



Sweden and the Treaty of Breda in 1667 – Swedish diplomats help to end naval warfare between the Dutch Republic and England

Frans Gooskens

The Peace Treaty of Breda ended the Second English-Dutch War in 1667.¹ This war began in 1665 and was fought at sea between England and the Dutch Republic. The Republic had Denmark and France as allies. The English had formed in 1665 an alliance with Sweden, but the country remained neutral in practice. Partly due to the good work of Swedish diplomats, negotiations in the Dutch city of Breda led to an end of this maritime war.

In the four separate peace treaties that were drawn up at the Treaty of Breda on July 31 friendly words were written for Swedish king Charles XI and his diplomats.² In view of the general prosperity and peace among

Frans Gooskens is independent researcher. He has written mainly on the history of the Southern Netherlands. In 2016 he defended successfully his dissertation on the foundation of almshouses in the Southern Netherlands, Germany and Italy. He has also published a study on the 16th century Dutch admiral and pirate Frans Behem who was sentenced to death in Bremen. In most of his studies he describes the connections between regional history and international developments. He works as IT-specialist for the Dutch Standardization Institute (NEN) in Delft.

Christians, he had negotiated peace between three kingdoms (England, Denmark and France) and the Republic. The act did not state that the king was only 11 years old and under the supervision of a six-person regency council. So, in fact, it was not the king but the council that was responsible for the active role in the peace process. Eight years after the conclusion of treaty, Charles would officially be crowned king.

The Swedish government took the role of mediator seriously and would employ three top diplomats, who received support from two secretaries. These three diplomats were Baron Peter Julius Coyet (1618-1667), Count Christoff Delphicus zu Dohna (1628-1668) and Baron Göran Claesson Fleming (1628-1667). The main question to be addressed here is why Sweden sent and financed a top delegation to Breda. Moreover, were the targets met and what was Sweden's contribution to the establishment of the Breda Peace Treaty?

Sweden and the Netherlands

The presence of Sweden in Breda must be seen in the context of the expansion policy in the Baltic Sea area. This expansion policy was a response to earlier wars in the years 1563-1570 (Northern Seven Years' War) and 1611-1613 (Kalmar War) with arch-enemy Denmark. This also involved the control of shipping traffic through the Sound. All ships that went through this passage had to pay tolls to the Danish Crown. In the period until 1660 Sweden conquered Danish territory at the east side of the Sound and the country acquired large areas around the Baltic Sea: present-day Estonia and Latvia and in northern Germany around Bremen and part of the Duchy of Pomerania. The result of this expansionist policy was that nearly all ports in the Baltic Sea were now controlled by Sweden.³

The Baltic grain trade was called in the Netherlands the 'Mother of all trades' because it brought so much wealth, especially to Amsterdam. Dutch ships transported every year 40.000 last of grain, mainly rye, to the Netherlands. This quantity of grain could feed 800.000 persons. From all goods transported to Amsterdam 40% came from the Baltic region. So this region was of vital interest for the Dutch economy.⁴



1. Map with the territorial expansion of Sweden in the in the 17th century. Until 1667 the Dutch government had an alliance with the Kingdom of Denmark. (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Scandinavia#17th_century).

The Dutch Republic harbored suspicions against this expansion of Sweden. Johan de Witt, the Pensionary of the States of Holland and the leading politician of the Republic, tried to avoid war in the Baltic.⁵ Open war between Denmark and Sweden was not in Holland's interest because this hindered trade and there was a risk that one country would become dominant. In practice the Republic usually supported Denmark against the power-hungry neighbor Sweden, which was at the time also trying to get the English and the French on its side. Sweden had already concluded several alliances with England.

The Swedish troops began in January 1656 a siege of Danzig. This port city was important for the Dutch trade and the last major port city on the Baltic Sea, which fell outside the Swedish sphere of influence. Danzig was important for the Republic for the trade in grain. Of all rye from the Baltic region more than 70% was shipped from Danzig, for wheat that was 63%.⁶ That is why the Netherlands sent ships and troops to the besieged city. The Swedish troops could do nothing but retreat and then the Elbing Treaty was concluded. In this treaty, Sweden, with some exceptions, promised not to demand a higher toll for Dutch ships than for their own ships.⁷ Due to these exceptions, the town of Amsterdam protested against certain stipulations that could give toll advantages to Swedish ships. Therefore, some stipulations in the Treaty were better described in the so-called 'elucidations' on the Elbing Treaty.

When there was a war between Sweden and Denmark between 1657 and 1660 and Copenhagen was invaded by Sweden, Johan de Witt sent a fleet to assist the Danish army. It was unacceptable for the Amsterdam trade on the Baltic Sea if Sweden would control both sides of the Sound. In October 1658 the Dutch fleet reached Copenhagen and ended the siege. In 1660 lasting peace was established between the two Scandinavian competitors after pressure from England, the Netherlands and France. France wanted support from Sweden in particular for its struggle against the Habsburg Empire. England and the Netherlands both wanted peace in the Baltic for their trade in grain, iron and wood. Only after the heavy defeat against the Republic, the Swedish king ratified the Elbing Treaty in 1660, including the interpretations.⁸ Sweden felt these 'elucidations' to be unfair and difficult to maintain. Seven years later they succeeded in con-

vincing the Republic to skip these interpretations and it was one of their reasons to be active in Breda.

In all these conflicts with Denmark, Sweden had maintained good diplomatic relations with England and France. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) Sweden sought to choose the side of England. However, a major financial donation from the French king Louis XIV convinced the Scandinavian country to remain neutral.⁹ As an emerging military and naval force, Sweden wanted to keep a stable alliance with England and build a stable alliance with the Netherlands. In addition, the three countries had in common that they were hostile to the pope in Rome. Sweden was Lutheran, England was Anglican and in the Netherlands Calvinists were in power.

