



Funeral cortege of Charles XII by Gustaf Cederström, 1884

The Ghost of Charles XII

The War of the Hats, 1741-43

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

BY IAN WEIR
MAPS BY PAUL DANGEL

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Lieutenant Colonel Lingen was a Swede on a mission. Of the utmost urgency, it granted him authority to demand whatever he required from anyone he happened to meet – barring the King, naturally. Still with all that authority, there were limits. He could not, it was becoming woefully apparent, demand that his boots stop leaking. They leaked abominably. So, for that matter, did the rowboat that contained them.

There was so little time. When he left the talks with the Russians only six days remained until the deadline was due. If Lingen were not back in Stockholm on time, the Danish King would render all negotiations moot by invading Sweden. So he had commandeered transport and made a beeline for home.

The colonel was not sure whether it was his feet that ached most from the cold, his legs that ached most – he had walked league upon league yesterday morning along the beaches of Åland in the vain hope of finding a use for his authority – his arms that ached most from rowing, or his back that ached most from bailing. His hat was now a shapeless lump.

Transport! To call this... item... he was riding in 'transport' was to stretch the meaning of the word to the breaking point. It looked, and behaved, like a bundle of driftwood bound together with fishing line.

Ordering his servant to stuff another silk shirt along a widening seam between the planks, Lingen gave a jaundiced glance at the wizened old fisherman clinging to the tiller and wondered again if he were crossing the Åland-hav or the Styx. The fisherman grinned at him, gap-toothed. Only another 40 miles to go. Perhaps he should give the man the regulation two coppers just in case...

In the summer of 1743, Lieutenant Colonel Lingen, a diplomatic courier, crossed 72 miles of open water in a leaky rowboat crewed by a crazy old Åland islander. The Swedish parliament had indulged in its usual braggadocio and set a time limit for the signing of preliminary peace articles at the Congress at Åbo. They hoped to intimidate the Russians with the threat of Danish intervention – yes, braggadocio is definitely the word to use – and there had only been six days left when the papers were finally inked. Åbo as was, is now Turku, on the opposite side of the Baltic from Stockholm. Lingen was forced to take the most direct route possible. His safe arrival, on the very last day, when the riksdag was to vote whether a Russian or Danish candidate would be the next king of Sweden, turned the Russians, whom he had just been at war with, into instant allies against the designs of the Danish king. Now, that is shuttle diplomacy.

The rowboat was placed on display and remained a curiosity for years.

The War of the What?...Not 'what' – 'Hats'

The conflict colloquially known as the War of the Hats, or the Hats' War, began in 1741 and lasted until 1743. It ran concurrently, therefore, with the early years of the War of the Austrian Succession. But its underlying theme was different, springing from the dust of the Great Northern War.

The latter is probably familiar enough to need no lengthy explanations. In any case, there is no room here. It lasted two decades, from 1700 to 1721, and pitted Russia's first modern ruler, Tsar Peter I, against Sweden's Last Viking, Charles XII.

Sweden at that time was a world-class power, with a potent military machine and an urge to expand – although Charles himself was a quixotic individual who would have laughed at socioeconomic excuses for fighting. By war's end, Sweden's overseas empire was virtually gone and Russia had emerged as that feared juggernaut that still haunts the Western psyche.

The Swedes felt hard done by. And in the 1730s a political party arose dedicated to the 'reacquisition' of the lost territories. Its members were called the Hats.

[The term 'hat' was suggestive of Liberty and Freedom, which for the nobles who comprised the party meant the freedom to do as they pleased, without royal interference.]

Sources

Sources are given in the bibliography. Of the books, General Manstein's *Contemporary Memoirs of Russia* takes pride of place. No, no, not *that* Manstein. General Manstein was a German staff officer serving in the Russian Army of the 1730s and 1740s. His book is handy for court gossip, portraits of individuals, and for his participant's account not only of the War of the Polish Succession, but of two more obscure but important wars, the Russo-Austro-Turkish War of 1736-39 and the Russo-Finnish War of 1741-43.

[In the immediate, it may be hard to justify these wars as 'important' – the present author himself describes the War of the Hats as 'silly' – but they had direct and contributing consequences on a number of 18th Century events and trends. Their outcomes closed certain doors and opened others.]

E.C. Anderson's book, *Naval Wars in the Baltic*, published in 1910, does for the naval campaign what Manstein's book does for the land campaign. Unfortunately its scope is much wider, so there is less detail, and as always, one has to be careful of 'slanted opinions'. His interpretation of events sometimes differs from Manstein's, but the latter holds the landsman's view, expressing the contemporary opinions of the army in which he served. Anderson, in contrast, has the benefit of hindsight but is of course a secondary source.

[Manstein downplays the effect of the naval war, and Anderson does the same for the land war!]

General histories include *Russia* by Alfred Rambaud (1898) and *Modern Europe, Vol. IV.* by Thomas Dyer (1877). These give the larger picture. They are sometimes faulty in the details but help explain the convoluted politics. Online sources such as Wikipedia provided sometimes useful synopses of subjects. (Always approach Wiki with caution, though.)

In Swedish there is *Stories From Swedish History*, volume VIII, written by Per Olof Bäckström (supplemented by Carl Georg Starbäck). This gives matters from the Swedish perspective. Given that this war occupies only a small portion of the work, there is a fair amount of detail.

In Finnish there is *Meri maamme turvana (Sea Safeguarding Our Country)*, by Tapani Mattila (1983). This contains a section on the war.

For the boldest readers there is A. B. Shirokorad's *The Northern War*. There is no English translation.

Dates

A word on dates. Accounts from Russian sources use the 'Old Style' Julian calendar while Western European sources – other than the British of that time – and modern historians employ the 'New Style' Gregorian calendar. There was an 11-day difference between them in 1740: thus, June 1st (OS) would be June 12th (NS). To make matters worse, the Swedes fumbled about with the changeover throughout the first half of the 1700s, making accurate dating even more difficult. This commentary converts dates into New Style – and hopes they are correct.

