. 253.
61. BM:Add. MSS. 28940, Captn. Poulton to Admiralty, June 1.
62. BM:Add. MSS. 40801, Greg to Shrewsbury, June 18, to Blathwayt July 16. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, June 22. Fryzell, op.cit. III, pp. 388-9 (Luxdorff to Christian V, June 26).
63. SRA:Utr.Reg.:Charles XI to Leijonclo, June 28, to B. Oxenstierna, Aug. 3. HMC:Downshire MSS. I ii, p. 531 (Robinson to Trumbull, Aug. 10).
64. See below, chp. 10, section ii c.
65. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to B. Oxenstierna, Aug. 3. Danica: Charles XI to Leijonclo, Aug. 13. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Aug. 8.
66. DM V iv, p. 292 (Aug. 17). Thyrén, op.cit., p. 158, note 2. DNT X, p. 312.
67. DRA:Geh.kons. 4, Sept. 10. TKUA:Eng A II 21, Aug. 31. DM V iv, p. 299 (Sept. 11). DNT X, p. 312.

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68. KHA:16 XI c, William III to Heinsius, Aug. 29. Krämer, op.cit., p.364 (Ibid.). DNT X, p.313. Frederik Ahlefeldt is not to be confused with Hans Henrik Ahlefeldt, who was Danish envoy in England 1690-1. (see above, p. 390 (102)).
69. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 21, Ahlefeldt to Reventlow, Sept. 18/28. DM V iv, p.507 (Oct.8). DNT X, pp.313-4.
70. DM V iv, pp.312,313 (Nov.13, 24). Thyrén, op.cit., p.158. note 2. DNT X, p.314.
71. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct.20,27. His talks are very scantily recorded.
72. DM V iv, pp.307, 313, 319 (Oct.26, Nov.26,29, Dec.1). Thyrén, op.cit., p.158, note 2. DNT X, p.314.
73. Krämer, op.cit., p.372 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.4/14). In the autumn of 1694 Denmark had attempted to call a meeting of princes opposed to the ninth electorate but had been thwarted by warnings from Vienna (Klopp, op.cit. VI, pp.354-5).
74. Krämer, op.cit. p. 375 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.14/24).
75. Ibid., p.376 (William III to Heinsius, Dec.18/28).
76. Japikse, Correspondentie I i, p.424 (Heinsius to William III, Dec.31).
77. Ibid., pp.429-30 (Heinsius to William III, Jan.4).
78. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 21, Powers for Lente of Jan.5. DM V iv, p.318 (Dec.31). DNT X, pp.316-22.
79. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Mar.9/19. Krämer, op.cit., pp.378,382 (William III to Heinsius, Jan.22/Feb.1, Feb.15/25).
80. Ibid., op.cit., pp.379, 381, 386 (William III to Heinsius, Jan. 25/Feb.4, Feb.12/22, Feb.22/Mar.4).
81. Ibid., pp.386,393 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.22/Mar.4, April 9/19). DNT X, pp.322-4.
82. DNT X, pp.325-6.
83. DM VI ii, p.114 (Mar.12). DNT X, pp.316, 328-37, 347.
84. SRA: Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Mar.9/19, 16/26. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Greg to Lexington, April 2, Jessen, op.cit., p.198. Lane, 'Denmark', p.181. The Münster alliance is dated March 8/18 and can be found in PRO:SP 108/23. The

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84. (contd.) princess royal of Denmark is mentioned in a list of possible brides for the stadholder-king drawn up in 1696 (Japikse, Correspondentie I ii, pp.80-1).
85. BM:Add.Mss.40801, Greg to Blathwayt, May 28. Add.Mss.46542, do. to do., June 1. See DNT X, pp.122-61 for texts of the treaties.
86. DNT X, p.345.
87. DRA:TKUA Eng A II 21, Alliance project of July 17/27. DNT X, pp.348-51.
88. DRA:Geh.kons. 4, Aug.16. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Aug.17. BM:Add.Mss.40801, Greg to Shrewsbury, April 30. Krämer, op.cit., pp.400,637 (Heinsius to William III, Aug.20, to Stadholder of Friesland, Sept.10). Marquard, op.cit., p.278. DNT X, p.346.
89. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 21, Account, Aug.17. This calculation, sent to Lente and Plessen on this date, gives Denmark an outlay of 250,000 Rd. p.a. on troops she would lend in exchange for subsidies of 200,000 Rd.
90. DNT X, p.353.
91. Krämer, op.cit., p.409 (William III to Heinsius, Sept.23). DNT X, p.354.
92. BM:Add.Mss.17677/00, L'Hermitage to S-G, Jan.1. Brasch, op.cit. pp.34,168. Jessen, op.cit., p.177. Molesworth, op.cit., passim. Robbins, op.cit., pp.93, 98-109. Horn, op.cit., pp.286-7.
93. Brasch, op.cit., pp.126-7. Leijonclo reported on July 22nd 1690 that Molesworth snapped his fingers and said 'autant nous soucions de vos vaisseaux, qui sont comme la moutarde après disné.' (Quoted in Brasch, op.cit. pp.126-7).
94. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 31c I, Molesworth to Blathwayt, June 4,24. Brasch, op.cit., pp.140-1,204. Jessen, op.cit., pp.167-9. Brasch believed that his departure was closely associated with the quarrel, but he had been promised six months leave at the end of 1691 and had been pressing for fulfilment before news of La Hougue reached Copenhagen. Blathwayt wrote on June 2nd informing him that William permitted him to return whenever he chose. Molesworth replied to this letter twelve days later and had an audience on the 15th. He left Copenhagen with his wife and children on Friday the 17th. Doubtless a desire to defend his conduct in person made him all the more anxious to come home. (SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Feb.19, June 17. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 31c I, Molesworth to Blathwayt, Mar.15, May 21, June 14, Blathwayt to Molesworth, June 21, ARA:SGA 7275, Goes to Fagel, June 21/July 1)

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95. Brasch, op.cit., pp.146, 149, 169. Jessen, op.cit., pp.171-3. Horn, op.cit., p.287. Molesworth had no wish to return to Copenhagen if another post could be found for him. The delay in giving him his dismissal seems to have been occasioned by the desire to find first a suitable replacement. (SRA: Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Feb.19, 1692. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 31c I, Molesworth to Blathwayt, May 21, June 14). He was proposed in 1694 as a commissioner of customs and excise, but this ran up against William's opposition. (NUL:Portland MSS: Sunderland to Portland, July 13/23, 1694 (PWA 1238). For Molesworth's career after 1693 see, Robbins, op.cit., pp.92-3. For attempts to find a successor see above, Chp. 7, note 118.
96. DRA:TKUA: Eng B 69, and BM:Sloane MSS.3828, Skeel's memorial of Dec.18. Brasch, op.cit., pp.42,44, 208-9. Jessen, op. cit., p.180.
97. Brasch, op.cit., pp.43,45.
98. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 69, Skeel to Christian V, Dec.29, Jan.2. BM: Add.Mss.17677 00, L'Hermitage to S-G, Jan.8. Brasch, op.cit., pp.47-9. Among the passages in Skeel's memorial (printed in Brasch, op.cit., pp.211-2. There is an English version in BM:Sloane MSS.3828) were those referring to arbitrary taxes (p.47 of the text), numbing of the peoples' senses (p.75) and the fitness of Lutheranism for an absolute government (p.258) and comparing Danish government to that of the Sublime Porte (p.262).
99. BM:Add.Mss.17677 00, L'Hermitage to S-G, Jan.22. Brasch, op.cit., pp.53-4, 65-77. PRO:PC 2/73, Jan.11. Most of the relevant documents are printed in Brasch, op.cit., pp.209-18.
100. Brasch, op.cit., 64-69, 72-4, 82. Jessen, op.cit., pp.184-6. Horn, op.cit., p.100.
101. Brasch, op.cit., pp.65. Jessen, op.cit., pp.182-3. Horn, op.cit., p.286.

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1. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct. 29/Nov.8. BM:Add. MSS.37663, Rycaut to Colt, Jan.18. Krämer, op.cit. pp.299-300 (William III to Heinsius, Nov.18/28). Négociations d'Avaux I, pp. 29 (d'Avaux to Croissi, Feb. 22) p.15, note 2. V.d.Heim, op.cit. III, p.viii. Heinsius seems to have argued against such a meeting on the grounds that it would arouse too much suspicion among the Allies. William was converted to this view, but later changed his mind again (Krämer, op.cit., pp.303,308-9 (William III to Heinsius, Dec. 3/13, Jan.10/20)). Rycaut wrote to Colt on January 18th that the French envoys left Dunkirk a month before, but d'Avaux had not sailed when he wrote to Croissi on January 17th. Four Dutch ships were appointed to intercept the French convoy under Bart, which sailed to Christiansand, but, according to Rycaut, arrived on station a day too late (BM:Add.MSS.37663, Rycaut to Colt, Jan. 18, to Stepney, Feb.11. Négociations d'Avaux I, pp.29-30 (d'Avaux to Croissi, Jan.27, Feb.22)).
2. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Feb.11/21. Krämer, op.cit., pp.308-9 (William III to Heinsius, Jan.10/20).
3. Klopp, op.cit. VI,pp.198-9, 207, 211-2, 237. Japikse, Prins Willem II, pp.351, 355. J.K.Oudendijk, Willem III (Amsterdam, 1954), p.260.
4. Klopp, op.cit.,VI, p.171.
5. Krämer, op.cit., p.351 (William III to Heinsius, Mar. 6/16 1694). Carlson, op.cit.,V, pp.362-3.
6. Krämer, op.cit., pp.349, 382-3 (William III to Heinsius, Feb.27/ Mar. 8 1694, Feb. 15/25 1695). Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.355. Klopp, op.cit., VI, p.356.
7. Instructions données.....XXI(Hollande), Tome I^{er}, (Paris, 1922), pp.413-4.
8. SRA:Kp.,July 13. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, July 25. Négociations d'Avaux I, pp.259-62 (Louis XIV to d'Avaux, July 2). V.d.Heim, op.cit.,III, pp.17-19 (Heekeran to Heinsius, July 22). Klopp, op.cit. VI, p.238. Bratt, op.cit., p.31.
9. Négociations d'Avaux I, pp.68-9 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Mar.18).
10. BM:Add.MSS.35105, Robinson to Nottingham, Mar.22 (copy). (Printed in v.d.Heim, op.cit.,III, pp.6-7 (Robinson to Nottingham, Mar.22)). Négociations d'Avaux I, pp.100-3 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, April 1). Klopp, op.cit., VI, p.237. Bratt, op.cit., p. 30.