Sweden thus had a strategic self-interest in the Treaty of Breda. The country wanted to loosen the Netherlands from their alliance with arch-enemy Denmark and they could simultaneously ensure that Denmark did not collect too much in Breda at the expense of Sweden. They hoped to lay the foundation for the future alliance with England and the Netherlands. The peace that was established with Denmark in 1660 also made Sweden acceptable to all parties, even Denmark, as impartial mediator for the peace talks. Financially exhausted by the many wars, Sweden now embarked on a peace policy. The regency council that formed the government of Sweden had formulated a strategy that focused on consolidating the conquered territory. They tried to obtain financial support from other countries in exchange for an alliance. The Netherlands were attractive to Sweden as a rich country.¹⁰

Sweden itself was economically important to the Republic as a supplier of tar, iron and copper. Metal was first exported in unprocessed form, but later the export of Swedish cannons began. The Dutch family Trip, working with Lodewijk de Geer, had an important role in this trade. De Geer would organize the production of cannons in Sweden itself in 1626 and make it an important export product.¹¹

The close personal relationships between individuals in Sweden and the Netherlands were another important factor. These ties were based on trade and religion. In the sixteenth century Dutch Protestants fled to Sweden and found a safe haven, although pressure was exerted on them to con-

vert to the Lutheran faith, an important prerequisite for high government functions. Most of the migrants from the Netherlands settled in Gothenburg. The city of Gothenburg had been the center of trade between Sweden and the Netherlands since 1619 and can be seen at that time as a Dutch colony. The city received a Dutch appearance in the seventeenth century through the building style of houses and the construction of canals including locks. The minutes of the City Council had for some time been in Dutch and three members of the municipal council came from the Netherlands.¹²

The personal ties between Sweden and the Dutch were also kept alive because many Swedes sent their children to the Republic for their education. Especially the universities of Franeker and Leiden were popular for studying theology, law, mathematics or medicine. Leiden University built up a good name for itself and attracted an average of ten Swedish students each year, with a peak of 25 new students in some years. At least 800 Swedish students would study at Dutch universities in the seventeenth century.¹³ Two of the three Swedish diplomats active in Breda could speak Dutch when necessary.

In the seventeenth century Sweden began appointing ambassadors in the Netherlands, which was consistent with a European trend to give diplomacy a fixed base. The countries sent frequent envoys to each other, the deployment of people became more professional and there were also permanent ambassadors in other countries.¹⁴ Due to the intensive economic relations with the Netherlands, Sweden had a permanent ambassador in the Republic early on. In the year 1607 the government in Stockholm appointed the Dutchman Jacob van Dijck as ambassador and he had to try to make an alliance between the two countries. After Van Dijck two other ambassadors followed, all of whom originated from the Netherlands.

All information indicates that the Netherlands and Sweden, despite the fact that they were sometimes involved in various other alliances, were linked by many personal, religious and economic ties.

Naval power Sweden

From the beginning of the sixteenth century Sweden had a permanent army and navy. With the support of this army and navy the Vasa monarchy could pursue an expansionistic policy in the Baltic region. The navy was used to assist the army in conquering and securing Baltic countries. Sweden could afford a relatively big and expensive navy (60 warships) because the state had a well-organized fiscal administration. What also helped was the fact that the government had taken over all religious properties during the reformation in the transformation to a Lutheran state. This church property generated a steady flow of income for the state.¹⁵

With their navy they could control the Baltic Sea, but the Swedish fleet was not in the position to defeat the Dutch or English navy. Sometimes, as in 1643-1645 during a war with Denmark, they hired extra Dutch warships to strengthen their naval forces. However, the costs were so high that Sweden could not afford the extra costs for a long period. Because Sweden could not win battles at sea from the Dutch, they sought other ways. When they were at war with Denmark and its ally the Republic, the Swedish government gave commissions to French and English privateers, partly operating from Dunkirk.¹⁶ When King Charles X Gustav died in 1660 the regency council had to bring down expenditure for the navy by 50%.¹⁷ The Swedish state was then in serious financial problems caused by the expansionistic policy of the deceased king.

The regency council, tired of all the wars, sought strong allies. Some members of the regency council, led by Chancellor De La Gardie, were in favor of an alliance with France. But when the French did not give the promised financial support - in exchange for Swedish assistance against the Habsburg monarchy - other possible allies were discussed. In the regency council some members thought that England would be the best partner, but the English king requested a lot of concessions. In fact Sweden would then lose control of the Baltic Sea.¹⁸

So a third group in the regency council began to plead for an alliance with both England and the Netherlands. They hoped that the two countries would keep each other in balance. Furthermore, they were important trading partners of Sweden. England and the Republic imported large

quantities of copper and iron. Especially England became more dependent on Swedish iron.¹⁹ Deforestation led to a lack of charcoal as fuel source; Sweden had a surplus of charcoal. In the year 1655 Sweden started diplomatic initiatives to win the friendship of both England and the Republic. A war between the two big naval powers was now certainly not in the interests of Sweden.

The Swedish mediators

The Westphalia Peace ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and this was the first peace treaty that was negotiated by diplomats. After this treaty began a sequence of lengthy peace congresses ending wars. Skilled and experienced diplomats were needed to do the complex negotiations. These peace congresses could have direct consequences for countries that were not involved.²⁰ Therefore it was a wise move of the Swedish government to take the role of mediator during the peace talks in Breda. In this way they could follow and influence the discussions, even when they were not engaged directly in the war.

