“[E]en strict offensive och defensive alliance” and “the danger this King and the 2 Queens were in”

News Reporting in Early Modern Swedish and English Diplomatic Correspondence

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Abstract

The study of early cross-linguistic diplomatic epistolography was first introduced in Brownlees’ (2012) comparative study of Italian and English personal newsletters. Given the field’s young age and the strong need for both further research and the retrieving of new, untranscribed and unanalysed data, the present study set out to help move this field forward by examining, at both a textual superstructure and semantic macrostructural level, two sets of unchartered diplomatic newsletters which representatives at foreign courts despatched back to their respective home countries. The first set of original manuscripts comprises periodical newsletters which Baron Christer Bonde, the Swedish ambassador-extraordinary to England, wrote to Charles X, King of Sweden, between 1655-6, whereas the second set consists of letters sent in 1680 by John Robinson, England’s chargé d’affaires in Sweden, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State for the Northern Department of England. The analysis has shown that whereas the textual superstructures of the two diplomats’ correspondences remain similarly robust, the instantiating semantic macrostructures display not only stylistic and compositional, but also narrative, variation.

Keywords

Historical sociolinguistics, epistolography, Early Modern Swedish, Early Modern English, exploratory case study, Baron Christer Bonde, Charles X of Sweden, John Robinson, Sir Leoline Jenkins, diplomatic correspondence, textual superstructure, semantic macrostructure, narration of news, attributing of titles, multilingualism
1. Introduction

Previous research in historical sociolinguistics has focused, primarily, on the reconstruction of well-attested language changes of different periods, in relation to their social correlates (Hernández-Campoy & Conde-Silvestre, 2014, p. 3). Noteworthy foundational research in the English facet of the field include Romaine (1982), Tekken-Boon van Ostade (1987), Milroy (1992), Machan and Scott (1992), Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996, 2003), Jahr (1999), Kastovsky and Mettinger (2000), Bergs (2005) and Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy (2005), to name but a few. In terms of Early Modern English, Del Lungo Camiciotti (2014) asserts that research has primarily adopted a more general point of view, that is the aims of the studies have been to address the linguistic practices of more extensive groups of people. Some of these works have already been mentioned (e.g. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1996, 2003), but in terms of additional, arguably central, pieces of research which have scrutinised Early Modern English from this perspective, noteworthy contributions comprise, for example, Lilja (2007) and Walker (2007), as well, which, unlike many other studies which have focused on correspondence registers, made use of depositions, examinations and journals as primary material. Exciting research into the backbone of the development of a European news discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries’ print and manuscript news has also been conducted by Raymond (2005), Dooley (2010) and Dooley and Baron (2001), for instance, too. Furthermore, it should also be noted that there exists an increasingly potent body of research which takes its aim at just one or a few individuals, as well, such as Akrigg (1984), Heikkonen (1996), Evans (2013) and Nevalainen (2013), to name but a few, and they all maintain the argumentation that sharpening the scope of investigation in this manner can be chiefly advantageous and interesting as idiolects can take very different forms from their contemporary linguistic environments. All branches of historical sociolinguistics considered as one, then, much prominent research has been carried out within this scientific discipline, but it is still in a pioneering (Nevalainen, 1996, p. 59) and fact-finding (Nevalainen, 2002b, p. 191) stage, rendering the fact that many researchers (e.g. Biber, 1995, p. 363; Nevalainen, 1996a, p. 8, 2002b, p. 191; Nurmi, 2000, pp. 358-9; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a, p. 180) encourage further “research in this promising and vital area” (Hernández-Campoy & Conde-Silvestre, 2014, p. 7) a very logical and natural consequence.

Responding to these calls, the present study aims to help to move the specialisation of historical sociolinguistics forward by delving into a subfield which has received little linguistic attention so far, that is, that of historical diplomatic news from a crosslinguistic perspective. Since its launch in 2012, this new area of research has taken its first few steps in Brownlees’ (2012) comparative study of Italian and English diplomatic newsletters, which scrutinises two sets of diplomatic newsletters that envos at foreign courts sent back to their respective Secretaries of State right at the turn of the eighteenth century. Brownlees’ (2012) study found that while there were clear similarities between the Italian and English diplomats’ personal newsletters to their employers, there were also differences; similar textual and topic frameworks but different modes of narration were noticed, for instance. Agreeing with Brownlees that “it would be highly rewarding to see a range of European-focused studies on diplomatic news correspondence” (2012, p. 123)
in order to answer the question of whether or not there existed cross-national tendencies relating to this genre, the present exploratory case study set out to examine and compare two sets of periodical newsletters, as well, but from the seventeenth century; one from a Swedish emissary stationed in England and one from an English representative stationed in Sweden.

The first set comprises letters sent by Baron Christer Bonde (1621-59) to Charles X (1622-60), King of Sweden. This exchange of diplomatic news took place in 1655-6 during Bonde’s time as the Swedish ambassador-extraordinary to the court at London in the Kingdom of England (Roberts, 1988, pp. 3-5). The second set of correspondence, in turn, consists of letters sent in 1680 by John Robinson (1650-1723) to England’s Secretary of State for the Northern Department, Sir Leoline Jenkins (1625-85). During the time of this correspondence, Robinson functioned as chargé d’affaires on behalf of England at the court of Stockholm in the Kingdom of Sweden. (ODNB, 2004, s.v. Robinson, John [1650-1723]). Despite the differences in their individual social ranks, these ranks became more flexible abroad as they filled very similar functions as representatives of their respective home countries in their postings. Included in the contents of both diplomats’ correspondences back to Sweden and England were accounts of their diplomatic activities on behalf of their respective monarchs as well as write-worthy news relating to their own nations.

An important introductory remark to make is that there were two kinds of manuscript newsletters which both diplomats despatched, however. The first one was personal newsletters, that is holograph newsletters “written by one known individual to another” (Nevalainen, 2002a, p. 69), whereas the second one concerned impersonal news (there was no addressee) which was attached to the diplomats’ regular personal reports. This latter type was normally collected from external sources in which neither Bonde nor Robinson had been directly involved. In the present study, only the former type is considered for analysis, however.

To examine and compare these two sets of diplomatic periodical newsletters, they will be scrutinised in view of how the news they deliver is conveyed. In more precise details, the structures of the epistolary narration of news, the textual superstructures and the semantic macrostructures will be analysed in two newly-created corpora. By providing an account of such an analysis, an extra step is taken towards elucidating not only what might be characteristically Swedish and English in the genre of early modern diplomatic news transmission, but also which traits might belong to a more cross-national domain. Widening the spectrum of consideration beyond country borders and intra-linguistic factors can be an essential extra piece of wood to add to the fire if one wishes to gain closer explanations of languages within their sociohistorical contexts (Brownlees, 2012, p. 123; Milroy, 1998, p. 41; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2005, p. 35).

The present contribution, further, serves to aid in the effort of providing access to larger amounts of transcribed digital data for the scientific discipline of humanities (see e.g. Geisler, n.d., 2013, 2015, 2017; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2014, p. 24) by publishing previously unchartered material. The metadata relating to the two newly-created corpora can be found in Appendices A and C, whereas the corpora themselves can be found in Appendices B and D of the present study. These two corpora constitute the pillars upon which the present project has built its analytical foundation.
1.1 Historical Background

Bulstrode Whitelocke, England’s ambassador to Sweden, had concluded the treaty of Uppsala on 11 April 1654, which made a Swedish mission to England necessary on both formal and ceremonial grounds. For the important negotiations which were to take place, it was evident that Sweden had to be represented in London by a diplomat of high social rank and with extensive knowledge of the aims of Swedish policy. (Roberts, 1988, pp. 3-5) Prior to his time as ambassador in England, Christer Bonde had functioned as Assessor in the Office of Mines and the College of Commerce, Cabinet Minister, Provincial Governor and Speaker of the House of Nobility (lantmarskalk), to mention but some of his affiliations. (NE, n.d., s.v. Christer Bonde; Roberts, 1988, p. 5) Geisler (2015), further, refers to him as Count (greve), but although he stemmed from one of Sweden’s oldest indigenous noble families, it was, according to the NE (n.d., s.v. Bonde), his son, Carl Bonde (1648-99), and second cousin once removed, Clas Bonde (1664-1726), who were elevated to the station of Count. Christer Bonde, then, is referred to as Baron (friherre) by the NE (n.d., s.v. Christer Bonde), but as such was still a member of the high aristocracy which continued to rule over Swedish political life until the 1680’s. Being a member of the Council of State, Bonde had, naturally, been fully informed of the options available to Swedish foreign policy, become acquainted with Charles X’s plans and designs and primed with proper arguments to use abroad, as well. Additionally, Bonde had spent time in England before and learnt English in Oxford in 1638-9, during which time he developed an affinity for both the country and the language. This also meant that he could speak to the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, in the same language, which was much appreciated and the two even eventually came to be on a footing of personal friendship. (Roberts, 1988, pp. 3-6) As a diplomat, Bonde remained in England as the Swedish ambassador-extraordinary from July 1655 to August 1656 and despatched his diplomatic reports in Swedish directly to Charles X, King of Sweden. Finally, after having returned to Sweden, he played an active part in governing the country during the absence of his King abroad, in time becoming President of the College of Commerce, among other accomplishments. (Roberts, 1988, p. 7)

John Robinson, in turn, came from a Yorkshire family and was the second surviving son and namesake of John Robinson, a cooper. Clara Bolton, his aunt, came to play a key role in the advancements of her brother’s children by means of the income and influence that she and her husband, a linen draper, attained in London. Through aunt Clara, Robinson’s sister, also named Clara, profited and in due course her husband, Edward Wood, became gentleman usher to Queen Catherine of Braganza as well as accompanying Henry Coventry, the English ambassador to Sweden, in 1664. Meanwhile, John Robinson pursued studies at Brasenose College, Oxford, and graduated with a BA in 1673. Alongside his studies, which continued to the Master’s level, he was made Moudaunt Scholar and servitor to Sir James Astrey, as well. By royal mandate, his sister, now Lady Clara Wood, endeavoured to have him made a fellow at Magdalen College through the influence of her now knighted husband, who had also been the envoy to Sweden since 1672. These efforts came to naught, but Robinson was, instead, elected a fellow of Oriel College in 1675, where he was ordained and remained until 1677. As events would have it, however, he eventually requested a leave of absence to accompany his sister to Sweden, however, where her husband employed him as legation secretary and chaplain. But less
than a year after his arrival in his adopted homeland, Edward Wood was recalled to
England and Robinson, as his secretary, was commanded to stay and function as chargé
d'affaires until Wood's replacement, Mr Philip Warwick, arrived. Robinson remained at
this post from August 1679 to September 1680, but having become popular at the Swedish
court and shown his abilities by fluently conversing in Swedish with King Charles XI, he
spent close to a decade as an English diplomat in Sweden and advanced accordingly.
Despite humble beginnings, Robinson was, as such, a social climber and continued to rise
after his return to England, as well, and obtained, in addition to an MA, such posts as
Lord Privy Seal and Bishop of Bristol and London. (ODNB, 2004, s.v. Robinson, John
[1650-1723]) Worth of mention, however, might be that since Robinson's sister Clara's
husband, Sir Edward Wood, was gentleman usher to Queen Catherine of Braganza, who,
in turn, was married to King Charles II of England (Cannon & Hargreaves, 2009, p. 312),
and Robinson's sister did what she could to help advance her brother's station through
her knighted husband, the social mobility of Robinson and, particularly, his successful
climb might be related to his royal connections.

The Swedish and English correspondences which the present study has scrutinised
took place in and between July 1655 to August 1656 in the case of the former, and March
and September during the year of 1680 for the latter. As emphasised by Nevalainen
(1996b, p. 73, 2013) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), information about
social status should not be excluded from the agenda of historical sociolinguistics, as the
most probable reality was that differences in social class, in medieval and early modern
times, were even more powerfully ingrained than they are in western civilisations today
(Lockyer, 2005; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996b, p. 25). As such, it might be valuable to
clarify which echelons of society the respective authors and recipients of the manuscript
letters under examination belonged to at the time of the news-transmission. Thus, during
the time span of July 1655 to August 1656 (the range of Bonde’ letters), Christer Bonde,
with the rank of Baron (friherre), was a member of the nobility (högadeln/herreklassen)
(NE, n.d., s.v. adel). The recipient of Bonde’s letters, Charles X, King of Sweden, is,
naturally, designated as being of the same echelon, as well as that of royalty. Unlike
Bonde, John Robinson, in turn, came from more humble beginnings, and despite a very
remarkable journey and jumps in both career and status, throughout March to September
1680 (the range of his letters), he, nevertheless, functioned as chargé d'affaires in
Sweden, and had before that graduated with a BA and worked as legation secretary and
chaplain. (ODNB, 2004, s.v. Robinson, John [1650-1723]) This places him with the
professionals, that is with the middle ranks and the people who were able to support
themselves by means of non-manual work (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996b, p. 27). The
recipient of his letters, Sir Leoline Jenkins, in turn, came from a similar background to
that of Robinson’s, his father, described as a ‘good plain country-man’, being a yeoman
of a modest estate. Jenkins’ story and character were similar to those of Robinson’s, as
well, in that he was a hardworking and talented man, which, eventually, led to his
receiving the degree of DCL, becoming a professor and being knighted for his
negotiations with the French, to name but some of his accomplishments and work. In
1680, he also accepted the office of Secretary of State for the Northern Department of
England, (ODNB, 2008, s.v. Jenkins, Sir Leoline [1625-1685]), which office had
responsibility for both foreign and domestic affairs until 1782 (‘State papers foreign
1509-1782,” n.d.). Despite his occupation being a professional one, his knightly title places him in the upper gentry, entitling him to be styled Sir.
2. Aim and Scope

The present project examines two sets of seventeenth-century diplomatic newsletters that representatives at foreign courts sent back to their respective home countries. More particularly, the purpose of the study has been to find out if there were differences in how Swedish and English emissaries reported news. Drawing on the previous works by, for example, Ventola (1987), Hatim and Mason (1990) Duszak (1994), McCarthy and Carter (1994), Fitzmaurice (2006, 2008) and Okulska (2006) concerning historical English diplomatic news, and following the lead of Brownlees’ (2012) pioneering cross-linguistic study of Italian and English diplomatic correspondence, the present study is the second cross-linguistic research of its kind. In addition to the first mentioned purpose, it has, therefore, also been of interest to compare the findings of the present project to those presented in Brownlees (2012) in order to shed additional light to the question of whether or not there existed cross-national tendencies relating to the genre of early diplomatic news transmission.

In order to entertain these branches of interest, the present exploratory case study has presented, examined and compared the respective diplomats’ holograph personal letters in view of both their textual superstructures and semantic macrostructures (these latter terms are explained in greater detail in van Dijk 1985, 1988). This means that the impersonal letters, often attached to the regular reports, have not been considered for analysis, per se. The analysis in question can be described as an enquiry into how the transported news is conveyed, instantiﬁed by a tripartite assembly relating to the structures of narration of news, textual superstructures and semantic macrostructures. At the textual superstructure level, the analysis considers the letters in view of their textual layout and other formal properties such as ﬂourishes, whereas at the semantic macrostructural level, the examination is more concerned with the overall semantic contents of the main bodies of the letters. In providing an account of such an analysis, the analysis has aspired to provide an extra piece to the puzzle of early European diplomatic news transmission, and not just in terms of diplomatic epistolary practices which might be restricted to the respective nations of Sweden and England, but, perhaps, also in terms of practices which stretched beyond nation borders.

A natural question which might present itself during the course of an investigation such as the present is why a study of English historical sociolinguistics should pay attention to its Swedish overseas counterpart, in the first place. The gist of the answer to this question can be summarised as follows: “Historical development proceeds not by stages but by overlaps” (Wrightson, 2002, p. 24), and not in a social vacuum (Breton, 1991, p. xi) but in language families, “with both ancestors and descendants” (Denham & Lobeck, 2013, p. 400). This means that languages are, in fact, each other’s conditioners (Brownlees, 2012, p. 123; Milroy, 1998, p. 41; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2005, p. 35), and although the extensive use of the English language, and, perhaps, also the meaning of internationalism, in general, in present times, stand in stark contrast to the rare use of the language in diplomacy and personal correspondence as well as the more intranational state of affairs in pre-modern times (Geisler, 2013, p. 174), contact and exchange still took place. In Sweden, for example, external languages with strong
positions during the seventeenth century are purported to be part of the operative languages in Parliament, that is German (Andersson, 2012), and Dutch, which was used in the Swedish College of Arms (Wikén Bonde, 2012). The latter is interesting in view of the many very strong reports and views Bonde recounts relating to the Dutch, for example in his letters of 13 September and 05 October 1655, and 18 January, 11 April and 08 August 1656. But then again, one of Bonde’s chief diplomatic missions was to establish and negotiate a defensive and offensive alliance with the English (Roberts, 1988, pp. 3–5; Bonde's letters in RA Diplomatica Anglica), and seeing as how England was at war with Holland at the time (Jones, 2013), the Dutch discontent with and actions towards the Swedes, as portrayed by his letters, might have been justified.

At Cromwell’s court in England, in turn, languages with strong positions, in addition to English, were French (Rothwell, 1994; Wright, 2000) and Latin, the late lingua franca (Scheuer, 2010) and language of religion, education (Denham & Lobeck, 2013, p. 396) and culture (Schendl, 2014, p. 521). However, as part of the education of sons of elite families, exposure to and experience of other languages and cultures were also considered crucial aspects in the training for a life of power and authority, and often took the form of a ‘Grand Tour of Europe’ (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996b, pp. 28–9). In Schendl’s (2014, p. 521) words, multilingualism and language contact were already widespread phenomena even before the Roman Empire, however.

Given what has been discussed above, it becomes clear that languages have been shaping one another since eons back in time, and will continue to do so, which entails significant impetus to cross-linguistic approaches of language studies. Rather than focusing on the borrowing of words, the present study focuses more on the potential borrowing of textual super- and macrostructural epistolary practices, however. It has thus been of chief interest to the present research to explore whether the witnessed practices have their grounding in idiolectology and intralinguistics or, perhaps, a more cross-national and intercultural domain. For this reason, specific attention has been given to comparing the Swedish-English particularities addressed in the present work with those of Brownlees’ (2012) Italian-English findings. Worthy of note is also that although the present work has primarily aimed at the narratives, textual super- and semantic macrostructural particularities of the diplomats’ correspondences, the interesting natures of the primary materials called for moderate attention to be offered to the topics of (1) the attributing of titles in Section 5.2 and (2) multilingualism in Section 5.4, as well.

According to Dossena, correspondence is “an ideal field in which to ask significant research questions, not only on the internal history of the language, but also on its socio-historical varieties, and their relationship with prescriptive trends in linguistic commentary” (2012, p. 13). Given the presupposition that the epistolary genre, as a form of communication and expression during the early modern period, also reached a previously unseen level of sociocultural prominence (Del Lungo Camicotti, 2014), this means that it is a time of measurable relevance to probe into (Boureau & Chartier, 1991; Postigliola, Gennaro, & Nadia, 1985), as well. Social status in the early modern period can, further, be explored without the norms and social evaluations that came with Standard Swedish and English in that it represented a pre-normative era of grammar (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003).
The present study has, additionally, aimed at providing digital contributions of previously unchartered manuscript material in the form of publishing, in Appendices B and D, the two sets of diplomatic correspondences employed as primary material in the present project. Heeding, and agreeing with, the recommendations and emphases of, for example, Geisler (n.d., 2013, 2015, 2017) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2014, p. 24) relating to the effort of providing access to larger amounts of transcribed digital material for the academic specialisation of historical sociolinguistics, this initiative followed naturally. Although the corpora were designed specifically to support the purposes of the present project and the transcriptions come with limitations (as elaborated in Section 4), it is believed and hoped that they can function as a relevant source of primary evidence for a range of future studies, as well, just as they have in the present. In the same way that Brownlee's (2012) contribution inspired the take-off of the present research, it is also hoped that the results and discussions brought about in the present study may inspire future research agendas as well as additional transcription efforts.
3. Theoretical Framework

The present study is placed within a sociohistorical cross-linguistic framework and, according to Labov, “[t]he task of historical linguists is to explain the differences between the past and the present; but to the extent that the past was different from the present, there is no way of knowing how different it was” (1994, p. 21). This note is often used to describe what is called the historical paradox, which derives in part from the different social circumstances of the past and the present, on the one hand, and from historical linguists’ typically incomplete and defective data sources, on the other. Taking up the challenge of this paradox, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2014) argue that the job of a historical sociolinguist is precisely to try to discover how different the past was, and explain that the means to overcome it are manifold.

The overarching field of study which the present project relates to, then, is sociolinguistics, the features of which can be described as a two-sided coin instantiated by language and society, and regardless of whether the nature of a study is contemporary or historical, both of these sides require attention (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2005, p. 35). For this reason, the present thesis has adopted a variationist approach and framework in that, in order to better understand the epistolary practices of the era, it has been interested in understanding the social variables surrounding the letters under scrutiny, as well. Language use must be analysed in its social context, as without the connection between the two, it is difficult not to commit errors (Bayley, Cameron, & Lucas, 2013; McColl Millar, 2014, p. 58; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2005, p. 34).

Like all other historical fields of study, however, the most important standpoint, or raison d’être, of historical sociolinguistics is derived from the principle of uniformitarianism, according to which one must assume that whatever happens and is possible in present times must, logically, also have been possible in the past. From a sociolinguistics perspective, this means that theories and methodologies designed to study present-day phenomena can be applied to the past, as well, and vice-versa (Labov, 2010, p. 375; Nevalainen, 2013; Romaine, 1982, p. 122). Despite the desired historical angle of approach for the present study, the potential findings of it could, thus, be of considerable importance even to contemporary language discussions.

Given this uniformitarian epistemological stance, it naturally becomes interesting to test history in light of the discoveries which have been made in the present, as well. In approaching the question of how the Swedish and English diplomats reported news, then, the concepts of textual superstructure and semantic macrostructure are applied, both of which have been elaborated from a theoretical and practical point of view in an analysis of hard print news (van Dijk, 1985, 1988). These two concepts can be summarised by the notion of genre superstructures, which relates to internal macrostructures or generic stages which form texts’ semantic layers, weave in their global meaning, cue precise strategies and, finally, determine generic conventions (Duszak, 1998, p. 176; Grimes, 1975; Mitchell, 1957; van Dijk, 1977, 1980; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). More specifically, the present study has interpreted the concepts of textual superstructure and semantic macrostructure as the letters’ schematic textual organisation and topics or
The employment of these concepts as an approach can be seen in, for example, Okulska (2006) and Brownlees (2012), as well, and it is based on the assumption, as postulated by van Dijk (1985, 1988), that there exist generic epistolary conventions in diplomatic narrative report letters. What is examined in the present contribution are periodical diplomatic personal newsletters written by the same individuals, however, on which subject genres are interpreted as “inherently dynamic cultural schemata used to organise knowledge and experience through language” (Taaavitsainen, 2001, pp. 139–40).