POWERS AND PRINCIPALITIES

At this point some explanation should be made of the way Russia and Sweden were governed. It will answer a few of the 'whys'.

The Governance of Russia

'the Russians...grow in their knowledge and experience of military and international affairs, and actually surpass many other nations in slyness and dissimulation'.

von Bulow

[The following is taken from the author's Commentary on the Russo-Turkish War of 1736-39, Heirs of the Golden Horde. Some additional material has been woven in.]

Modern Russia developed out of the Slavic Principalities of Novgorod and Muscovy, which were only two of several Slavic principalities, each centred on a regional capital, in European Russia. Both were located in the northern boreal lands. Earlier on, Kiev had been the dominant principality, but the Mongols obliterated it. Protected by their relative isolation, Novgorod and Moscow survived; though they paid tribute to the Khans for centuries they suffered less from the depredations of Tatar slave raiders.

Not until 1480 was the Khanate's overlordship thrown off. This left an indelibly 'Asian' mark on Russia's psyche. Interestingly, Russian and Tatar society had become intertwined to such an extent that the Tsars used Genghis Khan as a symbol of legitimacy. Culturally, Tatar domination left a deep and lasting impression, and great honour was paid to any who could claim Genghisid descent, or even had a name of Tatar origin.

Not only were the trappings of royalty derived from Tatar forms (designed, paradoxically, by Orthodox churchmen), but the Tsars successfully denied Asian imperial legitimacy to their neighbours, while claiming it for themselves. They also involved themselves heavily in the internal and intra-tribal politics of the various steppe peoples, to the point that the Grand Prince of Moscow and the Khan of the Crimea once competed for domination of the Kazan Khan.

Freedom from Tatar rule was made possible first because the Grand Princes of Moscow were recognised by the Khans as their middlemen, which gave them extraordinary influence over their peers, next through a political alliance between the Metropolitan of Moscow and the Grand Princes which provided the unity the Slavs needed, and finally, because the time of the khans was done.

With the shaking off of Asiatic rule came other challenges: the squabbling of the boyars (nobles) and the rise of what would become the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was not until the 16th Century and the reign of Ivan III, first Autocrat of All the Russias, that a centralised monarchy was developed.

The Old and the New Russia

European Russia begins with Peter the Great, with a nod to his immediate forebears. 'Old Russia' was decidedly Asian in outlook – as witnessed by their honouring of Genghis Khan rather than Charlemagne.

Old Russia was a deeply religious land, a land really of the spirit, rather than the body, whose people obeyed every order handed down by the Orthodox Church, yet clung fiercely to their cherished folk beliefs. In one instance, a noted ecclesiastical reformer suffered persecution not for promulgating radical new ideas, but for attempting to restore Church ritual to the 'pure' (and thoroughly systematised) form it had enjoyed in Byzantine times. That would have meant pruning away a mass of superstition and

doing away with many of the household ikons that the people paid homage to.

The peasantry, at least, believed that fairyland was all around them, just out of the tail of the eye, so to speak. And the Devil was real – and as easy to deal with as the local mob boss. It would not be unusual for someone lighting a candle for St. George to light one for the dragon as well. Just in case, you know...

Society was patriarchal. The Tsar was the father of his country, and the entire country was his to dispose of as he chose. A noble was the father of his free tenants, his retainers, his artisans, his serfs, and his slaves, and they were all his to dispose of (the serfs and slaves in particular) as he chose. A man, likewise, as head of the household, had absolute authority. The boss of a factory had a father's authority over his employees. And so on.

At all levels of society, the treatment of women matched anything to be found in the creeds of Islamic Fundamentalism. For example, they were not permitted out of the house except for certain reasons. If they had to go out, they went heavily veiled, the rich riding in closed palanquins or carriages (a truly conservative Grand Dame of the Old Russia would use a palanquin). When visitors came to the house, they were expected to put on their best dress, often an heirloom of great value, wait on the menfolk, and then withdraw. In some Cossack societies, men and women occupied separate quarters. If a Cossack married, he was downgraded to the status of a farmer-militiaman. Even within restrictions such as these, however, the women, as always, found ways to make their influence felt.



Beyond the Tsar, power rested with the boyars, the great nobles. All Russians resisted reform, but the boyars had the power to obstruct in a meaningful way. The middle class was tiny, a handful of merchants and artisans, and while some peasants lived in relative freedom as *odnovortsiy* (of free or noble origin), or as 'crown peasants' belonging to the Tsar directly, the bulk were serfs – slaves of the boyars in everything but name.

[Peter the Great]

Peter's reforms did not do away with Old Russia. They modified Old Russia to suit his purposes, and they created a parallel New Russia. In government, the Tsar increased his authority by applying Western methods without altering the fundamental nature of the ruling system. Economically as well as politically, the State was centralised with advice from foreign experts, whom Peter and his father imported in large numbers.

For example, the old hearth tax became a head tax. Nominally, this freed the serf from being tied to a specific location, but as his noble owner was entrusted with the collection of the money, the serf was forced to remain where he was. Such measures, however, did lead to an increase in runaways, who might make it to a 'free town' or to a Cossack band, or who might simply cross the frontier and carve their own farms out of the wilderness.

The importation of foreign experts led to an influx of foreigners of all shapes and sizes. Orthodox refugees and German settlers came in droves, by invitation. But anyone (more or less) could visit Russia, and set up a business, engage in trade, buy property, or

enter state service. Foreigners could marry Russians, and even retain their own modes of worship. A person could leave the empire at any time by paying a tenth of their goods.

This foreign influx coincided with a revision of the status of nobility. Nobility and service to the State became equated by means of the Table of Ranks, which laid down the grades, duties, and perquisites of every civil, ecclesiastical, and military appointment. Every noble was a state servant, or he lost his patent of nobility. Any foreigner (or native Russian, assuming he was socially eligible to do so) who entered the service of the Tsar became a gentleman. In an economic sense, this did away with the division of property between fiefs and allods; all property was held as a fief of the Tsar, who demanded military service in exchange. Civil servants were exclusively military men.