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11. BM: Add. MSS. 35105, Robinson to Nottingham, Mar. 22. V.d.Heim, op.cit.I, pp.187-8 (Heinsius to Haren, May 18). Ibid.III, p.xxv. Klopp, op.cit., VI, p.237. Oxenstierna was doubtful of Heekerens discretion and suspected him of being won by his opponents. It is obviously the latter who is referred to in the chancellor's letter to Leijoncrona of November 25th 1693 as 'een minister...som...later forlede sigh af dem som under s8ta ordh, forbarga den galla de hafva emot de Allierade.' In the same letter he tells Leijoncrona to discourage any plans for replacing Duncombe since Robinson, who is 'wäl intentionerat, och sin Konung trogen', can do all that is necessary with much less fuss than a full envoy. (Letter in SRA: Anglica. See also letter of February 15th, 1694 in the same collection).
12. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, May 20/30, May 27/June 6. Krämer, op.cit., p.321 (William III to Heinsius, May 30).
13. SRA:MRUA: June 6, 7.
14. V.d.Heim, op.cit., II, p.14 (Heekerens to Heinsius, July 8).
15. Négociations d'Avaux I, p.328 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, July 29).
16. Krämer, op.cit., p.328 (Heinsius to William III, Aug. 29). V.d.Heim, op.cit., III, p.16 (Heekerens to Heinsius, July 8). Klopp, op.cit., VI, pp.207, 238.
17. V.d.Heim, op.cit., III, p.21 (Heinsius to Dijkvelt, Sept.5). BRO: Trumbull:Mss: Littlerote and Trumbull, Lillieroot to Trumbull, May 7/17, 21/31 1695.
18. Instructions données: Hollande I, pp.415-7. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.356.
19. Négociations d'Avaux I, p.390 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Sept.4).
20. Negociations d'Avaux I, pp.402-3, 413, 463 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV Sept.16, Oct.14; Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Oct.14). V.d.Heim, op.cit., III, pp.23-4 (Heekerens to Heinsius, Sept. ? 1693). Bratt, op.cit., pp.33-5. A.Legrelle, La Diplomatic Francaise et la Succession d'Espagne. T.I., (Braine-le-Comte, 1895), p.386. Actes et et Mémoires I, pp.38-40. Klopp, op.cit.VI, p.264. M.A.Thomson, Louis XIV and William III 1689-1697 (E.H.R. LXXVI), p.42.
21. SRA:Anglica:B.Oxenstierna to Leijoncrona, Nov. 25. ('Ty stöora advanceer åro reda af francrike gjorde, och det som minnu atterstar är och at handla på, hvilket förmodligen och lärer facili negotio kunna afg å ras...Frankrikes mening är intet at göra stort väck häraf, Utan där de Allierade så behaga, kunna här alla de essentielleste styckorna upphandlas och underskrifvas af deras Minister som här åra; och der man sedan will komma på någon ohrt i hop och par les formes göra et alment slut, så ställa han det til

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21. (contd.) de confoedererades behagh'). ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Dec. 2. Négociations d'Avaux I, pp.530-1 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Dec. 2.). Carlson, op.cit. V, p.352.
22. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Snoilsky and Storre, November 25. Bratt,op.cit., pp.35-6. Carlson, op.cit.V, p. 352.
23. See above, p.252.
24. Aarsberetninger VII, pp.32-3 (July 4).
25. Ibid, pp.7-8, 32-3 (Mar.7, July 7, 8).
26. Ibid., p.49 (Sept. 11).
27. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Dec. 9. Actes et Mémoires I, pp.56-8. Lane, 'Denmark', pp.177-8. Klopp, op.cit.,VI, p.262.
28. ARA:S-GA 7275, Memorial from Lente, Jan.22. PRO:SP 75/23, Greg to Trenchard, Dec. 16. BM:Add.Mss.7076, Greg to Stepney, Dec. 1. Aarsberetninger VII, pp.67, 68 (Dec. 5, 15, 4). DM V iv, p.235 Jan.2). Klopp, op.cit.VI, pp.289-90.
29. DRA:TKUA:Eng. B 69, Skeel to Christian V, Dec. 19. Actes et Mémoires I, pp.41-5. Klopp, op.cit., VI, p.262.
30. V.d.Heim, op.cit.,III, p.63 (Heinsius to Dijkvelt, Jan. 17).
31. DRA:Geh.kons. 4, May 18. DM V iv, pp.278, 282-3 (June 2, July 24). The main features of Jessen's project were the return of a neutralized Strasburg and secret clauses on French subsidies (DM V iv, p.268 (May 11)).
32. DM V iv, p.276 (June 9).
33. ARA:S-GA 2339, July 6. AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekeran, May 23, Aug. 29.
34. SRA:Utr.Reg., Powers for Oxenstierna, Wrede and Gyldenstolpe, June 12. MRUA:Oct.23. ARA:S-GA 2339, July 31. S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Nov. 4.
35. Ibid., Heekeran to Fagel, Nov. 11, 22. Rycaut reported to Cresset that Keekeran had declared on the Swedish demands, 'il fault sortir ou par la Porte ou par la fenêtre' (letter of N^ov. 15th in BM:Add. MSS.37663).

36. SRA:Utr.Reg., and Hollandica:Charles XI to Lillieroot, Nov. 15.
 MRUA:Oct.23. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Nov. 25.
 Thyrén, op.cit., p.157. Landberg, op.cit., p.249.
37. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Nov. 28. Actes et Mémoires I, pp. 46-8.
38. ARA:AAH 333, Heekeran to Heinsius, Jan.6, 16.
39. See below, section ii a.
40. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Dec. 29/Jan.8. ARA:
 S-GA 2340. April 19. S-GA 7285, April 21. An arrangement was
 made by which the money owed by the States-General (standing
 by the end of 1694 at 82,000 Rd.) was used to redeem the jewels
 and other articles pawned by Queen Christina to Don Fernando
 Illon de Borneval in 1663 and the Swedish merchants recompensed
 out of the Swedish treasury. The jewels, which included the
 great ruby seized in Prague by marshal Königsmark, had come
 into the possession of Jacob Nuñes Henriques in Amsterdam and
 on the queen's death in Rome in 1689 were claimed by Charles XI.
 His rights were, however, disputed by Cardinal Pompeo Azzolini
 under the terms of Christina's will and Henriques was unwilling
 to release the jewels without adequate security against the
 Italian. His brother-in-law Texeira in Hamburg also had an
 interest in the transaction. The States of Holland finally
 ordered the release of the jewels in July 1694 and they arrived
 in Stockholm in October of the following year after 162, 518 fl.
 had been paid to Henriques and 15, 783 Rd. to Texeira. Of the
 Dutch compensation only 801 Rd. remained to be remitted to Sweden.
 (SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Friesendorff, July 31, 1689, do. to
 G. Oxenstierna, Nov. 13 1689, Dec. 24 1690, Mar. 7 1691, do. to
 Lillieroot, April 5 1693, Jan. 30, Aug. 8, Sept. 19, Nov. 6, Dec. 7
 1694, Jan. 8, Mar. 2 1695. Do. to treasury, Mar. 7 1695. Rp.91a,
 Oct. 30 1694, Kp., Nov. 5 1692, Mar.30, 1693, April 4, 30 1694.
 Hollandica:Friesendorff to Charles XI, Aug.17/27 1689, G. Oxen-
 stierna to Charles XI, Sept. 28/Oct. 8, Oct.26/Nov.5 1689, Dec.6/16
 1690, Jan.22/Feb. 3, June 27/July 7, Oct. 24/Nov. 3 1691, Lillieroot
 to Charles XI, June 18/28, Nov. 19/29 1692, April 29/May 9, May 6/6
 1693, Jan.13/23, Mar. 10/20, July 14/24, Oct.13/23, Dec. 8/18,
 15/25 1694, Dec.21/Jan.1, 29/8 1694/5, June 1/11, 15/25 1695.
 ARA:S-GA 6548, G. Oxenstierna to S-G, Jan.23 1691. S-GA 6550,
 memo. from Friesendorff, July 7/17, 1694. RSH, Feb. 8, 1691, July 17
 1694. (Loenboem S., Uplysningar i Swenska Historien II, (Stockholm,
 1773) pp.88-9 Handlingar V, pp. 38-9).
41. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Palmquist, April 28, May 23, 26.
 ARA:AAH 333, Heekeran to Heinsius, Mar. 31. PRO:SP 95/14,
 Robinson to Shrewsbury, May 9. FO 95/577, d'Avaux to Portchartrain,
 Mar.24, May 5 (all dates in 1694). Thyrén, op.cit., p.42, notes 2,
 3. See also p. 251.

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42. SRA:MRUA, Jan.10, 16. KB:I:o:14:5, Jan. 10.
43. Bratt, op.cit., pp.36-7, 39-40.
44. SRA:Utr.Reg., Constitution for meeting with d'Avaux, Jan. 18, Charles XI to Lillieroot, Horn and Snoilsky, Jan.24. PRO:FO 95/577, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Feb. 3. Bratt, op.cit., pp.36-9.
45. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Feb. 3, (containing copies of the Swedish reply in German and Dutch). Fryxell, op.cit.III, p.221 (Starhemberg to Leopold I, Jan.17/27). It is obvious from the latter that some of the terms of the reply were known a week before it was officially delivered.
46. Krämer, op.cit., p.341 (William III to Heinsius, Jan.2/12). V.d.Heim, op.cit., III, p.69 (Heinsius to Dijkvelt, Jan. 29). Klopp, op.cit.VI,pp.267-8. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.356.
47. Krämer, op.cit.,pp.341,342, 343 (William III to Heinsius, Jan.2/12, Jan.27/Feb.7, Jan.30/Feb.9). V.d.Heim, op.cit., III, p.62 (Heinsius to Dijkvelt, Jan. 17). Instructions donnees:Hollande I, p. 419.
48. Krämer, op.cit., pp.345-6 (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 16/26).
49. Krämer, op. cit., pp.346, 349 (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 24/ Mar.5, Feb. 27/Mar. 8).
50. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Mar. 10/20. ARA:AAH 333, Heekeran to Heinsius, Feb. 10, Mar. 27. Krämer, op.cit., p.356 (William III to Heinsius, April 17/27). V.d.Heim, op.cit.,III,p.21 (Heinsius to Dijkvelt, Sept. 5 1693).
51. SRA:Hollandica:Förhandlingar m. envoyen v. Heekeran, Feb. 6. Krämer, op.cit., p.349 (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 27/Mar.8). V.d.Heim, op.cit.,III, pp.100-1 (Heinsius to Görtsz, May 24). Klopp, op.cit.,VI, p.268. Carlson, op.cit.V, p. 364.
52. Krämer, op.cit., p.349 (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 27/Mar.8). V.d.Heim, op.cit.,III, pp.xx-xxi.
53. Krämer, op.cit. p. 351 (William III to Heinsius, Mar. 6/16).
54. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, June 2/12. V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, p.102. L.v.Aitzema, op.cit., Tweede Vervolg of Derde Stuk, Bk.37, p.57. Landberg, op.cit.,p.252. Carlson, op. cit.V, p.364, Bratt, op.cit., pp. 43-4.

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55. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, June 2/12. BM:Add. MSS.46528, Blathwayt to Lexington, Oct. 4/14 1695. V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, pp.108, 113-4, 152-3 (Görtz to William III, July 14/24, Dijkvelt to Heinsius, Aug. 16. Heinsius to Dijkvelt, Aug. 3. 1695). Bratt, op.cit., p.45. Klopp, op.cit.VI, pp.356-7 H.R.Von Srbik, Osterreichische Staatsverträge: Niederlande: Erster Band (Vienna, 1912), p. 309.
56. PRO:FO 95/577, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Feb. 25.
57. PRO:FO 95/577, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 19.
58. Ibid., Louis XIV to d'Avaux, June 3, July 15. Instructions données: Suède, p. 178. (Addit. Instrs. to d'Avaux, May 10). Klopp, op. cit.VI, pp.365-6. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.365. Bratt,op.cit., p. 42.
59. Thomson, 'Louis XIV', pp. 45-6.
60. BM:Add.Mss. 46534, Addit. Instrs. to Lexington, Oct. 21/31. V.d. Heim, op.cit.III, pp.108, 114, 112-3 (Görtz to William III, July 14/24, Dijkvelt to Heinsius, Aug. 16. Heinsius to Görtz, Sept. 4). Japikse, Correspondentie I i, pp.423-4 (Heinsius to William III, Dec. 31).
61. V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, pp.112-3 (Heinsius to Görtz, Sept. 4).
62. Japikse, Prins Willem II, p.359. Bratt, op.cit., p.45. G. Koch, Die Friedensbestrebungen Wilhelms III (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1903), pp.10-11. Actes et Mémoires I, pp.xiii-xiv. Legrelle, Notes et Documents sur la Paix de Ryswick (Lille, 1894) pp.44-5. Instructions données: Hollande I, pp.443-5.
63. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Nov. 10/20. ARA:S-GA 6550, Rumpf to S-G, July 10. AAH 333, Heekeran to Heinsius, Dec. 1. PRO:FO 95/577, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Nov. 24. V.d.Heim, op. cit.III, p.xxxv. Srbik, op.cit., p.314. Thomson, 'Louis XIV', pp.45-6. Bratt, op.cit., p.46. Klopp, op.cit., VI, p.361. D'Avaux reported that it was Oxenstierna who persuaded Heekeran to return to the Hague to report on Swedish peace proposals (PRO:FO 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Jan. 19 1695). I have found no further evidence on this, but it seems possible.
64. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Nov. 24/Dec. 4. Krämer, op.cit., p.369 (William to Heinsius, Nov. 23/Dec.3). V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, p.127 (Heinsius to Heekeran, Dec. 4). Bratt, op.cit. p. 61.
65. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Feb. 2. FO 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Feb. 29. BM:Add.MSS.46525, Shrewsbury to Lexington, Jan.25.NUL:Portland MSS., Lexington to Portland, Copies of the counter-project and conditions for its publication (PWA 1297). Japikse, Correspondentie I i, p.442 (Heinsius to William III,Jan25).