Although choosing the theoretical framework of the present study to be one encompassing sociohistorical cross-linguistics, the variationist approach and the Uniformitarian Principle might sound fairly general, it has also been noted that linguistic analysis is not simply a method and seldom consists of set rules and procedures for linguists to follow (Fairclough, 1999; Jaworski & Coupland, 2006; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2008). Instead, individual studies may incorporate parts of approaches or a combination of approaches to suit their needs. This understanding clearly mirrors Holliday's (2016) grounded theory, as well, which asserts that an important consideration is also to allow the material to guide the analysis. This has proven to be of paramount importance for the present study, as well, and in particular as regards the semantic categories relating to the macrostructures of the letters. In the effort to compare the findings to those reached in Brownlees' (2012) study, the structures present in the diplomats’ letters are also particularly considered in view of pre-established categories; that is the semantic macrostructures of (1) salutation + blank space, (2) providing references to previously despatched and/or received letters, (3) reporting of one’s own diplomatic activities, (4) recounting of news of diplomatic relevance and (5) subscription which Brownlees (2012) noticed in the writings of the diplomats Terriesi and Blackwell. Despite the striking discrepancy between the number of studies which have been conducted in language-specific early modern diplomatic news transmission and those (or the only one) which have been conducted from a cross-linguistic perspective, the fact that there exists a very considerable research body in the first-mentioned field means that the present study has a good and solid basis to operate from.

Within the culture of early modern epistolarity, then, letters were also accompanied by letter writing manuals, the relevance of which are highlighted because of their influence on the writing style of both official and family correspondence (Austin, 2007; Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2014, p. 22; Schneider, 2005, p. 19). The period from the sixteenth century onwards is, sometimes, described as an age of courtliness, sociability and civility, as well, and during this time letter books and letter writing manuals multiplied as a natural consequence (Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2014, p. 23). Pedagogical manuals, for instance, contributed to the development of civilisation processes as letter writing came to be recognised as social behaviour through which language producers’ courtesy was exhibited and measured (Schneider, 2005, pp. 41–2). Early letter books and writing manuals, in turn, had much in common with early conduct books, in that they were prescriptive at heart, offering their users an arrangement of templates for operating within a highly complex and codified society which rewarded decency, deference and obedience, both in and outside family circles (Bryson, 1998, p. 3; Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2014, p. 21; Eurich, 2011).
The witnessed and exceedingly prescriptive characteristics of early letter books and writing manuals have, naturally, left their traces on their corresponding epistolary subjects, as well, that is early letters. From a pragmatic perspective, Fludernik (2007) examined the development of the narrative quality in a corpus of early correspondence (1400-1650) and found that the letters, in fact, were extremely formulaic in their structure and form as well as resistant to elaborate expressiveness and narration. Fludernik (2007, p. 242) further noticed that subjectivity did not become a prominent feature of non-fictional letters until the Restoration period and that letters between the fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries were not predominantly narrative – aside from intelligence reports, that is, which could provide markedly satisfying narratives in the form of first-person accounts of adventures and experiences (2007, p. 259). In Del Lungo Camiciotti’s (2014) words, “[t]he transmission of news and intelligence refers to two opposite functions of correspondence, public and secret” (2014, p. 28).

Similarly to Fludernik’s (2007) research, Okulůska’s (2006) study, which focused on the diachronic development from Middle to Early Modern English diplomatic correspondence, argues for the existence of generic epistolary conventions, as well. Within the distinct genre of diplomatic interaction, Okulůska (2006) describes (1) letter openings, (2) body parts and (3) closings as such central and frequent components of official correspondence which, in turn, tend to act as advance text organisers (cf. Ausubel, 1960; de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, p. 196) as well as conditioners of the final epistolary message’s textual superstructure. Step (1), the letter opening, refers to a brief opening commonly embodied by a salutation which precedes one or two initialising clauses, but the semantic macrostructure of the openings could also include interactive moves such as references to previous correspondence (Okulůska, 2006, pp. 54–6). In view of the attention paid to correct social salutations and greetings, this part of the letter also particularly signals the presence of unequal (and, though rarely, equal [Okulůska, 2006, p. 53]) power relationships and, thus, the political importance of letters as documents, as well (Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2014, p. 24). Next, the openings of narrative report letters were typically followed by (2) body parts, or convoluted body developments, which frequently take the form of narration and reporting with descriptive and argumentative writing modes (Okulůska, 2006, pp. 53–7). Finally, the concluding paragraphs of the letters formed (3) the closing, which, in the early modern period and in interaction-up formats (i.e. writing to a superior), were often structurally formulaic but thematically diverse. Though less affective than their predecessors from the middle period, these closings could encompass expressions of one’s care and good wishes for the addressees as well as polite ending expressions which also served to index the authors’ lower social positions. (2006, p. 69) Address forms and closing formulae, in particular, could reveal the variation instantiating the interpersonal relationships between correspondents as well as power hierarchies (Palander-Collin, 2010).

Despite the structural predictability of early modern diplomatic epistolography, Okulůska (2006, p. 53) describes the practice as neither as uniform nor invariant, however, but rather purports that diplomatic letters came with a certain potential (cf. Hasan, 1987) to transmit both mandatory as well as optional elements of discourse. This intermingling of obligatory and non-compulsory discourse chains will be explored relating to the Swedish and English diplomats under scrutiny in the present study, as well, and seeing as
how Brownlees (2012), unlike, for example, (Okulska, 2006), is the only previous research to have done this from a cross-linguistic perspective, the direction of the findings could prove especially interesting and, perhaps, also an incentive to further exploration.
4. Material and Methodology

4.1 The Primary Material

The present study makes use of two sets of original manuscript letters pertaining to the genre of early periodical diplomatic personal newsletters and has collected its own corpora based on the same material. The first set consists of letters in Swedish sent in 1655-6 by Christer Bonde to Charles X whereas the second set comprises letters in English which were sent by John Robinson to Leoline Jenkins in 1680. Detailed numerical information relating to these two newly-created corpora, which both contain 17 letters each, is given in Appendices A and C. Both sets of correspondences stretch from the diplomats’ first to the last available despatches from their missions.

Bonde’s letters, which do not exist in print (Roberts, 1988, p. 2), are housed at the Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet, Diplomatica Anglica Vol. 13) in Stockholm, Sweden. This collection of letters has been considered in tandem with the handwritten transcriptions which exist of the same correspondence at the British Library in London (Manuscripts Add. 38100), which are believed to have been made at some point during the late nineteenth century for one S.R. Gardiner (Roberts, 1988, pp. 2–3). In these, Bonde’s letters are in folios 47, 185-219 and 221-412 and cover volumes 10, 13-14 and portions of volumes 17 and 215 of the Diplomatica Anglica collection. This two-dimensional approach was adopted as, although Bonde’s letters are written in a very ornate and artistic hand with flourishes to a degree much more extensive than what is present in Robinson’s letters, the handwritten transcripts come with the advantage of being consistently legible. Figure 4.1 illustrates the differences in legibility between the original fair copies, the handwritten transcripts and the transliterations of the present work, respectively.
Further, it seems as if though neither the Swedish orthography nor the original abbreviations have been altered in any way, rendering the handwritten transcripts highly useful for a language historian. The only noticeable drawback is that in 15 out of the 17 letters examined, the transcripts do not cover the last few words of the main bodies of the letters, in which Bonde normally concludes with ceremonious praising and subscribing expressions (formulaic closing lines with which Bonde praises his King and confirms his continued service and inferiority to his addressee) as part of the closing. In two cases, however, the handwritten transcriptions cover these parts, and the same inconsistency has been observed with the unchanging epistolary openings and closing subscription phrases, as well. The reason for this, probably, stems from the transcriber being more interested in noting the sociohistorical aspects of the letters, rather than the linguistic aspects.

The analysis of the present study has, nevertheless, had to rely on the handwritten transcripts because of the nature of the Swedish language scrutinised, as, in addition to the legibility difficulties associated with Bonde’s hand, Swedish in the past (towards the end of the late middle and in the initial phases of the early modern periods) had linguistic properties very similar to those of the Icelandic language in present times (Falk, 2016), which entails a significantly different practice from transcribing in one’s own native or learned language (Nyman, 1982, p. 13). The present contribution, in an effort to ensure precision in the semantic analyses, has, therefore, consulted the published translations of Bonde’s letters in Roberts (1988), as well, which are based on the same handwritten transcripts employed in the present work.

Although Appendix A presents a noticeably discouraging picture in that most of Bonde’s letters have not been possible to transcribe in their entirety, it should be noted that the vast majority of the letters’ contents have been recovered. The missing parts of the letters comprise the last few words of the main bodies of the letters, the epistolary
openings, the closing subscription phrases and parts of Bonde’s signatures. The missing pieces of the main bodies have not been possible to transliterate as they are missing from the handwritten transcriptions (except in two cases) and because more specialised training in early High German handwriting would be required to accurately capture them from the original manuscripts. The salutatory openings are covered by the handwritten transcriptions only in the first letter, but from the original manuscripts it becomes clear that the epistolary opening was variable only in its orthography, and not in its syntax. Similarly, the closing subscription phrases are covered only once by the handwritten transcripts (in the last letter), but like the salutatory openings they were flexible only with regards to spelling and (infrequently) order, except in one case, which is discussed in Section 5.1. Finally, the handwritten transcriptions write out Bonde’s signatures, only in the first and last letters, as “Christer Bondemp” (e.g. 20 July 1655), with mp possibly being the abbreviated form of minister plénipotentiaire, but while there is no question of the m, the original fair copies seem to deviate from the remaining part of the suggestion in that additional units are written, as well, which might and might not include a p. Comparable deviations might also exist in other parts of the letters, but the Bonde Corpus still follows the hand-written transcriptions for reasons of legibility. In Appendix A, the letters given in square brackets, thus, represent letters from which the transcriptions have not been able to capture the last few missing orthographic units or words. It is only with regard to the missing components of the main bodies of the letters where loss in semantics is present, however, as the original manuscripts suggest unwavering invariability relating to the remaining aspects. Bonde’s letters are written on between two to five large pages and range between 245-956 words and 1384-4927 orthographic units.

The engagement of the handwritten transcripts was not only necessary in terms of the perspectives of legibility, however, but also because the majority of Bonde’s letters were, in fact, written in cipher, as displayed in Appendix A. In between the normally running text, these letters also boasted long chains of numbers which had to be deciphered by the letters’ recipients, which process is clearly visible on the original fair copies in the form of decrypted words, notes and marks between the lines. Figure 4.2 exemplifies this process as well illustrates how the handwritten transcripts compare to the original manuscripts in this regard; here, only decoded language is present.
Robinson’s letters, in turn, are kept at the British National Archives (State Papers Foreign SP 95/11) in Kew, England, and date from March–September 1680. As regards the seventeenth letter in the Robinson Corpus, however, only the last page of the letter has survived and the date is, therefore, unknown, as Robinson invariably wrote the date in the upper right corner of the first page of his letters. Judging by the letter’s contents and his story in the ODNB (2004, s.v. Robinson, John [1650-1723]), it is reasonable to assume that it was despatched in September, however, just like the previous letter. Since only a part of the seventeenth letter has been passed on through history, this naturally means that the transcription process has not been able to recover it in its entirety. Agreeing with Dossena (2012, p. 15) that even minor linguistic details can become very valuable, however, this part of the letter has still been included, alongside the other letters which were not fully recovered. In Robinson’s letters of 31 March and 07 July 1680, there is one word in each letter which the transcription work has not managed to capture, as the words are blurry and covered in ink-stain. In his second letter of 11 August 1680, difficulty in transcribing one orthographic unit was also found.

The transcribed letters described in Appendix C encompass all remaining letters which pertain to Robinson’s time in Sweden as a diplomat during his initial years there, but as Robinson stayed on for a close to a decade at the Stockholm court, there also exist similar letters from closer to the eighteenth century (e.g. in SP 95/13). This particular batch of letters was selected due to its chronological proximity being closer to that of
Bonde’s. Furthermore, all of Robinson’s letters are written in a decorative and clearly legible hand with flourishes, as demonstrated in Figure 4.3, and are most probably based on previous drafts in that only four self-corrections were made throughout his letters; these are also marked in the transcriptions with ‘strikethrough’ (31 March, 09 June & 18 August 1680).

In his letters, Robinson also made use of the kind of abbreviations which were common in other formal correspondence of the period (Fitzmaurice, 2008, pp. 85–6; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2006a, 2006b). His letters range from one small to three large pages in length, ranging between 120-745 words and 571-3315 orthographic units.

Comparing the arithmetic means of the diplomats’ correspondences, Bonde’s letters were considerably longer than Robinson’s both in terms of number of pages and words. Additionally, based on the total numbers of words and orthographic units within the two corpora, it might be possible to suggest that Early Modern Swedish, generally, embodied more lengthy words than Early Modern English did. However, it should also be noted that the letters included in the Bonde Corpus are actually the shortest ones (in terms of number of pages) from Vol. 13 of the Diplomatica Anglica collection, in which the longest is 32 pages long. Unlike Robinson, Bonde wrote all of his letters on large pages, as well. However, an important remark to make is also that (at least in the case of Bonde) there is no way of knowing whether or not the letters under scrutiny were truly written by the diplomats in question, as members of the aristocracy and state officials often dictated their vernacular correspondence to scribes (see e.g. Cherewatuk & Wiethaus, 1993; Crabb & Couchman, 2005; Daybell, 2012; Geisler, 2013).

Following Brownlees (2012), the selection criteria for the primary material were that it should consist of periodical diplomatic personal newsletters written by envoys in the early modern period who, in turn, were stationed at a foreign court and reporting back to their respective home nations. What, for the present study, constituted the main difficulty in deciding which material to settle on, however, was legibility. Nevalainen (2013) mentions that the quantity of the material passed on through history is often at issue in the study of language history, but as noted by Dossena, however, “[s]cholars wishing to
study correspondence from a linguistic point of view may count on a wealth of relatively untapped material” (2012, p. 15). The latter remark was clearly justified during the visits of the author to the Swedish National Archives (Riksbarkivet) and British National Archives, both of which presented an enormous multitude of potentially relevant primary material and numerous question marks related to Labov’s (1994) famous ‘bad data’ claim.

In the case of Bonde’s letters, these were decided on knowing that the work could be supported by both handwritten transcriptions as well as published translations, whereas Robinson’s correspondence was chosen due his clearly legible hand and mostly unobstructed letters. The differences in legibility, based on handwriting alone, between Robinson and the other individuals represented in the calendar of State Papers Foreign collection relating to Sweden, for example one of his first employers, Sir Edward Wood, were very considerable. For more problematic issues relating to the examination of historical correspondence, see Dossena (2012).

### 4.2 Editorial Principles

On the subject of transcription practices, a myriad of approaches and stances exist, and especially relating to the issue of whether or not manuscripts should be reproduced as quasi-facsimiles (Elspass, 2014, p. 165). In Hunter’s (2009, pp. 72–85) view, this is not a requirement, as he argues that expanding abbreviations is acceptable and that replicating ligatures or tildes to denote duplications is unnecessary, for instance. According to other linguists, however, such interventions are too far-reaching (Elspass, 2014).

In the words of Fairman (2007), transliterations can be divided into two different kinds; interpretive and literal. In Fairman’s study, the former methodology is employed, as “a strictly literal transliteration would be too confusing” (2007, p. 173). However, the editorial principles of the interpretive transliteration still include duplicating features such as authors’ abbreviations, upper and lower case writing and deletions, for instance.

Naturally, a third line of enquiry is whether or not producing quasi-facsimiles is even possible, and if not all transcriptions are interpretive at least in one way or another (Elspass, 2014, p. 165; Falk, 2016), especially in view of the fact that there even exist transcription conventions to mark uncertainty or difficulty of interpretation (e.g. Geisler, 2013, p. 177). Regardless, Fairman (2007) suggests that it is important for transliterators to be aware of the degree to which they transliterate interpretively, and equally so to inform the readers of this reasoning.

According to Woesler, “editors and corpora-builders have to observe some general standards for editing and adapting historical texts such as private letters” (1998, p. 946), however; the text source and its archival records must be identified and the editorial principles must be stated. Concerning quality criteria, it, further, “goes without saying that for linguistic analysis, (historical) manuscripts must be presented in an authentic form, that is, unabridged and without any changes to spelling, grammar, or style” (Elspass, 2014, p. 164). However, it should also be noted that the investigation has the right to design the corpora as well as the corresponding quality criteria according to the historical sociolinguist’s own needs (2014, pp. 164–5), as well.
The two newly-created corpora of the present study, then, were designed with the chief purpose of being able to support the structural analyses and discussions of the two diplomats’ epistolary practices. For this reason, the transcriptions have mainly been for content semantics and as such, do not follow many of the editorial principles as outlined in, for example, Bailey (2004), Kytö et al. (2007, 2011, pp. 7–10, 271–5), Laing and Ross (2009), Lass (2004) and Rosenthal et al. (2009, pp. 92–94). Instead, the transliteration work can be described as more interpretive, following Fairman (2007), but the transcriptions have still aimed at reproducing the original manuscripts as faithfully as possible; that is they have aspired to forcefully reject the practices of modernising, emending or otherwise changing the original texts (Grund, 2006, p. 119). This means that the employed editorial principles have included maintaining original spelling, punctuation, abbreviations, upper and lower case writings, self-corrections, paragraph structures and text orientation.

With regards to the transliterations of both diplomats’ correspondence, these were, naturally, typed in and proofread manually by the present author’s own hands and eyes. Studying the photocopies of the original manuscripts (as well as the handwritten transcripts as concerns the Swedish collection), the former took place by digitally converting the contents of the letters, whereas the latter took the form of comparing the orthographic units of the newly created digital transcripts with the original handwritten documents. It should, however, be noted that the present work reserves the possibility that there might exist minor errors, for just as transliterating and proof-reading one’s own normal writings can be difficult, so can quality control of transcriptions be without an extra set of expert eyes. However, just because there might exist errors in methodology and duplication, this means neither that the work should be considered empirically invalid and inaccurate research (Hernández-Campoy & Schilling, 2014, p. 74), nor considered a doomed enterprise (Bergs, 2014, p. 96), for even corpora such as the CEEC (Corpus of Early English Correspondence), which, unquestionably, lies in the vanguard in terms of quality of available primary materials for the historical study of language and also as a strong force of legitimisation within the field of historical sociolinguistics (Williams, 2014), does not consist of quasi-facsimiles: Although being designed particularly with sociohistorical linguistics research in mind (Nevalainen, Mannila, & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2011; Siirtola, Nevalainen, Saijylä, & Rääkä, 2011) and only including original spelling editions (Nurmi, 1998), some of the corpus’ letter editions have modernised punctuation and expanded abbreviations (Siirtola et al., 2011). In Brownlee’s (2012, p. 130) words, corpora suffer from such editorial decisions and Siirtola et al. (2011) voice words of discouragement for studies considering using the CEEC to study spelling practices for the same reason. Despite this conundrum, however, fruitful analyses based on mechanical spelling have still been conducted using the CEEC (e.g. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003, p. 61).

What the above discussion boils down to, then, is that limitations in material and methodology do not necessarily hinder the historical sociolinguist from making the best use of both facets (Labov, 1994), and all enterprises into corpus-building “are valid in their quest for reliable data, and it is important to stress their unifying traits, which enable scholars to answer significant research questions” (Dossena, 2012, p. 14). Finally, it is also important to recognise that “[t]he writer of historical letters […] certainly never
imagined and presumably never wished that their texts would one day be published […], each private historical document must therefore be treated with due respect” (Elspass, 2014, pp. 165–6).

4.3 Procedure

The present study pertains to the frameworks of the parent field of sociohistorical linguistics as well as the new-born field of early cross-linguistic diplomatic epistolography, to which entities of enquiry a great many important methodological considerations relate. In short, however, and in addition to the above discussions, the present project adopted a three-folded strategy which sought to (1) find, (2) transcribe (3) and analyse previously uncharted Early Modern Swedish and English diplomatic correspondences. The analysis has taken on a largely manual and qualitative character and been carried out much the same way sociolinguists analyse present day speech communities. In more precise details, however, each of the letters under investigation were carefully scrutinised in view of Brownlees’ (2012) pre-established categories, as mentioned in Section 3, as well with an eye to spotting new “macrostructure-internal functional categories that can form predictable and conventionalised compositional wholes” (Okulska, 2006, p. 48); that is semantic macrostructures (van Dijk, 1985, 1988) which could be interpreted to fall outside of the boundaries noticed in Brownlees (2012). The analysis of the textual superstructures has considered the manuscripts in their original form (digital photocopies), whereas the examination of the semantic macrostructures has relied on the two newly-created corpora. The principal aim and purpose has been to help move the said fields forward by, hopefully, providing new and valuable contributions as well as expanding a historical digital database of language.
5. Results and Discussion

5.1 Bonde’s Correspondence to the King

Taking Baron Christer Bonde’s periodical newsletters from 1655-6 to Charles X of Sweden as a starting point of the comparative examination, Bonde’s reports display a number of similarities to John Robinson’s letters to the Secretary of State, but also a few very noticeable differences, of which some of the more striking ones include the use of paragraphs and cipher. Unlike both Robinson and Blackwell, but like the Tuscan envoy to England in 1690, Francesco Terriesi (Brownlees, 2012), Bonde despatched his news in a single continuous extensive paragraph, justified but centred towards the right hand side of the document, as is also illustrated in Figure 5.1. Unlike Robinson, Bonde would also write out the place of writing and date on the last page in the bottom left corner (see Figure 5.4), as opposed to on the first page in the top right (see Figure 5.3). As regards his use of cipher, which came to characterise the majority of his letters, the deciphering process can also be seen in many of the letters, as portrayed in Figure 4.2, but whether it was conducted by a historical or modern hand is not yet established, however. Further, there are no self-corrections, which, most probably, means Bonde’s letters were based on previous drafts.