The Swedish diplomatic team in Breda consisted of two persons: Peter Julius Coyet and Göran Fleming. In the spring of 1666 they were first sent to London by the Swedish Regency Council to convince the English king to secure an alliance with Sweden and the Netherlands.²¹

Swedish mediation in Breda arose from two direct causes. The failure



Portrait painting of the Swedish diplomat Göran Fleming (1628–1667). During the negotiations in Breda he was the leader of the Swedish mediation team. (National Museum Stockholm, NMGrh 205).

to end the trade conflicts with the Republic was the first reason. In March and April 1666, Dutch delegate Isbrands tried in vain to negotiate such an agreement with Coyet and Fleming in Stockholm.²² The second reason for the mediation was in the Swedish-English defensive treaty, concluded in March 1665. According to this treaty, Sweden was obliged to help England if England were to go to war with France and one other state. France declared war on January 26, 1666, with the Netherlands and Denmark as allies. According to the treaty, Sweden had now four months to undertake a mediation effort. In May of that year Sweden actually offered mediation to France. The French and Dutch reported to Stockholm that they would accept mediation on the condition that Sweden would behave neutrally and that they would not declare war on their ally Denmark.²³ In July 1666, Sweden indeed declared that they would remain neutral during the war, but the country refused to terminate the treaty with England, at least not formally. The Republic therefore remained suspicious.

Göran Fleming received the role of leader of the Swedish delegation to the English king. Fleming was, like Coyet, a member of the nobility and had the title of 'Friherre' or Baron. He studied in Sweden at Uppsala University. As far as is known, he did not have any family or other ties with the Netherlands, although his name suggests a Flemish origin from somewhere in the family's past.²⁴ That Fleming could act as leader of the diplomatic team in Breda was remarkable because he was ten years younger than Coyet and less experienced. He probably leaned on the authority and prestige of his father, who had been admiral and member of the royal council.²⁵ The fact that his brothers held high positions in Sweden's royal council would have helped too. In addition, his family had been a member of the nobility for centuries as opposed to Coyet, who had only recently been admitted to the nobility.

Coyet (also written Coijet or Cojet) fits well in a picture of a Calvinistic immigrant family from Brabant, which fled to Sweden during the religious war with Spain. His father Gilles started his career as a goldsmith and later became royal coin master in his new country.²⁶ Gilles received a son named Peter Julius in 1618 and he made sure that he followed a large part of his school education in the Netherlands. First he attended the Latin school in Amsterdam, after which he studied at Franeker University

in 1635 and two years later he started studying in Leiden. He completed his degree in 1639 with a legal dissertation.²⁷ After his studies, he remained in the Netherlands until 1643 to work in the chancery of stadtholder Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange. So he studied and worked in the Netherlands for ten years. After returning to Sweden, he went to serve the king during various diplomatic missions. He served as Secretary of the Diplomatic Mission in Moscow and between 1655 and 1656 he traveled to London to negotiate a trade treaty with England. Between November 1659 and September 1660 he resided as Sweden's ambassador in The Hague.²⁸ An extensive letter written by Coyet was published in which he explained the politics of his king. He emphasized in this letter that Sweden had always taken the interests of the Republic in all war operations into account.²⁹ He was well-reputed among his contemporaries because of his diplomatic talent. He was called a "second Salvius" after the great Swedish diplomat Johan Adler Salvius (1590-1652), who in 1648 was active during the Westphalia Peace conference.



Coat of arms of Peter Julius Coyet (1618-1667) as given in Sweden in 1649. The family came originally from the Duchy of Brabant in the Southern Netherlands. The lion points to this origin. Furthermore there is a crescent moon as reference to the history of the family as silversmiths. (de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Julius_Coyet#/media/File:Coyet_-_vapen_(Adelskalendern_1913).

Coyet was a wealthy man and a book collector. He collected books in the fields of law, philosophy, politics, history and geography. His private library was considered to be Sweden's foremost and became famous.³⁰ He

was taken to the nobility in 1649, a necessary career step in Sweden.

Coyet married twice during his lifetime. The first time he married was in 1645 with Katarina Magdalena Leuhusen, the daughter of the mayor of Stockholm. This marriage lasted only two years. In 1649 he married again with Gertrud Hoghusen, daughter of a German-based wine trader. Together with her he had seven children, bringing the total number of offspring to nine (for he had previously had two children with his deceased first wife).³¹ To provide for his growing family and to emphasize his status and prosperity Coyet bought the castle of Trolle Ljungby in 1662. This estate is located in the Swedish municipality of Kristianstad. This property would remain in the possession of the Coyet family until the year 1804.³²

At the beginning of the year 1667, Peter Julius Coyet played an important intermediary role in initiating the talks that led to the peace talks in Breda. As already explained, he was sent to England in the spring of the previous year, together with the diplomat Göran Fleming, to bring England and the Netherlands together.³³ In January the Pensionary of Holland, Johan de Witt, received a personal letter from Coyet.³⁴ Coyet referred to their old friendship as students in Leiden but this should not be taken literally because only two years after the graduation of Coyet in Leiden, in 1641, did De Witt start his own studies. In the letter Coyet tried to break the impasse surrounding the choice of location for the peace talks. He announced on behalf of the English King Charles II (1660-1685) that these negotiations could also take place at a neutral location outside the Spanish Netherlands. France namely did not want to speak to the English in the Southern Netherlands because of the hostile Habsburg Spanish rule. Johan de Witt took the letter seriously and started a consultation with his allies France and Denmark. There was even consultation with the Swedish envoy in The Hague, Harald Appelboom, about the content of the letter to the English king on this issue. Envoy Appelboom was another example of a Swede with Dutch influences: he had studied in Franeker and he had married a Dutch wife.³⁵ In the end, The Hague, which had been preference of the English king, was not selected as the location for the talks. It was to be Breda. A place that was also acceptable to France and the Netherlands.³⁶ The Hague was not acceptable for Johan de Witt, because he was afraid of the influence of the Orangist party in this city. The English king had strong

family ties with the Orange-Nassau family and could then try to diminish the influence of the republican party in the Netherlands lead by De Witt.³⁷

Apparently, the Swedish diplomats raised confidence in all parties because they were allowed to keep the role of mediator in the real peace negotiations. On March 6, 1667, the Swedish Government Council issued a letter of appointment for Fleming and Coyet.³⁸ Fleming was named first and acquired the role of delegation leader. They were commissioned to put an end to the ongoing war between England and the Netherlands in the interests of public peace. The Swedish Queen Mother signed the deed as chairman of the regent council, together with the other members of the board.