Not all Peter's reforms took hold. He tried to impose Germanic inheritance laws, awarding property to the eldest son; Russian laws insisted on an equal division. Peter's law was quietly dropped after his death.

His fight for 'women's rights' had mixed success. Devoted to all things European, Peter rejected the 'Asiatic' treatment of women, and banned veils, closed litters, and the practice of locking women up. Engaged couples were (*oh, shameful*) permitted to see one another before the marriage ceremony, while fathers and guardians were forbidden to make forced marriages; the same applied to nobles with regard to their serfs. Women were encouraged to 'leave the cloister for the salon'. Perversely, but quite naturally, many women preferred to live with their old, familiar customs.

[At the court of Anna Ivanovna, one of her 'Old Russian' nobles was subjected to a forced marriage, but this was a jest, and a deliberate dig at the old customs. He had to marry one of her elderly Kalmyk maids.]

European customs – at least those of a visual nature, or that might be of service to the State – were encouraged, such as house parties where people wore European clothes (Old Russia wore the robes of Asia), mingled in talk, danced the latest minuets, and learned manners from Swedish prisoners of war. Carnivals, masquerades, and fetes were instituted (on top of the plethora of religious festivals already on the books). As may be imagined, such activities were at first merely a parody of the West, rejected by any respectable family sufficiently removed from the Tsar's presence to avoid punishment.

On *that* score, Peter did away with the old customs of prostration and servile forms of address – taught his subjects to think of themselves as free men, by blows of his cane, if necessary, as one chronicler put it. Corporal punishment for all kinds of crime, however, was intensified and rigorously enforced.

Peter's reforms of government and the military were the most effective. His military reforms will be covered later. Politically, he replaced the Duma, or parliament, with a nine-man Senate, which at least initially, only functioned in his absence. This body, expanded, became the supreme high council, committee of finance, and court of justice.

[Peter often had difficulty with the members: they were forbidden to abuse each other, either verbally or physically.]

Each department of state was given a 'college' on the French model: finance, war, foreign affairs, etc. Their functioning was derived from Swedish law, and for a long time they were heavily weighted with foreign staff (a department might even be run by a Swedish POW).

Old Russia's provincial governments were hopelessly muddled. Peter rationalised them along German lines, but he also militarised them by assigning regiments to each and appointing

generals as governors. Towns were ruled by elected burgomasters and a mayor – and each had its own regiment of *landmiliz*. In the countryside, however, the old forms, patriarchal and socialist, were retained.

[Communes and soviets are not inventions of the Communists. They simply idealised the 'good old days'.]

Municipal works were begun by decree (and, of course, St. Petersburg – in those days simply 'Peterburg' – was built). Policing was systematised and the criminal laws enforced. Banditry, which was rife in the provinces, was suppressed by the formation of an internal garrison army as large as the regular army.

The Church was also placed on a collegial system. The Patriarch, who opposed Peter, having died, the Patriarchate was abolished in favour of a Holy Synod. This made Peter sole ruler over the whole empire; previously the Tsars had had to share power, in a sense, with the Metropolitans of Moscow. The Holy Synod was given the chore of reforming the Church to a purer Orthodoxy (and at the same time refuting charges that Peter was the Antichrist). Peter debated whether to expropriate the monasteries as Henry VIII had done, but decided not to; since, however, the monks opposed his reforms, they were severely regulated and 'made to lead useful lives' instead of skulking in their cells writing polemics against the Tsar.

[Peter was devoutly Orthodox himself, but practised toleration of other beliefs, so long as they did not pose a political threat. Thus he allowed foreigners to worship as they chose, and protected various spiritualistic sects, but expelled the Jesuits because of their incessant propaganda.]

These are only a small sample of the reforms instituted by Peter. At every step he met with opposition: through silent obstruction, graffiti, cabals. The women wore Western dress in his presence and went back to robes and veils in private. Bandit gangs were led by nobles who fought pitched battles with the Tsar's forces. Cossack Hosts allied with the Swedes. Corruption and incompetence existed at every level and in every department, including those run by foreigners (who were often only chosen because they *were* foreigners, and not for any particular set of skills).

In consequence, life became even more precarious for the Tsar's subjects. He instituted a secret inquisition (known, naturally, as the 'Bureau of Reformation'), in front of which anyone could accuse anyone else of any sort of crime with a reasonable chance of being believed. Taxes were increased dramatically – famously, a tax on beards. Because most of his reign was spent at war, everything was subordinated to the Struggle, even beards.

After his death in 1725, Peter's work was continued by the men whom he had appointed to run the country. Men such as General Münnich, Count Ostermann, and native aristocrats like the Dolgorukis. But they could not rule Russia, only administer it.

Peter's heir was his eldest son, Alexei Petrovich Romanov, married to Sophia Charlotte Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel. But the Tsar had issues with his first born. To begin with, Alexei hated him for the treatment of his mother, divorced and exiled to a convent. Placed in the care of men who rejected the New Russia, his hatred was cultivated. On top of this, the Tsar's grandiose dreams for his son's future were a millstone around Alexei's neck. The upshot, after many years of tragedy, was the execution of Alexei for treason in 1718.

After this domestic upheaval Peter the Great made the momentous decision to alter the rules of succession in Russia. The Tsar should be free to choose his heir. Naturally, this pragmatic solution was deeply resented by the traditionalists. So much so that Peter did not actually appoint a new heir before he died, in 1725. Thus the

succession passed to his son Alexei's family after all, though the transition was not assured.

Peter the Great's morganatic second wife, Catherine I, held the post of Regent for his grandson, also named Peter. Under her rule, Peter 'II' was a nonentity, but attempts to use his grandfather's new inheritance code against him failed because of the great domestic and international support for his accession. When Catherine died in 1727 the young man was officially crowned Peter II.

But Peter II only reigned for three years, dying of smallpox in 1730. This led to an ill-starred attempt on the part of the nobility to introduce a republic-cum-constitutional monarchy. There were several choices for figurehead: the two daughters of Peter the Great, Elisabeth and Ann of Holstein (who, having died in 1728, was now represented by her son, Peter III), and the two daughters of Peter I's brother, Ivan Alexiévitch V, otherwise known as Ivan the Idiot: Anna, Duchess of Courland, and Catherine of Mecklenburg. One of the Dolgorukis – a powerful clan of the old nobility – also put up his own daughter as the fiancée of the late Peter II, but with no success.