The dates of Bonde’s letters suggest that he was expected to write at least once a week, and he would write both in times of intense diplomatic activity as well as in less eventful times, as he mentions himself in his letter of 13 September 1655. Bonde would also, occasionally, enclose copies of additional documents he had received from a range of sources, including, for example, a petition expressing the desire that the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, should assume royal style and dignities (24 August 1655). In his reports, Bonde would further put particular emphasis on the progress he was making relating to his instructions, as well as report on both English and international news of potential import to Sweden and the King. Unlike Robinson, who had adopted a staunchly objective approach to his dealings, Bonde could recount his own subjective views much more extensively, as well, for example in his letter of 20 July 1655 commenting on the dangerous and suspicious nature of the English.

As has been witnessed in the epistolary practices of Blackwell, Terriesi (Brownlees, 2012) and Robinson, Bonde, too, would commence his letters with a syntactically invariable, but orthographically variable, salutation, which, in Bonde’s case, read: “Stoormechtigste Kånung allernådigste Herre” (e.g. 20 July 1655) (Great Almightyest King Most Gracious Lord). In Okulska’s words, lengthier openings which underpin the interaction-up approach “create an atmosphere of indirectness and strongly underline the social distance between interactants” (2006, p. 55). As in Robinson’s hand, this greeting would be written in flourishes and accompanied by a very substantial amount of blank space, but in Bonde’s case the former are measurably more expansive and adorning and the latter significantly more considerable as it would, normally, be tantamount to about one fourth of a page in his first letters, and about half a page towards the end of his mission. The typical difference in blank space between his earlier as well as later letters is illustrated in Figure 5.1.
Figure 5.1 The first pages of Bonde’s letters of 20 July 1655 and 18 July 1656. Original formats.

Noteworthy is that such an increase in the use of blank space cannot be witnessed in Robinson’s letters, and since such space, in epistolary practice, “symbolised the deference the addressee felt for the addressee” (Brownlees, 2012, p. 124), perhaps this design (Fitzmaurice, 2006, p. 81) of Bonde’s reports stood to signal that he did not presume to have grown closer or more familiar (Nevalainen, 2002a, p. 76) with the King, despite the time (Brownlees, 2012, p. 135) he had spent in his service? It would seem as if though it is not just the blank space which increased over time, either, but the flourishes, as well. It might merely have been expected formulae, but additional insights into what the use of blank spaces and flourishes, and particularly what the decrease/increase of them over time, could signify might prove an especially interesting and rewarding research endeavour. In the words of the English envoy to Tuscany in 1703, Sir Lambert Blackwell, flourishes carried no consequence with them in the Italian language (Brownlees, 2012, p. 132), but subscribing to the variationist approach, witnessed variation should not be assumed to have occurred by chance, and it seems unlikely that this emerging pattern and the extra effort Bonde must have put in were there without reason, especially in view of its absence in Robinson’s letters.

Similarly deferential to the salutation are the uses of honorifics, address forms and references to the King in the main body of Bonde’s epistles, as well, of which his letters of 29 July 1655 and 08 August 1656 have some of the more distinguishable ones. Having witnessed comparable tendencies between Blackwell and Terriesi, the latter of which employed more submissive epistolary conventions, Brownlees (2012, p. 131) poses the
question of whether or not the glaring characteristics of the interaction-up address forms in the salutation being mirrored in other parts of the letters might entail indications of different forms of narrating news. As concerns flourishes, then, and as implied by the transliterations of the original manuscripts, these do not carry any leverage against the mode of narration, despite, probably, serving other purposes. However, the varying use of, for example, deferential address forms and honorifics can, indeed, lead to differences in personal voice, formality and involvement.

(1) Wee have advice here of M’e Warwick’s late arrival in this River. The Shipp is pass the Dolours, but the contrary wind hinders her from getting up; yet by the next Post-day I doubt not but his Hono’e will be here & acquaint yo’e Honour himself that hee is arrived at this place. (28 August 1680)

In Example (1), one is exposed to how Robinson could make use of address forms in the main body of the letters, which consistently took the form of your Honour. What is interesting in (1) is that he uses a very similar reference to Mr Warwick, as well, who was below Sir Leoline Jenkins in station (ODNB, 2004, s.v. Warwick, Philip [bap. 1640, d. 1683]). Further, and as Biber (1988, p. 104) argues, when the same words very frequently collocate with one another, lower variation and information density follow. As a consequence, it becomes possible to imply that the meaning and the involvement become bleached, which, in turn, suggests that Robinson, when using such formulaic expressions, used the kind of language which was expected and needed of him. In Bonde’s letters, on the other hand, the address forms and honorifics relating to his King are exclusively characterised by variation and by noticeably more powerful levels of both involvement and pre- and post-modification.

(2) Then högste Gudh förläne migh af E.’s Kongl.’s gode tiender, och beware E.’s Kongl. M.’s person och göre alle hans noble intentioner lyckosamme, att hwar ährlich man måtte hafwa orsaak sigh ther öfwer att frögda och hälst. (24 August 1655)

(May Almighty God grant me good news of Y.M., and keep watch over Y.M.’s person, and bring success to all his noble enterprises, so that all men of good will may have cause to rejoice at it.) (Roberts, 1988, p. 145)

What examples such as (2) could provide a proposition for is that Bonde’s employment of a more varied vocabulary, in, to a larger degree, having broken free from formulaic expressions, stems from his own volition, which, in turn, might entail a significantly different attitude to his employer, from that of Robinson’s to his. Robinson’s reluctance to employ a more varied vocabulary as well as a tendency to recount diplomatic events in short, declarative sentences, almost in list form (e.g. 30 June 1680), further stands in stark contrast to Bonde’s more elaborative and engaging narrative strategy in all of his letters. The model of presenting news in a thematically unrelated fashion and without editorial intervention was commonly employed at the time, however, with which the
diplomat was “the purveyor of news, not the news analyst” (Brownlees, 2012, p. 128). This means that Bonde had not just broken free from formulaic expressions, but also news models. It is also interesting to note that Bonde, as a nobleman, outranked both the English chargé d’affaires and Secretary of State, but still employed more deferential honorifics, a more self-deprecating style in his missives and a more respectful blank space between the salutations and the main bodies, in his writing to the King. In terms of mode of narration, Bonde’s personal voice and will are more apparent, however.

Like Robinson, but even more frequently, Bonde would also make reference to previously despatched and received letters in the introductory parts of his letters (e.g. 29 July; 05 October 1655) and he, too, speaks of the unreliability of the cross-national postal communication, for example in his letter of 18 July 1656. For this reason, reiterations were frequent, and although they tended to appear in the earlier parts of Bonde’s letters, they could appear in later sections, as well, as in his letter of 21 March 1656.

Additional differences between the two representatives’ epistolary practices also included the writing of the recipients’ personal names; that is whereas Robinson would always write out Jenkins’ first and last names in the letter, Bonde would never spell out the King’s name. The Swedish diplomat also wrote his parentheses in a different fashion from the English, using ‘/’ and ‘:/’ instead of ‘(’ and ‘)’, for example in his first letter of July 20 1655 when referring to the storm which had driven his ship over to Norway on his way to England (Figure 5.2).

Moreover, and in contrast to Robinson, Bonde was both forced to act on his own and take the initiative on occasions when his instructions proved lacking in detail or absent altogether. In addition to recounting the instructions he was trying to follow, he would, as such, also report on issues he had acted on without a guiding hand. In this sense, the diplomat’s role compares to that of a chronicler (Brownlees, 2012, p. 133) – one role out of many which could be assumed to express a polite discourse (Brant, 2006).

Connecting to the presupposition that authors could adopt epistolary conventions in order to signal awareness of the likely insignificance of what was recounted in the letters as well as the needless occupation of the recipient’s precious time (Brownlees, 2012), it
is interesting to note what might be called more personal stories in Bonde’s letters, or, in the words of Fludernik (2007, p. 259), tales of adventures and experiences. In his first letter of 20 July 1655, for instance, he provides a fairly lengthy summary of his journey from Sweden to England, and whereas he could have just notified the King of his safe arrival in order not to occupy too much of his time, about half of the letter recounts the travel details as well as the feelings and actions of a sailor, for instance. This practice of Bonde’s, then, might in turn resemble the personal footing which he and Charles X were on, which, judging by the non-existence of such stories in Robinson’s letters, was quite different from the relationship between the English chargé d’affaires and Secretary of State in 1680. In relation to this, it is also interesting to note that whereas Robinson, in his last letter, relays to Jenkins how much he would like to be compensated for the expenses relating to his services, Bonde, in his last letter, speaks of the horse he wants to give his King as a gift (see Example [4]). Then again, in numerous letters, Bonde would also speak of his very poor financial situation, relating to which he had asked for assistance and since the King did come to his rescue on that score, the gesture of the gift might be related to that ‘rescue’.

Bonde’s commitment to his King and country probably did not merely stem from obligation, however, as the way in which he uses the narrative report of speech acts, which was essentially different from that of Robinson’s, suggests advocacy for a broader picture. Not only does he narrate his own personal feelings, as, for example, in his letter of 29 July 1655, which deals with the, in Bonde’s words, ‘unfriendly and uncivil’ Frenchmen, including their ambassador, but he also allows space for other individuals’ voices, as, for example, in his letter of 08 August 1656 which recounts the dinner-table negotiation (concerning the desired alliance) Bonde had with a Lord Lambert and Lord Lawrence. The first of these accounts also reminds one that the job description of an ambassador-extraordinary was quite different from that of a chargé d’affaires, which, in turn, might also explain some of the differences in nature between the two diplomats’ reports. Turning to the second rendition, it is, nevertheless, interesting to note that the reporting of speech in Bonde’s narrative discourse encompasses not just reported speech but also some of the interlocutors’ reactions to what was said. This narrative strategy brings the reader closer to the events, which effect is also further enhanced by Bonde’s willingness to use a more colloquial language, as well, as in (3).

(3) *Ifrån Hollandh aviserar migh Appelbohmen theras owanlige procedurer emoth honom, såsom och att the nu the uthlofwade subsidie till Churfursten af Brandeburgh betahlt hafwa, hwilcket alt hafwer ett widrigt uthseende,* (18 January 1656)

(From Holland Appelboom informs me of their unusual proceedings towards him, as also that they have paid the elector of Brandenburg the subsidy which they promised him, all of which has an ominous appearance,) (Roberts, 1988, p. 240)

Words like *widrigt* (ominous), for instance, which are also used in other letters, could be interpreted to bear the resemblance of orality in Bonde’s letters. This is an interesting aspect to remark on in that Bonde’s letters, arguably, in their being addressed to a King
and, thus, of a more well-prepared and flawless shape than Robinson’s, were less spontaneous in their processes of creation but, given the presence of elements of orality and interaction, still more closely resemble spontaneous utterances (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000). Besides this more personal and interactive mode, the tone also switches to highly respectful and business-oriented, whereas with Robinson the first type of narrative is absent altogether. In comparison to Blackwell’s and Terresi’s narrative styles (Brownlees, 2012), it would appear the two Englishmen have the most in common with one another, likewise the Italian with the Swede.

Towards the end of Bonde’s singular paragraphs, he would bring his letters to an end with a highly deferential closure. Unlike Robinson’s closings, Bonde’s were characterised by some variation, however, in that the final few words of the paragraphs which would connect to the subscriptions could appear in diverse forms, one of which is given in (4).

‘#’ refers to a new line.

(4) Iagh skall och göra min flijt att kunna skaffa medh migh een godh häst till E.‘s Kl.’tänst, och hoppas att medh thet snaresta kunna hafva then hagnar, att see E.‘s Kl.’s medh lycka och seger krönt, och närvarande underdånigst contestera huru mycket iagh ahr # E.’s Kongl.’s Trogne och underdånigst # Tiänare # Christer Bondemp (22 August 1656)

(I shall do all I can to bring a good horse with me for Y.M.’s service, and hope very soon to be able to have the pleasure of seeing Y.M., crowned by Fortune and by Victory, and to be able in Y.M.’s presence to make my humble profession of how much I am # Your Majesty’s # faithful and most humble # servant # Christer Bondemp) (Roberts, 1988, p. 331)

Only in one case does the subscription take on a radically different shape: “[…] Kongl.’s Maj.’s # Trognst och oföranderligie # Tiéeare” (05 October 1655) (Your Majesty’s most Faithful and unalterable # Servant), in which the word oföranderligie (unalterable) is the component of chief interest. The fact that Bonde has chosen to incorporate variation into (possibly) old and established ceremonious subscriptions, and especially in the form of such a word, again, speaks of the effort he put into his personal newsletters.

In Table 5.1, the noticed textual superstructures and semantic macrostructures in Bonde’s correspondence are presented and summarised. Mandatory and optional elements (Okulska, 2006, p. 53) refer to structures which did and did not occur in each of his letters, respectively.
### Table 5.1 Constituent parts of Bonde's personal newsletters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textual superstructure</th>
<th>Semantic macrostructure*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>1 Salutation + blank space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main body</td>
<td>[2] Linking to previously received or despatched letters;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Relaying information of his own diplomatic activities;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Recounting of both of national and international news which might be of interest to Sweden;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[5] Telling of more personal stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing</td>
<td>6 Subscription</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[*optional elements given in square brackets*]

(Original design adapted from Brownlee [2012, p. 130])

### 5.2 Robinson’s Correspondence to the Secretary of State

Turning to John Robinson’s periodical news reports to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the dates of his letters suggest that he was expected to provide reports at least a few times a month, assuming that the 17 scrutinised letters represent his entire diplomatic epistolary activities to the Secretary of State for the Northern Department of England. In the months of June and August he reported at weekly intervals, however, and, on a few occasions, even daily. As such, the despatches of his letters took place not only when there was much pressing news to report on, but also when it was more negligible. The fact that Robinson despatched two letters on the same day on 11 August 1680 suggests that the contents of the second letter were of significant import and could not wait until the next regular report; this letter concerned the expected present of an envoy due to Sir Edward Wood, who was his brother-in-law and predecessor at the Swedish court. Although, in his letters, describing this matter to be a topic of significant consequence because it relates to the civilities due to an English minister, it might be reasonable to assume that the family-ties sparked motivation, as well.

Turning to the textual super- and semantic macrostructures of the correspondence, Robinson’s letters invariably opened up with the salutation *Right Honourable*, although in different orthographic forms. According to Nevala (2004, p. 283), when the writer is inferior, the superior recipient is addressed with titles alone, as in *most honoured Sir* or *my ever honoured Lady*, for instance. However, in Robinson’s letters Jenkins’ title (and names) are written at the bottom left part of the first page, and never in combination with the salutation itself. Robinson’s salutation being lexicalised *Right Honourable* well reflects Nevala’s (2004, p. 284) analysis of professionals, or inferiors (like Robinson), writing to someone of the upper gentry (like Jenkins), a superior, however. It is interesting to note that it is not Jenkins’ occupation as Secretary of State which determines the form of address, but instead his title of knight.
After the epistolary opening, a measurable amount of blank space is given before the first paragraph. Such space normally amounted to about one fifth of a page, as exemplified in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 The first page of Robinson’s letter of 23 June 1680. Original format.

The particular amount of space Robinson chose to use in his letters to Jenkins is interesting in view of the space Sir Lambert Blackwell, England’s envoy to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, allotted to the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State in 1703, which would usually add up to half a page (Brownlees, 2012, p. 124).

Subsequent to the initial salutations, the textual superstructure would continue with the main bodies of the letters, which, in turn, were each introduced by an indented paragraph and could begin in a variety of ways. For the most part, however, Robinson adopted a markedly business-oriented approach, and would not leave room for much else outside the spectrum of what might be of diplomatic relevance for the Secretary of State and England. As such, even the very first paragraphs of the letters would frequently initiate the recounting of political events of potential import directly, which processes were often set in motion by phrases such as this place or this court. Such inducting phrases, which also included we are told, were often employed in later paragraphs, as well, however.

Additional recurrently appearing epistolary moves in the opening parts of the bodies are when Robinson either makes reference to his last despatched letter, as in his letters of 14 April and 25 August 1680, or acknowledges receipt of Jenkins’ letters, for example in his letters of 09 June and 11 August 1680. With regards to these letters, there appear a
number of noteworthy phenomena: As an introduction, it is of interest to remark that, in his letters of 14 April and 25 August 1680, Robinson links his correspondence back to earlier despatched letters as well as provides reiterations. His letter of 25 August 1680, further, elucidates the fact that the 17 letters scrutinised in the present work do not encompass all of Robinson’s letters from his mission in 1680, as the accessible preceding letter does not cover the said contents of the reference made. Next, an indication of a date is for example provided in his letter of 09 June 1680, while his letter of 11 August 1680, in turn, connects to two wider issues of early diplomatic news-transmission, that is (1) letters frequently being intercepted and (2) power relationships between authors and recipients. Relating to the first issue, post was not only at the mercy of natural powers during the lengthy journeys they were subjugated to across land and sea, but also at the mercy of foreign powers in the form of deliberate interventions (Arblaster, 2005; Infelise, 2005, pp. 106–21, 2007). As accounted for in his letter of 11 August 1680, then, one of Jenkins’ letters never reached Robinson, either by reason of natural accident or foreign design. On the subject of epistolary power relations, in turn, Brownlees (2012) reports that there existed conventional strategies, such as interaction-up phrases, which authors could employ in order to signify awareness of (1) the differences in social station between author and addressee, (2) the likely insignificance of what was recounted in the letters as well as (3) the needless occupation of the recipient’s precious time. Robinson’s letter of 11 August 1680 touches slightly upon these subjects, whereas they are clearly reflected, almost verbatim, in his letter of 09 June 1680, as well as to noticeable degrees in, for example, his letter of 31 March 1680.

Perhaps the circumstance that none of Robinson’s fair copies, that is those letters which were actually sent (Dossena, 2012), were written in cipher advocates that the news reported was not of very measurable consequence, per se, however, and that it, as such, was not just a question of using epistolary conventions which, in fact, rewarded deference (Austin, 2007; Eurich, 2011). Or, on the other hand, the absence of the use of cipher could indicate that the news was not sensitive enough to be kept secret (Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2014).

A review of this Englishman’s use of titles in combination with Swedish personal names further reveals that, in addition to his use of the English traditional title Sir, he also makes use of the French Monsieur. Noteworthy is also that the title is not used in Bonde’s letters, and it is defined as a “title prefixed to the surname or (less commonly) the first name of a man from France or a French-speaking area, originally restricted to men of high station but now equivalent to the English Mr” (OED, 2002, s.v. monsieur, n.). The OED adds, however, that the title has also, occasionally, been applied to men of other European nationalities, as well, and that the abbreviated forms (no longer current in French) were formerly used in written English. The earliest record dates back to 1523. Naturally, this title occurred in different spelling variants and forms, as well, and whereas the title, in present times, denotes the same properties as Mr, in 1680, Robinson makes use of the title as an interchangeable equivalent to Sir when referring to Sir/Mons John Leyonbergh, for instance. In Robinson’s case, a part of the title’s employment might derive from the fact that French “was elevated to lingua franca status as the language of European royalty, aristocracy and diplomacy” (House, 2013, p. 280) and, as such, carried measurable relative status (Schendl, 2002, pp. 250–1, 2014, p. 522) as well as from the
tendency of the title to occur in the written discourse of English (OED, 2002, s.v. monsieur, n.). The rendering of English titles in Bonde’s Swedish letters, then, might stem from a priming process related to his extensive knowledge and experience of the English language and culture (e.g. Ogden, 2012; Roberts, 1988, pp. 6–7; Seaton, 1935, pp. 145–6; Spalding, 1990, p. 342), although further investigation would be necessary to ascertain this.

Whether Bonde, in English terms, should be styled Lord, Sir or something else, however, is unclear, as the spectrum of gentry titles, ranging from Mr, Sir, Monsieur, Baron, Lady, Count to Marquess, prefixed to personal names in the Englishman’s letters is put to use seemingly flexibly. Initial searches suggest that the noblemen’s names were not preceded by a general marker of authority, however, but instead the titles themselves, e.g. Baron Pierre Sparris, Count Bengt Oxenstiern and Marquis del Monte, whereas people of the gentry were prefixed with a general marker, e.g. Sir Jo: Leyonbergh and Mons Gyldenstolp. Whether this practice derives from Robinson’s being in Sweden or referring to Swedes, or if he adopts the same tactics outside of these contexts, as well, also remains unclear. Bonde, too, makes use of English titles and forms of address in his Swedish letters, e.g. Sir: Olivier Fleming and My Lord Vithlock. Repeating the emphasis made in Nevalainen (2002b, p. 191), introducing a grander empirical inquiry into the use of titles and their social implications, from a cross-linguistic perspective, could prove a clearly fruitful and valuable endeavour.

Given the conditions that there existed hindrances for the correspondence to arrive at their intended locations, the epistolary moves to give reference to previous letters as well as reiterate past contents became logical choices. In comparison to Blackwell, however, of whom it was characteristic to frequently restate contents of previously despatched letters both in the forms of paraphrasing and complete reiterations (Brownkees, 2012, pp. 125–6), Robinson’s repetitions appear much more moderate. More generally, recapitulation as a practice can be described as a propositional feature cued by the discursive context of the epistolary exchange and as a marked form of epistolary intertextuality which distinguishes this subcategory of diplomatic correspondence from general epistolary exchange (2012; Tanskanen, 2007).

As is hinted in, for example, his letters of 09 June and 11 August 1680, and turning to the middle parts of the letters, Robinson was often reluctant to act on his own accord as regards how he should proceed in his diplomatic activities with the Swedes, and would, therefore, in addition to the instructions he had already received from Jenkins’ letters, even ask for further instructions, as in the seventeenth letter in the Robinson Corpus, which remains undated. Unlike the English envoy to Florence in 1703 (Brownkees, 2012), however, Robinson rarely explicitly stated which instructions he was trying to follow throughout his letters.

Robinson’s seventeenth letter as well as that of 01 September 1680 touch upon the subject of power relationships, as well, in that, for example, the phrases to serve you and to obey you very clearly mirror the differences in station between the knighted Secretary of State and his chargé d’affaires and their corresponding roles in society. Robinson’s job was, after all, to carry out the orders given by Jenkins, and report on them accordingly. In doing so, and as mentioned earlier, Robinson adopted a very business-oriented approach and formal mode of narration, which meant that whereas he often reported on
the spirit and climate of the Swedes relating to what Robinson deemed to be write-worthy news, he rarely judged the news himself by means of adjectival modification, for instance. When adjectival modification is present, then, it is sometimes difficult to tell if it originates from the judgement of Robinson or the Swedes, as he, for example, often employed third-person pronouns in phrases such as ’tis generally said, & beleived (e.g. 07 July 1680) in conjunction with them, which, in turn, adds to the image of a more formal and impersonal narrative reporting of speech acts. On a few occasions, more personal evaluations and a more subjective tone can be attested, however, for example in his letters of 31 March, 21 July and 18 August 1680, in which he offers his opinions on Queen Christina’s rule, the haughty carriage of a secretary and the King’s princely act of clemency, respectively, among other things. More personal evaluations and a more subjective tone can be described as a type of language behaviour which gives epistles a more interactive character (Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2006, p. 161).