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65. (Continued) Actes et Memoires I, pp.59-60. Bratt, op.cit., pp. 49-51. Koch, op.cit., p.12. Srbik, op.cit., p. 317. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.370. Klopp, op.cit.,VII, pp.28-9. The counter-project demanded: (1) the reestablishment of Westphalia for the Empire, (2) compensation for the Emperor, (3) restoration of Lorraine and Bar, (4) the Pyrenean Settlement for Spain, (5) Pignerol and compensation for Savoy, (6) the recognition of the Franco-Dutch trade treaty, (7) freedom for the Allies to make additional demands and (8) recognition of the Anglo-French trade treaty and England's retention of all gains in North America.
66. BM:Add.Mss. 46525, Shrewsbury to Lexington, Mar. 12. NUL:Portland MSS., Heinsius to Sunderland, Jan. 18 1695 (PWA 557a). Krämer, op. cit., p.379 (William III to Heinsius, Jan. 29/Feb. 8). Srbik, op.cit., p.318. D'Avaux went no further than to promise again that any treaty would be null and void unless William received satisfaction. (NUL:Portland MSS., Lexington to Portland, Mar.16/26 (PWA 1295-6)).
67. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Dec. 8 1694. Krämer, op.cit., pp.382-3. (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 15/25, Mar.1/11). Japikse, Prins Willem,II, p. 362. Landberg, op.cit., p.252. Klopp, op.cit. VII, p.34-5, 46-7. Bratt, op.cit., pp.47, 51. See above note 11.
68. PRO:FO 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 4. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, Mar.16. Malmström, Nils Bielke, p.181. Landberg, op.cit., p.253. Carlson, op.cit.,V, p.273. Bielke's moderation may have been due in part to his wish to be appointed mediator. (PRO:FO 95/555, d'Avaux to LouisXIV, May 25).
69. Lars Wallenstedt (1631-1703) was a member of the prosecution against the regents in 1682 and was appointed regent for Charles XII.
70. Landberg, p.248. Carlson, op.cit.,V, pp.347-8, 372.
71. Jacob Johan Hastfer (1647-1695) was appointed governor-general in 1687 and field-marshall in 1690.
72. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.372. D'Avaux, while reporting that the marshal was doing his best to influence Charles, feared that 'il n'oze luy reparler plus d'une fois d'une affaire lorsqu'il y trouve de l'obstacle ...d'ailleurs il n'est pas si versé dans les affaires' (PRO:FO 95/577, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, April 7, 1694). Hastfer returned to Livonia in 1695 and died the same year.
73. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, April 13. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, April 6. Actes et Memoires I, pp.76-7, 79-82. Carlson, op.cit.,V, pp.373-4.
74. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Mar. 23.
75. SRA:MRUA, May 18, 29. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Blathwayt, June 1. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, June 1. Bratt, op.cit.,

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75. (Continued) pp. 52-3. The final decisions are in close accord with those endorsed by Oxenstierna in the chancery, where he seems to have shared a common desire to preserve Sweden's chances of mediation by pleasing both sides. He is perhaps more anxious to preserve allied than French friendship but fails to take a strong line of his own on the issue. (SRA:Kp., May 18, 28).
76. SRA:Hollandica and Utr. Reg., reply to v.Heekeran, June 5 (translated extract in SP 95/14). ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, June 18. Actes et Mémoires I, pp. 85-7. Bratt, op.cit., pp.54-5.
77. SRA:Kp., June 8, 19. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, June 12. FO 95/555, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, July 28. Bratt, op.cit., pp. 56-8.
78. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Palmquist, Sept. 9, Oct. 8. PRO:FO 95/577, Portchartrain to d'Avaux, Oct. 13 1694, FO 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, April 20, June 1, 4. Portchartrain to d'Avaux, Sept. 21. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.122.
79. PRO:FO 95/577, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, April 25, 1694. Bratt, op.cit., p.65.
80. For the revival of the Holstein-Gottorp disputes see below, Chp.11, sect. 1.
81. Krämer, op.cit.,p.401 (Heinsius to William III, Aug. 27). V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, pp.159-61 (Heinsius to Heekeran, Aug. 27).
82. SRA:Ericberg: B.Oxenstierna to Stenbock, Sept.14. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Sept. 14. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.380. Oxenstierna's 'signal tånst' was to have persuaded Charles on his return to declare that 'so long as the French king does not give an immediate assurance that he is willing to satisfy the Allies in those demands on which they insist with such good reason...that His Majesty will give them the aid which he is bound to render.' (Ericberg, loc.cit.). Such a move is a sign of the chancellor's growing impatience with d'Avaux, but that a statement in such an uncompromising form was never made does not necessarily imply a victory for French intrigue. It may well have resulted from Charles and Oxenstierna's own reluctance to commit themselves.
83. Koch, op.cit., pp.15-16. Klopp,op.cit.VII, p.124. Japikse, Prins Willem,II, pp.365, 368.
84. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct. 26/Nov.5, Nov.2/12, 16/26. ARA:S-GA 151, Nov. 1. KHA:16 XIc:William III to Heinsius, Oct.21/31. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.378. For the whole question of intercepted letters, see above, pp.26-7.
85. SRA:Hollandica:Förhandl. m. env. v. Heekeran, Memorial of Nov.14/24. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Nov. 16.

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86. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Lillieroot and Leijoncrona, Nov. 27. Rp. 91a, Nov. 29. MRUA:Nov. 26. Hollandica: Förh.m.env.v.Heekeren: Reply to memorial, Nov. 30 (copy also in PRO:SP 95/14). Landberg. op.cit., p.233. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.380. Bratt, op.cit., pp.65-6.
87. PRO:FO 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Dec. 7. D'Avaux also reported that Bielke's attitude had changed since he was promised the arrears of his French pension (loc.cit.).
88. See below,pp. 258-9.
89. See below, Chp. 11, sect. ii b.
90. SRA:Kp., May 28. Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, April 30. BM:Add.Mss.17677PP, L'Hermitage to S-G, May 3.
91. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, April 30. PRO:SP 44/274, Aug. 8. BM:Add.Mss.40780, Minutes of Aug. 8.
92. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, July 2. HMC:Downshire MSS. I i, p. 491 (Trumbull to Blathwayt, July 2). BM:Add.Mss. 40782, Minutes of Aug. 12. Leijoncrona's orders were that, if England seemed to wish to hush matters up, he should simply take the attitude he did, since Wattrangh could be considered to have punished his opponent enough, but that, if England attempted to defend her rights, he should protest strongly at the novelty of the claim. Even then he was to propose negotiations and try to avoid unpleasantness. (SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijoncrona, May 29).
93. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Aug. 13. BM:Add.Mss.17677 PP, L'Hermitage to S-G, Aug.23. PRO:SP 42/4, Berkeley to Shrewsbury, Aug.12. Clark, Dutch Alliance, pp.97-8. Carlson, op.cit. V, pp.376-7.
94. BM:Add.Mss.40782, Aug. 13.
95. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona's memo. of Sept.4. PRO:SP 44/274, Sept. 6 (also in BM:Add.Mss.40782).
96. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Sept. 14. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, Sept. 18. Robinson reported to Trumbull on Sept. 7th that 'His Maj.ty was in an exceeding great rage' (in SP 95/14, loc.cit.).
97. SRA:Rp.91a, Sept.1. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Sept. 7, 12, -21, do. to Leijonclo, Sept. 25. HMC:Downshire MSS. I ii, p.552 (Robinson to Trumbull, Sept. 21). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.377.
98. PRO:FO 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Oct. 5.

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99. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct. 5/15, 8/18. KHA:16
 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Oct. 25/Nov. 4. Clause XV reads
 'Praesens Tractatus ac Confoederatio nihil derogabit praeeminentiae,
 Juri ac Dominio cuicunque alterutrius Confoederatorum in suis
 Maribus, Fretis atque Aquis quibuscumque, sed habeant retineantque
 sibi cadem pari amplitudine qua hactenus gavisi sunt, & quae illis
 jure competit' (Du Mont, op.cit.VI, p.387).
100. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Oct. 12/22. Klopp,
 (op.cit.VII, p.139) records a conversation between Auersberg and
 Trumbull in October, when the Imperial ambassador proposed that
 William should imitate Charles II and order English ships to
 ignore neutrals. Trumbull replied that Charles II had had no
 pretender to challenge him and that if William changed matters
 he would be despised as a foreigner.
101. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Oct. 23. Krämer, op.cit.,
 p.418 (William III to Heinsius, Dec. 24/Jan.3). V.d.Heim, op.cit.,
 III, p. 172 (William III to Heinsius, Nov. 19/29).
102. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Dec. 24. PRO:SP 44/204,
 Trumbull to Lords of The Admiralty, Dec. 24.
103. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Jan. 17. Hollandica:
 Lillieroot to Charles XI, Jan. 21/31. BRO:Trumbull MSS.:Cabinet
 Minutes: Jan.26 1696. Leijoncrona in his dispatch gives Auersberg
 as his source of information and reports that William was parti-
 cularly pleased that the proposal should have come from the popular
 Russell, who, he had thought, would oppose all expedients.
104. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Jan. 17, Feb. 3.
105. BM:Add.Mss.40801, Greg. to Trumbull, Oct. 12, 24. The order to
 English ships appears to have covered only Swedish men-of-war
 (The cabinet minutes of January 26th (see above, note 103) make
 no mention of the Danes).

Chapter 11.

1. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.384. See also above, Chp. 9.
2. Olmer, op.cit.I, pp.5-6, 9. Stille, Studier, pp.178-9, 218-36. DNT X, pp.55, 519. C.F. Allen, op.cit.II v, pp.324, 337-8. Ibid., II vi, pp.74-5. Landberg, op.cit., pp.250-1. DBL V, p.166. Robinson described even this agreement in Swedish eyes as 'a step that can hardly fail to involve the Duke in new misfortunes; and such a neglect of the Friendship of Sweden, as will make it much less concern'd for his interest than hitherto. PRO: SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, June 23, 1694).
3. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, Nov.26. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna and Lillieroot, May 18. PRO:SP 75/24, Greg to Vernon, Feb.5. SP 82/19, Rycaut to Vernon, Mar.5. SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Nov.16. Olmer, op.cit.I, pp.7, 10-32, 35. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall på Holstein-Gottorp vid Karl XI's død' (HT 1898), p.1. Landberg, op.cit., pp.251, 252. C.F. Allen, op.cit.II vi, pp.83. DNT X, pp.519-20. Jessen, op.cit., pp.204-5. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.383.
4. SRA:MRUA:Nov.25, Nov.26. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to G.Oxenstierna Lillieroot and Leijoncrona, Nov.27. Rp. 91a, Nov.29. PRO: F.O. 95/555, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Dec.7. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.385. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.40.
5. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Leijoncrona, G. Oxenstierna, Snoilsky and Storre, Nov.27. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, Dec.10. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.39.
6. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Dec.14/24. For the action against foreign merchants see below, sect. (ii)b and for Danish negotiations see, pp.227-8.
7. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Dec.17/27, Jan.7/17. (The first also printed in Krämer, op.cit., pp.417-8 but with omissions).
8. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Dec.24.
9. SRA: Skr.t.K.Mt., B. Oxenstierna to Charles XI, Jan.3. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.385. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.69-70.
10. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Palmquist, Jan.11. Rp. 91b, Jan. 11. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, Jan.21. PRO:SP 95/14 Robinson to Trumbull, Dec.4, Jan.11. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, Jan.11. Bratt, op.cit., pp.71-4. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.381. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.71-2.