Anna Ivanova Romanova (b.1693-d.1740, r.1730-40)



The Secret High Council, as the Senate was called, was charged with choosing the heir. It was mainly composed of the old nobility. The most influential 'new man' was the German-born Foreign Minister, Count Ostermann, who prudently came down with an illness. The Council conceived the idea of instituting a republic on the Polish model. The direct heirs of Peter would doubtless oppose this idea, so the Council approached

one of the nieces, Anna Ivanova (*Ann, daughter of Ivan*), Duchess of Courland. Russia was to become an oligarchy, with a constitutional monarch. Her sister's branch of the family was none too pleased. But, Anna was popular at Court (in the countryside, the idea of a woman ruler, and a semi-foreign one at that, was very unpopular).

[The Dolgorukis and other Old Russian families were behind this idea of a limited monarchy. Anything to keep the descendants of Peter the Great, whom they hated, from acquiring the throne.]

Anna accepted. Even a constitutional monarchy was better than she could have expected. Besides, she had no choice. A request from Moscow was an order to be obeyed. The majority of the boyars and notable people acquiesced, even though the new regime would be completely dominated by the Dolgoruki and Galitsyn families. The new Tsaritsa made her triumphal entrance into Moscow – not St. Petersburg – under the watchful eye of 'republican' security men.

The republic was not to last very long. The People opposed it. The Church opposed it. The majority of the Boyars, excluded from participation in it, opposed it. Anna was secretly informed of the plots against it, and since she too opposed it, a drama was arranged. The Council was suddenly summoned to attend the Tsaritsa. They found an assembly of 800 people petitioning Anna for a restoration of absolute rule. Ominously, the guards officers at the far end of the chamber 'spontaneously' called out in support of the measure. Anna pretended surprise that the new constitution

she had agreed to was not the will of the whole people. She had been deceived!

In time-honoured fashion, the Dolgorukis and Galitsyns were gradually banished to their estates, then sent to Siberia, then one by one recalled and executed. Behind the scenes were Count Ostermann, the other foreign disciples of Peter the Great, and Anna's lover, the Courlander, Ernst Biron. But Anna pulled many of the strings herself.

[The Revolution of 1917 did for those old clans, the Dolgorukis and Galitsyns. The old aristocracy who escaped execution but failed to emigrate were marginalised as 'nonpersons' and processed in the gulags. The names now sometimes appear in connection with organised crime, so perhaps nothing has really changed.]

Anna Ivanova came to the throne at the age of 35 after a semi-exile at the court of Mittau, capital of Courland. She was Duchess of Courland from 1711 to 1730. Her husband the Duke died in 1712 and she never remarried. The future French *Maréchal*, Maurice de Saxe made a play for her hand, but was rebuffed. Of a 'severe countenance', taller by a head than most men, deep voiced and masculine in bearing, she was cruel and cold – capable of terrifying. A sort of female stormtrooper.

Buffeted by the designs of Prussia, Sweden, and Russia (letters from the court at Moscow generally included peremptory orders, abuse, or both), the Duchess of Courland quickly learned to dissemble her true thoughts. She also came to despise the Russians. Her rule would institute the 'Germanification period' of Russia. It was also known as the *Bironovchtchina*, after her ex-groom lover, and would last a decade.

[Courland was not part of Russia, but most decidedly under its influence.]

Foreigners (or the odd 'loyal' Russian) held all the chief posts; most of them were Germans, because Anna preferred Germans. The Russian people were her 'children', but also dogs to be conciliated with scraps from her table. Even her chosen heir was taken from a German court: Anna Leopoldovna, Princess of Mecklenburg. Ernst Johann Biron, the son, reputedly, of a groom, was made Duke of Courland – though he did not marry Anna – and became the most influential (and hated) man in Russia; probably the wealthiest, too. *Bironovchtchina* was a play on the old *Tatarchtchina*, the rule of the Tatars.

The coming of the *Bironovchtchina* was sanctified in blood. Thousands of people 'harbouring anti-German sentiments' were executed or banished, and taxation was applied with ruthless German efficiency – at least, the new German ruling class made the machine function as it was supposed to. The old High Council of the senate was supplanted by a Cabinet presided over by the Tsaritsa; its members included the usual suspects. The inquisition was given a new name: the Secret Court of Chancery. The Guards were expanded by the addition of a third infantry regiment and a regiment of horse guards. They were the only element of the military to be completely relied upon.

Though two successful wars were fought in her name (the War of the Polish Succession and the Austro-Russo-Turkish War), once secure Anna gave herself over to what she imagined were the pleasures of a progressive Western court. Plenty of jesters, dwarves, and assorted buffoons. Members of the old nobility were obliged to take on these roles, too. As noted earlier, she arranged the marriage of the old Prince Galitsyn with one of her elderly Kalmyk maids (he had previously married a Catholic, which displeased the Tsaritsa). Dressed as clowns during the day, they were made to spend their wedding night naked in an ice palace.

Life at Court became one long masquerade party. The nobility impoverished itself buying the latest Paris fashions, or as many bits of the latest outfit as it could afford:

'the most gorgeous coat was often accompanied by an ill-combed wig; a beautiful piece of stuff was spoilt by a clumsy tailor; or, if the dress chanced to be successful, the equipages were defective; a superbly dressed man would arrive in a shabby old vehicle drawn by two screws'

Manstein p.254.

Biron did not like dull clothing, so visitors to Court had to dress up in striking colours, like parrots. And so it went. Anna's own tastes were for low comedy; she liked Italian and German shows because people were always being beaten in them. One noble made her laugh by showing up drunk and insulting Count Ostermann in public. The Russian Court was still rooted in Central Asia, though coated in a veneer of German kitsch.