Brownlees (2012, p. 127) echoes Roberts’ (1988, p. 5) observation that operating within the diplomatic spheres meant relying on reasoned reflection and studied argumentation, as well, which, in turn, might explain the dominance of the more formal business-minded narration of report in Robinson’s letters. The personal verbs think and believe are linked to the evaluations of his Swedish contemporaries, except in one case concerning the latter verb. Predictive will as well as the first-person pronoun inclusive our are seen, as well, but the overall tone is still strikingly formal and noticeably distant; by and large, the impression one gets from Robinson’s writings is that he did not seem to aspire to function as anything more than a messenger and servant of his employer and country, and it does not seem as if he attempted to exceed those aspirations, either. But then again, although narratives in Early Modern English diplomatic letters reveal a certain level of subjectivity, evaluative and personal comments are infrequent, leaving a neutral, impartial tone which could stand to indicate the rhetor’s concern with the accuracy of the recounted events as well as aim to maintain a professional approach to business (Okulska, 2006, p. 67).

In comparison to Bonde’s letters, the contents of Robinson’s letters appear, nonetheless, to cover topics which are much more ‘on the surface’ and of less consequence, as well, and the level of detail stands in stark contrast between the two diplomats’ letters. Whereas Robinson could often report on where and how the royals and nobles housed and feasted, for instance, Bonde’s correspondence centred largely on topics of much greater political import, for example the desired alliance between Sweden and England, which, if it had been formed, could have changed the fates of numerous European nations. Whereas Bonde was both in grave danger on numerous occasions and even close to financial ruin towards the end of his mission, Robinson’s time in his adopted homeland seemed more peaceful and, perhaps, even relaxed, as well. Then again, and as Robinson himself reports (02 June 1680), diplomatic activity stagnated in Sweden, at times, and there is a 24-year time difference between the two diplomats’ missions, as well, a gap during which the political landscapes could change drastically, not to mention the associated social expectations and risks pertaining to not just the differences in social rank between Robinson and Bonde, but also their roles and functions as chargé d’affaires versus ambassador-extraordinary. Nevertheless, Robinson comes across as more cautious and as someone who, in the words of Gumucio Dagron (2009), did not ‘play with fire’
for the most part, although he did suggest a bribe be made to further their cause, on one occasion (March 31 1680).

Textually, each paragraph in Robinson’s letters is graphically set apart by indentations, but whereas the introduction of new paragraphs would often serve to introduce new topics, they did not necessarily change in terms of the overall semantic macrostructure, in that they could still be concerned with supplying diplomatic news, both relating to the Swedes’ activities but also to those of other foreign representatives at the Stockholm court, which might have been of interest to England at large. It also appears as if though the employment of separate paragraphs was done in a fairly fluctuating manner, in that some letters could make use of very lengthy paragraphs covering a range of topics, whereas other letters could switch to a new paragraph almost per sentence or microtopic.

Robinson would normally provide the links to previously received and despatched letters and information about his own diplomatic activities in the first paragraph, but could also do so in later parts, for example in his letter of 31 March 1680, in which he lists the individuals he has written to. In some letters, however, no such links or explicit accounts of his own activities are mentioned; they solely consist of the formal, distant and more professional discourse of supplying diplomatic news (excluding the salutation and subscription, which of course were indispensable). It is further interesting to note that Robinson never deviates from only including content which might be of diplomatic relevance, nor does he attempt to communicate with his interlocutor on any level but a formal one.

The mandatory subscription parts succeeded the main bodies of the letters as well as concluded them. These were ceremonious in their nature and would almost invariably take the form of “I am in all humble Duty # Ye Hono# most obedient & most # humble Serv # John Robinson” (09 June 1680), which, again, indexes the English chargé d’affaires’ inferior social status. Like the salutation and the first letter of the first word in the opening paragraphs of the letters, the subscription part employed flourishes, as well. As portrayed in Figure 5.4, Bonde exercised this practice, too, but in the closings the Swedish diplomat does not appear to have outshined the English quite as notably as he did in the openings (cf. Figures 4.1, 4.3, 5.1 & 5.3). It should, however, be noted that Bonde’s letter, due to its original (larger) size, has been compressed more than Robinson’s has in order to fit the page. The notable blank spaces in the closings also appear to have no patterns, but rather coincidental properties related to the positional endings of the main body parts.
In conclusion, Robinson’s letters would largely follow the schema presented in Table 5.2, in which the rigid textual superstructure would be filled with a more flexible semantic macrostructure.

### Table 5.2 Constituent parts of Robinson’s personal newsletters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textual superstructure</th>
<th>Semantic macrostructure*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>1 Salutation + blank space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing</td>
<td>5 Subscription</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[*optional elements given in square brackets]

(1), (4) and (5) were indispensable, whereas (2) and (3) could complement (4) in the main body, although in varying order. In comparison to the epistolary structures attested in Sir
Lambert Blackwell’s letters (Brownlees, 2012), there is a slight deviation in that, for Sir Lambert, (1), (3) and (5) turned out to be the fixed and mandatory elements.

5.3 Concluding Discussion

In view of both diplomats’ displayed epistolary practices, then, the main differences between Bonde’s and Robinson’s letters thus resided in how they reported news, but there were also differences in what they reported as well as which semantic macrostructures were disposable in the textual superstructures and which were not. In the case of Bonde, however, ‘personal stories’ constitutes a necessary additional category which might (and might not) have been of diplomatic relevance to Charles X. On the subject of how the diplomats reported news, Fitzmaurice (2006, p. 81) explains that there might exist conditioning factors which can affect the designs of the narrative reports. Possible candidates of such factors include the length of the time the authors had been corresponding with their addressees (Brownlees, 2012, p. 135) as well as the familiarity between the news writer and recipient (Nevalainen, 2002a, p. 76). It would, additionally, be of interest to consult Charles X’s letters to Bonde as well as Jenkins’ to Robinson as this would enable the examination to be put within a framework of audience design (Bell, 2001), the importance of which should be highlighted “as the foreign-based diplomats replicated and adjusted to the register and epistolary style of their masters” (Brownlees, 2012, p. 135). Although memory fails to provide accurate account, such letters surely exist in the case of the former, both in original (in Swedish archives) and published (e.g. as part of an Uppsala University dissertation) forms, and likely also in the case of the latter (in British archives). Additional letters from Bonde to Charles X and Robinson to Jenkins can be found, as well, for example using the same locales and collections of the present work, and possibly also elsewhere.

Elaborating on the topics of examined and unexplored primary material, the present project might actually have benefited from both having studied more and fewer letters – more letters in that the aim for empirical validity would (probably) become more accessible, and fewer in that the time spent on the transcriptions could have been spent on analysing the letters in closer detail, and possibly also from within a framework of audience design and, as stressed by Beebee (1999), letter writing manuals, for instance. Additionally, it is worth posing the question of whether or not research of this kind should be approached more by way of empirical investigation of base-line data (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003, p. 9) and statistics (Woods, Pual, & Hughes, 1986, p. 1), but it seems neither Okulska’s (2006) diachronic analysis of 134 letters nor Brownlees’ (2012) more synchronic of 47 (26+21) did this – or at any rate, such analytical processes are not made explicit in their works. Although it can only speak on behalf of itself, the present study of 34 (17+17) letters faced the same dilemma, and settled for the more qualitative approach due to the associated difficulties of systematically quantifying overlapping and permeable semantic macrostructures as well as the question of when empirical validity is reached from the perspectives of individual, general and situated linguistic behaviour. Given the many benefits of empirical enquiry, however, the author of the present research would appreciate attention being paid to these questions, as the present study has noticed that Bonde, for example, could tell more personal stories; these are practices which seem absent in Robinson’s, Blackwell’s and Terriesi’s correspondences. Statistics about such
patterns, in turn, and others, could prove highly meaningful as “it is not possible to arrive at valid sociolinguistic generalizations of the way the language was actually used without systematic empirical study” (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003, p. 9). Perhaps the noticed structures in Okulska (2006), Brownlees (2012) and the present work, after the structural boundaries have been made more clear-cut, can function as a starting point for such systematic attempts?

The cross-linguistic findings of Brownlees (2012) and the present study combined, then, nevertheless seem to indicate that the cultural tradition of the English was markedly different from those of other European nations, which, in turn, seem to have had more in common in terms of epistolary practices. In order to ascertain if this is truly where the wind blew, however, it is recognised that more research is needed, both of qualitative and quantitative kinds.

5.4 Allowing the Material to Guide the Analysis: Comments on Multilingualism

Given the very limited amount of available primary evidence which exists for the study of early non-native English (Deisler, 2013), it might, further, be worth considering consulting manuscripts written primarily in other languages, as well. Although, perhaps, farfetched, this suggestion stems from the discovery that Bonde frequently makes use of English words and expressions (and of other languages) in his Swedish reports to Charles X. Examples of such phrases include assurance, confidence, consequence, decadence, impertinence, noble, occasion, particular, principals, probable, Sir, yacht and My Lord, to name but a few examples. Similarly, Robinson makes use of Swedish terms in his correspondence to Jenkins, such as feltheer (a kind of military commander). The employed vocabulary is the obvious first sense in which Bonde’s and Robinson’s letters are the products of multilingual societies, but the fact that the elements of multilingualism (i.e. the non-L1 elements) are also marked, at least in Bonde’s palaeography, constitutes yet another.
Figure 5.5 Extracts from Bonde’s letters of 20 July and 29 July 1655, showcasing the calligraphical marking of multilingual elements. Original and transcribed formats.

In Figure 5.5, the multilingual constituents are of French, Latin and English natures, but a deeper investigation of multilingualism in the Bonde Corpus would undoubtedly unveil an even greater language range. Although the sudden changes in calligraphy appear to extend beyond just the domain of multilingualism, such as personal names and, perhaps, as a means to mark emphasis, multilingualism still strikes one as one of the cueing elements for the vocabulary in question to be marked calligraphically, indeed. Noteworthy is that such changes in handwriting cannot be attested in the multilingual elements of Robinson’s texts, for example Swedish “Rix-Feltheer” (July 07 1680) or Italian “Marquis del Monte” (June 30 1680).

The evidently different levels of multilingualism which emanate from the two diplomats’ correspondences form an additional interesting facet of enquiry – multilingual lexemes are employed strikingly more frequently in Bonde’s correspondence than in Robinson’s. As elaborated in Section 4, however, the primary material was neither matched for time nor social stratification, and although it is unlikely that the former
should have any ties to the present levels of multilingualism in the correspondences, the latter might have exerted significant influence. Multilingual competence was, after all, a widespread phenomenon amongst the early modern European (high) nobility (Classen, 2016; Offord, Ryazanova-Clarke, Rjéoutski, & Argent, 2015); knowing French was virtually taken for granted (Lamarche Marrese, 2015, p. 38) and Latin (Vogl, 2012, p. 6), German, Italian (Otwinowska, 2015, p. 24) and English (Bratt, 1977, pp. 18–9), for instance, to name but a few, were eagerly added to their linguistic repertoires. Perhaps Bonde’s more extensive employment of multilingual items can be explained by reasons of mere epistolary expectations befitting his social status and position as well as that of his addressee, but in their research on the psycholinguistics of knowledge distribution, Bridges and Hoff (2014) purport that multilinguals do not necessarily acquire more knowledge than monolinguals, but that the knowledge which they acquire will be distributed across their languages of command, and with regard to which different levels of proficiency will be present, as well. Section 5.2 touched slightly upon the subject, but this could mean that the case of Bonde’s using, for example, French “Le Maistre de Ceremonies” (29 July 1655) instead of English “the Master of the Ceremonies” like Robinson did (11 August 1680), might be naturally connected to his linguistic knowledge distribution rather than anything else.

The occurrence of multilingualism, in both diplomats’ correspondences, could also be a result of the language producers’ having adjusted favourably towards their adopted homelands as well as, in turn, being primed by the respective environments, such as international courts. The witnessed presence and influence of foreign languages in native language discourses nevertheless give further impetus to cross-linguistic frameworks and could, perhaps, also serve as a point of departure for a future study of codeswitching or translanguaging, for instance. Levels of multilingualism across the writings of language producers belonging to different social echelons could prove yet another significantly interesting topic of research, both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. To support such research endeavours, and many others, it would also be most interesting and valuable to consult research which has made use of automatic transcription techniques of historical documents. Fischer et al. (2009), for instance, applied two state-of-the-art recognisers, originally developed for modern scripts, to a dataset of word images extracted from medieval manuscripts of the thirteenth century, written in Middle High German, and demonstrated that a word accuracy of 93.32% is achievable. Results such as these are highly intriguing and encouraging in that they could mean a great deal in tackling the relatively untapped wealth of material (Dossena, 2012, p. 15) accessible in libraries and archives, which, in turn, could prove invaluable to future historical linguistics research. Digital recognisers could, further, help in eliminating the risk of human error.
6. Conclusions

The overarching aim of the present study has been two-fold: (1) to help move the fields of historical sociolinguistics and early cross-linguistic diplomatic epistolography forward as well as (2) help contribute to a historical digital database of language. To approach the first facet, the study has examined two sets of seventeenth-century diplomatic personal newsletters which representatives at foreign courts sent back to their respective home countries, with the chief purpose having been to find out if there were differences in how Swedish and English emissaries reported news from the perspectives of epistolary textual super- and semantic macrostructures. In its trajectory to aid in the second respect, in turn, the present contribution has, further, offered transliterations of the two scrutinised diplomats’ correspondences.

The present exploratory case study of Baron Christer Bonde’s and John Robinson’s personal newsletters to their employers has discovered that, as regards both the textual superstructures and semantic macrostructures, there existed both epistolary similarities and differences across the North Sea. As regards similarities, both the Swedish and English representatives had adopted conventionalised forms of openings and closures but also comparable textual and semantic frameworks for their letters. Turning to the latter, then, the main differences between their narrative reports turned out to concern the manners in which the news was reported as well as, to some degree, the spectrum of the type of contents which was included in the letters. In the light of the only previous research of this kind, that is Brownlees’ (2012) pioneering study of Italian and English diplomatic newsletters, the letter conventions adopted by the English diplomats stand in noticeably stark contrast to those used in the Swede’s and Italian’s personal reports, which, in turn, appear to exhibit more relatedness to one another. However, and as noted by Brownlees, “it is recognized that more research will need to be carried out before confident answers can be given as to whether or not these sets of diplomatic correspondence are representative of their specific time and cultures” (2012, p. 136). Additional endeavours into this field of research may prove strikingly fruitful as “[a]nalyses of historical texts show much intra-individual and in-group variation, reveal details of contextual factors, and draw vivid pictures of individual behaviour” (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak, 2014, p. 325).
References

Abbreviations

OED = Oxford English Dictionary.
NE = Nationalencyklopedin.
RA = Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Swedish National Archives.

Primary sources

British National Archives, Kew. State Papers Foreign. SP 95/11.
CEEC = Corpus of Early English Correspondence. (1998.) Compiled by Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, Jukka Keränen, Minna Nevala, Arja Nurmi and Minna Palander-Collin at the Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki.

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research: Big data, rich data, uncharted data. Helsinki.


Philadelphia: John Benjamins.


### Appendix A – the Bonde Corpus Metadata

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Letter number*</th>
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<th>N. pages</th>
<th>N. words**</th>
<th>N. orthographic units</th>
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</thead>
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<td>3 large</td>
<td>[956]</td>
<td>4927</td>
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<td>29 July 1655</td>
<td>3 large</td>
<td>[809]</td>
<td>4384</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>24 August 1655</td>
<td>2 large</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>2824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13 September 1655</td>
<td>2 large</td>
<td>[323]</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21 September 1655</td>
<td>3 large</td>
<td>[659]</td>
<td>3508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>05 October 1655</td>
<td>3 large</td>
<td>[860]</td>
<td>4698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>23 October 1655</td>
<td>2 large</td>
<td>[245]</td>
<td>1384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>16 November 1655</td>
<td>3 large</td>
<td>[718]</td>
<td>3793</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>18 January 1656</td>
<td>4 large</td>
<td>[749]</td>
<td>3963</td>
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<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>21 March 1656</td>
<td>5 large</td>
<td>[712]</td>
<td>3883</td>
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<td>(11)</td>
<td>28 March 1656</td>
<td>3 large</td>
<td>[352]</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
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<td>(12)</td>
<td>04 April 1656</td>
<td>5 large</td>
<td>[729]</td>
<td>3926</td>
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<td>(13)</td>
<td>11 April 1656</td>
<td>4 large</td>
<td>[661]</td>
<td>3586</td>
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<td>(14)</td>
<td>06 June 1656</td>
<td>5 large</td>
<td>[597]</td>
<td>3221</td>
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<tr>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>18 July 1656</td>
<td>4 large</td>
<td>[576]</td>
<td>3150</td>
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<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>08 August 1656</td>
<td>4 large</td>
<td>[904]</td>
<td>4753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>22 August 1656</td>
<td>4 large</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>4080</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| N. totals      | 59                     | 11 146   | 59 873     |
| N. averages    | ≈ 3.5                  | ≈ 656    | ≈ 3500     |

(*letters written in cipher given in brackets)

[**letters which were not fully recovered given in square brackets]
Iagh hafwer för onödigt erachtat att importunera E." Kogl. Maij" medh någre bref ifrån dhe orter ther iaghuthi min reesa hafwer warit twungen att anlända, Emedan att ther ifrån inteth skrifwärdigt hafwer warit E." Kogl. M." i underdångiectheet att avisera, annat ; än att referera hvadh medh min reessa hadhe kunnat lijda, hwicket iagh H." R." Cantskeren hafwer weeta låtit, förmorichieres att Han E." K." M." thet samma underädningst uppeckt hafwer; iagh hafwer Gudhi lof haft att en temmeligh lycksam reesa, och ahr medh heela mitt medhfölje medh godh hälsanna ankommen hijt till Gravesend then 18 i thenna månadt. Och ehuruwäl thet igår ahr fem weckor sedhan iagh reste ifrån Stockholm, ahr thet lickwäl icke mehr än fyra weckor sedhan iagh seglade uth ifrån Landsort; Then 29 Junij ankom iagh till Sundet, och ändock winden ta war godh, blef han lickwäl andra dagen så emot och warade så länge, att iagh innan Onsdags mårnonen som war dhen 4 Julij icke kundhe komma uthur Sundet, Sedhan segladhe wij temmeligen lyckeligen intill 3 dagen ther eftersom war then 6, ta uppväxtidt middastijdh een häfftigh storm, som dreef oss upp till Norge, ther wij andra dagen blefwe twungne, så af stormen som continuede, och wartwért emot, som afftheth, skeppet war något läck, at inlöpa i een hampn i Norge som heeter Öster Rissör, ther drögde wij åter att moottwääer skulle till Onsdags mårmonen, som war dhen 11, ta segladhe wij uth och så önskelig fortsatte vår reesa medh een wacker och fogeligh windh, in till then 16 om mårmonen bittida, finge wij see een udd af Engeland then wij och sökte, som heeter Olferness, och kommo sedan lyckeligen hijt på åfwskrefne Dato, Ehuruwäll wij wore twenne gångor i stoor fahra, först wijdh Öster Rijssör, ther båtsmannen som stodh wijdh Rodret antingen aff oachtsamhet, heller häpenheet, ladhe Rodret om på dhen orätta sidjan, annorledes än han blef befalt, så att skeppet i dhet trånga inloppet war på några fåa famnar när Klippan, och halp oss Gudh ther igenom, att Styrmannen som ahr een resolveradh söman, sprangh medh hast till, sköt thenandra ifrån Rodret, och ladhe thet åter rätt om, ta Scheppet som mycket wäl lätt wända sigh, blef åther styrt in på rätta fahrawatnet igien; Sedan war icke mindre fahra wijdh inlöpandet uthi Elfwen här, Skeppparen antogh een Engelsk Pilot i Sundhet, som berömde sigh att kunna wäl wägen, och wetta alla banckar, men når han hijt kom, wiste han ingen beskedh, uthan wij seglade in uppå een sandhräfwel, så när, att Rodret alloreda rörde botnen, och igenom Guds synnerlige Nådh komme liqwäl twärt tillbaka tädhan, och kastadhe sedhan ancker, till thess wij finge een annan Pilot som kom till oss, när han hörde oss skita, then oss och wäl hijt uppförde; Enär iagh hijt kom lätt iagh mitt emot Castelet, heller Blockhuset, som ther ahr, stryka flaggan på stoora masten och skita 16 skått, och hissadhe henne sedhan upp igien, tillförande sände iagh een Gentilhomme M= M. Barets föruth att advertera Gouverneuren om min tillkommelsse,
hwilcken war i person siuk, men fägnadhe migh medh sin Leutenant myckit wäll, och lät swara medh alla sina stycken på Bläckhuset, enä iagh skökt, hwilcken ähra the allom icke pläga att göra. I dagh sänder iagh Secreteraren medh een aff Gentilhomme att notificera min ankompst hoos Secretarium Status Thurlou, emäadan iagh af H. C. Cojet som kom till migh i gåår, förmimmer thet wara här således maneer, af fremmandhe minister att skee; Thesföruthan ähr och Maj Lord Withlock i stoor decadence, och mist både sin täanst af thet stooa Segelss bebeware, såsom och Tresorierstiensten, och iagh betänckeliget håller i någon sådan publicq occasion att addressera migh till honom, hälst wijdh dhene Staat som åhr ofwermåttan fahlrigh och Suspicieux, icke thess mindre låter iagh Secreteraren Barchman i stillhet reesa till honom, ther han uppehåller sigh 3 Engelske mihl ifrån London, för höffligheet skull, och göra honom een complement, emäadan han twifwels uthan skulle taga eliest thet myckit illa upp, och thet skulle medh tidjhen kan skee kunna skada E.+ Kongl. M.=töf tienst, om han som een af the capableste som Protecteuren hafwer, lätetlen kunde komma i gunst igän, hwikcet iagh troor wäll skall skee, om han accomoderar sigh till Protectorens desseiner; Någon olycka ähr migh wederfahren medh hästarna som ifrån Göteborgh ähre uthsegladhe att the ähre, såsom iagh förmimmer att Cranston skall hafwa refererat, then på samma Skepp warit hafwer, i then stoor stormen /uthan twifwel then som oss dreef in till Noreige/ twugne blefne att löpa in uthi Hull, och skall thet vara söndergångit som the hadhe bygd i Skeppet emellan them, och een af hästarna vara dödh, och någre ille fahrne skafne och trampadhe, iagh wentar hwar stund her stender ther om, Protecteuren hafwer warit så höfligh att när han hafwer förnummit them vara ankomne tå hafwer han straxt låtit gå sin ordre tijt till sin Gouverneur, att befordra them på dhet bästa sätt som han kundhe. Hwadh eliest mine förrättningar här widkommer, kan iagh icke ännu något synnerliget om skrifwa, emäadan iagh icke medh någon hafwer talat som iagh therass intention skall kunna döma uthaf, alenast gläder migh af hiertat, att iagh aff H. C. Cojet förmimmer thet näpligen något i åhr skall vara att befruchta, thet E.+ Kongl. M.=töf desseiner skole uthi Siön turbertas, och att Protecteuren sigh emoot honom mycket wäl och confident utlätit hafwer, som E.+ K. döf M.+ uthan twifwel tillförende ähr uthaf honom sielf tillskrifwit; Och hoppas iagh altså att the desseiners hindrande skall vara een Effect uthaf rychtet af thenne Embassaden, Iagh skall för then orsaak skull, så mycket warligare wetta att mesnagera E.+ Kongl. M.=töf interesser, […]