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11. Olmer, Konflikten I, p. 38. Carlson, op.cit.V, p. 386.
12. KB:I:O:14:6, Jan. 15. SRA:Rp.91b, Jan. 18. Bratt, op.cit., p. 74. Olmer, Konflikten I, p. 73. DNT X, pp.218-9. Landberg, op.cit., p.353.
13. 'Concertiret, in negotiation gebracht, gehöriger messen abgethan, und in sicherheit gesetzt' (Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Heekeran, Jan.18). The translation is in SP 95/14, Jan.18.
14. SRA:Rp.91b, Jan.18. MRUA, Jan.18. KB:I:O:14:6, Jan.18. PRO: SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Jan.18. Bratt, op.cit., p. 75. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.73-5, 97. Landberg, op.cit., p. 254. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.386-7.
15. SRA:Utr.Reg., Proponenda, Jan.24. Rp.91b, Jan.22,23,27. MRUA, Jan.21. Bratt, op.cit., p.76. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.76-9. DNT X, p.520. Landberg, op.cit., p.254.
16. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Jan.25. F.O. 95/556, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Feb.1. Bratt, op.cit., p.75.
17. SRA:Utr.Reg., Pro Memoria, Feb.8. MRUA, Feb. 8. Anglic: Charles XI to Leijoncrona, Feb.8. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Feb.18. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Feb.1, 8. F.O. 95/556, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Feb.15. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.81-2. DNT X, pp.520-1. Carlson, op.cit. V, p.388. Bratt, op.cit., pp.77-80. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.3. Landberg, op.cit., p.254. The latter suggests that the French promise to leave alterations to Sweden was not made until May, but it is clear from d'Avaux' despatch that it was given on this occasion.
18. SRA:Utr.Reg.,Charles XI to d'Avaux, Feb.13, to various envoys, Feb. 14. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Feb.12. F.O. 95/556, Louis XIV to d'Avaux, Feb.2. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.85. Bratt, op.cit., pp.81-2.
19. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Feb.1, 8.. V.d.Heim, op. cit.III, p.182 (Heekeran to Heinsius, Feb.22). Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.86-9. Landberg, op.cit., p.254. Carlson, op. cit.V, p.389.
20. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot and G. Oxenstierna, Feb. 23. Rp.91b, Feb.20. MRUA, Feb.18, 22. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeran to Fagel, Mar.3. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Feb.15. Bratt, op.cit., p.82. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.89-95. DNT X, pp.219-20. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.389.
21. SRA:Rp. 91b, Feb.26. Ericsberg:B.Oxenstierna to Stenbock, Mar. 24. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.96.

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22. SRA:Rp. 91b, Jan. 18. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Feb. 22. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp. 99, 102. Landberg, op.cit., pp. 253-4. Charles himself expressed this idea in the meeting of the råd on Jan. 22. (SRA:Rp. 91b).
23. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Feb. 7/17 ('...ick sal het nietgelooven vooren al eer dat ick het sie...'), Feb. 11/21 ('Ick heb weynigh verwaghting van het secours wan Suede, sullende altyt genoegh pretexten gewonde werden om de march van Trouppes op te houden...').
24. V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, pp.185-6 (Heinsius to Heekerden, Mar.24).
25. SRA:Kp., June 13, Aug.1.
26. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, April 14. Hollandica: G.Oxenstierna to Charles XI, May 2 (s.n.). PRO:SP 100/60, Memorial of May 11/21.
27. SRA:Kp. July 15.
28. ARA:AAH 310, Heinsius to Heekerden, May 23 1693.
29. KHA:16 XIc, William to Heinsius, Feb.16/26 1694. PRO:SP 44/204, Trenchard to Hedges, Feb.21 1694 (Summary in CSP:Dom, 1694-5).
30. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijoncrona, May 23, to Robinson, May 23. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, May 23. SP 100/60, Leijoncrona to Shrewsbury, June 13. Of these ships Hedges reported that only 13 had been condemned and of 17 he could find no trace (PRO:SP 100/60, Hedges remarks, June 13. SP32/5, Hedges to Shrewsbury, June 27).
31. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Chancery, April 23 1694. UUB: E 494, Charles XI's answer to petition of estate of Burghers, Dec.13. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, June 1. Thyrén, op.cit., p.57, note 2.
32. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trenchard, Feb.28, Mar.14 1694.
33. The only English references to this which I have found are in the Unpublished Finch MSS., where Blathwayt asks Nottingham, on the king's behalf in a letter of May 25th/June 4th 1693, whether lord George Douglas is fit enough to travel to Sweden, and in BM:Add.MSS.37992, where Blathwayt asks Nottingham in a letter of July 3/13 of the same year to find a replacement for lord Douglas. But in SRA:Kp., Mar.6 1694, Wrede refers to Douglas 'som skulle komma hyt/: och dogh da han war borta at taga afskiedh ifrån sin Fader.' Lord George was

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33. (continued)
son of William, 1st duke of Queensbury and a student at Glasgow university in 1682. He died unmarried (W. Playfair, British Family Antiquity (London, 1809-11) III, p.111. Sir J.B. Paul, (ed.), The Scots Peerage (Edinburgh, 1904-14) III, p.140).
34. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to chancery and Wrede, April 21. Kp., Mar. 6, April 4.
35. BM:Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, June 24, 1693. HMC: Buccleuch MSS. III, pp.80, 102 (Shrewsbury to Blathwayt, June 12, July 17, 1694). Duncombe also recommended Robinson's promotion. (NUL:Portland MSS., Trenchard to Portland, May 5, 1693).
36. SRA:Kp., Oct.23. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Aug. 15, Sept.5. BM:Add.Mss. 37992, Blathwayt to Shrewsbury, July 2/12. I have found no trace of his letter of appointment, but its receipt is acknowledged in Robinson's despatch of August 15th. See also, Hatton, 'John Robinson', pp.150-1.
37. SRA:Utr.Reg., Constitution, Nov.3. Anglic: Konf.prot.I, Nov.3, 16. SP 95/14, Robinson to Vernon, Nov.17.
38. SRA:Anglic: Konf.prot.I, Oct.26. Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijoncrona, Nov.3. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, July 11. SP 104/197, Shrewsbury to Robinson, July 31, Nov.20.
39. SRA:Konf.prot.I, Nov.16, et seq.. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, June 1, 1695. Claims for 125, 260 Rd. had been reduced to 52,874 Rd. (loc.cit.).
40. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull. June 1, Sept.28. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.30. The official reason for the stoppage was pleasure of work and illness.
41. SRA:Utr.Reg., Commissioners report, Dec.21. Anglic: Konf. prot., Dec.20. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.30.
42. Roberts, op.cit., p.131.
43. SRA:MRUA, June 20 1694. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.101. Robinson, op.cit., p.269. The position of English merchants in Sweden during this period is surveyed in S-E Åström's 'From Stockholm to St. Petersburg: The Commercial Element in the Political Relations between England and the Baltic around 1700', which has yet to be published. I have been fortunate enough to be able to consult the author's manuscript.
44. SRA:Hollandica: För.m.v.Heekeran, Nov.9. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Nov.14. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.101 Robinson gives an account of the disadvantages which would

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44. (continued)
 be entailed by becoming burghers in his report to Trumbull of Dec. 28 1695 (in PRO:SP 95/14). Any debts to the Crown would be halved, their children would have to be raised as Lutherans, their heirs pay a third of their inheritance to the city, and a third of their estates would be forfeit if they left Stockholm (see also Robinson, op.cit., p.269, Anon., An Accurate Description of the United Netherlands, and of the most considerable parts of Germany, Sweden and Denmark, by an English Gentleman (London, 1691), p. 125 and Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.26, note 4).
45. PRO: F.O. 95/556, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 2, 1696.
46. ARA:S-GA 149, Nov.19. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Nov. 14 1694, Dec.28 1695. For Sweden's commerical advance during the Nine Years War, see S.-E.Aström, 'The English Navigation Laws and the Baltic Trade 1660-1700' (Scand.Econ. HR VIII i) pp.14-16, where he quotes evidence presented in S. Gerentz, Kommerskollegium och näringslivet 1651-1951 (Stockholm, 1951), pp.145-7. I have unfortunately been unable to consult this book.
47. SRA:Hollandica:Holl.besk.; Heekeren's memo., Feb.14/24. Anglica: Eng. besk., Robinson to B. Oxenstierna, Feb.8. ARA:S-GA 2340, Jan. 3. S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, Jan.23, 29. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson's memo., Feb.21.
48. SRA:Utr.Reg., Constitution, Feb.25. Rp.91a, Jan.15. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, Jan. 29. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Shrewsbury, Mar.2. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.392.
49. SRA:MRUA, June 20. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, July 23.
50. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to S-G, Oct. 12. Rp. 91a, Oct.12. Hollandica: Förhandl. m.v.Heekeren, Dec.4, Lillieroot to Charles XI, Nov.2/12. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Oct.16, Dec.14. The original penalty had been 40 marks to the Crown and 40 marks to the city for the first offence and confiscation of half the merchant's goods for the second. (SRA:Hollandica:Förhandl. m.v. Heekeren, Order of Nov.9 1694).
51. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot and Leijoncrona, Dec.18.
52. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Jan.1.
53. SRA:Rp.91b, Mar.4, 19. Utr.Reg., Remarks of college of commerce, Feb.5. Hollandica: Förhandl. m.v. Heekeren, Mar.24. Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Mar.3.

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54. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, April 22, May 6. Only three Dutch merchants were involved and of these one became a burgher (ARA:S-GA:6551, Rumpf to S-G, June 30 (s.n.)).
55. SRA:Anglica:Konf.prot.I, April 27, May 4.
56. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, May 6. Wahrenberg, op. cit., p.28. His original proposal, of which Heinsius disapproved, was for a three-month limit. (BM:Add.Mss. 21488, Heinsius to Blathwayt, Jan. 30 1696).
57. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, July 21, Aug.28, Sept. 4, 22.
58. SRA:Rp.91b, May 27. Utr.Reg., Reply to Robinson's memo., May 29. KB:Eng.C X 1.9, Robinson to B. Oxenstierna, May 8. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, May 9, 20. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.392. The Swedes objected that no consul had been recognised by them but finally agreed. (Rp., May 27). Thomas Cutler had been recognised in England since 1686 and was reappointed in May 1689. The two merchants taken into Robinson's service were Robert Jackson, who acted as commissary, and William Toye. (S.P. 104/153, Letter of Appointment for Thomas Cutler, May 24 1689. SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, June 24. Aström, From Stockholm to St. Petersburg).
59. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, May 6, 20. Aström names two, Jeffry Little and Robert Forrest, the latter a Scot.
60. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, June 24, July 28 (o.s.). For references to Jackson's later career as minister resident in Sweden from 1710-1729 see below, p.475 (17).
61. PRO:SP .95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, May 9, 18. BM:Add.Mss. 35105, Blathwayt to Robinson, June 7/17. BM:Add.Mss. 37992, Blathwayt to Trumbull, Sept.10/20. Add.Mss.28895, Trumbull to Ellis, Sept.20. BDR, p.139. BDI:Sweden, p.xii.
62. PRO:F.O. 95/556, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 16.
63. For further consideration of the problem see below, p.312.
64. Krämer, op.cit., pp.418, 433 (William III to Heinsius, Dec. 24/Jan. 3, Mar.10/20). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.391. Koch, op.cit., p.21. Bratt, op.cit., p.87.
65. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Leijoncrona and Lillieroot, May 20. Anglica: Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Mar.13. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, May 23. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.149. Bratt, op.cit., pp.83-4, 91.