Anna supported Peter the Great's reforms. Under her rule, Russia emerged as a great European power: 'this Court begins to have a great deal to say in the affairs of Europe', said French ambassador, Rondeau. Russian diplomats were perceived as 'almost' the equals of the British or the French. Everyone wanted to strike a deal with the new kid on the block.

Anna's own reign ended in 1740. She died of natural causes. With her death the *Bironovchtchina* also ended, in another purge. Most of the players in the wars of the 1730s disappeared. But Peter's vision could not be erased. The new Russia was here to stay.

Anna Leopoldovna (b.1718-d.1746, r.1740-41)



Before she died, the Tsaritsa knew she would have to choose an heir. For a time, Biron had hopes. Year by year his influence had grown. But he simply would not do. So, guided by her German advisors, who feared the loss of their own positions, she chose her niece, Elizabeth Christina of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who on her mandatory conversion to Orthodoxy took the name Anna Leopoldovna.

This second Anna was married to Anton Ulrich Leopold, Duke of Brunswick-Bevern, and in 1740 she had just given birth to a son, Ivan VI. Her succession proceeded smoothly, aided by the predominantly 'German' Administration, but all was not well. Her aunt's last days were marred by a reaction against Germanification and the rule of women – Anna Ivanova was even blamed for crop failures.

Anna Leopoldovna was a neurotic woman, spending much of her day lying on a couch gossiping with her confidants, a kerchief over her face. She and her husband both preferred the company of their lovers – Lynar the Saxon and the married woman, Julia Mengden, respectively – to each other. State affairs were allowed to slip. Biron, still lurking about, his own power base rooted in a quagmire, hoped to establish himself as the new Regent for Ivan VI while the parents drifted into obscurity.

But the Court was living in a dream world. The country as a whole was fed up with 'foreign' rule. Biron was the Antichrist – a foreigner, an heretic, a gigolo, and incompetent to boot. The

Germans, the 'Brunswickers', were useless parasites. If the regime had been competent, it would have been tolerated, but a Government whose members spent most of their time jockeying for the top slots while treating the native-born as helots was ripe for the mower.

Fearing that if they did not act the entire foreign community would be in the soup, Anna Ivanova's Old Guard – Marshal Münnich and Count Ostermann – supported by the rest of the Brunswicker party, arrested Biron in the middle of the night. Münnich and the Duke of Brunswick (the Leopoldovna's husband, that is) then squabbled over who was to be Generalissimo; Münnich had to take second place as First Minister. Ostermann became High Admiral. Brunswick had himself declared Regent.

No sooner had this been done than the Brunswickers enlisted Ostermann's aid in forcing Münnich to resign. The latter had barely left the palace before the Duke was fighting with his wife over the Regency powers.

Of course, the Swedes *would* take it into their heads to play the Great Nation just at this moment...

The Governance of Sweden

The early Swedes were far-roving traders, with a Viking culture that took them to the Caspian Sea and Constantinople. 'Europeanisation' came fairly late, with the missionaries of the Middle Ages – mainly from the British Isles. Strong and lasting ties were formed with England and Scotland. Ties with Germany developed through the Hanseatic towns. Ties were also developed with Russia, but the Muscovites had little cultural impact in comparison with Britain, Germany, and Sweden's Nordic neighbours.

The first recorded king of all of Sweden was Olof Skötkonung (c. 1000 AD), but clan politics were the order of the day until the 12th Century, when the Folkunga dynasty was established and the process of Christianisation was completed. Sweden in the 12th Century comprised most of its modern territory with the exception of the southwest, which was owned by Denmark. Finland was the recent acquisition of an eastern crusading drive. The Folkungas did not last long. The Black Death threw Sweden into chaos.

As a nation state, Sweden's history begins no sooner than 1397, when the Kalmar Union was formed by Queen Margaret I of Denmark (1352-1412). Margaret had married the King of Norway, Haakon VI, who happened to be the son of the King of Sweden. (In the normal course of things, the grandson would have in turn been King of Sweden, and so on.)

By securing her own son on the throne of Denmark, and, after he died, replacing him with an adopted son, Queen Margaret founded a dynasty that united Denmark and Norway, with herself as Regent. What followed next is complicated; in sum, Sweden, unwilling to join the bloc, underwent a struggle with its nobles pitted against own king and the Hanseatic League. Margaret set herself up as champion of the victorious nobles and emerged as Regent of all three kingdoms. Her adopted son's position was consolidated by the union of 1397.

Much as England, Scotland, and Ireland would later be ruled by a single king but retain their own laws, so the component kingdoms of Scandinavia kept control of their internal affairs but vested all foreign policy in their one king. The device was not perfect, however, and the Union always underwent a period of crisis whenever the king died.

The Swedes, especially, developed a habit of challenging the Union. They disliked the way Denmark was growing into a

modern, centralised state, involving itself in wars that threatened Sweden's trade, and tending to treat Norway and Sweden as mere appendages. Some of the revolts were bloody. Finally, in 1523, the Danish forces were expelled from Sweden and Gustav of the Vasa (b.1496, r.1523-1560) was elected King of the Swedes. (Note the word 'elected'; in this instance of a nation's consolidation it was the nobles who picked their king, he was not just a strongman who beat down all opposition.)

Gustav not only broke with Denmark, he also broke with the Papacy, establishing a Lutheran realm. In so doing he was, like Henry VIII of England, able to weaken the political and economic power of the Catholic Church through confiscations and tax reform, and establish a stronger, centralised monarchy, where the king owned 60% of the farmland – and was thus the direct overlord of the people living on it. Still, the *riksdag*, the parliament, held more power than their *elected* king, and had no mind to change this situation.

In 1535 Gustav got rid of another foreign object in the body politic by expelling the Hanseatic traders. Sweden, a nation of only one million inhabitants (including the Finns) would soon control the Baltic Trade, source or conduit, at that time, of much of Europe's grain, furs, industrial metals, and shipbuilding materials.

Subsequently, four strong rulers would stand out from the pack of madmen, nonentities, and regents: Charles IX, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XI, and Charles XII. All but Charles XI would direct their country's energies outward.