Gravesend then 20 Julij 1655,

underdångste, Trognyste och hörsammrste
Tirnnar

Christer Bonde
Stoormerstigste Kånung allernådigste Herre,

E. K. Maj. III hafwer i underdågnighet weijdh dhenna lägenheet medh min ödmjuke skrifwelsse att upwachta iagh ej underlåta kunnat, Emedan thene Breefwijsare som ärh H. † Protectorens mährskyle Frändhe och hans Cammarheme M. † Rolth, hwars persson och tänst här mycket astimerat ärh, hafwer af migh begärat att blifwa medh mitt breeff till E. K. M. IIIiii accompagnerat; Sedan mitt sista som war nästförleden post then 27 huius, ärh thet allena föreluppet att iagh i gåar ärh hijt till Londen inhemptat worden, hwilcket således tillgeck, att Le Maistre de Ceremonies S. † Olivier Flemmingh kom medh een hoop unga Cavalieri om märrogen till migh wijdh Grefwesand, och sedan iagh hadhe gifwit them ther een så godh måltijdh som på then orten stodh att bekomma, pngo wij uthi H. † Protecteurens Yachter som han till then ända medh sigh fördt hadhe, och rodde upp för Elfwen, uppa hwilcken wij hadhe ett owanligt starckt moomtäder, hwarförföljet något bleef skingrat, och wij seen till Staden ankommo. Dock liqwäll lopp all tingh wäll aff, och mötte migh MyLord Vithlock, och MyLord Strickland wijdh Touren och ledsagade migh medh H. † Protecteurens wagen, och een stoor hoop floere, æhn thet såges någon Embassadeur här hafft hafwa, wijdh pass 12 st theröfwer, till ett huus there Extraordinarie Embassadeurerpläga tractoras, mitt för Westmönster Haal, iagh tager thet upp för een stoor tingh att Withlock ärh förordnad att möta och tractera migh, Emäadan han, ehuruwäll han icke ärh i Rådhet, och ärh holle före att wara i någon ogunst, liqwäll som iagh förnimmer hafwer sin Tresoriers tienst behällen, och icke afstått mehra ärh then af Custodia Magni Sigilli, och hafwer förträde för Strickland som ärh i Rådhet, han ärh thesföruthan mycket wäll Affectionerat, och hafwer godh cognition om bägge Rijkernes inbördes stoora interesser, Han tillijka medh Stricklandh och Fleming contestera högeligen bådhe medh tractamenter och ordh öfwermåttan stoor respect och Affection emooot E. † K. M. †, och hoppas iagh att fåå Withlock iblandh mina Commissarier, thet iagh mycket åståndar, och om så ärh hoppas iagh kunna något gott uthrättta; Någon impertinence skedde migh i gåar igenom Frantsöske Embassadeurers fokk och wagn, Emäadan thet hände sigh att för stoort trengsel skull min wagn stälte sigh i wägen straxt ther wij landhstege, uppå een plats som heeter Tour Hill, och enär han straxt efter Protecteurens wagn som iagh åkte uthi sitt tillbörlige ställe taga wille, begynte Frantsöske Embassadeurers Kutskar och Laqueijer draga sina werior och wille sådant hindra, men måste liqwäll sedan mitt och H. † Protecteurens fokk ther till komma wijka tillbaka, och gifwa min wagn ruum, Sådan owanlig och incivil act geck migh mycket till sijnnes, Emäadan iagh medh största skäl Estimerar E. † K. M. †i for een så högh och Noble Potentat som någon ärh i werken, och aldrigh så lange iagh thene Caracteren hafwer, skall cedera någon Embassadeurenhwilkens han och wara kan, Men så snardt iagh war upgången i min Cammar, kom Hans Secretarius, och Hofjunckar som medh warit hafwa, och hålssade migh först på hans wägner, sedhan högeligen Excuserade samma Act, säijandes att dheras Laqueier wijdh wäntandet thär, hadhe drucket något, och emooot

29 July 1655
Theras vilja begått sådan incivilitet, och att the sielfwa sprungo uthur wegnerne thet samma att ändra, så och att samme disordre war ther igenom förordsakat att the hadhe i hastigheet trodt thet wara Spanske Embassadeurens wagn, then ther icke tillstådes war; Hwar uppå iagh gaf them höflijven att förstå, att thet gick migh högt til sinnes och wille inteth förmoda thet wara skedt medh therass, mycket mindre thes Principals sampyckie, iagh skall äh migh ytterligare see till att få Satisfaction ther öfwer af Embassadeurens sielf. Herrarna som migh att hempta skickade woro förtörto sådant högt, och medh stoor fljt befalte Guardet och Laqueijerne att drifwa the andra tillbaka, hwilcket och skedde. Hollenske Embassadeurens utskickadhe kom och straxt till migh min ankompst att gratulera, then iagh medh en complement mötte. Iagh kan elliest om H.venth Protecteurens intention ännu icke stoort seija, uthan så mycket iagh märcker, skall wist ett kriggh emelan Spanien och Engelandh angå, hwarföre the gärna skulle willa sammanbinda E. K. M. medh sigh, så at thett skulle blifäwa ett Commune defensives wärck för the Evangelske. Iagh skulle förthenskull uppa dhenna och mine förrre förfrågan gärna önska att hafwa underrättelsse om E. K. M. nådigaste willia, och dristar iagh migh så mycket meer thetta nu att skrifwa, som iagh ärh försäkrat thenna Cavalieren skall brefvet troligen framföra, och hafver Vithlock mycket protesterat thet wara ett teken af then högha Estime H. K. Protecteuren göör om E. K. M. Person, och Sweriges Chrona, att han een sådan förnembligh man till honom afskickar, iagh hoppas om Tijsdagh få Audients och således medh näste post wijdhlyffteligare E. K. M. om allaehanda infallande som skrifwärdigt ärh, underdånigast att upteckia, och befaller […]

E. K. M. […]

Aff Londen then 29 Julij.
Ä. 1655

Underdånigstre Trognst och hörsammerstre
Täänarr
Christer Bonde

3 24 August 1655

Stoormerstigste Kånung, allernådigste Herre,

Then Copia af Supplicationen som een stoor deel af Inwånarne här hafwa ärnat H. K. Högheet att insinuera, och dher igenom åstunda honom att taga ahn Kånungsligh Titel och digniteet, och iagh medh nästförledne post ärnadhe E. K. M. underdånigast att öfwerskicka, war migh så omöjliget att hinna färdig att göra, hälst emädan iagh samme dagh medh någon festiviteet then iagh att contestera min gladie
öfwer E. Kongl. M: ots lyckelige progresser anstälte, förhindrat bleef, hwilcken iagh E. Kongl. M. här medh ödmiukeligen öfwersändar, medh underdåningst böön E. Kongl. M. icke medh onådher förmärckia wille att iagh then samme tä ej kundhe öfwersända. Sedan then tidhen hafwer H. Högheet gjordt sin flijt then samme att dämpa, ehuru then tåi ahr så ahr dådhe Supplicationen på tryk utgången, och ibland folket uthspridd och åter i tryckte aviserne insererat, huru han söker then att undertysta; och ahr then tjest att hår igenom aff honom något practiceras, hwikcket medh tidhen uthristandes warder. I thenna nästförledna wecka hafwer iagh lijet kunnat utträtta, emäändan iagh mine Commissarier ej hafwer kunnat sedan bringa medh migh till samtaal. The ähre nu mycket occuperadhe, och hafwa i går heemligen een böne och fastedagh uti Withaal anställt, hwarföre troos att något wicktigt hafwes förhänder; Iagh hafwer och idhenna wecka depecherat Pär Bonde till E. Kongl. M. och hoppas han snart skall kunna öfwerkomma. Might ahr i förtroenheet af een Man sagdt, then ther om godh beskedh weet, att Kånungen i Spanien hafwer heemligen sine Commissarier i Lissbona att tructera om Fredh, och förmenes att thet sin fortgångh hafwa skalla Här taalas och af Frantsoserne sielfwe att Fredh skall blifä emellan then och Spanien, och att the anseenlige wickor ther uti erhållandes warde, och synes förthenskull efter all apparents at themme Påfwen medh största flijt arbetar uppå att göra fredh emelan the Catholiske Kånungar, och hwart han sedan intenderar är lätt att döma. Migh ahr och ett Engelskt bref Communicerat som ifrån Hanau af Durao ähr skrifwit, then samme som länge hafwer arbetat uppå att göra Syneretismum emelan the Lutherske och reformerade, hwars nampn iagh wist troor E. Kongl. M. känner, Och efter then migh heelt remarquabelt synes, hafwer iagh thet på Tyska lätit öfwasättia och E. Kongl. M. här medh underdåningst öfwersändar; Iagh skall göra min högstta flijt att kunna uti ingångande wecka komma medh mine Commissarier tillsamman, och tilske, att medh nästa post kunna göra E. Kongl. M. någon wijdare relation om min negotiations fortgångh på thenna orten. Här hafwer mäst sedan iagh hijt kom, warit ett continuerligit rägn, att all sådhen på marcken fördärfwes och rotnar bort; hwaröfwer folket här högeligen klaga. Posten ahr väl rät nu kommen, men Emäändan iagh medh thesse eij får så länge dröija att the andhre uthlefweres, måste iagh till näste post upskiuta hwadh aff migh nu ther på swaras kunde; Then högsthe Gudh förläne migh af E. Kongl. M. gode tiender, och beware E. Kongl. M. person och göre alle hans noble intentioner lyckosamme, att hvar ährliigh man mätte hafwa orsaak sigh ther öfwer att frögda och hälst.

E. Kongl. M. Maij. 

af London th. 24 Augusti  
Å. 1655.
4 13 September 1655

[...] Stoormerstigste Kånung allernådigste Herre,

Stoormerstigste Kånung, allernådigste Herre,

Sedan mitt sidste ähre här stoore och myckit betänckelige tiender kompne huru Kongen i Spanien hafwer attacquerat alle Engelske Köpmän, och theras gods, som E.\(^1\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) af hoosfogade Relation allernådigst täcktes förnimma; hwar igenom ett offenteligt Krigh warden uthristandes emelan thenne Nationen och Spanien, hwicket här uthan twifwell myckit förandra skall theras consiler, och iblandh annat obligera them meer at caressera Ed.\(^1\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) ähn här till skedt ahr, hälst på thet the motte kunna bringa E.\(^4\) Kge M.\(^5\) uti ett Krigh medh Romerska Keijssaren, och altså unitis viribus amplectera thet allgenema protestanternes interesse, hwicket icke allenast skulle befordras uthan och therass particulare Krigh medh Spanien, Enär een så anseenlig diversion af husset Österrijkes macht af E.\(^4\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) uti Tysklandh giordh blefwe. The seija och här om hwicklen stoor tännst the E.\(^4\) Kge M\(^5\) i ahr giordh hafwa, Emäandan dhe medh sin flotta hafwa hållit Silfwerflåttan tillbaka, hwarföre Spanien icke hafwer kunnat undersättia Keijssaren medh penningar, och han altså inthet hafwer haft macht och medell att hielpa Kongen i Påland emot E.\(^4\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\), thet the sustinera han wisserligen giordh hade, om Spanske penningarne hadde kommit; Euhru ther om ahr, och hwad Effect thet kan giordh hafwa, så kan thet icke räcknas för något synnerligt beneficium emäadan E.\(^4\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) tännst icke hafwer warit dhen ände the med sin flotta sökt hafwa, uthan deras egen profijt, ändock at the istället för profijt medh twenne så mechtige flottar, som the heela dhenna Sommar i söen hollit hafwa, ej annat hafwa wunnit än skam och skada. Och förmänbligast glädia sigh theröfwer malignanterne här i Landet, hwicla seija att Protecteurs esclat hafwer warit uti sin högsta degre', och att the förmoda hans lycka skall nu begynnna att gåa tillbaka igen; I gåår, som iagh i dagh förnummit hafwer, skall Gene!: Penn och Venables vara fänglige förde till Touren, och förmenna sombliga att the skola stå stoor fahra om lifwet. Rätt nu, enär klockan ahr 4 hafwer H.\(^4\) Högheet tillsagt migh privat Audiens, hvar om iagh en tidh solliciterat hafwer, men nu synes att the för åfwantalde skiäl skull migh något weela sökia att caressera, iagh hafwer resoluerat at seija honom temmeligen sanningen seent uth, och att iagh fruchtar thet Ed.\(^2\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\), motte uti sin stooro inceleination till dheras wänskap förkålna, emädan han hwarcken uthi wärning neller annat af them blifwer på något realt sätt obligerat. Medh nästförledne post skref iagh något omständeligen E.\(^3\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) om thenne orthens tillståndh ödmiukeligen till, och troor iagh näpligen, om the mina tillbudh för fruchtan skull for Holländrarna, skola drista sigh at emoottaga, hwickla uthan twifwell ther uthaf een stoor jalousie taga skulle, om thet anginge, Men till thet ringesta hoppas iagh så mycket at uthrätta att theses må sittia stilla, och inthet assistera een eller annan som E.\(^4\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) ihwillige ähre, i medlertidh hoppas iagh att Gudh E.\(^4\) K.\(^5\) M.\(^6\) wälsignandes warder, så att han blifwer Mästare uthaf Påland, och Preutsen och ex consequenti Dantsik, Ochenär E.\(^3\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) altså hafwer brödkårgen ifrån ifrån Hollandh, wardernöden them wäl twingandess att gifwa goda ordh och sigh medh E.\(^4\) Kongl.\(^2\) M.\(^3\) förljika,
och kan ske han tå vara bättre att these inga förmåner af E. K. M. ehrholit hafwa, uthan att han handen frij hafwer, att disponera sedan ther om som han rådeligast finnandes worder. Emådan iagh inge breef nu på een lång tidh af E. K. M. heller H. Excell. Rijks Cantslere om bekkommit hafwer; moste iagh troo att E. K. M. altijd förblifwer widh sin förna menigh, hwarföre iagh och ther på så mycket sigh göra låter, poussera skall, till thet ringesta att H. Preoteuteuren må wetta hwad E. K. M. medh honom meent hafwer, Och skylla sedan sigh sielf och sine, om een sådan stoor lägenheit går förbij, och een annan gång ej står för honom att erholla, […]

Ers: Kongl. Maij.

Trognest, underdänigste och hörsammerste Tänarr
Christer Bonde,exp

Londen th. 21 Septemb.
Å. 1655.

6 05 October 1655 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånungs allernådigste Herre,

Sedan mitt siste ärh här inhet uthi min negociation skrifwärdigt föreluppet uthan som migh af Thurloe försäkrat ärh, skall uthi Rådet om mine propositioner flitigt consulteras, att iagh hoppas snart komma till någon action, the Excusera mitt långa wäntande igenom Protecteurens siukdom, män så mycket iagh hafwer kunnat utluta, ärh thet wist att then olyckelige Expeditionen på Hispaniola, hafwer här alla Protect:ns consilier förrykt, och ärh man i the fullkommelige tanckar, att om samma anslagh hadhe efter hans önskan lyckats, att han tå konungsligt nampn skall hafwa amplecterat och med E. K. M. uthij närmare alliance att träda ingen consideration haft, efter han ther till sielf, så wäl som Secretar:ns Thurloe /hvilcka bådhe E. K. M. högt affectionerade ärhre/ myckit inclinera, hwilcket alt igenom dhenne olyckelige Expedition studsar, hålst emådan Spanien nu och medh them till hostilitete ähr utfallen, och the för then orsaken skull sigh frucha Hollendorne på något sätt att offendera. Iagh hoppas likwäl snart något att uthrätta. E. K. M. nådigste skrifwelsse af Colo then 22 Augusti hafwer iagh i går medhgifne affairen, att swara som iagh ifrån Gravesind afsända monde, hwars inneholdh iagh granneligen i acht taga, och som iagh finner affairerne sigh bäst lämpa willa, till E. K. M. tienst på dhet bästa mesnagera skall. Efter iagh förnimmer att Pär Bonde then 16 ifrån Stetin ärh till E. K. M. afreest, ty hoppas iagh att han alloreda hoos E. K. M. vara skall, hwarföre iagh snart förmodar uppå hans medhgifne affairs
E. K. M. nådigste willia att förnimma. Att Churfürsten aff Brandenburgh skall hafwa någon intelligence medh dhenne Staten, hoppas iagh E. K. M. kunna försäkra att sådant inthet ahr såsom af mitt sidste och H. Protecteurens egen muntelige försäkringh synes. Hjitt ahr för några dagar ankommen een Churfürstens minister Johan Fridrich Slätser benemdb och hans broder som i Sverige af samma Churfurste Resident war, uthan någon character allenast att sondra huru han Gemutherne här skulle finna disponeradhe, men iagh hoppas och menar migh säkert E. K. M. försäkra kunna att han här ingen tingh som E. K. M. prajudicera kan uthrättandes warden. Iagh war tvungen för tijdens kostheet skull att afbryta mitt bref medh förre posten ther uthi iagh något ärnade om Franckriikes och thenne Statens tillståndh medh hwarandra att inserera, man hadhe här uthspent att Tractaten skulle vara them emelan sluten, men nu förnimmer sedan contrarium, och talas här mycket om the Catholiskes ifwer att göra frijdh emelan Franckrike och Spanien. The Preussiske köpemännén här insinuera sigh och hoos migh, att ästunda godha willkor i sin handell i Dansick, iagh gifwer them godh Esperance och animerar them att drifwa uppå Protecteuren att han thet hoos migh söker att på thet then Österriöski handelns wärde hoos them motte thes mehra skattas. Således gör iagh och medh the moscowiske köpmännén och skall göra så uthi medlen till derivationen af then Ryske handelen på Östersion som häadan komma kunne, som uthi alt annat min underdångstige högste fliigt. I förledne Onsdags hadhe then Venetianiske Embassadeuren sin Entrée, och war iagh uthi stoor dubitation om iagh skulle låta min wagn gå medh honom eller ei, men på sistone resolveerade iagh att draga något uthur staden så länge, så medh maneet thet att Excusaer kunna. Om iagh honom tjt hade skolat sända, tå moste iagh migh resolera antingen medh macht taga öfwerhanden af Frantsöske Embassadeuren heller och honom att cedera, och såsom iagh thet sidsta ingulunda wille göra så hölt iagh och thet första betenckeligit, häst efter ther igenom ehuru thet afluppit hadhe een owänskap emälan Frantsöske Embassadeuren och migh wisserligen hadhe förorsakats, then iagh likwäl icke gärna hafwer, emädan wij nu lefwe uthi godh wänskap och förtroende, så skulle och någon orsak kunnat gifwas till them som illa willia att uthlyd thet för een särdeel es presumption som af E. K. M. lyckelige progresser förordsakades till att willia praternsla öfwerstället af Konungen i Franckrike thet man tillförsende ej hafwer någon sinn gjordt, och Equaliteet war omöijeligit att holla, emädan wagnarna icke kunne för the smala gaturne skull gå uth medh hwar andre, och ther så hade warit, wore än tå disputen om högre sidan, Om och någon olycka widh sådan action hade händt, skulle man näpligen uthan stoor widhlyftigtheeter ther medh afkomma hoos dhetta folcket, som thet Tragiske Portugiseske Embassadeurons broders Exempel noghsamt uthwijssar; Iagh hade och eliest Exempel att Sal. H. Päder Sparre som war Embassadeur till Danmarck widh Prints Christians bröllöp för competence skulle med andre Embassadeur sigh uppå bröllöps dagen absenterade, hoppas såsom iagh ödmükeligen beder thet E. K. M. thette mitt comportement här uthi sigh uthi nådhe låter behaga. Tiender om E. K. M. stoor och lyckelige progresser i Pålandh, och anseenlige victorie ähre här i går medh alles wåres högsta glädie ankommen, then iagh hoppas min negotiation mycket avancera skall, emädan een stoor deel hafwa igenom hollendernas uppdicktade onda tidender, alloreda hållit E. K. M. Expedition i Pålandh för förlorat, men then Högste Gudh ware ährat som theras Illwillige åstundan omkullslagit, […]
[...] Kongl. Maj. Trogst och oföränderligie Tineearr.

Londen th: 5 Octobr. Å. 1655.

Christer Bonde

7 23 October 1655

Stoormerstigste Känungs allernädigste Herre,


Er: Kongl. Maj.

Trogne, underdänigs och Hörsammerste Tineearr.