On May 20, 1667, the Swedish delegation arrived from London in Helvoetsluis on the Haringvliet. So they traveled separately from the English delegation that landed in Flushing. Before leaving London, they had received valuable gifts from the English king during a public audience.³⁹ In spite of their hurry to travel to Breda, they waited another day in Helvoetsluis so Christoff Delphicus zu Dohna could meet them.

Dohna had already been working in The Hague to improve the trade relations between Sweden and the Netherlands, where he was supported by envoy Appelboom. The negotiations were about current trade conflicts,



Painting of the Swedish diplomat Christoff Delphicus zu Dohna (1628-1668). This Prussian Count worked for the Swedish government and after the death of Coyet he would join the Swedish mediation team in Breda. (Muzeum Warmii i Mazur w Olsztynie in Poland).

but the main subject of the discussions was the conclusion of a friendship treaty between the two countries. This treaty was signed on July 28, 1667. It lasted for so long because the French diplomats in Breda tried to stir up distrust between Sweden and the Netherlands. The French negotiator Courtin claimed that he had heard from the Swedish negotiator Fleming that Sweden was preparing to give military support to England. This support was the effect of their defensive covenant. The French tried, with these types of rumors, to divide the Republic and Sweden.⁴⁰

The Prussian Count Zu Dohna had many ties with the Netherlands. He was born in Delft in 1628, hence his second name 'Delphicus'. His mother was a Countess of the Solms family and her sister was Amalia van Solms, the mother of Willem II the Prince of Orange, who became stadtholder of the Netherlands in 1647. He grew up in close contact with his cousin, the future stadtholder. In 1645 he took office in the regiment of the Prince of Orange. Six years later, Zu Dohna went to Sweden where he became chamberlain of Queen Christina until her abdication of the throne in 1654.⁴¹ He remained in favor of her successor on the Swedish throne, Charles X Gustav, who appointed him field marshal.⁴² Zu Dohna was not added as a member to the Swedish delegation in Breda. This could have been due to the fact that Zu Dohna, as a military man, was not educated in Latin, an important language in international diplomacy.⁴³ He returned to The Hague. Only later after the serious illness of Coyet, which began on June 8, 1667, was he called to join the mediation team in Breda.⁴⁴

Zu Dohna seems to be the great director in the background for Sweden. Some of the Swedish government's instructions for the diplomats have been preserved.⁴⁵ The instruction reveals that he had already talked with Pensionary Johan De Witt in early 1667 about the need for peace between the Netherlands and England. For this purpose, Zu Dohna traveled to The Hague. In the instruction, Denmark is not named explicitly, but it is clear that the purpose of Sweden was to detach the Republic from ally Denmark. Furthermore, previous treaties for poorly-termed Sweden were to be amended. The instruction must have meant these previous treaties especially the Elbing Treaty, which was so humiliating for Sweden. So, diplomat Zu Dohna had the task of setting a course to deliver Sweden an alliance with the Republic and to keep the alliance with England.

The report that contemporary chronicler Aitzema made of their trip did not mention other persons than Fleming and Coyet. However, from other sources it is known that two secretaries were member of their team. These two received, after the end of the peace talks, a golden chain from the Dutch States-General as a thank-you for their services.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Coyet's three sons probably traveled on board the ships as they are known to have been in Breda on June 15.⁴⁷ This must have been: his 20-year-old son Willem Julius, his 12-year-old son Johan Fredrik and his 10-year-old Karl Fredrik.⁴⁸ His eldest son would follow his father later in a diplomatic career.

From Hellevoetsluis the Swedish ambassadors travelled in a yacht of the States-General to Breda where there was a large court house prepared for them. In a carriage drawn by six horses they travelled to Breda Castle, the location of peace negotiations. In front of this house they used a barn, provided by the Breda city council, to stall their horses and coaches.⁴⁹ On May 24 the Swedish delegation arrived in Breda and on June 4 negotiations began.

The Swedish role in the negotiations

On June 4 negotiations began at Breda Castle, where a whole floor was prepared for the talks. There was a large room in the center planned for the plenary meetings. Eventually, delegations decided not to convene all together in the large room, but to hold bilateral talks in separate rooms. This form of bilateral consultation was certainly in the interests of England, because it avoided the danger of negotiating with a block of three countries. The English delegation had its own room next to the grand hall, the Swedish mediators got the large room as a working space and the rooms on the other side of the hall were for the allied countries: the Netherlands, France and Denmark. The Swedes, as mediators, accompanied the English delegation to the room where consultation took place. The countries took place opposite each other with the Swedes between them on both sides of the table. When the atmosphere became less formal, the delegations started to negotiate standing and not sitting.⁵⁰

At the start of the peace talks the Swedish delegation leader Fleming



De Heeren Ambassadeurs van syne Koninckl. May^{te} van Groot Brittannien, na genomen afscheyt, gaen Scheey om haer te transporteren na Breda .

Engraving of the English diplomats travelling by boat from London to Breda in May 1667. In the same month the Swedish delegation travelled from London to Breda. (Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.261).

gave a short speech for all the participants about the purpose of the negotiations. The various ambassadors responded to this speech and committed their efforts to achieve peace. They also thanked the Swedish diplomats for the effort they had already made to start the negotiations and invited them to continue their mediation.⁵¹

Sweden could act as a mediator because the country had fulfilled the aforementioned condition that it would behave neutrally and would not conduct war with Denmark.⁵² However, the non-resigned defensive

covenant of Sweden with England would continue to cause distrust during the negotiations in Breda.