Stormaktstiden

The first acquisitions of external territory came fast. In 1561, Estonia took Sweden as her protector. In 1590 Ingria and Kexholm were lost to Russia, though regained in 1617. Charles IX (1550-1611) even tried, at this period of Russian weakness, to establish his dynasty on the Imperial throne. The project failed because Charles foolishly took the title of King of the Lapps as well. The Lapps were Danish subjects, and this involved him in a disastrous second front.

Though victorious, the Danes made the mistake of claiming harsh reparations from Sweden's new king, Gustavus Adolphus; generations of enmity followed, and, in the immediate, Gustavus began to turn his thoughts southward.

Straslund was occupied in 1628. Most of Livonia fell under Swedish rule in 1629. During the Thirty Years War almost half of the Holy Roman Empire was at one time or another controlled by Sweden. As an arbiter of that war she 'permanently' gained Bremen-Verden, Wismar, and Swedish Pomerania, not to mention a massive monetary indemnity. This made Sweden the third largest country in Europe. In 1638, Sweden even established a colony on the Delaware River in North America. The scattered territories gained by Sweden, by the way, were not worthless tracts of burnt farmland, but lucrative toll booths on the arteries of Europe's commerce.

Sweden was now an empire, and as such, she had many enemies. There came the Second Northern War, then the Scanian War. These gave her control of the southwestern regions bordering the Sound, across from Denmark, gains guaranteed by treaty in 1679. It was at this time that France renewed her support of Sweden, first given during the Thirty Years War, against the Danes (who habitually leaned toward England). If not for France, Sweden might have foundered.

[The ties with Britain were not severed. In the days of the Jacobites, many exiles would find a home in Sweden. Already, the name Hamilton, belonging to one of the most powerful families in Scotland, enjoyed high

status in Sweden, and there were even elements who lent an ear to the blandishments of King George's emissaries.]

After the end of the Scanian War the nation had a breathing space, and the king of the day, Charles XI, used it to place the country on a firm economic footing, and to institute a wide ranging series of reforms.

Just in time. In 1700, Denmark-Norway, Saxony-Poland, and Russia leagued against Sweden, kicking off the Great Northern War. Initially, Sweden's new king, Charles XII, performed wonders, but Sweden's enemies were too numerous, and his own ambitions too great. The war drained Sweden and spelt the end of her empire.

Charles XII was not solely to blame. Because her imperial status did not suit her small population, Sweden had developed into a militarised state. The home economy, run by a free peasantry who also doubled as soldiers, suffered throughout this period, and to compensate, the conquered lands, farmed by serfs, became Sweden's primary source of food – a dangerous trend. Certain isolated incidents also contributed to Sweden's economic woes; immediately after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, his successor, Queen Christina (1632-1654), had managed to empty the royal coffers before being forced to abdicate.

[An interesting aside: because of her territorial gains at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), Sweden qualified as an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire (of the Lower Saxon Circle, alternating her vote with Brandenburg).]

The Zweibruck Dynasty

Christina's abdication led to a change of dynasty. For the first time (if one excludes the one-off Christopher of Bavaria (1441-1448)), Sweden would be ruled by a German import. Charles X (1654-1660) was Christina's half-cousin, of the House of Palatinate-Zweibrücken – a Wittelsbach.

[Charles was not entirely an import. He was educated at the Swedish Court and served as a Swedish general.]

Charles X Gustav was torn between his recognition that the country needed reforms that would bring unity, and his desire to pursue military glory (perhaps the main reason he desired unity in the first place). He instituted a *Reduktion*, or reclamation of crown lands, as a method of gathering taxes. This benefited the non-noble Estates in the short term, but any domestic and financial gains were swallowed up in the Second Northern War (1655-1660) against Poland and Denmark.

Charles XI (1660-1697) was a minor when he came to the throne, but despite this his rule saw a general strengthening of Sweden's position. The Scanian War (1675-1679) was fought on his watch, but this was followed by twenty years of peace, in which Sweden pursued an independent role in foreign affairs.

And then, there was Charles XII. The Last Viking. The Mad King of the North. Born 1682, reigned 1697-1718.

His father's policy of nonalignment backfired when Denmark, Saxony, and Russia decided to take advantage of the new king, who was only fifteen. Although Charles showed himself to be a far abler warrior and administrator than his enemies expected, ultimately the combination against her proved too much for Sweden. It did not help that the Swedish king only felt comfortable when leading armies in the field and let domestic issues fester.

Saxony – that is, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and her Saxon ruler – was beaten, while Denmark-Norway was held at bay. Russia, though trounced, was, as always, too resilient to succumb completely, and she founded her own empire on the bones of Sweden's. After the battle of Poltava (1709), Charles

fled to the Ottoman Empire while his country's external possessions were parcelled out among the victors. His subsequent attempts to reestablish Sweden's position led only to his death while campaigning in Norway.

[There have been persistent rumours that Charles XII was killed on the battlefield on his successor's orders. One of the latter's aides is said to have fired the shot. Forensic evidence aside, if the aide did shoot him it would either have been a private quarrel or on the orders of some cabal in the Government. Frederick I was not the type to assassinate a predecessor. Too lazy.]

The Hessians: Frederick I (1720-1751)



When Charles XII was killed his sister, Ulrika Eleonora, took his place as Queen, with her husband, Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, as Prince Consort. But she abdicated in 1720, handing most of the State's power to the Swedish parliament rather than to her husband. Although Prince Consort (the first ever in Sweden), Frederick's own rule came through election by the Estates, and not by virtue of his rank.

Frederick I ruled from 1720 to his death in 1751. The *riksdag* agreed to his becoming King but refused to cede him any of its newly won powers. He was perceived to be a weak personality, the Estates were tired of Absolute Rule by strong-willed individuals, and so...

And Frederick, as King, was indeed a nonentity. Under his wife's rule he had shown promise, but as a proper king he had very little interest in governance. In any case, the *riksdag* refused him a large income, so that he actually developed a worse reputation in his other possession, Hesse-Cassel, of which he became Landgrave in 1730, and where he played the role of absentee landlord. The Swedes quipped that while many great things happened during his reign, the king had nothing to do with them. He did ban duelling; sure to make him popular with the young nobles. Even his official signature was not required – they used a stamp.