Christer Bonde

af Londen den 23 Octob. Å:
8 16 November 1655 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånung, allernådigste Herre,

möjeligen vägar alla theras complotter att hindra så mycket mig möjeligt vara kan, men ågh moste bekänna att thenne Staten är något förvirrat och Ehuru Protecteuren sielf, som alle hans ministri medh alle möjelige protestationer söka att försäkra mig om theras Affection emoot E. K. M. och Sveriges Crona, icke thes mindre åhr ännu lijet realt ther på földt och så att iagh inthet kan komma medh någre Commissarier in hoop om ett och annat att tractera. Migh åhr och mycket kärt att weeta E. K. M. nådige wille, om Mediation hoos Muscouwijtern, iagh hafwer på en lång tidh ejt talat ther om, och efter the sådant ejt apprehendera skal iagh och thet på bäste sätt undanböja, Medh thet Evangeliske wäsendet skall iagh och gärn iagttagi, och inthet på något sätt migh uthlåta som någorledes E. K. M. nådige intentioner prajudicera kan; Medh thenne post feck iagh ett bref ifrån min utskickade till E. K. M. Pär Bonde ifrån Schwets then 19 Octob: ther en tidh lång för wägernas osäkerheet skull hafwer most liggia, och beklagar han högeligen att han ej kan någon Comfoij fåå att fortkomma, thet migh mycket bekymbrar, […]

E. K. M. Maij. 

Trogne och Hörsammerste 
Tännarr

af Londen den 16 Novemb:
Å 1655.

Christer Bonde ep

9 18 January 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånung, allernådigste Herre,

Såsom iagh medh förledne post månde E. K. M. underdångist berätta thet som uthi min Conferents medh H. K. Högheet passerade then 6 hujus och ibland annat ödmiukeligen bärattade huru han dreef uppå ther sakerne motte medh allfar företagas emäden tijden woro kåsteligh, och iagh theremooot begärade tidh på några dagar, tä iagh wille honom mina tanckar ther om wijdare säia, Altså hölt iagh för nødigt att sökia medh honom Conferentie nästförledne Lögerdagh som war then 12 hujus, ehuru wäl iagh äntå ingen information widhare om E. K. M. nådige willia bekommmit hade, Män emäden migh nogsampt kunntigt är hr ther E. K. M. största macht uppälligger, att thenne Staten holles emot honom i godh humeur och att Holländernes intentioner, som igenom alahanda motiver och känster sökia att drogha thesse ifrån E. K. M. Ösiden och att tillikka medh them ampleclera then Baltiske Siöns interesse, motte bliifwa contraminerat och om möjeligit wore heller E. K. M. Öpart obligerade att emottagha, hafwer iagh nødigt hollit them medh ther endeste som the synas kunna läckas medh något att movera, hälst efter E. K. M.
Maij och nädigst wissar sigh ther till inclinera igenom Thess nädigste order af Prossevice then 25 Octob; Contesterade förthenskull then stoor Satisfacion iagh hadhe af H. Högheets siste ouverture, och att iagh wişte then E. Kongl. Maij mycket angenähm wara skulle att förnimma, hvarföre iagh och så mycket möijeliget wore wille ther uti straxt arbeta, och kunde H. Högheet dhetta seija att E. Kl. Maij woro realeant sinnad att träda medh honom uthi een alliance till muettuell defension in hoc passu, att E. Kl. M. icke hafwer fullkombiligen wetat H. Högheets intention att gå något wijdare, och att E. Kl. M. förthenskull så lāngh tijdh hafwa måtte, att han H. Högheets intention förnimma, och sigh ther på resolwera kunde, H. Högheet wiste sielf att så H. Coyet som iagh heela thenjen tijdhen hafwa åstundat att wetta thenjen H. Högheets meningh till then ände att E. K. M. ther af motte then bättre kunna formera sina tanckar thesuthinnan, H. Högheet hadhe och sielf moverat några dubia uthi sielfwe processen af största importance, som E. K. M. änteligen motte weta sigh uppå att resolwera begärade wijdare att om någre flera particularitet Woro att ihugkomma H. Högheet tä wille migh them på ett heller annat sätt weta lätha hwilcket att tijden winna och negociation facilitera kunde, Han swarade ther widhlyftigt uppå, och wijste att hans reale intention Woro then samme som honom så confidemt att tala medh migh förre gången obligerat hadhe, han funno min åstundan mycket skälig, hwarföre han ther medh Woro wäl tillfåreds, Contesterade åhn ytterligare sin stooro affection emot E. K. M., och sadhe som hans egne formalia lydde, att hwart stegh som E. K. M. uthi sine stooro progresser gör, hugnar och gläder honom på thet högsta, particulariteterne som iagh åstundat hadhe att weeta, Woro han och sinnat medh migh igenom sine Commissarier att conferera om, medh thet första, och att wij icke längre in generalibus versera moste, emåenden man på thet sättet plägar handtera them som man meera tencker att uppeldon än realment något medh att göra. Iagh swaradhe här på medh een behörigh Complement, tackandes therförre att H. Högheet sielflf hafwer behagat att taga sigh så stoor möda uppå så åfta här om med migh att conferera, then iagh wederreda wore, att sammantråda medh hans Commissarier, och then af hiertat önskade hwar medh iagh skött, och efter iagh migh tillförende hadhe låtit märckia att åstunda till att see hans flåta som nu Eqcuperas till sion tillbödh han migh sine jackter, och att willia sända någon medh migh then migh om alt informera skulle, hwuruppå iagh efter en jiten tacksejelssse ifrån honom skildes. Tijssdagen ther efter reste iagh till flåtan, hwar migh stoor åhra wederfohrs som E. Kongl. M. nådighet behagade af hoosfogade Relation att förnimma. Iagh skall nu nästkommande wecka see till, om möijeliget åhr att kunna komma medh Commissarierne tillsamman, och tillsae huru iagh them handtera kan, till thess E. Konl. M. widare ordre migh tillhanda kommer, then iagh medh största längtan förwännattar. Ifrån Hollandh aviserar migh Appelbohmen thers owanlige procedurer emothon honom, såsom och att the nu the uthlofwade subsidie till Churfursten af Brandeburgh betahlt hafwa, hwilcket alt hafwer ett widrigt uthsende, hwarföre iagh och seer för migh så myckit tidigare medh flijth att arbetha emothon thers practicer hoos thenne Staten, Then högste Gudh [...]
af Londen then 18 Januarij Å. 1656.

Christer Bonde,

10 21 March 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånung Allernådigste Herre,

Huru wijdha iagh för otta dagar sedan medh mine tractater war kommen, så och
hawdh uthi twenne heelt remarquable Audientier hoos H.† Högheet war föreluppit,
thet hafwer Edhers KongĪ. Maij† iagh underdånigst medh twenne nästförkedne
poster korteligen öfwerskrifwit, I thenne weekan hade iagh Secret-†′Thurloe hoos
migh, medh hvikken iagh een widhlyfftigh discours hade om samme ärender, hwar
uthaf iagh noghsamt aften taga kan att thertill een sådan alliance som föreslagen ähr,
inclinera, The åstundade penninge subsidier ähre thet obeswärligast för them att
condescendera uthi, Iagh bewijste honom medh klara skäl, att the penningar som the
således assisterade E.†† Kongl: Maij medh, kunna åter mesnagera in för them
tjodubbelt så mycket, igenom then stroore diversion af huus ÖsterRijkes macht, then
nu alena ligger uppå them och FrankRijke, föruthan thett att Hållendarne hollas in
officio, som eleist efter all apparentie skola widh thetta Engelandis tillstånd sökia sin
revange, föruthan thetta deducerade iagh och widhlyfftigt Protectorens egen
säkerheet then igenom een sådan mechtigh alliance homon tillfaller, Och emädan
här ähre saker af mycket stroore Considerationer under händer, och een deel gissa att
thet skall vara om någon förändring i Regementet, och Protecteuren skall willia taga
Honom uppå sigh, hafwer iagh ej orådeligit hollit att animera honom ther till,
emädan thetta gournementet ther igenom mycket befästas skulle, och alltså kunde
för E.‡‡ Kongl: Maij: säkrate vara sigh medh them att förbinda, men förnembligast
att obligera honom ther medh, att iagh animerade honom till thet som han
thessföruthan inclinerar, och kan skee kan fatta ett argument uthaf, thet så mycket
bättre i wärrct att ställa, Iagh wijste therföre emot Thurloe hwadh Säkerheet
Engelandh och Protecteurens familie ther igenom tillfällandes worde, och så frampt
han ther till inclinerade, hwadh nytta och styrckia kan uthaf thenne alliance hämpta
kunde, som ej medh penningar wore att lösa. Han swarade till alt thetta medh stoor
Civiliteit, och eluru han måste bekänna, att Engeland som iagh sagdt hadhe, af
thenne alliance een stoor nytta tillfalla skulle, så belfastnde han sigh lqvål om att
bewijssa thet E‡‡ Kongl. Maij: icke mindre gagn ähn thee ther aff haffwa skulle, han
uptogoh och min siste ouverture medh een särdeles contestation af then affection
han ther af sporde, Excucerade thet höfligen, och gick häruthinnan hans taal mäst
uth på, att bewijssa säkerheten af thette Gouvernementet igenom theras stroore och
wälderinerade militie till Lands och wattn, medh meera sådant, hwar på iagh någre
gångor replicerade, och slöth medh begärar att the sigh skynda wille, ewhawd the
tänkte att göra, hwar på iagh mycket dreef, och protesterade att iagh änteligen uthi
ändan af Aprilis månadıt ärname reessa; Uthi mina andhra Tractat ähre wij nu så
wijdha komne, att man migh försäkrat hafwer, thet han nu under händerne ähr att conciperas. My Lord Withlock war i thenne wekan hoos migh till måltijdh, then iagh och någre puncter öfwergaf skriffetilgen, the förmåbligast satisfactionen och restitutionen af Ee.-ds Kongl: Majts undersåthares tagne skada i sidste hållenske kriget anginge. Medh siste post monde iagh och E.ª Konge Maij.ª underdånigst weeta låta att General Fleetwood hafwer bekommit tillståndh att wärfwa 2000 Man, och längtar nu efter penningar, och ordre thet i wärcket att ställa, Iagh ärnar nu efter E.ª Kongl Maij.ª siste befalningh så mycket iagh någonsinn kan skynda på themne Tractaten och så frampt iagh finner thet ther uthi det andra drötja, tä låte thet anstå på een E.-ds Kongl: Majts Embassade then Protecteurens E.-ds Kongl: Maijt tilskicka kan, Om iagh icke medh penningar blifwer ifrån E.ª Kongl.º Maij.º heller R.-e Cantsleren hulpen, weet iagh näpligen någon rådth att kunna komma hädhan, Min Broder hafwer uppå min egne particulare obligation förskaffat migh någre penningar uthaf Sal.ª H.ª Conrad Fackenbergs barn, hwar medh iagh migh så wijdha här till hafwer behielpa kunnat, thet iagh ännu således här hafwer min Staat uppehollit som medh E.ª Kongl. Maij.ª höga respect öfwereens kommer, men iagh twiflar om något meera af them kan wara att erholla, Iagh beder och underdånigst att then stoore hasard iagh migh här medh uti satt hafwer, icke motte lända migh och mine till yttersta ruin, Iagh tager Gudh till wittne medh hwadh sele och trooheet iagh trachtat hafwer E.ª Kongl. Maij.ª wäl och till nådigt nöije att täna, […]

[…] Kungl.ª Maij.ª

Trogne och underdånigste

Tänarrª

Christer Bonde,mp

af Londen then 21 Martij
Å. 656.

11 28 March 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormestigste Känung, Allernådigste Herre,

Såsom iagh alts sedan min siste Conferents medh H.ª Högheft hafwer på behörige orter medh manev fordrat uppa min depeche, så hafwer iagh och wiss underrättelssse thet mine affaires hafwe thenne weekan förnemligast hollit honom och hans Rådh occuperade, hwarföre iagh inthet twiflar uthan att iagh i nästkommande weeka skall få något skriffetilgen swaur. Och ehuruwäl så tillståndet af affaireerne i Holland och Danmark efter H.ª Appebohms rapporter, som eliest månge considerationer här wijd Staten synes fordra thet iagh widh thenne lägenheten, och nu emädan the syncas till E. K. M.ªª wänskap mehr än någonsin tillförende inclinerä skulle söka något att

E. Kongl. M. Maij

Trogne och underdånigste
Tienarr

af Londen then 28 Martij.

 Å. 1656.

Christer Bondeep

12 04 April 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånung, Allernådigste Herre,

Ehuru iagh uthi mitt underdånigste siste förmeente att kunna medh thenne post något fullkombligt swaar af H. Högheet E. Kongl. M. ödmiuikelgast tillsckiea, Liqwäl hafwer ther för Secret. Thurloes frånwara skull ej kunant see, för hwickeys orsk skuldh iagh åter then 1 hujus hadhe hoos H. Högheet Audients, remonsterrandes honom tidhsens kostelighet, och E. Kongl. M. nådgiste oderer till migh, att skynda migh hädan, sökande thessföruthan medh mänge skåll att afwända alt ther, som honom een behageligh resolution att fatta synes hindra kunna, Sedan hafwer iagh och medh My Lord Withlock, och i går medh MyLord Deputé Fleetwood haft Conferentie, och bådhhe medh manee och resenterande drifwit uppå theras enfelle resolution, uppå hwickeys alt medh störste Excuser och Civilteteet ahr swaratt wordet, och af then siste in genere bekändt att penninge nöden allena ahr ther som them
tillbaka håller, och churuwäl then store diversion, och andre nyttigheeter som them af een sådan alliance tillfallandes worde, otwilachteligen giorde then stoort gagn, woor liqwäl närwarande omöijligheten ett oöfverwinneliget hinder, som them nu upphölle, Iagh begärte att H. s Högheet wille gifwa migh sin resolution sielf huru wijdha han meente att göra kunna, tå iagh wid een Conferents medh honom, wille tillsee, om the difficulteter som förefölle på något sätt stodhe att remediera, hwicket migh medh thet foderligaste tillsades. Min förernbste intention är, att om möjliget wore någon försäkring aff honom att bekomma sigh thet på förläta kunde, och att see till om han kunde bringas till att bewillia något utli penningar. Iagh går omkringh medh thette irresolute folcket på allahanda sätt, stundom fyrar och undertijdhen tager på Skötet, the kunna inge skäl förebära hvar på iagh them icke contrarium palpabiliter remonstrerar, och ärh på sistone inwendingen af nöden thes thes refugium, Iagh står uthi een stoor dubitation om iagh skall fördristra migh, slutet ther af här att afwänta, så frampt the sigh till någon considerabil summa wela, emädan iagh fruchtart att om thet på een thes affsändning ankomma skall, thet facies rerum sigh lätteligen förändre kunde, antingen medh någon ny E. K. M. engagement, heller någon mutation här i nabolokapet, tå the otwilachteligen skole draga footen tillbaka igän, Migh hafwe nu nyligen tienderne af then recours af 10000 man som Kejsaren Spanien utli Nederlandh effterlåtit haffwer, wäl kommit till motta, hvar uthaf iagh them bewijssat hafwer thet E. K. M. willkorigen sår sigh medh Kejsaren att angagera heller ej och synes wäl att Kejsaren gör sig för E. K. M. så säker, att han fördrister sigh sin force så märckeligen att förswaga, hwicket omkullstöter thenes största skål om som ärh att E. K. M. oundwijkeligen ärh att han nu måste medh honom i krigh uthfalla. The hafwa hir nu stor Esperance på Spaniske Silfwerflottan, om hwicket the förmeena sigh hafwa wisse tiender att han befalt ärh, widh pass themne tidhen att heemkomma, och efter thenes flåta nu uthi 8 dagar hafwer haft godh wind, hoppas dhe att samme silfwerflåta uthi deras händer fallandes warder, ther så skedde, skulle thet wäl vara ett stoort slagh i Commerciere af heela Europa, Emädan negocia och Crediten i alle land antingen directe heller per consequencias ther af mycket dependerar, men thet skulle och göra themne staten beqwäm medh alfwar att angrijpa wärccket, och troor iagh wist att the E. K. M. eene ansenligh subsidie ther af effterlåta skulle, Emädan nu willian och Affectionen thertill ärh stoor, såsom H. s Högheet sielf så wäl som Fleetvoord så sist som tillförende medh störste protestationer betygade, och framdrogh H. s Högheet ibland annat thet tecknet att han så wäl som alle hans affectionerade, bedia Gudh för E. K. M. utli utli theras böner, såsom thet och wist ärh att Prästerne uthi een stoor del af Kyrickiorne i England, uppenbarligen på Predikestolarne ihogkomma E. Kongl. Maij utli utli theras publique böner, hwicket ärh mycket notabelt emädan thet ingen främmande någonsim skedt ärh. Een dublett of thet breef som E. Kl. M. migh nådigst ifrån Schlippenbeil then 6 Januarij tilsändt hafwer, ärh migh medh thenne posten ifrån H. s Excell. R. Cantskeren wäl ankommit; Här hafwa warit een tidh sorgelige tiender uthspridde om E. Kl. Maij och Thess tillstånd, men såsom the ifrån Dantsik och Holland sitt ursprung hafwa, holla wjij them medh Guds help för uppdictade, emädan breefwen ifrån Bresslau och andra orter ther om eij nämna. […]

E. s Kongl. Maij Trogne och hörsammerste
13 11 April 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Uthaf alla de ankomne tiender och poster som migh någonsinn hafwe warit angenähme, så hafwer thenne siste warit then förnemstäde, Här hafwer icke allenast nu uti 14 dagars tidh warit ett allmänt rychte att E. K. M. skulle medh heeh Thess Armee vara totaliter slagen och ruinerat, och att E. K. M. sielf skulle antingen vara dödh heller i ett tillståndh som ther ifrån ej mycket differerade, uthan hållendiske Ambassadeuren hafwer thenne postens medbrachte wisse tiender om E. K. M. näsig störste assurance confirmerat, således och att han i förledne Onssdagh kom till Coijett som nu ärnar reessa Expresse att säija honom the tjinder och thet medh sådane Effrontee expressioner, at thet war skam åth, Hwicken hans otijdige och orättwijse passion nu igenom thenne postens medbrachte wisse tiender om E. K. M. önskelse tillståndh warder Esclaterandes, och honom till störste wahnheder ländandes. Then högste Gudh som al macht hafwer, han ware härstämme ehrwürdige ärhat, och höre wäre trogne Böner att han E. K. M. nå sig barnigen ofräldh nådeligen bewara wille, och alla thes fiender till skam warda låta; Ther näst hafwer migh thenne post ankomst högeligen frögdat igenom E. K. M. näsigst Bref och högstangenähme order af Siedliska then 20 Februarij som han migh medhbrachte, Iagh skall icke allenast medh all trogen flijt then samme till E. K. M. näsigst behagh söka att effterkomma, uthan glädier migh och ther åth att iagh igenom Guds wälssignelsse hafwer funnit uppå således här till ther uthi att agera, att thet medh thenne E. K. M. nåsig ordrealdeles öfwereens kommer, Iagh hafwer nu åter i thenne weekan kommit with mine Commissarier tillsamman, och hoppas iagh att ehuru swårt thet går thet wij liqwäl skole snart blifwa eensse uthi thet som inbördes wärfnings och fullbordandhe aff förre tractaten angår; Thet öfrige arbetar iagh och dagligen uthi, och ärh märkeligit, thet som iagh näpligen weet något Exempel uppå, att iagh all then negociationen medh hanss högheet sielf hafwer drifwit uthan någre Commissarier. H. Coijet hafwer ärnat att reessa för några dagar sedan, men såsom H. Högheet hafwer Excuserat sigh att ej kunna gifwa honom afskedh för än nästkommande Tjïssdagh, moste han något dröija, han skrifwer thessföruthan E. K. M. i dagh sielf underdångist till om sin rencontre medh hollendiske Ambassadeuren,herforö iagh migh ther på underdången refererareen sådan pertinance och affronterie ärh aldrig hördh, och hoppas iagh att hanss credit ther medh hoos thenne Staten mycket försvagas skall; Portugisiske Residenten war för twä dagar sedan hoos migh, och wijste migh ett breef ifrån sin Konung, hvar uthi han medh stoort contentement accepterar then ouverture han till mig om Portugisiske affairer medh thenne Staten gjordt hafwer, medh befalning att han mig heele saken
omständeligen referera skulle, medh stoor contestation af den considerable wänskap, som Emillan EK.M. och honom woro, och han alltijd tenckte att cultivera; han uppenbarade migh wijdare att ther hafwer warit stoor apparence till accord emillan Spanien och Portugall att Spanien alle gőrlige medhel tillbudit haffwer, men som Portugall them ej troo will uthan starke försäkringer som Spanien eij kan gifwa, ärh thet åter aldeles uthslaigt. Iagh skall tillske medh näste post att kunna sända E. Kl. ett Extract af samma breef, Thet ärh nu thessföruthan wist att themen staters Envoyé M. Medon hafwer fullkommeligh macht att sluta allianseen ther, hwarforf han och twenne Ratificationer medh sigh som man menar hafwa skall, och i fäll then een aij kunde accepteras att then andra tå offereras skulle, hwilcket alt een godh hielp ähr till inbördes intentionen. Iagh hafwer i dagh klockan 4 efter middagen haft hoos H. Högleht Audients, men emädan iagh then nu eij hinner E. Kl. ödmükeligast referera, skall then medh näste post skee, thetta ärh allenast notabelt att Hollandske Embassadeuren hafwer waret Audients förordnat samme tjima then honom afslagen är, och migh eftherlåten. Then högste Gudh [...]