From the beginning, the English delegation followed a delay strategy for the negotiations. The English diplomats were instructed to drive a wedge between the Republic and France. There is no proof for secret negotiations between England and France, but there were informal meetings in Breda between the two delegations that could arouse suspicion. Also the French followed a delay strategy, but not so strict as the English. During the negotiations the French king Louis XIV was busy with conquering territory in the Southern Netherlands (War of Devolution) and he hoped to benefit from English-Dutch rivalry.⁵³ The Swedish diplomats tried to disturb the friendship between the Netherlands and France. During the peace talks Zu Dohna and Fleming informed Pensionary Johan de Witt that the French king had send an envoy to the English king. The French diplomat d'Estades denied that there was something going on.⁵⁴

On June 8 the peace talks also stagnated due to Coyet's disease. According to the French ambassador d'Estrades, he had erysipelas ('rosfeber' in Swedish).⁵⁵ Nowadays a cure with antibiotics is enough to cure the disease but this treatment was not yet available in the seventeenth century and Coyet passed away on Saturday, June 11 after a four-day sick bed. Eventually, his remains were buried in Storkykan, the cathedral of Stockholm located next to the royal palace.⁵⁶ The Republic had organized and paid for the transport of the coffin to Sweden.⁵⁷ His prestigious books and manuscripts collection would remain at Trolle Ljungby's family castle and be further expanded by his son. After a subsequent war with the Danes, the collection was brought by the military as booty to Copenhagen.⁵⁸

According to the French diplomat, Count d'Estrades, the death of Peter Julius Coyet was a big loss. He was the "soul" of the mediation team and a confidant of the Swedish king. D'Estrades estimated that if the real negotiations would restart, the other Swedish diplomats (Fleming and Zu Dohna) would not have the knowledge and experience to adequately get all the arrangements on paper. The French negotiator d'Estrades complained at home that he had to draw up a lot of documents due to Sweden's lack of language skills.⁵⁹

Fleming remained the head of the Swedish diplomats. The function of

Sweden as neutral president was already informally accepted by all parties, but was not yet formalized. Therefore, on Saturday, June 25, Fleming made a solemn entry through the streets of Breda. The entry made a big impression on three Swedish students who studied in Leiden and who had traveled to Breda to see this parade.⁶⁰

According to historian Römelingh, Swedish negotiator Zu Dohna had received an instruction from his government that the peace treaty between England and the Republic was not to be signed before all Swedish desires were accepted and laid down in the new friendship treaty. As already explained, the talks for this friendship treaty in The Hague between Sweden and the Netherlands were running parallel to the talks in Breda. That implies that the mediators had an interest in the English delay strategy. Should the negotiations in Breda fail, Zu Dohna had the instruction for an alternative plan. This alternative was an alliance of Sweden with the English and the French.⁶¹

The negotiations, with all their pomp and glory, were a tourist attraction in the Netherlands. Visitors from all over the country travelled to Breda to admire the stylish gentlemen. The Swedish and English delegations reinforced this by offering food on the street and giving drink and cake to all their visitors. The French diplomats could not keep up with it and asked Paris for extra money.⁶² Status and little bluff were important factors in the political business, just as important as networks and knowledge.

After the trip to Chatham (19–24 June 1667) by Admiral De Ruyter and the destruction of a part of the English war fleet, negotiations began to accelerate. The English diplomats gave up their delay tactics and the Dutch delegation suddenly saw many demands being accepted by the English. The Swedish diplomats were told by the English that they were not prepared to continue the war solely for the Swedish interests. The friendship treaty between the Netherlands and Sweden soon came together and was signed in The Hague on 28 July.

On the same day, the English negotiator Henry Coventry returned from consultation with his king about the final details. On Friday July 29, all negotiators met at the permanent meeting place in the Breda Castle. Under the chairmanship of Göran Fleming, the delegates read all the documents again and the draft texts were finalized. On Friday, the texts could be printed and revisited on the 30th of July for the last time. On July 31,

the texts were all agreed upon and sent to the countries concerned for ratification.⁶³

On August 24, 1667, the ratifications of the texts were completed and handed to the Swedish Presidency. After a brief check, Sweden returned the ratifications to diplomats from different countries. Then all delegations met in the grand hall of the castle, which had also fulfilled the function of the working room for Sweden, where there were congratulations. Fleming spoke shortly as chairman of the negotiations and asked that God's blessing rest upon the secured peace. After that, the diplomats thanked the chairman for the great work and the great commitment to the establishment of the Treaty of Breda. Outside gunmen shot and, accompanied by the coachmen, the diplomats went in their carriages to their various accommodations in the city. To conclude the occasion, there was a party in Breda for everyone with fireworks and wine coming from fountains in the streets.

Shortly after this day, Swedish diplomat Göran Fleming came down with serious fever. He died on September 7 in Breda and after his death the body was returned to Sweden by boat.⁶⁴ There he got his last resting place in the family grave in Värmdö parish church. This town is 35 kilometers from Stockholm. His coat of arms and the pulpit donated by him are still admired in this church.



Coat of arms of Göran Fleming in the church of Värmdö. Shortly after the ratification of the Treaty of Breda he became ill and died in this city. His was later buried in the family grave in Sweden. On his escutcheon is a warship that refers to the family tradition of service in the Swedish navy. (Photo: Malin Öh, Värmdö).

Conclusion

Sweden thus made a substantial contribution to the Treaty of Breda. To begin with, the country had a useful role in the preparation of the conference. The Swedish diplomat Coyet caused the negotiations with the English to open in Breda. During the negotiations, Göran Fleming and Christoff Delphicus zu Dohna would have valuable roles as facilitators in the meetings. In practice, they mainly helped the English to make arrangements during the bilateral negotiations in the Breda Castle and the English delay tactics were of interest to the Swedish diplomats. They tried to put pressure on the Dutch to sign a peace treaty with Sweden. At the end of the meeting, during the ratification ceremony, they were thanked in detail for their efforts by all diplomats. On September 27, the States-General gave Zu Dohna and the heirs of Fleming a sum of 10,000 guilders each.