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66. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, May 23. Fryxell, op.cit. III, p.224. (Memorial of May 22). Olmer, Konflikten I, p.151. Bratt, op.cit., p.91.
67. Krämer, op.cit., pp.442-3 (Heinsius to William III, June 13).
68. Ibid., pp.443, 450 (Heinsius to William III, June 13, 16). Heinsius could find little in the programme which had not been already proposed, agreed to or answered (KHA:16 XI c, Heinsius to William III, June 13).
69. Ibid., p.445 (William III to Heinsius, June 15).
70. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, July 18/28, Aug. 1/11, 8/18.
71. V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, p.196 (Lexington and Heemskerck to Heinsius, May 5). Srbik, op.cit., p.329.
72. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Aug.15/25. V.d. Heim, op.cit.III, p.207 (Heinsius to Heekeren, Aug.20). Lexington Papers (London, 1851) p.213 (Blathwayt to Lexington, Aug.4/14). Srbik, op.cit., p.329. Klopp, op.cit.VII, pp. 238-9.
73. SRA:Rp.91b, May 27, 28, June 8. MRUA:June 8. Utr.Reg., d'Avaux' reply, May 29. ARA:S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, June 13. DNT X, p.522. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, pp.375-6. Bratt, op.cit., pp.92-103. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.152. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.3. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.396. Landberg, op.cit., p.254. Actes et Mémoires I, pp.108-10, 112-4, 123-7, 132-3.
74. ARA:S-GA 2341, July 16, S-GA 7285, Heekeren to Fagel, June 20. BM:Add.Mss.35105, Robinson to Blathwayt, June 10.
75. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, July 22.
76. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Aug.15/25, Aug.22/ Sept.1. BM:Add.Mss.46528, Blathwayt to Lexington, Aug.4/14. Klopp, op.cit.VII, pp.259-61. Bratt, op.cit., pp.87, 106-9. Actes et Mémoires I, pp.229-36. Landberg, op.cit., p.254. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.396-7. De la Gardiska Archivet XIV (Lund, 1841), pp.72-3. Koch, op.cit., pp.33-40.
77. SRA:Rp.91b, Sept.17, 19, 23. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Sept.19. PRO:R.O. 95/556, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Oct.3. Bratt, op.cit., pp.114-5, 117-8.

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78. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.399. Koch, op.cit., p.51. Klopp, op.cit. VII, p.266, 300. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.377. Bratt, op.cit., pp.90, 112 122-3.
79. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Nov.14/24. Bratt, op.cit., p.123.
80. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Nov.25. BM:Add.Mss. 46525, Villiers to Lexington, Dec.18 (N.S.). Carlson, op.cit. V, p.400. Actes et Mémoires I, pp.164-5. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.153-4. DNT X, p.522. Bratt, op.cit., p.124 and note 2.
81. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeren to Heinsius, Jan.9. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, Dec.30. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.400. Bratt, op.cit., pp.121-2.
82. Krämer, op.cit., pp.510,515 (William III to Heinsius, Dec. 11/21, Dec.29/Jan.8). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.402. Actes et Mémoires I, p.xxxiv. Koch, op.cit., pp.45, 55. Klopp, op. cit.VII, p.300. Bratt, op.cit., p.125. Thomson, 'Louis XIV', pp.49-50.
83. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Jan.16/26. Jan.23/ Feb.2. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Feb.1. Actes et Mémoires, I, pp.xxx-xxxiv, xliv, 264-7. Koch, op.cit., p.60. Bratt, op.cit., pp.127-30. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.403-4.
84. SRA:Utr.Reg., Charles XI to Lillieroot, Jan.15. Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Jan.26/Feb.5. KHA:16 XIc, Heinsius to William III, Feb.1. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.404. Klopp, op.cit.VII, p.358. Koch, op.cit., p.60.
85. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Feb.2/12. V.d.Heim, op.cit.III, p.229 (Extractum protocolli, Jan.31/Feb.10. This is also printed in HMC:Buckleuch MSS.II, p.443 and in Actes et Mémoires, I, pp.302-4. There is a further copy in SP 103/95.) Carlson, op.cit.V, p.404. Koch, op.cit., p.60. Klopp, op.cit. VII, pp.358-9. Bratt, op.cit., p.130. Thomson, 'Louis XIV', pp.50-1.
86. SRA:Charles XI to Lillieroot, Mar.19. KB:I:O:14:6, Feb.7, Mar.6. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, Feb.11. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.4. Landberg, op.cit., p.255. Carlson, op.cit.V, pp.404-5. Actes et Mémoires, I, pp.328-31, 341-3. DNT X, p.524. Bratt, op.cit., pp.132-4.

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1. DM V iv, p.262 (April 28). DNT X, p.304.
2. ARA:S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, July 14/24. RSH, June 19. DM V iv, p.262 (April 28).
3. DRA: Geh.kons.4, June 18.
4. The activities of French privateers in Norwegian waters brought representations from Greg in 1694. Christian V promised to seize French goods as compensation for Bart's burning of the 'Leyonesse' but claimed that the captured English convoy ships 'Melfort' and 'Warrington' were, as warships, not covered by the convention of 1691 (DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 31c I, Greg to Trenchard, Jan. 9, Feb. 20, to Jessen, Feb. 28, April 7. TKUA:Eng A II 31 d I, Greg to Reventlow, May 8, 12. TKUA:Eng. A II 20, Greg to Reventlow, May 14. BM:Add:Mss. 40800, Greg to Shrewsbury, June 30. DM V iv, p.252 (Mar.30)).
5. ARA:S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, June 23/July 3. S-GA 2340, Nov.17. DM V iv, p.249 (Sept. 29). DNT X, p.325.
6. ARA:S-GA 5927, Goes to Fagel, Nov. 27/Dec. 7. DNT X, p.325.
7. DRA:Geh.kons. 35a, Feb. 15. ARA:S-GA 7275, Goes to Fagel, Feb. 26. PRO:SP 75/24, Greg to Vernon, Feb. 19. BM:Add.Mss.40801, Greg to Shrewsbury, Mar. 12.
8. ARA:S-GA 5928, Goes to Fagel, May 28/June 7. DNT X, pp.332, 346.
9. DRA:Geh.kons. 4, Mar. 30, June 15.
10. BM:Add.Mss.40801, Greg to Trumbull, Nov. 16. DNT X, p.355.
11. Ibid., p.355.
12. ARA:S-GA 2340, Oct.29 1695. S-GA 2341, May 26 1696. S-GA 7275, Goes to Fagel, May 2/12 1696. RSH, Dec. 24 1695. DNT X, pp.355, 357.
13. ARA:S-GA 2341, Feb. 27. DNT X, p.358.
14. DNT X, pp.358-60.
15. ARA:S-GA 5928, Goes to Fagel, July 14/24.
16. TKUA:Eng A II 31d, Greg to Blathwayt, May 12. TKUA:Geh.kons. 4, Dec.31, Jan. 8. DM V iv, pp.319-20 (Dec.14). DNT X, pp.315, 323.
17. Krämer, op.cit., p.414 (William III to Heinsius, Nov. 29/Dec.9).

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18. DRA:TKUA:Eng B 72, Pauli to Christian V, Feb.11.
19. See below, section (iii)a of this chapter.
20. She tried to exploit the Swedish edict against foreign merchants by offering favourable conditions to those who had had to leave Stockholm (DRA:Geh.kons.4, July 13 1696. BM:Add.Mss.40802, Greg to Trumbull, July 25 1696).
21. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XI, Oct.30 1696. BM:Add.Mss. 40801, Greg to Blathwayt, April 20 1695. Aitzema, op.cit. III iv 40, p.136. Plessen backed his efforts with an offer of resignation (DBL XVIII, p.399), and was aided by the duke's rebuilding in April of his forts, which increased the urgency of securing allied support. (see below, p.297).
22. DRA:TKUA:Eng A II 21, Memorial for Plessen, April 11 (with copy of Würtemberg's letter to Reventlow of March 20th). KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, Mar.10/20. Christiansen, op.cit., p.113.
23. DM VII ii, p.127 (Feb.21). Christiansen, op.cit., p.113. DNT X, p.361.
24. DRA:Geh.kons.4, April 11. TKUA:Eng A II 21, Memo. for Plessen, April 11. Molbech, op.cit.(II), p.565 (April 6). DNT X, p.361.
25. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, May 2/12. BM:Add.Mss. 40802, Greg to Blathwayt, July 28.
26. DNT X, pp.360-4.
27. Ibid., pp.365-6.
28. Ibid., pp.366-7.
29. Ibid., pp.368-9.
30. Ibid., pp.370-5.
31. Krämer, op.cit., p.481 (William III to Heinsius, Sept. 18). Carlson, op.cit.V, p.371. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.207-8. DNT X, pp.382-3
32. Ibid., p.382.
33. Ibid., p.391.
34. Ibid., pp.376-81, 383-5, 388-9.
35. Ibid., 385-6. The text of the two agreements is printed on pp.401-4 of the same work.
36. Ibid., p.389. The text of the main treaty and secret articles is printed on pp.394-401 of this work.

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37. BM: Add. MSS. 28898, Stepney to Ellis, Nov. 27/Dec. 7, Dec. 8/18.
HMC: Buccleuch MSS. II i, p. 431 (Hill to Shrewsbury, Dec. 23/Jan. 2).
38. Molbech, op.cit.(II), p. 586 (Dec. 15, 29). DNT X, p. 392.
39. Ibid., p. 393.
40. KHA: 16 XI c, William III to Heinsius, Jan. 8/18. PRO:SP 105/56, Stepney to Stratford, Dec. 21/31.
41. DNT X, p. 393, Christiansen, op.cit., p. 797.
42. C.F. Allen, op.cit. II iv, p. 224. The intercepted despatches are to be found in PRO:SP 8/16, and in NUL:Portland MSS.: PWA 2529-73.
43. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Nov. 28/Dec. 8 1696.
44. PRO:SP 8/16, Pomponne to Bordy (French secretary in Copenhagen) Nov. 15; Meyercrone to Christian V, Dec. 7; Louis XIV to Bonrepos, Jan. 24; Christian V to Meyercrone (undated but seems to be that of November 10th (DNT X, p. 387)). Aitzema, op.cit. III iv 40, p. 164.
45. PRO:SP 8/16, Bonrepos to Louis XIV, Mar. 19; Louis XIV to Bonrepos, Jan. 24.
46. Ibid., Bonrepos to Louis XIV, Jan. 29. Jessen, op.cit., p. 207. The version of the treaty given in Bonrepos' despatch includes the lending of 3,000 Danish troops.
47. Ibid., Bonrepos to Louis XIV, Feb. 8. Christian offered to inform Louis of the terms of the treaty as soon as the subsidies were paid. (NUL:Portland MSS., Misc.: Louis XIV to Bonrepos, Feb. 28 (PWA 2550), Christian V to Meyercrone, Feb. 9/19 (PWA 2555)).
48. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Sept. 4. BM: Add. MSS. 17677 QQ, L'Hermitage to S-G, July 31, Aug. 14. HMC: Downshire MSS. I ii, p. 676 (Trumbull to Blathwayt, June 30).
49. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, Feb. 8/18. Olmer, Konflikten I, p. 58. DNT X, p. 209.
50. Ibid., p. 209.
51. Krämer, op.cit., p. 427 (William III to Heinsius, Feb. 11/21).
52. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Feb. 18. Olmer, Konflikten I, p. 58. DNT X, p. 209.
53. Ibid., p. 226.