E. Kl. Maij:

Trogne och hörsammerste

Tienarr

af London then 11 Aprill

Å. 1656

Christer Bonde,

14 06 June 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånung Allernådigste Herre,

Ehuru iagh sedan mitt widhlyfftige siste underdångieste skrifwebbe hafwer gjordt min flijt och i thenne förledne weeka weelat medh My Lord Fines åthskillige Conceptor om Artikelna af Pasporten, ähre wij liqwäl ännu icke komne till sluth, H. Högleht ähr medh Rådhet så öfwermåttan occuperat, och så bekymbrat, att han heller the gifwa sigh inthet roo att äta, uthan ährere dageligen medh General Majorerne af Provincierne, / the som ährer såsom Gouverneerer/ tilsamman, att öfwerläggia huru the sakerne angrijpa skole, een deel willia sustinera att the inclinera till att sammankalla ett Parliament och såsom thet ärh af stoor consequence, och myckit betänckeligt, så gifwer ther them thess större beswär ther uthi att resolovera, liqwäl ähre affairerne så beskaffade att thet föruthan kan krijget emoot Spanien medh thet allfar som sigh bören för medellösa skull eij fortsättias, thesse förhinder hafwe mycket uppehollit min negociation i dhenna weekan, hwar på iagh med goda och onda presserar; Then godhe Gudh må weeta huru ther thess kommer ber ifrån E. Kl. och inge breef migh tillhanda komma, icke kan iagh heller troo ther E. Kl. skall täncia migh allareda vara hädan förrest, efter iagh medh hvar post omständeligen skrifwit haffwer, hwadh som uth trättat war; Thet mästa som min längtan förorsakar
efter E. K. M. nådige Order ärh, thet migh mycket nödigt ärh att weeta huru wijda thenne Statens wänskap nu kan vara E. K. Mätt. nödigh, sedan i then stoore Saken medh them inthet ärh att göra, och thenne andre Tractaten gäar medh så stoor beswärv och längsamheet för sigh. Och emädiag iagh, föruthan E. K. M. nådige Order om then defensive Alliancen ingen underrättellssse ther om på een lång tidh hafwer, faller migh så mycket beswärligare ther uthi att resolvera, Om thenne Staten icke igenom ett Parlament blifwer på något sätt stadhfäst, heller igenom annat medel, ärh på honom näpligen något att ljita, och ärh nästan omöjeligat att the något göra a bon esien, uthan någre eschappader, the ähre thessföruthan så beängstigade att the näpligen weeta hwadh the sigh företaga skole, efter the stå uthi så stoor owissheet, och alle theses anslagh emooot Spanien gå them emooot, men Spanien medh Kongen af Skottlandh försumma tillbaka, Men äter gifwer migh E. K. M. tractat medh Hollandh ther emooot stoore considerations, hwilckaa uthan twiffwel skola mena E. K. M. offendera kunna, enär thet ärh een kalsinnigh wänskap allena, emelan E. K. M. och Engellandh; Emellan theses betenkande vacillerar min resolution, hwarföre iagh ännu meenar att försökia uthi ingående weeka hwadh sigh göra låter, och ther efter tå wist resolvera, efter iagh öfwermåttan hädhan längtar, och medlen migh mycket knappe falla, Iagh hafwer liqwäl nu på stunden åter warit medh Commissarierne tillsamman, och synes godha förhopningh att att wäl aflöpa skall. Medh nästförledne post månde iagh E. K. M. Conceptet af Tractaten underständigst medh posten tillsända, och hoppas att then wäl framkommer. Min eendeste och stoore tröst ärh E. M. godha och lyckelige tillstånd, hwar om iagh medh hvar post ifrån åthskällige andre orter, föruthan them ther E. K. M. åh, försäkrat blifwer, Om posternas och wägarras osäkerheet thet förorsaka skall, kan iagh icke weeta. […]

E. K. Maij
Trogne och underständigste
Tienarr
Christer Bonde

af Londen then 6 Junij~
Å. 1656.

15 18 July 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stoormerstigste Kånung, Allernådige Herre,
Iagh ähr nu seent omsijden kommen thertill, att Tractaten emelan E.\textsuperscript{6} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} och thenne Staten, ähr i går worden underskriffwen och förseglat, sampt på bågge sjödar Extraderat, att han nu Gudhi lof, är bracht till en önskelig utgång, Så framf alla mina breve icke ähre interciperade, hoppas iagh E.\textsuperscript{4} Kongl. M.\textsuperscript{11} af mine underdängiste förra skall hafwa nådgist thess Contenta förnummit; Iagh hadde wäl ärnh sända een Copia ther af till E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} medh H.\textsuperscript{1} Coyet, men emäända the orter hvor igenom posten går, dageligen bliwfa meer och meer owillige emot E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} och Sweriges Crona, och iagh thess föruthan sifflä ärnär i nästkommande weeka att taga mitt afskedh af H.\textsuperscript{1} Protectoren, och sedhan straxt, medh thet aldra snareste migh till E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} begifwa, hafwer iagh rådeligast erachtat ther medh innehollla till min egen ankompst; Oss hafwe the tiender som medh thenne posten ankomne ähre, om Wardsous intagande af Pålacken mycket bedröfwat, och iblandhn annat dhen stooma fahra, som the Godhe Herrar iblandh thet barbause fälkten utstån, som ther inne woro, All wår förhopningh står nu upp på någon lyckelig Exploict, hwilcken wij önska then aldra högste Gudh E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} begynnandes, tillskrivwes liqwäl dembi storste orsaken till alt sådan, så som hwilcke, the andre alle upphissa och animera ther till. Frantsosens stroore nederlagh widh Valenciennes, ärh och att bekлага, the ähre mängde som frucha att thet samme motte förrorsaka någon förändringh uthi Fransiske Consilierne, och att een fridh emelan Franckrike och Spanien ther på lätteleg tilfollna motte, helst efter gemütherne i Franckrike mycket thertill inclinera. Hwadth thesses widh sådana conjuncturer resolverandes ware, skall sigh nepligen för Parlaments sammankomst utwijsa; Iagh kan onmöjeligen af alla theras comporteremtm annat hämpta, ähn att thet moste vara någon Secret maxime för H.\textsuperscript{1} Protecteuren att gärna see thet Engelandh ärh i någon fahra, så wäl som thet Protestantiske Interesse på thet att thet samme tillståndh hans Particulare Interesse thess bättre hoos hoos Parliamentet befordra motte, dock hafwer iagh ther till ej annat fundmant ähn gissningar, hwilcke liqwäl ähre mycket probable; Iagh skall ähn ytterligare widh een particular afskeds Audients, then iagh Hoos H.\textsuperscript{2} Protecteuren ährnar hafwa, fahrigheeten av tillståndet exagerera, och see till huru wijdha han står att bringa thet att behierta. Migh ähr emedlertijdh tillsagt, att uthi mitt recredetiv specificeras skall om then Legation H.\textsuperscript{1} Högehet till E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} ärnar att affärda, hwar på iagh medh all macht drifwa skall. Iagh will inthet gärna bekymbra E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} medh någre fascheuse saker, och mitt tillståndh, Men Gudh weet huru iagh ähr här utstött huth en stoorn nodh, hwar till kommer Bonels älandigheit, och andre fleere beswär, Then högste Gudh förhieple migh medh ähra hädan, och till E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11}, tå iagh förmodar E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} allermäduit mine beswär hörandes, och migh ifran owdijkeligst fördärf allernäditst hielpandes worder; Till samme mitt föorre bekymbra contribuerar och outsäjeligen mycket, that iagh upp på några månader inge breve af E.\textsuperscript{4} Kl.\textsuperscript{4} M.\textsuperscript{11} bekommit hafwer, then godhe Gudh bedher iagh af alt hierta att ther till icke någon beklagelig orsak vara må, […]

E.\textsuperscript{4} Kongl.\textsuperscript{4} Maij.\textsuperscript{11}

Trogne och underdängiste

69
af Londen then 18 Julij
Å. 1656

16 08 August 1656 (letter written in cipher)

Stormerstigste Konungs
allernådigste Herre.

Vidh sluthet af mitt underdånige sidste, monde iagh ödmjukeljast förmoda migh hafwa tillfölje af E.\textsuperscript{rs} K.\textsuperscript{§} m.\textsuperscript{ts} nådigste breef af Novoduor then 4 och 6 Julij talat medh H.\textsuperscript{es} H.\textsuperscript{et} huarss swar måst gick uth ther på att han sigh medh sin oförmögenhet excuserade någon real assistance at göra kunna sadhe sigh liqvwäl förmoda att några moderate och ärlig up personer i Hollandh, så väl som the remonstrationer han till ther och Dønmarck årnade sända. Skulle all widrigh effect afwäria kunna, lofwa i thet öfrige sigh ännu at willia betenckia, och för min afreesa migh sin mening wetta låta, På thet iagh motte occasion bekomma wijdare hår på att arbeta, war iagh i förledne måndag till middagsmåltidh hoos My L.\textsuperscript{d} Lambert, och honom valedicerade ther iagh emoot honom så väl som My L.\textsuperscript{d} Lorents hwilcken är president af Consilio, een godh opportunitat hadde, omstendeligen at deducera therass interesse i samma affairer, hvar emoot My L.\textsuperscript{d} Lambert then een heel förståndigh man är, aperte wijste och bekiende at een strict offensive och defensive alliance emelan E. K. M. och thenne state upprätta moste, protestérer ther till sin inclination och hoppadess att H.\textsuperscript{es} H.\textsuperscript{es} Embassade til E.\textsuperscript{rs} Kongl. M.\textsuperscript{ts} Skulle mycket ther uthi uthräätta kunna, och att igenom samma occasion een fast ligue emellan the protestanteske fästas borde, och som iagh remonsterade tht sakerne woro sådane, att the medh ordh och önskande eij stodhe att uthföra theran man moste leggia handen ther till, gaf thet honom store impressioner, och lofwa the beggie at willia contribueras theras flijt tht samma att förfordra, Iagh söker uthi therass Embassade till E.\textsuperscript{rs} Kongl.\textsuperscript{§} M.\textsuperscript{d} at undfly namn af mediation, och att then samma förmølbiljast må hutas vara ansedd at stadfesta een närmare alliance emellan E. Kongl.\textsuperscript{§} Maij.\textsuperscript{ts} och H.\textsuperscript{et} protec\textsuperscript{ts} hwilcket och realment ths intention ärh. Om någon diversion emooot ryssen att göra hafwer iagh rådeligast funnit alenast at Sondera Thurloe then icke owilligh fanss at något af privatis här ifrån ther theri entrepreneras motte, men efter åhrens tijdh så widha är avancerat at i themne sommar omöieligen något ther till kan göras. Och ännu dubiteras om rychthet af muskovitens infal i Ingermannelandh Skulle vara sant /om hwilcken uthspridde rumors owisheet iagh ifrån alla orter nu Gudhi lof Confirmeras/ Såsom och at Prot.\textsuperscript{a} icke motte tht神州 occasion alea arripera, och sedan i thet som meera macht upphäger inthet til saken giöra, therföre hafwer iagh for rådeligast hollit inthet meera ther uthi at handle uthan att under handen sondera particulare köpmän här om theras intention af een sådan entreprese hwilcka

[...] K. mt[…]

Trogne och hörsammerste
Tianarre

Londen then 8 Aug:
1656.

Christer Bonde
Såsom iagh igenom mitt underdånigaste siste till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} ödmjukeligast förmäla monde, att iagh så för the åthskillige orsaker skull i mine förre underdånigaste till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} uthförde, såsom och omöjeliegetheten här längre att förblifwa, sedan afskedh ärh tagit, och alle preparatorier giorde att reessa, hade resolvert i thenne wekan at begifwa migh hädan, och lemma icke allenast humeerurne här, till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} tänst öfwermåttan disponerade, uthan och General Fleetwood medh Commissarien Barchman om alt fullkombiligen informerade, att the sedan min afreessa E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} tänst fullgöra kunna, alltså hafwer iagh warit obligerat att blifwa beståndigt wid samme resolution, och ärnar om Gudh will i mårgon hädan att förrreessa; Hwadh stoor ähra och Civilteteet H.\textsuperscript{8} Högheett migh bewist hafwer, thet hinner iagh nu alth som thet ärh fullkommeligen icke att uthföria, uthan kan thetta alenast säija, att såsom then alldeelles öfwergår alt thet man här icke alenast uthi Parlaments och Protecteurens tidh, uthan och somblige i förra Kånungars tidhier, så girwer then så mycket större Esclat, och girwer all omkringläggandee Nationer stooe impressioner af then Confidence som emelan E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{20} och thenne Nationen befästat ärh, Iagh är och i thenne wekan af My Lord Lambert, My Lord Deputé Fleetwood och Secretarëren Thurloe besökt och valedicerat worden, thet the akdrigh någon annan giordt hafwa, Wijdh hwilcke occasioner the alla Contesterat hafwa een öfwermåttan inclination och åstundan att tätt förbinda sigh medh E. K. M.\textsuperscript{21}, thet the förhoppas H.\textsuperscript{6} Högh:\textsuperscript{25} Embassade till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} skall medh Gudhs hielp uthrätta kunna, Iagh ärh och icke alenast munteligen uthan och skrifteligen uthi mitt recréditif ifrån H. Höghheet till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} försäkrat, att han medh första migh fölia skall. Föruthan thetta så hafwer iagh och afskedat säker Correspondentie emedan thesse företalte förnembste Perssoner häi, att alt som till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} tänst af migh them behöfves, sedan min afreessa, att communicera, thet kan iagh göra och af them är lofwat troligen att förrättas, Continuationen af E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} härlige victorie widh Warsow, hafwer och gifwit ett stoort lijf till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} interesse här, som af all för Pålackens, Muscowijtens, Danmarks och Hollands fiendtlige attentater skull emoot E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} höltes före att vara uti ett mycket besvärligt vilckor, Och kan iagh E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} försäkrat, thet H. Högh:\textsuperscript{4t}, och alla the homon gutt unna, hafwa sigh här öfwer så mycket frögdat, som thet them sielff hadhe angått; Huru iagh medh H.\textsuperscript{1} Höghheet i nästföreldne weeka talade, thet monde iagh medh siete post underdånigast förmäla, ther till är sedan wäl infallit, att Hollenske Embassadeuren hafwer drifthit på att frigt Skepp mätte göra fritt gods, thet iagh så af My Lord Deputé Fleetwood, som My Lord Lambert och Thurloe ärh försäkrat att Engelandh them akdrigh tillåta skall. Iagh hafwer rätt nu på tijman taget fullkommeligt afskedh aff H.\textsuperscript{1} Höghheet, hwar uthaf iagh nu ej hinner particulariteterne E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{4t} underdånigast att referera, meer än att then medh så öfwermåttan protestationer af Affection aflopp, att iagh then fullkommeligen ej beskrifwa kan, Essentialia ther af war, att han lofwade medh alldraförsta sända een man till E.\textsuperscript{1} Kl.\textsuperscript{e} M.\textsuperscript{11} wijdare att tractera alt thet som
Protestanteske Saken kan lända till nytta, och elliest hindra wäre grannars Attentater emooot Oss, widh hwiccken occasion han wijste een stoor mescontentement emooot Hollandh, och sannar han nu ju meer och meer mine ordh. I mårgon bittida försäkrade han migh att willia sända bort sitt breef till Holland medh een Express, hwar af han och i mårgon läfwade migh een Copia, Iagh hoppas altså att alt hwadh till E.° Kl.° M.s° täinst hafwer behof gjords här, är troligen förättat, och att thette breef widh thesse siste lyckelige tiender skall i Holland göra een godh Effect. General Fleetwood och Commissarien Barchman hafwer iagh och, än i dagh recommenderat H. Högheet, och ahr försäkrat att the här efter så wäl som iagh skole kunna uthföra hwadh som behöfwas kan, uthwärtes Pompen af min depeche skall icke heller lijtet hielpa till att gifwa Hollendarne ombrage, H.° Högheet hafwer migh medh een anseenligh present regalerat så och någre hästar, hwar emooot iagh hafwer gifwit honom the swarta Wagnshästarne E.° Kl.° M.d° migh medhgaf, hwiccka ehuru the ähre något gamble, liqwäl nu see wäl uth, Iagh hoppas att thet E.° Kl.° M.s° ej misshaga skall, Iagh skall och göra min flijt att kunna skaffa medh migh een godh häst till E.° Kl.° M.s° täinst, och hoppas att medh thet snaresta kunna hafwa then huginat, att see E.° Kl.° M.s° medh lycka och seger krönt, och närwarande unterdånigst contestera huru mycket iagh ahr

E.° Kongl.° Maij.s°
Trogne och underdånigste
Tänare
Christer Bondeæp

af Londen then 22 Augusti
Å. 1656
## Appendix C – the Robinson Corpus Metadata

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N. totals  
| 37 | 5524 | 25 295 |

N. averages  
| ≈ 2.2 | ≈ 325 | ≈ 1500 |

[*letters which were not fully recovered given in square brackets*]
Appendix D – the Robinson Corpus

1 31 March 1680

Stockholm March 31. 1680

Right Hon-able

The boldness I have allready taken to address a lett* to yo* Hono*, canot otherwise be excused than by a continuance of it, which I take to be my Duty, & hope your Hono* will excuse it as such.

The cheif discours of this place is (as it has long been) about the King’s Marriage, which ‘tis generally said will be the 25th of April, & doubtless with very little Ceremony. The ffrench Ambass-* parts hence this Week towards Halmstad; but none of the Senat-* do as yet stir; & some say but few of them will be there. The Chancel* continues about a mile from hence, & speaks freely his dissatisfaction at the Management of sev-* affaires; so does Senat* Rholamb, Knule Kurch & of hers, who are sorry to see his Maj* wholly possess’d by the 2 Gyldensterns & 2 or 3 other young Heads, of whom Axel Wachtmeister has the cheif sway. These to make themselves seem very considerable to the King, do sett themselves cheifly to […] encreas the strength & Revenues of the Crown, the strength by modeling a standing Army, to be allwaies at the sole disposition of the King, do of about 6000 are already fixed in Schonen, & about 3000 are quarter’d here, besides other considerable Bodies in other parts. The Revenues, by the reduction of Crown Lands formerly alienated, & advantages upon Trade. As for this Reduction, the Crown has doubtless suffer’d very much by the profuse Liberality of Queen Christina, & the Minority of this King. Yet it is observed allready, that the persons interested in this affaire are so considerable, that ‘tis not likely to succeed, many being apprehensive of the ill consequences of a rigorous proceeding in it; & some stick not to say, that the Crown will not gett much by it, it being no Better than takeing from one to giv* g* to another. The advantages they have taken upon Trade I shall inform yo* Hono* more fully & particularly in my next. Only at present I canot omit what I am told is on foot at Copenhaghen, where some remaining differences relating to Trade are under Consideration of Commissio* on both sides & the Arbitration of France. Wee are told here, that the Danes propose, that in case the Swedes will consent to casheir the ffreedom which Swedes ships have enjoyed in the Sound since the Treaty of Broomsbrö 1645; the King of Denmark shall pay the Crown of Sueden in lieu thereof a summ of money (supposed ab* 30000 RixDollars) yearly. If this offer be thus made, I am confident it will succeed, & am sure it will Go for the interest of our Trade in these Seas; & make our Merch* able to trade with our own ships, which … while the Swedes pay no Customs in the Sound they canot so well do. I have therefor writt upon this subject to S: P: Wyche & S: John Paul & presume they will both see reason enough to make them forward it all they can; in which Holland will allso doubtless act to the utmost, as being equally concerned. One of the Swedes Commissio* Mons* Chroneshield (who is Gen* of this Kings Customs) will be easily brought to comply with this proposition, & especially if hee were balanc’d that way with an underhand present.
The late Treaty with Holland is not yet ratified, nor will the ratifications be change’d here; but are to be carried by Mons° Gyldenstolp to Holland; who they say parts shortly.

Mons° Olivenante, who comes for England, has not yet his Instructions. He is now upon his Lands in the Countrey to pass his Easter; & Secretary Lillieflycht, his Brother in Law tells mee, hee cannot say for certain that hee will part till after the Marriage, y° the King return hither.

I am in all humble Duty

Yo° Hono°

most obedient & most
humble Serv°
Jo: Robinson

S: Leolin: Jenkins

2 14 April 1680

Stockholm April 14. 1680

Right Hon-oble

Since my last, the change of Ministers, so long presaged, begins to be practised in this Court, Senat° Georgs Gyldenstern haveing received the King’s Order to quitt the place of Counsell° of the Treasury; a Charge, that render’d him very considerable, since the cheif affaires of State have begun to run into that College; but withall procured him so much envy (the Treasury being in a maner empty, and pretenders very numerous) that it is disputed whether his Maj° were moved to it at his own, or his Enemies solicitation. The latter is most beleived, especially by those that tell us Count Gustave De la Gardie, ye Great Chancel°’s Son, is to succeed him in the Treasury, & yet more by those that thinke Mons° Gyldenstern must likewise resigne his Stadthower’s place of this City, which is also very considerable. Beside these two, they reckon yet 7 good Charges hee has, all which some imagine will be taken from him. ‘Tis generally beleived

beleived a little time will produce yet greater alterations in this Court, & that the Family of the De la Gardies, allmost crusht by the Gyldensterns & others, will rise again.

The King’s Marriage is not agreeable to Sev° here. ‘Tis remark’d that never any with Denmark was happy for Sweden. And al’ the last meeting of the States in 78, the whole Assembly was highly satisfied, when his Maj° declared his Resolution not to marry that Princess.

The Alliance of this Crown with France is certainly intended to be renewed. They must have a Pension here, whatever the terms of it be. And to that end Mons° Bielhe, this King’s Ambassad° in France, has a full power & express Orders to treat & conclude it.
This year has produced several alterations in the Commerce of this place; the chief of which are, y' all Strangers must pay for whatever they import or export 1/3 & Burghers 1/5, more than they did during the Warr; which advance is paid in to the Admirally, & is designed a fund for building Shipps of Warr, Admiral Wachtmeister having undertaken to build the King yearly 14; tho' tis not believed he can exceed 4. 'Tis said his Majy. in making these Orders consulted neither the Senate nor the Treasury (which has the direction of Commerce) both which are therefore against them, & will probably find means to break them. Yet this certainly 'tis feared will spoil our Trade, which of late years has employed near 200 of our Ships to this port alone every Summer. Another order is that Suedes-built Shipps, which formerly enjoyed great privileges in their Customs, shall now enjoy none: This if it hold, will certainly ruin the Suedes Shipping, which had its rise from that privilege, & cannot subsist without it.

The King continues to divert himself at Kongsör, with hunting, fowling & being constantly on Horseback by 4 in the Morning, & continuing so most part of the day.

I humbly recommend myself to your Honors favour as,

Yo' Honors

most obedient &
most humble
Servant
Jo: Robinson

3 28 April 1680

Right Hon-oble

Wee are told from Konghsor, that this day his Majy parts thence towards Halmstad, where in all probability his stay will be very short, some think not above 2 days. 10000 Ducats have been with much pain provided here to defray the expence of that Journey; in which his Majy, for ought I can hear, will not have the Company of any Senatoes, besides the Rix-Marshall, Steenbock, most of them being sick here, or upon their Lands in the Countrey. How soon his Majy will return hither is uncertain. The Assembly of the States is much talked of, & much desired, but as yet the time nor place are not known.

Genl Major Grotehusen with other Genl Officers, is come hither. Hee was designed Govern of Wismar, but instead of that, hee is now, by this King’s Order & recommendation enter’d into the Duke of Holstein’s service, as his chief Military Officer.