It must have pleased the Swedish delegation that arch-enemy Denmark had a bad negotiating result. The Orkney and Shetland islands were not recovered from England for example. So the position of Denmark was weakened and that was in the interest of Sweden.⁶⁵

Sweden continued to experience financial problems and still did not have its desired alliance with England and the Netherlands. A first step in this game of Sweden to secure this alliance was the friendship treaty between Sweden and the Republic, which was formed by the two countries on the 28th of July 1667. The second step was the mediation in Breda, which allowed the Swedish diplomats to ensure that England and the Republic ended their war at sea. The last step for Sweden was a real treaty with England and the Netherlands.

In January 1668, England wanted to make an alliance with the Netherlands against the French expansion policy in the Southern Netherlands. For Pensionary Johan de Witt, it was an attractive offer by the English king because a trade and maritime tract would become part of the agreement. On January 23, the two countries concluded the agreement in The Hague. The English diplomat Temple also knew that the Swedish ambassador Zu Dohna, who was still living in the Netherlands, was interested in joining. In return for financial support, he could rely on him to give military support. Zu Dohna, on his own initiative, supported the treaty. The same month Zu

Dohna traveled to London to discuss the formal drafting of the treaty with the English government. On April 25, he officially signed the treaty on behalf of his country and the financial details were recorded. Because there were three countries, the agreement was called the Triple Alliance. The bill for the 480,000 national dollar subsidy for the Swedish military support was given by England and the Netherlands to Spain. The Spanish king thus hoped to protect the Southern Netherlands against France.⁶⁶ At the same time Sweden had cut off the ties between Denmark and the Netherlands. At first sight the Breda Peace gave the Scandinavian country a nice return on the investment. However, Dohna did not yet know that Spanish money would not come to Sweden and that the Triple Alliance would not last for more than four years.

On May 31, 1668, Zu Dohna died in London as the last survivor of the diplomatic trio. This meant that within two years all three of the Swedish diplomats involved in Breda's Peace had died. The remains of Zu Dohna would also be transferred to Sweden.⁶⁷ He was buried there in the same church as Coyet: the Storkykan Cathedral in Stockholm. In 1674 he was reburied in Uppsala Cathedral. In this church his grave monument, designed and built by the Antwerp sculptor Pieter Verbrugghen, is still admired.⁶⁸ On the monument, his widow added a grave text which included his role in the establishment of the Triple Alliance. It confirms that, for Sweden, the Treaty of Breda was instrumental in Sweden's alliance with England and the Netherlands.⁶⁹



Burial monument for Count Christoff Delphicus zu Dohna. Zu Dohna died in London 1668 and was buried in Stockholm. Six years later he was reburied in Uppsala Cathedral. (Photo: Stiftelsen Upplandsmuseet Uppsala).

Archives, literature and Online sources

Archives

City Archive Breda (genealogic sources)

National Museum Stockholm. NMGrh 205 (Fleming portrait)

Riksarkivet Stockholm, Diplomatica, Hollandica volume 1039

Stiftelsen Upplandsmuseet Uppsala, Photo collection (Grave monument Zu Dohna)

Literature

Aitzema, L. van, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh, in, omtrent de Vereenighde Nederlanden*, 6 volumes., (Den Haag, 1669-1672) <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/aitzema>.

Bain, R.N., *Scandinavia. A Political History of Denmark, Norway and Sweden*, Cambridge, 1905.

Black, J., *A History of Diplomacy*, London, 2010.

Bregnsbo, M., 'Een diplomaat en een Duitse koopman. De Deense onderhandelaars bij de vredesbesprekingen in Breda' in: *Jaarboek 'de Oranjeboom'* 69, 2016, p. 50–59.

Brekelmans, F.A., 'De Vrede van Breda en de stad', in *Jaarboek 'De Oranjeboom'* 20, 1967, p. 18–34.

Burgh, A.H.H. van der, *Gezantschappen door Zweden en Nederland wederzijds afgevaardigd gedurende de jaren 1592–1795: chronologische lijsten opgemaakt uit de stukken in het Rijksarchief aanwezig*, Den Haag, 1886.

Coyet, P.J., *Memorie ende Propositie van den Konincklicken Sweedische Extraordinaris Afgesante, De heer Petrus Julius Coyet*, Den Haag, 1660. URL: <https://books.google.nl/books?id=SARQAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl>.

Dahlgren, S., 'Jöran Fleming' in: <http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14214>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (art av Stellan Dahlgren)*, retrieved 2016-09-05.

Estrades, Grave D', *Brieven, memorien en negociatien*, Volume I, V and VI, Utrecht, 1756.

Fruin, R., *De oorlog van 1672*, Groningen, 2011.

Gihl, T. 'Harald Appelboom' in: <http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/18751>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (art av T. Gihl.)*, retrieved 2016-09-05.

Glete, J., *The Swedish fiscal-military state and its navy*. URL: http://www2.historia.su.se/personal/jan_glete/Glete-Swedish_Fiscal-military_State.pdf.

Gooskens, Frans, 'Zweden als mediator bij de Vrede van Breda' in: *Jaarboek 'de Oranjeboom'* 69, 2016, p. 60–75.

Hildebrand, B., 'Klas Fleming' in: *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 16, 1964-1966, 139. URL: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=14217>

Hoogstraten, D. van, *Groot Algemeen Historisch, Geografisch, Genealogisch en Oordeelkundig Woordenboek*, dl. III, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Den Haag, 1727.

Ilse, H., *Det Kongelige Bibliothek i støbeskeen*, Band 1 og 2, København, 1999.