Frederick was to be the first and last of his line – he had children by a mistress but none by the Queen – and the course of the ill-fated war soon to be described ensured the next ruler of Sweden would come from a completely different House.

The Workings of the State

Since the days of the Vasas, Sweden had been an Absolutist monarchy, albeit one with a functional parliament. But the machinery of the State existed to serve the king, and, since he was usually a warrior king, it was geared to the production of soldiers and cannon, and the fuelling of the same.

The first recorded sitting of the august body known as the *riksdag*, or parliament (always spelt in lowercase, giving it a less formal presence: 'the parliament' rather than 'Parliament'), was in 1435. In 1527, Gustav I Vasa organised it properly, expanding it from a parcel of nobles into four estates, or Orders – instead of the usual three (the fourth being the free peasants, distinct from the burghers).

[Unlike most of its neighbours, the feudal system did not develop very far in Sweden, and the Swedish peasantry never had to endure serfdom; in fact, they were accorded parliamentary representation. The key phrase is

Swedish peasantry – Sweden's overseas possessions employed serfs by the million.]

The *riksdag* was bicameral, split between the Nobles and the other three Orders. The spokesman of the *Riddarhus* (House of Nobles) was appointed by the King, and styled the *Landmarskalk*, or Marshal of the Diet. The three lower estates had each its own elected Speaker (*talman*). The powers of the Order of the Peasants were somewhat restricted, in that they made representation to their 'betters' by deputation; still their opinion was consulted.

Simultaneously with the expansion of his empire, Gustavus Adolphus accelerated the process of centralised control. Wartime contingencies dictated the pace and nature of the changes. The Privy Council, formerly a council of the chief nobles, became a bureaucracy perched atop the *riksdag*, with the President of the Chancery – the man in charge of the money – acting in the role of prime minister to the king.

Under strong rulers, the *riksdag* surrendered much of its authority to the Crown. Under weak ones, it took back as much as it could. Ironically, though weakened by the likes of Gustavus and Charles XII, under their rule the Swedish parliament was turned from an unruly mob similar to Polish *Sejm* into a constitutional body, with much dignity if little independent power. Under weak rulers it degenerated as the corollary to its individual members acquiring greater personal power.

When it functioned as it should the system worked something like this: the king submitted bills to the *riksdag* (they were not proposed internally). The two Houses – the Nobles and the Others – debated, returning their opinions. The king then chose the opinion that seemed best to him. Even in foreign policy, the estates had the right be consulted, and to voice objections. Indeed, those became their primary functions, but thanks to the unusually strong patriotism of the nation at large, king and parliament normally worked as a close team, and funding – and manpower – for Sweden's many wars was rarely hard to obtain.

After Gustavus' death in 1632, the Oxenstierna family – most famously Axel Oxenstierna – continued on in the role of 'royal advisors'. A period of internal weakness followed the demise of the Lion of the North. So, the Oxenstiernas and the other nobles began to reacquire power. They tried to overrule what was known as the Uniformity Policy of the Estates; that is, that each Order, whether noble or peasant, had an equal representation and value. They also began to take back land from the State. It was not until 1680 that the *Great Reduction* of Charles XI reversed this trend.

Charles XI and Charles XII, strong rulers both, in their own ways, curtailed the power of the nobility once again, particularly with that Reduction, which was a tax claw-back of land grants made to the nobility, no matter how far in the past or how little paperwork in the files. The *riksdag* was once again made subservient to the monarch's needs. But not without a certain amount of opposition.

The Revolution of 1719

The latest round of push-and-shove, and the one germane to this account, began in 1719, with what amounted to a revolution in the way the country had been governed in recent times. A new Constitution was promulgated under Ulrika Eleonora and confirmed by her husband Frederick. The man most responsible for it was Count Arved Horn, scion of yet another powerbroker noble house. His aim was only, as noble tradition demanded, to curtail the powers that the previous kings had acquired, but he may not have thought things through...

On the credit side curbing absolute rule can only be called a good thing; on the debit side Horn introduced a system much closer to that of Poland's, where every noble had just enough authority to vote for himself and not enough authority to convince anyone

else. Frederick I was the worst kind of monarch to face Horn's ambitions. He did nothing but acquiesce.

And now, the Secret Committee rises into view. Of all Sweden's political institutions, this Secret Committee is the one most germane to the War of the Hats. Originally a committee of the Privy Council, and having the function of expediting matters during wartime, its primary focus was to advise the king on domestic policy; particularly, how it would affect foreign affairs. Though 'secret', it was not a cabal, being composed of 100 men, in the proportions of 50% nobles, 25% clergy, and 25% burghers, all of whom who had to be elected. Importantly, the Order of the Peasants was excluded from participation in both the Privy Council and the Secret Committee, and, as mentioned earlier, made its opinions known through deputations.

Under Horn's reforms the Secret Committee came to rule the country in the King's stead, directing the policies of the larger Privy Council (which it now had the power to dismiss or convene), and obtaining authorisation by means of Frederick's rubber stamp. When votes were needed the *riksdag* was called upon, and this body became more than ever the breeding ground of faction. The man pulling all the strings was the President of the Chancery, none other than... why... Arved Horn, to be sure.

Horn came to prominence under Charles XII, becoming successively a Privy Councillor (1705), Count (1706), governor of the king's nephew (1707), and President of the Privy Council Chancellery (1710). That is, he was 'prime minister'. But he clashed with the king on policy and was sidelined during Charles' last years. Upon Charles' death, however, it was he who persuaded Ulrika Eleonora to yield her family's hereditary claims to the throne and submit to rule by election.

In favour at first, once again Horn pushed too hard and too fast and fell from grace. But not from power. In 1720 he was elected *Landmarskalk*, as leader of what would eventually become known as the party of the Nightcaps, or Caps. It was they who voted in Frederick I, and a grateful monarch duly reinstated Horn as President of the Privy Council and Chancellor.