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54. Krämer, op.cit., p.433 (William III to Heinsius, Mar.10/20).
55. Landberg, op.cit., p.255, 257. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.53-4, 60-8. DNT X, p.218.
56. DRA:Geh.kons.4, Feb.21. BM:Add.Mss.40802, Greg to Trumbull, Feb.22, 25. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.106. Lei joncrona believed that William welcomed the rejection as giving him a good excuse to reject Danish offers to mediate in the war with France. (SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, April 7. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.106).
57. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XI, Mar.13. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.101,note 1, 150.
58. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.121, 123. La Cour, op.cit.III, p.188. DNT X, pp.237-8. The treaty is printed in Du Mont, op.cit.VII, ii, pp.366-7. The duke had, it seems, intended to lend some troops to the Allies from the beginning of 1696, but he was apprehensive of possible Danish reactions, was not very pleased with the subsidies proposed by Brunswick-Lüneberg and demanded adequate security (BM:Add.Mss.9745, Greg to Robinson, Jan.31, May 5 1696 (copies). Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.118-121). I have come across very few references to the negotiations leading up to the treaty in the collections I have examined.
59. Landberg, op.cit., p.257. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.140,142. DNT X, pp.238, 242.
60. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XI, June 6/16. ARA:S-GA 153, July 17, 19. BM:Add.Mss.23616, Blathwayt to Cresset, Aug. 1/11. BDI:Denmark, p.ix. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., pp.181, 184. Den Tex, op.cit., pp.207, 209. Rycaut had hoped to be appointed, and Stepney was at one time considered (BM: Lansdowne MSS.1153E, Rycaut to Blathwayt, June 15/25, to Trumbull, July 24).
61. DRA:Geh.kons.4, Oct.10. BM:Add.Mss.21488, Heinsius to Blathwayt, Sept.8. Lansdowne MSS.1153E, Rycaut to Blathwayt, Sept.8. Landberg, op.cit., p.257. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.164, 173, 199. DNT XI, pp.228, 232, 245-6. Hop, it must be remembered, had led opposition to the Danish commercial alliance in 1684 and observed the earlier stages of the Altona negotiations. He may also have been influenced in his attitude by his brother-in-law Goes (DNT VIII, p.366. See also above, pp.35, 56).
62. DRA:Geh.kons.4, Sept.28. Landberg, op.cit., p.257. DNT XI, pp. 249-50. La Cour, op.cit.III, pp.190-1. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.142-3, 177-8, 185, 190, 193, 196-7. Den Tex, op.cit., p.211.
63. PRO:SP 95/14, Robinson to Trumbull, Dec.23. Lane, 'Denmark', p. 184. Landberg, op.cit., p.258. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.101, 194, 197, 203, 224-5, 230-3. DNT X, pp.523-4. DNT XI, p.253.

64. SRA:Anglica:Charles XI to Leijonberg, Dec.23. PRO:SP 95/14,
Robinson to Trumbull, Dec.23. Olmer, Konflikten I, p.237.
Den Tex, op.cit., p.211.
65. SRA:Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XI, Dec.19/29.

Chapter 13

1. Krämer, op.cit., pp.517, 525-6, 533 (William III to Heinsius, Jan.12/22, Jan.26/Feb.5, Mar.12/22). Klopp, op.cit.VII,p.377. Carlson, op.cit., VI, pp.36-7. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.4. Wagenaar, op.cit., XVI p.360. Landberg, op.cit., p.259. Actes et Mémoires, p.lxxxv.
2. Négociations d'Avaux II, p.77 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, April 10).
3. Klopp, op.cit.VII, p.366. Villiers was against any approach through Mme Lillieroot, whom he judged too flighty ('elle est fort belle mais si capricieuse qu'elle n'est jamais deux heures de suite de même sentiment' BM:Add.Mss.18606, Villiers to Albemarle, April 2).
4. See above, p.25. For a similar suggestion in 1694 see above, p.245.
5. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.12-13. Landberg, op.cit., p.258.
6. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeran to Heinsius, Mar. 30. Jonasson, op.cit., p.5. Carlson, op.cit.V, p.404.
7. Négociations d'Avaux II, p.44 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Feb.27). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.6.
8. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeran to Heinsius, Feb. 27, April 3.
9. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.5, 15-16. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.6. Landberg, op.cit., p.258. Gyldenstolpe took charge of justice, while remaining the main spokesman on foreign affairs after Oxenstierna, Wrede of the navy, Kristian Gyllenstierna of the army, Wallenstedt of finance. (Jonasson, op.cit., pp.15-16).
10. SRA:Utr.Reg., Regents to all envoys, July 1. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.68, 84 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Mar.27, April 17). Landberg, op.cit., p.253. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.51. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.5.
11. SRA:Utr.Reg., Regents to G. Oxenstierna, Lillieroot and Leijoncrona, April 21. BM:Add.Mss.28899, Robinson to Ellis, May 15. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.16.
12. SRA:Utr.Reg., Regents to Lillieroot, April 10, regents to all envoys, July 1. Klopp, op.cit.VII, p.374. Carlson, op.cit. VI, p.51. Lillieroot's new powers are printed in Actes et Mémoires II, pp.1-4.

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13. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeran to Heinsius, May 25.
14. See below, pp.295-7.
15. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeran to Heinsius, April 20, May 15. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.17-20.
16. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.34, 64 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Feb. 13, Mar. 27). Ibid. III ii, pp.cii-cv. Landberg, op.cit., pp.256-7. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.2-3. Olmer, Konflikten I, pp.243-4.
17. PRO:SP 104/197, Trumbull to Lexington, Mar. 30.
18. SRA:Utr.Reg., Regents to Lillieroot, May 5. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.120-5 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 15). Jonasson, op.cit. p.20.
19. BM:Add.Mss.46531, Lexington to Blathwayt, June 15, July 3. Antal and Pater, op.cit., p.684 (Heemskerck and Lexington to Fagel, July 6). There is a copy of the document in BM:Add. MSS.9745.
20. BM:Add.Mss.46531, Lexington to Blathwayt, July 6.
21. SRA:Rp.93, July 20. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.224-6, (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, July 31). Agreement was finally reached in January 1698, when March 10 (n.s.) was agreed as the date for the two ambassadors readmittance, but a dispute over the Emperor's demand for Klinkowström's punishment continued well into the year. He was finally let off with a mild arrest (Négociations d'Avaux III i, p.57(d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Jan.29 1698). Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.35).
22. SRA:Utr.Reg., Extr.prot., Jan.15, Charles XI to G. Oxenstierna, Lillieroot and Leijoncrona, Jan.20. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeran to Heinsius, Jan.16. PRO:SP 75/25 Greg to Trumbull (copy), April 24. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.2-3, 85 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Jan.2, April 17). Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall' pp.5-7, 23. Den Tex, op.cit., p.211. Olmer, Konflikten II, p.6. DNT X, p.525. Landberg, op.cit., p.258.
23. Ibid., p.258. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', pp.3, 7. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.19. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.22. Olmer, Konflikten II, pp.6-7. La Cour, op.cit. II, p.188.
24. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to regents, May 21. BM:Add.Mss.23617, Cresset to Blathwayt, May 25. Den Tex, op.cit., p.212. DNT XI, pp.269-70. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', pp.21, 23.

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25. ARA:AAH 512, Heekeran to Heinsius, June 12. KHA:16 XIc, William III to Heinsius, June 3. Krämer, op.cit., pp.566, 570 (William III to Heinsius, June 3, 13).
26. BM:Add.Mss.28899, Cresset to Ellis, May 28.
27. SRA:Rp.94, May 8, 31. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.21-2. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.18. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', p.37.
28. SRA:Danica:Leijonclo to Charles XII, June 2, 5. Jessen, op.cit., p.213. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.19. Carlson, op.cit. VI, p.28. DNT XI, p.270, Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', pp.32-5. Olmer, Konflikten II, pp.7-8.
29. SRA:Rp.94, June 3. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', p.38.
30. SRA:Rp.94, June 3. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', pp.38-9. Jonasson, op.cit., p.23.
31. SRA:Rp.94, June 7. BM:Add.Mss.46542, Robinson to Lexington, June 19. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.23-6. Wahrenberg, op.cit., pp.19-20. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', pp.40-1.
32. Landberg, op.cit., p.259. Olmer, 'Kristian Vs Øfverfall', p.48. DNT X, p.525. Olmer, Konflikten II, pp.10, 18.
33. SRA:Rp.94, June 22. Utr.Reg., Regents to brig. B. Oxenstierna, June 23. Wahrenberg, op.cit., pp.21-4. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.34.
34. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, July 6/16. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.21. Carlson, op.cit., VI, p.34.
35. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, July 17/27. BM: Add.Mss.23617, Blathwayt to Cresset (copy), Sept. 7 (s.n.). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.22. DNT XI, pp.274, 282.
36. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XII, July 9. PRO:SP 32/7, Yard to Williamson, July 6. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.30. Clark, Dutch Alliance, p.114. Clark gives the number of ships as 40, but Yard's figures are confirmed by Leijoncrona's dispatch and by L'Hermitage (BM:Add.Mss.17677 RR, L'Hermitage to S-G, July 19).
37. SRA:Anglica:Strødda Handlingar:Brig.B. Oxenstierna to Charles XII, July ? PRO:SP 32/7, Vernon to Williamson, July 6.
38. SRA:Utr.Reg., Regents to Brig. B. Oxenstierna, July 31, to Lillieroot, Sept. 24.

39. SRA:Anglica:Leijoncrona to Charles XII, Aug. 31. BM:Add.Mss. 17677 RR, L'Hermitage to S-G, July 19, Aug. 16. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.247-8 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Aug. 14). Trumbull agreed with Hedges in September to appeal against the release of the Danish ships and suggested using them as hostages for goods belonging to the Hudson Bay Co. seized by the Danes on the ship, 'Golden Pelican', which they claimed to be a Lübecker although sailing with a Swedish pass (BM:Add.Mss.24107, Greg to Blathwayt, July 31/August 10 (copy). Add.Mss.27992, Blathwayt to Trumbull, Aug. 19, Sept.2. HMC:Downshire MSS. I ii, p.763 (Trumbull to Blathwayt, Sept.2).
40. BM:Add.Mss.28900, Blathwayt to Ellis, Sept. 9.
41. BM:Add.Mss.24107, copy of report to lords justices, Sept.30.
42. DNT X, pp.374-5, 392.
43. DRA:Geh.kons.5, Feb. 5. BM:Add.Mss.40802, Greg to Trumbull, Jan. 5.
44. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, April 10/20. DNT X, p.524.
45. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, Aug. 31/Sept.10. DRA:Geh.kons.5, Mar. 2, 13.
46. DRA:Geh.kons.5, April 17. Marquard, op.cit., p.278. Hallendorff, op.cit., p.24. C.F. Allen, op.cit., II vi, p.45. DNT X, p.526. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.24.
47. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.213-4 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, July 24). Jessen, op.cit., p.213. Wahrenberg, op.cit. p.25. Carlson, op.cit.VI, pp.29-30. Landberg, op.cit. p.259.
48. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, May 4/14, 18/28, May 22/June 1. PRO:SP 103/95, May 19/29. HMC:Bath MSS.IV, p.512 (Prior's journal, May 15 (n.s.)). Carlson, op.cit. VI, p.37. Actes et Mémoires II, pp.10-12, 25-8. Klopp, op.cit. VII, pp.388-9. Oudemijk, op.cit., p.297. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, pp.380-1. Koch, op.cit., pp.73, 75. Thomson, 'Louis XIV', pp.51-2. For a popular account of the ceremonial squabbles see Leijonancker, op.cit., pp.3, 7.
49. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, July 6/16. Koch, op.cit., p.87.
50. ARA:AAH 512, Heekerden to Heinsius, Jan.23. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.23-4, 29, 107-8 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Jan.30, Feb. 6, May 1). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.7.