Jacobson, G. 'Peter Julius Coyet' in: <http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/15638>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (art av G. Jacobson.)*, retrieved 2016-09-06.

Klein, P.W. de, *De Trippen in de 17e eeuw. Een studie over het ondernemersklimaat op de Hollandse stapelmarkt*, Assen, 1965.

Lak, M., 'De moedernegotie' in: *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 6, 2007, p. 26–29. URL: www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/goudeneeuw/artikelen/de-moeder-negotie.

Meij, O. van der, 'De Nederlandse delegatie bij de Vrede van Breda. De Inbreng van topdiplomaat Hiëronymus van Beverningh' in: *Jaarboek 'de Oranjeboom'* 69, 2016, p. 6–25.

Noordam, N.F., *De Republiek en de Noordse Oorlog 1655–1660*, Assen, 1940.

Postma, M., *Coenraad van Beuningen en Johan de Witt. De correspondentie ten tijde van de Noordse oorlog (1655-1660)*, Utrecht, doctoraalscriptie, 2006. URL: <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/8472/scriptie.pdf?sequence=1>.

Riches, D., *Protestant Cosmopolitanism and diplomatic Culture. Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Leiden, 2013.

Roberts, M., *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560–1718*, Cambridge, 1979.

Roberts, M., *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court 1655–1656. The missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde*, Londen, 1988.

Römelingh, J., *De diplomatieke betrekkingen van de Republiek met Denemarken en Zweden 1660-1675*, Amsterdam, 1969.

Rommelse, G., *The Second Anglo-Dutch War, 1665–1667. Raison d'état, mercantilism and maritime strife*, Hilversum, 2006.

Rommelse, G., 'Privateering as a language of international politics: English and French privateering against the Dutch Republic, 1655–1665', in: *Journal for Maritime Research*, 17:2, 2015, p. 183-194.

Rowen, H.H., *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672*, Princeton, 1978.

Sanders, G., *Het present van Staat. De gouden ketens, kettingen en medailles verleend door de Staten-Generaal, 1588-1795*, Hilversum, 2013.

Scheurleer, H., (ed.), *Brieven geschreven ende gewisselt tusschen den Heer Johan de Witt, Raedt-pensionaris en Groot Segelbewaerder van Hollant etc.* (7 Vols), The Hague 1723–1725.

Steenoven, P. van de, 'De dubbele agenda van de Franse delegatie in Breda' in: *Jaarboek 'de Oranjeboom'* 69, 2016, p. 43–49.

Tielhof, M. van, '*The Mother of all Trades*', *The Baltic Grain trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century*, Leiden, 2002.

Värmdö församling, *Gravvalvet i Flemingska koret*, no place, ca. 2012.

Wrangel, E.H.G, *De betrekkingen tusschen Zweden en de Nederlanden op het gebied van letteren en wetenschap gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Leiden 1901. URL: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wran001betr01_01/.

Online sources

www.adelsvapen.com

www.delpher.nl (online news paper archive of the National Library of the Netherlands)

<http://runeberg.org>

www.roskildehistorie.dk

Notes

¹ This article is based on my article written in Dutch and published in 'De Oranje-boom' on the Swedish mediation in Breda. I want to thank prof. dr. Lars Ericson Wolke for his comments. Helen Talbot did editorial work on the English version.

² Aitzema, *Saken van Staet*, VI, p.55, 189, 193 and 258.

³ Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience*, p. 1–42

⁴ Van Tielhof, *The mother of all trades*, p. 91. Lak, 'De moedernegotie'.

⁵ Rowen, *John de Witt*, p. 303–333. Postma, *Coenraad van Beuningen*, p. 8–20.

⁶ Van Tielhof, *The mother of all trades*, p. 46.

⁷ Noordam, *De Republiek*, p. 25–51.

⁸ Römelingh, *De diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 52–53. In the Elbing Treaty was stipulated that Sweden could ask a somewhat higher toll for foreign ships in their harbors. Furthermore there were exceptions for Swedish trading companies.

⁹ Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War*, p. 152

¹⁰ Bain, *Scandinavia*, p. 290–291.

¹¹ Klein, *De Trippen*, p. 244–280.

¹² Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 19–21.

¹³ Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 51–53. Uppsala had as largest Swedish university between 1633 and 1654 320 Swedish students. Leiden University had in the same period 100 Swedish students.

¹⁴ Droste, *Im Dienst der Krone*, p. 64–72.

¹⁵ Glete, *The Swedish fiscal-military state*, p. 13–14.

¹⁶ Rommelse, 'Privateering', p. 183–191.

¹⁷ Glete, *The Swedish fiscal-military state*, p. 24–26. In 1644 was the budget for the navy 608,000 daler. After the year 1661 is was brought back to a yearly budget of 300,000 daler. *Scheurleer, Brieven, Vol. 6*, p. 593–595. The Dutch diplomat Ysbrandt made on 1666-08-18 an overview of the warships of the Swedish navy. Sweden had in total 42 warships, but 9 warships were unsuitable because they were too old or damaged. Furthermore ten warships were without sails and ammunition. Eight Swedish ships were in repair. So only fifteen warships were in active service.

¹⁸ Römelingh, *De Diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 39–40.

¹⁹ Klein, *De Trippen*, p. 433–435.

²⁰ Black, *Diplomacy*, p. 66.

²¹ Droste, *Im Dienst der Krone*, p. 64–72.

²² Römelingh, *De Diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 78–97.

²³ Römelingh, *De Diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 92–93.

²⁴ Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 255–256. Dahlgren, 'Jöran Fleming'.

²⁵ Hildebrand, 'Klas Fleming'.

²⁶ Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 32. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, p. 3–5. Hoogstraten, *Woordenboek*, dl. III, p. 374.

²⁷ Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 104. Droste, *Im Dienst der Krone*, p. 385.

²⁸ Burg, *Gezantschappen*, p. 38.

²⁹ Coyet, *Memorie*, f. 1v.