S. Leolin Jenkins

Wee are told that upon the restitution of Wismar, the Isle of Gottland is to be put into the hands of the Danes, as Caution for the payment of the remaining Contributions.
The continuance of the French Subsidy is very pleasing here; Lately are Bills arrived for 50000 Crowns.

The Chancellor, having been about 6 weeks in the Neighbourhood of this city, & in that time 2013 days at his House here in town, is now again returning to one of his Houses in the Countrey, as having no part in the affairs of State, nor any business to oblige his Stay.

The Treasurer has been since Easter in the Countrey, & by his absence all business stands both in the Senate & ye Treasury, from the latter of which offices, wee are made believe, he has prayed the King to discharge him, as foreseeing (say some) that place will not long be continued to him; his Majesty intending, ‘tis thought, to follow his Father’s Example, who found means to manage the Revenues of the Crown without the help of the Chamber of Accts.

I am in all humble Duty

Yo’re Honours

most obedient & most humble

Serv’t

Jo Robinson

4 19 May 1680

Stockholm May 19, 1680

Right Hon.able

The particulars of this King’s Marriage, & the Consummation of it the 6th instant, will doubtless be come to England long before this arrive, & more fully related, than what wee have of it here. As yet I do not hear that it has been signified to the Senate, nor is ye New Queen yet mention’d in their prayers. They say the King is since gone to Gottenburgh, while the two Queens are coming towards Strimsholm, where provisions are made for 14 daies, in which time His Majesty will come to them there; That thence the Court will remove to some other Countrey Hous, not coming hither till August.

The Chancellor is already return’d to Cartbergh, a Hous of his Excy’s about an English mile out of Town, whither hee has invited Sev’l Senato’s & other persons of Quality to a Feast to morrow. ‘Tis generally said, his Excy parts with the said Hous and furniture to the New Queen, & in lieu of it, ye King of France gives him 200000 RixDollars. His Son Count Gustave de la Gardie has writt a Vindication of the French Alliance, of which I hope to have a Copy. ‘Tis supposed, y’ by this time their new Treaty with France is concluded at Paris.
This day Mons' Gyldenstolp setts forward for Holland. Mons' Oliverans comes hither this week or the next, & they say will shortly part for England, his Instructions being allready finished.

I am in all humble Duty

Yo' Hono's

most obedient & most humble
Serv'

John Robinson

5 02 June 1680

Stockholm June 2. d 1680

Right Hono-able

This place continues to be very empty of News by reason of the constant absence of the Court, which some beleive will spend the whole summer in the Countrey. A Gentleman is dispatcht into Germany to acquaint those Princes with the Mariage, another is gone for Mosco, & Mons' Lilliehocks, who haveing been long Ambassad' in Poland, & lately recalled, was at Dantsig on his way home, is order'd to return to the said Court. Hee is by many esteem'd the ablest Minister Sueden has; but so much at odds with the Gueldensterns, that so long as their power lasts, hee will not be suffer'd to come home.

The Chancelo' has expressed his joy at the King's Mariage by a very Sumptuos Entretainment, to which

Sir Leoline Jenkins

which most of the Persons of Quality about Town were invited, yet not any Senato' there, besides Count Axel de la Gardie, y' Chanc' Brother, & Count Gustave his Son.

Lately a Libel (which here is very rare) has been thrown about the Streets, complaining of the 2 Gyldensterns ill designes, & bad Counsells they give the King

The French & Danish Ambassad' continue with the Court

I humbly recommend my self to yo' Hono's favo', as

Yo' Hono's

most obedient & most humble Servant

Jo Robinson


6 09 June 1680

Stockholm June 9, th 1680

Right Hon. able

Tho’ the favo of yo Hono Ltre of the 14th past be a Subject my gratitude could delight to dwell upon, & enlarge it self into all the Expressions of a heart most humbly thankfull, yet the respect due to your precious minutes, restrains that pleasure, & only permits mee to meditate upon the greatness of the obligation, & to contrive with my self how to employ the utmost of my Endeavo for your Hono service. And in that I am mightily assisted by the command you are pleased to lay upon mee, to penetrate what I can into our Trade here, to which I shall diligently apply my self & hope in a little time to give your Hono a satisfactory account in that affeure.

This

S: Leoline Jenkins

This Court continues still below, whence the King, tis said will come privately hither in a few daies, but the two Queens not till August.

Admiral Wachtmeister is now at Sea, visiting all the Swedish Coasts on both sides, & as hee pretends, makes provisions at Riga & elswhere of great quantities of Timber & other necessaries for building Shipps of Warr. There are two now on the Stocks, one here, another at Calmar, of about 60 Guns each. They were begunn last year & will scarce either of them be finish’t before next Spring.

The Reduction of Crown Lands in Ingermanland is now finished & 6 Regiment of the Leitlands Army to be placed upon them, & the adjoyning parts of Finland.

Mons Olivenerante, I am told, comes not for England, upon a difference about the advance of his money. In his room Count Gustave de la Gardie is mention’d, but as yet I have no certainty.

I am in all humble Duty

Yo Hono

most obedient & most
humble Serv

John Robinson
7 23 June 1680

Stockholm June 23. 1680

Right Hon.able

This place is now taken up with reflecting upon Senat\textsuperscript{e}'s Gyldenstern's death, which produces a joy as general, as was the dissatisfaction his Ministry had given to all sorts of people, by the irregularity of his proceedings. All faults & miscarriages are charged upon his Memory: The suppression of the Senate's Power, the Reduction of the Nobilitie's Lands, the burdening of the Subject, & the present unsettlednesse of things are accounted the results of his single Counsels; & some think the end of his designes was no less irregular, but more pernicious than the means. With him, 'tis like, the most of his attempts will die, the gen' Expectation being, that the Senate's Authority will be restored, & all Counsels taken there as formerly, by which means affaires may speedily be brought into better order. The

S.\textsuperscript{r} Leolin Jenkins

The States of the Kingdom are called to meet here the 20\textsuperscript{th} of August, w\textsuperscript{h} gives great satisfaction to all, & hope that all irregularities will be laid aside.

Count Bengt Oxenstiern, late Ambass\textsuperscript{e}' at Nimeguen, 'tis said, succeeds John Gyldenstern in the Governm\textsuperscript{e} of Sehonen, Haland & Bleking.

The French & Danish Ambass\textsuperscript{es} are come hither, & an Envoy from Queen Christina is allso arrived.

The Court is at Kongsör & will stay there some time; from thence the great news is that the Queen is with Childe.

I humbly recommend my self to yo\textsuperscript{e} Hono\textsuperscript{es} favo\textsuperscript{e} as

Yo\textsuperscript{e} Honours

most obedient & most humble

Servant

John Robinson

8 30 June 1680

Stockholm June 30. 1680

81
Right Hon-éble

On Satturday last this King came hither, with two or three attendants, as said, only to see if all
necessary preperations were made for the reception of the Queen. Monday morning his Majy
was about 2 houres in the Senate, & has been there again all this forenoon, which confirms their
opinion who think, y' that Body will recover its former Authority. This night or to morrow his
Majy returns to Strimsholm, where the Queens are.

The Chancelo & his Son are both in the Countrey, but it is beleived will not continue there
long.

Sir Leolin Jenkins

Two daies ago the Marquis del Monte Queen Christina’s Envoy has his Audience of the King
with the usual Ceremonies.

S: John Leyonbergh is now here, & saies that about 6 weeks hence hee intends to begin his
journey for England, the King pressing him to hasten all hee can.

Count Bengt Oxenstiern continues to be named for the Government of Sehonen, but not with
any certainy, that I hear.

I am in all humble Duty

Yo' Hono's

most obedient & most
humble Servant
John Robinson

9 07 July 1680

Stockholm July 7. th 1680

Right Hon-éble

Last week this King went hence, haveing, before hee went, sent Secretary Rhinesheild to the
Chancelour in the Countrey, to tell him, that his Majy would have him come to him at Kongsör,
haveing something to communicate to him: Accordingly wee hear the Chancelour is gone, & ‘tis
generally said, & beleived, that his Majy will make him Rix-Feltheer, or Grand Constable, which
charge has been vacant since the death of General Wrangel. And ‘tis not doubted, but that the
Office of Great Chancelo will be bestowed upon Count Bengt Oxenstiern; the Government of
Sehonen being alreadly given to Feld. Marshall Aschenbergh, & his Governm' of Bahus-lane to
Lieutenant-General Meurner.
S. L: Jenkins

‘Tis also said, that Baron Pierre Sparris to be made Senator, & so resignes his Office of Genl of the Artillery (inconsistent with the place of Senatoe) to Mons. Siøblad, Father of the Admiral of that name, & Governr of the Isle of Oesel, who will be succeeded in that Government by Mons. Hasford Collonel of y\textsuperscript{e} Guard[...].

Here are Sev\textsuperscript{l} young Gentlemen, the cheif of which is the young Count Coningsmarke, who profess their resolution of going to Tangex, to serve in that Garison. Wee are assured that the said Count has already obtain’d the King’s leave, & is now gone to Kongsör to kiss the Queens hands, & so parts for England.

I am in all humble Duty

Your Honours

most obedient & most humble Servant

John Robinson

10 21 July 1680

Stockholm July 21.\textsuperscript{th} 1680

Right Honourable

The King’s order for the convention of y\textsuperscript{e} States of the Kingdom in this City the 1\textsuperscript{st} of October, is now made publick; & last Sunday notice was given of it in all the Churches here. It is look’d upon as a novelty, that the Coll\textsuperscript{j}, Lieut. Coll\textsuperscript{j}, & two Captains of each Regim\textsuperscript{l} in Sueden are cited to be of that Body; & seem to be intended a fifth State in addition to the Nobility, Clergy, Burgers & Peasants.

On Monday the King came hither, attended by Count Bengt Oxenstiern, Gen\textsuperscript{l} Major Wachtmeister, Secretary Reinsheild &c. The two last have a great while been in particular favour, & do still

Sir L: Jenkins

still continue so; tho’ the Secretaries haughty cariage will in all probability occasion his Speedy ruine.

The Chancelo\textsuperscript{o} is in the Countrey, not haveing as yet seen the King, as wee were made beleive hee was to do: And many beleive hee has no inclinations to be Felt-heer.
This day the King was at Senate, & to morrow or next day parts again for Kongsör. From whence the Court will remove into this Neighbourhood about 14 daies hence; & the beginning of October the King & Queen make their publick Entry.

I do humbly recommend my self to yo\textsuperscript{o} Hono\textsuperscript{r}s favo\textsuperscript{r}, as

Your Honours

most obedient & most humble Serv\textsuperscript{t}
John Robinson

11 11 August 1680

Stockholm Aug\textsuperscript{t} 11.\textsuperscript{th} 1680

Right Hono-ebly

This King, when hee was last here, haveing dismiss\textsuperscript{d} the Grand Treasurer from the Office of President of the Senate, & conferr\textsuperscript{d} it upon Count Bengt Oxenstiern, late Amb\textsuperscript{-c} at Nimeguen, his Excellency has accordingly enter\textsuperscript{d} upon it, & it seems findes business, especially in relation to forrain affaires, much out of order, so that hee is continually in the Chancery. Hee has allready settled the Chancery-correspondence, with their own Ministers abroad, which was in a maner quik laid aside; & they say, is very busy, to fix a fond upon some part of the King\textquotesingle s Revenues, for the certain payment of their Publick Ministers salaries, w\textsuperscript{-ch} has been hitherto much neglected, & discouraged se\textsuperscript{v}h

S.\textsuperscript{r} L. Jenkins

severall from undertaking those Employs. It occasion\textsuperscript{d} Mons\textsuperscript{o} Olivenersans his excuse not to come to England; Mons\textsuperscript{o} Agriconius not to go Resident to Denmark; & after him Mons\textsuperscript{o} Gyldencryts has been named for Envoy Extr\textsuperscript{-y} to that Court, but has desired to be excused, & as yet I hear not who goes.

Mons\textsuperscript{o} Olivenersans is, it seems, quite laid aside for the present; the King lately offer\textsuperscript{d} him the Office of Stadtholder of Revel in Leitland; but it being told his Maj\textsuperscript{y}, hee would not go thither, Hee answer\textsuperscript{d}, then let him go where hee will.

Mons\textsuperscript{o} Leyonbergh lies very dangerously sick: Hee has allready received the Sacrament in order to his last End, which, tis fear\textsuperscript{d} is very nigh.

The Chancelo\textsuperscript{o} will continue in the Countrey till October, that the States meet; & then the offer of Feltheer will be made him, tho\textquotesingle some question his willingness to accept it. However none
doubt, but that Count Oxenstiern will hold the office hee has in the Senate & Chancery, which leaves the Chancelo\textsuperscript{c} only the bare title

Last satturday night happen’d a fire here, in y\textsuperscript{e} Quarter assigned for the Moscovites to sell their goods in they bring hither; which is in & about a Stately Town-hous in the Southern Suburbs. It happen’d by the neglect of a Muscovite, that was drunk, & coming among their flax, tallow, & other Combustible matter, could not be stopt, before it had burnt up all their Booths & goods, together with the said Town-hous. The Moscovites are said to have lost about 40000 RixDollars, & the Towns loss is not inconsiderable. Hee that occasion’d the fire was burnt in it, & his Companion, seeing all hee had lost, leapt into the Sea & drown’d himself.

This morning the 2 Queens were to part from Konghsör, to come to Dronningholm, a Hous of the Queen-Mother’s building, a Suedes mile from hence, & in a few daies the King will follow them.

I am in all humble Duty

Your Honour’s

most obedient & most humble Servant

John Robinson

12 11 August 1680

Stockholm Aug.\textsuperscript{i} 11.\textsuperscript{th} 1680

Right Honorable

I have intimations from other hands, that your Honour\textsuperscript{e} has been pleased to write mee something concerning the Present S:\textsuperscript{r} Edw: Wood expects here, & to require an answer. Had I been so happy to have receiv’d that Letter, my answer had not fail’d. But it never came to hands, & so leaves mee only a supposition, that yo\textsuperscript{e} Honour would be informed of what has past on that Subject; which accordingly I shall do.

The King’s Lett\textsuperscript{e} to the Treasury-Chamber for S:\textsuperscript{r} Edw: Wood’s Present was dated in the Camp near Elsimburgh Aug\textsuperscript{d} 4\textsuperscript{th} 1679, ordering that the ordinary Present of an Envoy should be given him in Copper, without any delay. The 21\textsuperscript{th} of the same Month it was deliver’d, & answer’d, y\textsuperscript{e} it should be dispatcht with all speed, which was also repeated by the Treasr, by George Gyldenstiern, (first Counsellor\textsuperscript{e} of the Treary) & by several other Ministers. Yet was no progress made in it. In November the upper Master of the Ceremonies acquainted the King with the Chamber’s delay; who was much concerned at it, & said order should be given in it. In January the Chamber being prest hard to finish it, took it so far into Consideration, that an Order was signed to the Rentmaster (or Receiver Gen\textsuperscript{i} of the King’s Revenues) to furnish a Present in Copper for S:\textsuperscript{r} Ed: Wood; but either by neglect, or by designe, forgott to name the Summe to be given: So the Order by him rejected upon that
Sir L: Jenkins

that account. After some time spent in mending that fault, the Order being again presented to the Rentmaster, hee then declared that it was not the Chamber’s intent it should take any effect; neither was it in the least a Warrant to him to dispose of the King’s Copper. So that Order was return’d to the Chamber; which promised a more punctual one with all speed.

Presently after came a 2d Lett from the King, wch express’d his Maj’ie’s dissatisfaction at their delay, & told them his Maj-ij heard it was ill taken in England, & therefor commanded them to finish it with all speed. And then indeed was the probable time of haveing it if ever, the King’s Copper being dayly brought hither upon the Ice from the Copperberghs. Yet it was from day to day putt off: & all the Spring was weekly promised without any effect: The King came sometimes hither, & the Masters of the Ceremonies used their utmost diligence to promote it; but in vain.

At last S: John Leyonbergh came hither in June, & protested to mee, hee spoke of it to the King in full Senate: & pretended to be sure it would be effected in 10 daies. But it has proved otherwise; & notwithstanding that the King in a 3d Lett has expressed his wonder, that such a small affaire, so earnestly recommended by himself, & so nearly touching his Honour, should be thus neglected by them, & commands them again not to deferr it upon pain of his displeasure; yet for all this I do not finde it in any more forwardnesse than at first. The officers of the Chamber themselves do excuse this neglect as caus’d only by the multiplicity of pressing affaires, that are upon their hands, & still take more time, & promise from day to day. Others more truely say, that they are in extream great want of money, & canot spare so much at present. Yet it is also to be consider’d, that they have found presents for the French, Danish, Polish, Saxon, & Muscovite Ministers, since the time that Sir Edw: Wood’s order was presented to the Chamber. So that it may be suspected they are less concern’d for the Civili ties to be paid an English Minister, than for others.

This day (the Master of the Ceremonies tells mee) the Chamber intends to do something in this affaire, & give a final Resolution. If I hear of it before the post part, I shall add it, but do not beleive they will be so nimble.

If all this do not touch upon the Subject of yo’s Hono’s[,] but prove a tedious impertinence, I have no defence to make, but my Zeal to give your Hono the best satisfaction I could; which I humbly begg may be pardon’d to

Your Honours

most humble &
most obedient Serv’d

John Robinson

13 18 August 1680

Stockholm Aug’ 18. 1680
Right Hon-able

This place has been much allarm’d at the News, of the danger this King & the 2 Queens were in last week. Wednesday last the Court parted by Water from Kongsör, the King & the 2 Queens, with some few attendants in one Yacht, Admiral Wachtmeister in a small Man of Warr, & several other yachts & Barges for the Family. The wind being fair & blowing fresh, it chanc’d that the Yacht the King & Queens were in, being under full sail, struck so forceably upon a Sharp Rock, lying under water, that a Plank was driven out, & the yacht presently took in so much water, that the 2 Queens were scarce kept drie, so long till other Barges could come up to take them off; & with much pain were their Jewells & other things on Sir. L. Jenkins on board, were saved. The King who would not stir, till all else were out, was to the middle in water, & even then show’d a most Princely Act of Clemency, in hindring the despairing Pilot from executing the designe hee had to drown himself, & commanding him to live. The young Queen, who allwaies before was under most sensible apprehensions of water, did not appear in the least affrighted at this accident; so that tis hop’d, it will not have any bad effects upon her Maj:, tho’ (as tis beleived) shee be with Childe. Soon after this mishance the King return’d to Kongsör, & the Queens came to a House of the Treasurer’s, where they have been entertain’d by his Lady; & from thence came last night to JacobsDahl, a Hous of the Queen-Mothers about 3 English Miles from hence, whither the King will shortly come to them, & the whole Court continue there till the beginning of October, & then make their publik Entry here, for which purpose SevII Triumphant Arches are prepareing, & the City endeavouring to express their Duty & affection in the most splendid maner they can.

S: John Leyonbergh’s Sickness is now much less violent than it was 6 daies ago, & there is good hopes of his recovery tho’ still hee is very weak.

The wind is so very good for Mr Warwick, that wee hourly expect to hear his Hono: is arrived in this River

I am in all humble Duty

Your Honour’s

most obedient & most humble Servant

John Robinson

14 25 August 1680

Stockholm Augt 25. 1680

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The account I gave your Honours in my last of this King’s taking away the Burghers privileges of Shipping goods upon forain Shippes, does already need an alteration; since upon their earnest supplication that privilege is restored to them, for the two years first granted; so that probably Sevth of our Shippes may be employed next year. But I believe the Danes will not be without Jealousies of foul play.

M’ Warwick is not yet come into this River, but certainly it cannot be long ere hee do.

Some Companies of Soldiers are already Shipp’d for Pomeran, & more are going; among them 8 Companies of the King’s Guards

Sir L. Jenkins

Sir Jo: Leyonbergh mends dayly, yet so that this fitt will retard his return for England till late in the year.

Count Henrique Horn is upon his departure from hence by Sea to Lubeck & so to his Government of Bremen.

The Court continues in this Neighbourhood, whither most of the forain Ministers have been to compliment their Majesties.

I am in all humble Duty

Your Honours

most obedient & most humble Servant

John Robinson

15 28 August 1680

Stockholm Aug. 28, 1680

Right Honourable

Wee have advice here of M’ Warwick’s late arrival in this River. The Shipp is pass the Dolours, but the contrary winde hinders her from getting up; yet by the next Post-day I doubt not but his Honours will be here & acquaint yo’ Honour himself that hee is arrived at this place.

Sir John Leyonbergh is much recover’d of his late illness, & talkes of setting forward for England in a Month.
Mons' Lillierode, (who has long been employed by this King in France) & the Secretary of the Embassy in that Court, arrived here last night. 'Tis not believed here, that they bring a Treaty already signed, as the Gasett from Amsterdam said; & most think it

Sir L. Jenkins

it is only a project of one

Tuesday next this Court goes to another House of the Queen-Mothers, & thence the King sets forward on Thursday for Sehonen, which journey, 'tis said, will take his Maj'y 20 dayes in going & returning.

I am in all humble Duty

Your Honour's

most humble & most

obedient Servant

John Robinson

1601 September 1680

Stockholm Sept 1. 1680

Right Honorable

The favour I have had of addressing from hence to your Honour being now, upon Mr. Warwick's arrival, at an end, I dare not without first begging your Honour's pardon, offer to send my most humble thanks for your favourable acceptance of my past endeavours. Henceforth I must contract my Sphere, & without presuming to incommode your Honour, endeavour to serve you in my prayers, which shall never be wanting for your health, & for a Blessing upon yo'^e undertakeings. Mr. Warwick is pleased to entertain mee here, yet that, I hope, will not be inconsistent with the Zeal & Duty, wherewith I am

Your Honour's

most obedient &

most humble Serv'y

John Robinson

Sir L. Jenkins
17 Date unknown

[...]

to obey you, in the Subject propos’d, y° Toll in the Sound, if any history of Record, I can meet with here, do give mee light in it.

By this Ordinary I send my Sister, the Lady Wood, a Bill of the extraordinaries I have paid, while I had the honour to be employ’d here. When Shee addresses to yo° Hono° with it, I humbly begg your Hono°s favour, & beseech you to beleive, what in Sincerity I affirn, that nothing but real charges are putt to acc°; & considering I have reimbursed S° P: Wycke, & my Correspondent at the Sound, I hope your Hono° will think them moderate.

I humbly begg Yo° Hon° pardon for this pesumtion of

Right Honourable

Your Honour’s

most obedient & most

humble Servant

John Robinson