51. SRA: Utr. Reg., Regents to Lillieroot, May 19. Rp.95, May 20. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.141-2 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, May 29). Malmström, Karl XI's Bref, p.55 note 1. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.8. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.18.
52. Négociations d'Avaux II, pp.200-1 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, July 17). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.8 note 2. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.19. The best account of Bonde is by Wittrock in SBL V, pp.355-60.
53. Négociations d'Avaux II, p.236 (d'Avaux to Louis XIV, Aug.7). SBL V, pp.358-9. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.8,notes 1 and 2. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.19.
54. SRA: Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XII, Aug.7/17. Krämer, op.cit., p.575 (William III to Heinsius, July 22). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.9. Wagenaar, op.cit., pp.382-4. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.381. Thomson, Louis XIV, pp.52-5. Carlson, op.cit.VI, pp.41, 43. Klopp, op.cit.VII, p.401.
55. PRO: SP 105/57, Stepney to Plantamour (George Stepney's secretary), Sept.5, to Trumbull, Sept.6 ((Lillieroot) 'has acted very prudently & honourably in this critical turn of affaires..'). Krämer, op.cit., pp.591, 603-5 (Heinsius to William III, Aug.29, Sept.8). HMC: Bath MSS. IV, p.528 (Prior's journal, Aug.31 (N.S.)). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.11. Wagenaar, op.cit., p.392. Klopp, op.cit.VII, pp.427, 432-4. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, pp.379, 382. Landberg, op.cit., p.259. Carlson, op.cit.VI, pp.40, 43-4.
56. SRA: Hollandica: Lillieroot to Charles XII, Aug.10/20. PRO: SP 105/57, Stepney to Plantamour, Sept.5 ('Mais il a beau parler pendant la miserable état de la Suède tant par le minorité du Roy que par la famine qui regne dans le royaume...'), to Trumbull, Sept.6. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.12 note 3.
57. SRA: Rp.95, Aug.30. Jonasson, op.cit., p.29. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.45.
58. SRA: Rp.95, Aug.31. Jonasson, op.cit., p.30. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.11. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.45. The memorial is printed in Actes et Memoires III, pp.38-40.
59. SRA: Rp.94, Sept.6. Hollandica: Protokoll t. Conf. m.v. Heekeren: Sept.8. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.30-1. Landberg, op.cit., p.259. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.46.

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60. SRA:Rp. 94, Sept.9. Hollandica: Forhandl.m.v.Heekerden, Sept. 10. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.31, 33. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.13. Landberg, op.cit., p.260. Carlson, op.cit.VI, pp.46-8. The latter describes the decision on September 9th as victory for Oxenstierna (op.cit., p.48), but Jonasson has shown that, while the chancellor may have regarded it as such, his opponents could interpret the resolution just as easily in a sense favourable to their policies (op.cit., p.32).
61. SRA:Rp.94, Sept.13. Hollandica:Protokoll t.conf. m.v. Heekerden, Sept.13. Hollandica: Förhandl. m.v.Heekerden, Sept.13. ARA:AAH 512, Heekerden to Heinsius, Sept.25. Jonasson, op.cit., p.34. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.48.
62. SRA:Rp.93, Aug.3. Rp.94, Aug.19. ARA:AAH 512, Heekerden to Heinsius, July 10, Aug.3. Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.26. Jonasson, op.cit., pp.27-9.
63. Ibid., p.35. The treaty (printed in Actes et Mémoires III, pp.103-14) was signed by the United Provinces at midnight, by England at 2 a.m. and by Spain at 4 a.m. (Klopp, op.cit.VII, p.444).
64. Grimblot, op.cit., pp.122-3 (William III to Portland, Sept.14). Wahrenberg, op.cit., p.12. Oudendijk, op.cit., p.298. Japikse, Prins Willem, II, p.382.
65. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, Sept.11/21. Carlson, op.cit.VI, p.50.
66. SRA:Hollandica:Lillieroot to Charles XII, Sept.14/24.
67. Koch, op.cit., p.95.
68. SRA:Utr.Reg., Regents to Lillieroot, Sept.24. Carlson, op.cit.VI, pp.51-2. Landberg, op.cit., p.260. There is a copy of the protest in PRO:SP 103/96, and it is printed in Actes et Mémoires IV, pp.8-9.

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1. The treaty is printed in du Mont, op.cit. VIII i, pp. 32-42. See also Christiansen, op.cit., p. 749.
2. Ibid., p. 749.
3. Printed in du Mont, op.cit. VIII ii (supplément) pp. 2-5. Strelitz gained the principality of Ratzeburg (not to be confused with Ratzeburg in Saxe-Lauenburg), a seat in the diet and a toll at Boitzenburg (loc.cit.).
4. Kemble, op.cit., pp. xxxi-ii.
5. The treaty of 1698 is printed in du Mont, op.cit. VII ii, pp. 439-40; that of 1700 in the same volume, pp. 475-7; that of 1720 in volume VIII ii, pp. 18-21. See also, Jonasson, op.cit., pp. 77-81, 122-4; Hallendorff, op.cit., pp. 89-92; Wahrenberg, op.cit., pp. 46-7; Carlson, op.cit. VI, pp. 153-4; BDI:Sweden, p. xiii; Rosén, op.cit., p. 64. Chance, George I, pp. 4, 377-9; Åström, From Stockholm to St. Petersburg. The restriction on the residence of foreign merchants was, according to Åström, lifted temporarily in March 1700 but with no guarantee against its future reinforcement. I have been unable to trace any reference to a commercial agreement between the United Provinces and Sweden during the whole of the eighteenth century and assume that their relations were regulated by the 1679 alliance.
6. Jahn, op.cit., p. 181. It had been rumoured that William wished to retain the troops (loc.cit.).
7. Du Mont, op.cit. VIII i, pp. 32-42.
8. BDI: Denmark, p. x. Jonasson, op.cit., pp. 129-66. Rosén, op.cit., pp. 39, 71-3. There is a convenient summary of the various guarantees for Denmark's possession of Schleswig in T. Twiss, On the Relations of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Crown of Denmark and the Germanic Confederation and on the Treaty engagements of the Great European Powers in Reference Thereto (London, 1848), pp. 175-204.
9. Chance, Alliance of Hanover, p. 363. The only reference I have come across to the fate of the Swedish convoy seized in 1697 is to the claim of a captain John Mitchell in 1698 for a reward for his part in seizing papers on the ships, the majority of which, it is asserted, were condemned as lawful prize (CSP.Dom., William III, 1698, p. 304).
10. Fulton, op.cit., pp. 15, 520.
11. Rosén, op.cit., pp. 45-6, 47, 82-3.

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12. Ibid., pp. 81-4.
13. Ibid., pp. 83-4.
14. Ibid., pp. 74, 80. William III died on March 8th 1701. Three days later Greg was instructed to join Goes in the negotiations, and the treaty was signed on June 15th. (BDI:Denmark, pp. x, 21. Du Mont, op.cit. VIII ii (supplement),
15. BDI:Denmark, p. 1. BDR, pp. 1-2. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p. 189. His nephew, William Greg, who acted as his secretary and as chargé d'affaires in 1704, was executed for high treason in 1708 (BDI:Denmark, p. 1, n.1. BDR, p. 2).
16. BDI:Sweden, pp. xii, 14-15. BDR, pp. 139-40. DNB XVII, pp. 23-4. Bittner and Gross, p. 199. Hatton, 'John Robinson', p. 152. Chance, George I, p. 41. His later negotiations are reviewed in J. Milne, 'The Diplomacy of Dr. John Robinson at the Court of Charles XII of Sweden, 1697-1709' (TRHS, 4th ser., xxx).
17. BDI:Sweden, p. 39. BDR, p. 140. Chance, George I, p. 58 et passim. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p. 199. See also above, p. 269.
18. Jonasson, op.cit., p. 79. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p. 362. NNBW VII, p. 1076.
19. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p. 362. V.d.Aa, op.cit. VII, p. 254.
20. Ibid., p. 492. Svenska Män och Kvinnor, IV (Stockholm, 1948), p. 595. Jonasson, op.cit., pp. 108-12, 122-3.
21. Bittner and Gross, op.cit., p. 490. Svenska Män och Kvinnor, IV, p. 513.
22. DBL IX, p. 245. Ibid. XX, p. 136 . Bittner and Gross, op. cit., pp. 112, 115. Marquard, op.cit., pp. 279, 381.
23. See above, pp. 46-50.
24. See above, pp. 46-7.
25. See above, pp. 58-9, 111, 113.
26. See above, p. 55.
27. See above, pp. 106-8, 183, 260.
28. See above, pp. 459 (46).

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29. See above, pp.148-9.
30. See above, p.149.
31. See above, pp.28-9, 36.
32. For the use of this argument see above, pp.114-5.
33. Similarly see above, p.115.
34. See above, pp.32, 40.
35. See above, pp.117, 182-3, 243-4.
36. For his attempts to do so see above, pp.42, 187.
37. See above, pp.43-4.
38. See above, pp.290, 298-9
39. See above, pp.89, 97, 193, 220.
40. See above, p.164.
41. See above, pp.78-80, 84, 88.
42. See above, p.191.
43. See above, p.282.
44. See above, pp.107, 183.
45. See above, pp.182, 250, 252
46. For the use of this claim see above, pp.100-1
47. See above, pp.258-62.
48. See above, pp.108-111.
49. See above, pp.31-2, 39.
50. For her fear of these see above, pp.132, 135.
51. For early negotiations between Denmark and Sweden on this issue see above, pp.134-6.
52. See above, pp.143-4.
53. For the blockade argument and the effects of Beachy Head see above, pp.121-2, 125, 133-4, 147, 154, 158-9.

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54. See above, pp. 138, 161.
55. See above, pp. 279-84.
56. See above, pp. 170-2.
57. For his reactions to the first Swedish mediation offer see above, pp. 150-1.
58. For mediation attempts by the Pope, Portugal and Venice, see Actes et Mémoires, I, pp. xxv, xxvii, xxix.
59. See above, pp. 234, 245, 248-9.
60. See above, p. 187, 235, 246.
61. See above, pp. 274, 304-7, 309-10.
62. For Danish attempts to secure a part in mediation and their reception see above, pp. 191-4, 221, 229, 239-41, 302-4.
63. See above, pp. 285-6.
64. See above, p. 185.
65. See above, pp. 180, 245-6.
66. See above, p. 153.
67. For their terms see above, pp. 167, 202.
68. See above, pp. 131, 137, 165, 177, 191, 200-2, 215-6.
69. See above, pp. 203-4.
70. See above, pp. 215-8.
71. See above, p. 241.
72. See above, pp. 198, 227,
73. See above, pp. 130, 162, 177, 191, 200, 215, 218.
74. See above, p. 286.
75. See above, pp. 210, 213.
76. See above, pp. 68, 212-3.
77. His threat to do the latter if a squadron were sent cannot be taken at its face value. See above, p. 212.
78. See above, pp. 170, 174, 264.

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79. For his fears of the effects of the loss of Mons see above, p.180.
80. See above, p.107.
81. See above, pp.15-16.
82. See, for example, above, pp.147-8.
83. See above, pp.95-6, 139, 144, 146.
84. See above, p.126.
85. For the difficulty of controlling privateers see above, pp.241, 123-4, 204.
86. See above, pp.157, 175-6.
87. See above, p.285.
88. See above, pp.224-5.
89. See above, pp.223-4.
90. See above, p.223.
91. See above, p.66.
92. See above, p.170, 174, 242, 280.
93. See above, p.171.
94. See above, p.259.
95. See above, pp.211-3.
96. William's order to Heekeran in May 1693 to keep Robinson in ignorance of his peace proposals (see above, p.236) was probably prompted by a desire to confine negotiations at this early stage to as small a circle as possible. This was more easily done through Heinsius and a Dutch agent known to him.