³⁰ Ilsoe, *Det Kongelige Bibliothek* p. 289–312.

- ³¹ See for his family tree: <http://www.roskildehistorie.dk/stamtavler/adel/svenske/C-smaa/Coyet.htm>. Also: https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Coyet_nr_473#TAB_2.
- ³² See for the history of this castle: <http://www.trolleljungby.com/om-oss/slottets-historia/>.
- ³³ Jacobson, 'Peter Julius Coyet'.
- ³⁴ Rowen. *John de Witt*, p. 624. Aitzema, *Saken van Staet*, VI, p. 4–5.
- ³⁵ Gihl, 'Harald Appelboom'.
- ³⁶ Aitzema, *Saken van Staet*, VI, p. 4–24.
- ³⁷ Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War*, p. 179.
- ³⁸ Riksarkivet Stockholm, Diplomatica, Hollandica volume 1039, Handlingar ang. svenska intressen i 1665–1666 år engelsk-holländska fredsunderhandlingar. The letter is written in Latin and seems to have the purpose to be officially handed over in Breda.
- ³⁹ Brekelmans, 'De Vrede van Breda', p. 24.
- ⁴⁰ Römelingh, *De diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 110–111.
- ⁴¹ Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 194 en 222.
- ⁴² Riches, *Protestant Cosmopolitanism*, p. 210–211.
- ⁴³ Letter of d'Estrades to De Lionne d.d. 1667-06-30 Estrades, *Memorien V*, p. 498. The treaties in Breda were formulated in Latin.
- ⁴⁴ Letter of d'Estrades to De Lionne d.d. 1667-06-09 Estrades, *Memorien V*, p. 378.
- ⁴⁵ Riksarkivet Stockholm, Diplomatica, Hollandica volume 1039, Handlingar ang. svenska intressen i 1665–1666 år engelsk-holländska fredsunderhandlingar. Thanks to Karin Borgkvist Ljung of Riksarkivet/Swedish National Archives for her English summary of the instruction.
- ⁴⁶ Sanders, *Het present van Staat*, p. 238. The secretary of Zu Dohna was Johan Swahn. See: Burgh, *Gezantschappen*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁷ News paper article: *Tydinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, nr. 26, 1667-06-25. Source: www.delpher.nl.
- ⁴⁸ See: https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Coyet_nr_473#TAB_2
- ⁴⁹ Brekelmans, 'De Vrede van Breda', p. 23.
- ⁵⁰ Brief van d'Estrades aan De Lionne d.d. 1667-07-13 Estrades, *Memorien V*, p. 497–498.
- ⁵¹ Aitzema, *Saken van Staet*, VI, book 47, p. 42
- ⁵² Römelingh, *De diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 92.
- ⁵³ Steenoven, 'Dubbele agenda', p. 47-48. Immediately after arrival of the English delegation in Breda there was an informal meeting with the French diplomats on a yacht.
- ⁵⁴ Scheurleer, *Brieven*, vol. II, p. 525–526.
- ⁵⁵ Letter of d'Estrades to De Lionne d.d. 1667-07-13 Estrades, *Memorien V*, p. 498
- ⁵⁶ Jacobson, 'Peter Julius Coyet'. City Archive Breda, genealogic sources. Begravenisposten Grote Kerk 1666-1667. There stated that that on 1667-06-11 died the Swedish ambassador Coyet. The costs for ringing the church bells was twenty times higher than other burials.
- ⁵⁷ Meij, 'De Nederlandse delegatie', p. 18
- ⁵⁸ Ilsøe, *Det Kongelige*, p. 289–213 en p. 693.
- ⁵⁹ Letter of d'Estrades to De Lionne 1667-06-16 Estrades, *Memorien V*, p. 397.
- ⁶⁰ Wrangel, *De betrekkingen*, p. 256. See also letter of d'Estrades to De Lionne d.d. 1667-06-30 Estrades, *Memorien V*, p. 428–429.
- ⁶¹ Römelingh, *De diplomatieke betrekkingen*, p. 110.

⁶² Letter of d'Estrades to De Lionne d.d. 1667-06-30 Estrades, *Memorien* V, p. 443–444.

⁶³ Aitzema, *Saken van Staet*, VI, book 47, p. 31–54. The diplomat Aitzema wrote this account from a Dutch point of view. An English eyewitness account of Treaty of Breda probably written by a member of the English delegation: *A Narrative, Or Journal of the Proceedings of the Proceedings of Their Excellencies, the Right Honourable the Lord Holles, and the Lord Coventry, Appointed by His Majesty of Great Britain to be His Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty Held at Breda, with the Ambassadors of the French King, the King of Denmark, and the States General, of the United Provinces* (1667).

⁶⁴ Brekelmans, 'De Vrede van Breda', p. 27. The Dutch historian Brekelmans gives the 17th of September for his passing away. The painting in the National Museum of Stockholm states that he died on the 7th of September. There are also sources that provide the wrong date of 27th of September: https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%B6ran_Fleming. On that last date his heirs received a golden chain of the Dutch States General so he was already dead on that date. Therefore we keep as date of death the 7th of September.

⁶⁵ Bregnsbo, 'Deense onderhandelaars', p. 57.

⁶⁶ Fruin, *De oorlog van 1672*, p. 41–42.

⁶⁷ Droste, *Im Dienst der Krone*, p. 388.

⁶⁸ *Nordisk familjebok* (1907), p. 933–934. URL: <http://runeberg.org/nfbf/0347.html>.

⁶⁹ Stiftelsen Upplandsmuseet Uppsala, Photo collection. 'Ad componenda inter Magnae Britanniae regem ordinesque Foederati Belgii funesta dissidia legatus tanto operi aequitate solertia prudentia integritate mirabili sic incubuisset ut procuratae pacis universae futuraeque securitatis ipsius triplici vinculo coarctatae'.