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- 46534 Ibid., vol. X (Diplomatic papers sent to Blathwayt by Lexington).
- 46542 Ibid., vol.XVIII (Letters to Lexington from Greg, Robinson and Rycaut).

2) Egerton MSS.

920 Vernon's letters to Blathwayt, 1694-1701.

1707 Bentinck papers: Letters to William III and Portland, 1679-1708 (Letters from G.Oxenstierna to Portland, Nov. 1689).

3) Lansdowne MSS.

1153 C-E Rycaut's letter books for 1690-2, 1696-1700.
(See also Add.Mss.19514, 37663, which complete the series for this period).

4) Sloane MSS.

3828 Misc. (Two memorials from the Danish envoy Skeel).

c) Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC)

Unpublished Finch MSS. Nottingham's correspondence as secretary of state 1692-3 (This is being calendared by the HMC for publication as vol.IV of the Finch MSS.)

ii) Reading

Berkshire Record Office (BRO)

Trumbull MSS. (Much of this collection has been calendared by the HMC, See below, section C 2).

Misc.Corres. (unnumbered): Correspondence between Mr.Littleroote (i.e. Nils Lillieroot) and Sir W.Trumbull, 1686-98. (For this see my brief article in Historisk Tidskrift, Stockholm, 1960. pp.413-8, 421).

Cabinet notes, 1695-7 (some records of discussions on the Channel salute).

iii) Plas Newydd, Anglesey (By permission of the Marquess of Anglesey).

Paget MSS. 1681-92 (Four bundles) (Letters to Paget from Portland, Colt, Duncombe, Greg. etc.).

iv) Nottingham University Library (NUL)

Portland MSS.: Letters to Portland from Heinsius, Sunderland, Lexington and Trenchard.

Public Miscellania: 'Découvertes'.

(For published letters in this collection, see
Sect. C 2 under Japikse).

II Netherlands Archives

The Hague

a) Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA)

1) Archief der Staten Generaal (S-GA)

S-GA 138-155 Resolutiën: 1689-97

S-GA 2336-42 Secreete Resolutiën: 1689-97

S-GA 5926-8 Denemarken: Brieven, 1688-97

S-GA 6547-51 Zweden: Brieven, 1688-98

S-GA 7274-5 Denemarken: Secreete Brieven, 1689-99

S-GA 7284-5 Sweden: Secreete Brieven, 1680-96

2) Archief van Anthonie Heinsius (AAH)

(See v.'t Hoff in Sect A for the contents of and publications from this collection)

AAH 36 Extraits des avis secrets etc., 1695

AAH 190 Letters to Heinsius from Haren, 1691

AAH 200 " " " " Amerongen, 1691

AAH 218 " " " " Ameröngen, 1691

AAH 233 " " " " Haren, 1692

AAH 261 " " " " Hop, 1692

AAH 289 " " " " Hop, 1693

AAH 310 Heinsius to Heekeren, 1693

AAH 312 " " " Hop, 1693

AAH 333 Letters to Heinsius from Heekeren, 1694

AAH 389 " " " " Lillieroot, 1695

AAH 396 Letters to Heinsius from B.G.Oxenstierna, 1695.

AAH 512 " " " " Heeker, 1697.

b) Koninklijk Huisarchief (KHA)

Inventaris (Inv.) 16 (Prins Willem III)

XIc Correspondentie met Binnenlandsche Staatsambtenaren:
(Correspondence between William III and Heinsius,
1689-97: Five bundles)

XId Correspondentie met Buitenlandsche Staatsambtenaren.

III Danish Archives

Copenhagen

Rigsarkivet (DRA)

1) Geheimekonseilet (Geh.kons)

Geh.kons. 3-5 Protokoll, 1692-9

35a Konferenceprotokoller (Konceptoptegnelser),
1678-99.

2) Tyske Kanslis Udenlandske Avdelning (TKUA)

TKUA: Almen (Alm.) Del

Alm. Del II 55-8 Geheimeregistraturer, 1689-90.

England (Eng.)

Eng.A II 19-21 Akter og dokumenter ved. det politiske
Forhold til England, 1685-98

Eng.A II 31c State Papers Denmark: Akter fra Will.
Blathwayt's Embedsarkiv, 1679-1701
(originals in two volumes).

Eng.A II 31d Greg's letters (originals) to Blathwayt
and secretaries of state, 1694-9 (two
volumes).

Eng.B 65-70 Gesandtskabs Relationer, 1689-94.

Eng.B 73 Do. 1697.

Nederlandene (Ned.)

Ned.A II 22 Akter og dokumenter ved. Forhold til Nederlandene, 1690-2.

Ned.A II 33 Akter og dokumenter ved. Beslaglaeggelse af dansk-norske og nederlandske Skibe.

IV Swedish Archives

i) Stockholm

a) Riksarkivet (SRA)

1) Rådsprotokoll (Rp)

Rp 90 Strödda protokoll, 1689-97. (two volumes).

Rp 91 Bergenhielms protokoll, 1694-6. (two volumes).

Rp 93 Prytz protokoll, May to Nov. 1697.

Rp 94 Bergenhielms protokoll, May to Nov. 1697.

Rp 95 Schantz' protokoll, 1697-8.

(Most of the council minutes before 1694 were destroyed in the Stockholm castle fire of 1697).

2) Utrikes registratur (Utr. Reg.)

1689-97 (eight volumes).

3) Skrivelser till Kungliga Majestät (Skr.t.K.Mt.)

Bengt Oxenstierna till Karl XI, 1684-97.

4) Betänkanden, promemorior, förslag och referat i Utrikes ärenden. (MRUA)

1) Karl XI:s tid: Memorial och relationer i utrikes ärenden, 1688-94 (two bundles).

5) Kabinettet för Utrikes Brevväxling (KUB)

Presidentenskontorets Koncept, 1681-1719.

6) Kanslikollegii Arkiv

Renskrivna protokoll (cit:Kp), 1687-95 (seven volumes).

7) DiplomaticaAnglica

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 (two volumes).

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 K.Mt.s brev till Com.Sec.Leijoncrons, 1691-1702
 (two volumes).
 Till Leijoncrons från kanslipresidenten, 1689-1702.

Konferensprotokoll I, 1664-99 (cit:Konf.prot.).
 Engelska beskickningars memorial och noter, 1591-1730
 (cit: Eng. besk.) (two volumes).
 Strödda handlingar: Forhandlingar, 1680-1700
 (cit:Strödda handl.).

Hollandica

Com.Sec. Friesendorffs brev, 1689-92.
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 Maj.t., 1660-1702.

9) Extranea

II England: a. Handlingar och brev, 1646-99.

10) Ericsbergarkiv

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Bengt Oxenstiernas concept.

b) Kungliga Biblioteket (KB)

I.O.14: 4 - 6 Almanacks Anteckningar af Bengt Oxenstierna,
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B IV 2.9 Gustaf Benzelstiernas åtskilliga anteckningar ur
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canclisaker.

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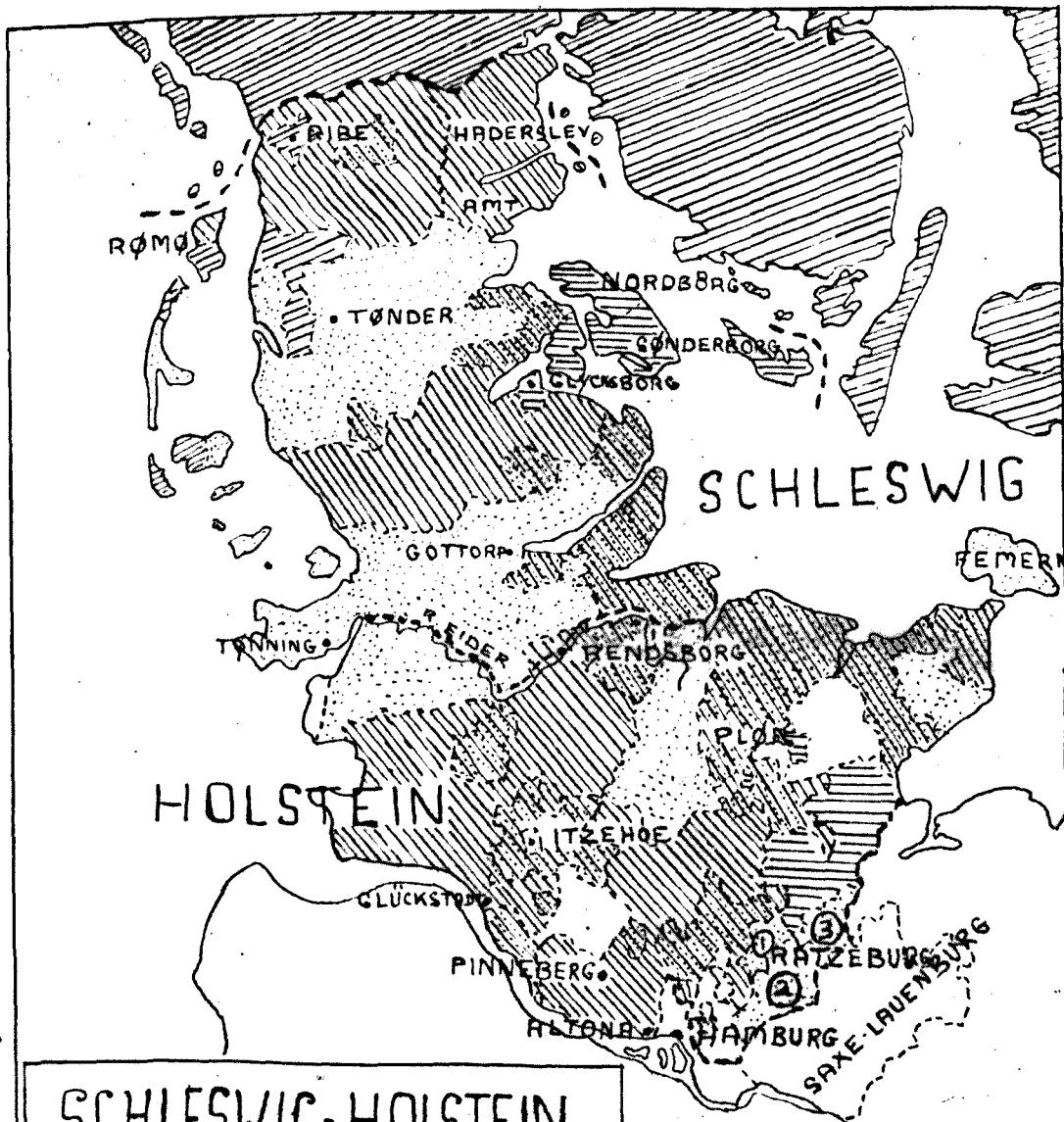
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MAPS



SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN IN THE XVIITH CENTURY

- [Hatched Box] KINGDOM OF DENMARK
- [Diagonal Lines Box] ROYAL PORTION
- [White Box] DUCAL PORTION
- [Cross-hatch Box] UNDER JOINT RULE
- [White Box] LANDS OF THE SØNDERborg DUKES
- (1) TREMSBÜTTEL AMT
- (2) TRITTANU AMT
- (3) STEINHORST AMT

NORTH-WEST EUROPE DURING THE NINE YEARS WAR

DANISH POSSESSIONS
(EXCLUDING THOSE LANDS RULED
JOINTLY BY THE KING OF DENMARK
AND THE DUKE OF HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP.)

SWEDISH POSSESSIONS

BRUNSWICK

BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG-CELLE

BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG-KALENBERG

BRUNSWICK-WOLFENBÜTTEL

THE LOWER SAXON CIRCLE

D = DELMENHORST

S-L = SAXE-LAUVENBURG

NAMES OF TERRITORIES ARE UNDERLINED