For all his faults, Horn was the man the country needed at the time, and the two decades from 1718-1738 are celebrated as the Horn Period. His defenders admit him to be an opportunist, but a sensible one. He has been compared to his English contemporary, Robert Walpole.

Horn was cautious in foreign policy. Domestically his policies made possible an unbelievably rapid recovery from the war. Perhaps too rapid. In politics, he had the will and the power to control the *riksdag*. His successors would not; which means his Constitution was, at bottom, faulty.

The most glaring example of this is the rise not only of faction in the *riksdag*, but the placing of such great power in the hands of the Secret Committee. No one was uncomfortable with the Secret Committee *per se*. The tradition of warrior kings consulting parliament on foreign policy and employing mobile councils of war to decide domestic policy was well ingrained, and Horn's reforms created nothing new. But, now the monarch was sidelined.

Bad enough to mix the legislative and the executive, but because of the *riksdag's* fragmentation into parties, foreign powers found it child's play to buy votes for their point of view. So long as the pacific Horn remained in the driver's seat, all was well, but he could not last forever. The reader no doubt sees where this is heading. When factions rule a legislative body, no laws are passed without herculean bribery and coercion, but when factions have executive control...

That is how a mere political party managed to launch Sweden into a disastrous war.

Hats, Caps, and Horns

The two main factions in Swedish political society were the 'Nightcaps' (*Mössorna*) and the 'Hats' (*Hattarna*). The Caps were the party of the peasants and the clergy. Though lacking representation in the aggregate – remember the peasants' exclusion from the Secret and Privy Councils – they had a strong champion in Arved Horn. They also regarded themselves as the 'King's party'.

The Hat party materialised in the salon culture prevalent during the years when France was the center of the Universe – salons in Sweden were themselves an importation by the admirers of all things French. The Hat party was primarily the party of the Nobles, dedicated to 'less government' and 'lower taxes' (on the rich). The party leader was Count Carl Gyllenborg, the same Count Carl Gyllenborg who as Ambassador had had to flee Britain in 1718 for aiding a Jacobite plot to restore the Stuart dynasty. The rank and file of the Hats were the poorer nobility, who had nothing to recommend them but their swords; many were mercenary veterans of France's wars.

The Hat platform advocated, no surprise, a strong alliance between France and Sweden, as it had been in the days of Gustavus Adolphus. Ironically, Gyllenborg himself was pro-Russian, while Arved Horn was pro-French, but during the Polish Succession crisis the two men 'crossed the floor'. France was a natural ally for the Hats, after all, and stable relations with Russia suited the aims of the Caps. The Hats developed an anti-Russian bias. This, too, was no surprise. The Hat party was the vehicle France had chosen for imposing her policies on Sweden.

The Hats justified their politics on nationalistic grounds. Only by allying with France and taking her gold – oh, did we mention French gold was involved? – could the Swedes successfully fight Russia and recover their lost glory. The Caps though both halves of this policy dangerous. They preferred to deal with the British – oddly, Gyllenborg was also pro-British (but anti-Georgian) – who were at that time competing with France in offering state bribes, mainly in a spirit of Channel Rivalry rather than with any definite aim.

In 1735 came a proposed Treaty of Subsidies with France. Horn, however, had independently just pulled off an alliance with Russia, supported by Britain and Denmark. The price of working by secret committee! France would not ratify the subsidies treaty.

This suited Horn, and his King, who feared becoming too beholden to any one power. It was agreed, however, as a sort of compromise, that Sweden would refrain from taking sides in the Polish succession, which they had an historical 'right' to interfere with.

[In passing, it may be noted that the King and his minister, and many in the parliament, were annoyed with the French for appealing to the country at large behind their backs. One Casteja, a minister of state, and a founding member of the Hat party, was also found to be in French pay; this information was passed on by the British through a French official in their pay.]

It took until 1738 for the Hats to get rid of Arved Horn, and even then he lingered like a bad smell. His party, though less disciplined, was far more numerous, and his political stature was great. But by the late 1730s he was becoming old and sickly. His political stature also worked against him, since there was no one among his own party competent to succeed him.

His fluctuating fortunes with the king presented periodic opportunities to his opponents. In the early '30s Frederick cooled toward him; in 1731 he was challenged by elements in the *riksdag*

and in high dudgeon submitted his resignation, which was refused. In 1734 he advocated, successfully, that neutral posture toward the War of the Polish Succession which put him in line with the king's own thinking, but this used up most of his political capital, and the rest was expended in his successful attempt to keep Sweden out of the Russo-Turkish war (1736-39).

It was at the Diet of 1738 that the epithets *Hat* and *Cap* were first bestowed, the former term having the flavour of Liberty and the latter a sense of sleepy stupor. Like many opposition parties, the Hats proved adept at 'machine politics'. They began a pamphlet war, throwing out wild accusations (even against the King) on the theory that if one throws enough mud, some will be sure to stick.

During the elections the Caps blunderingly opposed the Hat candidate for *Landmarskalk*, besmirching his honour. He was elected in a landslide. (Honour aside, this was a reaction by the Nobles against the perceived interference of the Court in the electoral process). The Caps became the party of opposition, and for a long time a very weak party of opposition, though still outnumbering the Hats numerically.

More ominous than any Court interference, the French, through their creatures and their money, simultaneously secured a friendly bias on the Privy and Secret Committees. Many of the burgher estate were 'persuaded' to join the cause. The masses of poor nobles were easy prey. Not that they were governed solely by self-interest – they were also the most patriotic group. But, they were poor.

The primary means the French used was the social club, later to be a famous feature of the French Revolution, and an utterly un-Swedish import from that country. But there was also direct intercourse with France. A prime example? The new *Landmarskalk*, a man named Tessin, was expected, especially as he was also a member of the Secret Committee, to remain aloof from all foreign emissaries. So he did. But his righthand man, a Swedish colonel in the French Army, was not; he was intimately connected with the new French ambassador, Saint Severin, who was not only made aware of what took place on the various councils, but in turn influenced Swedish foreign policy through Tessin and others.

And so the Army, too, was deeply corrupted. There were many such serving and ex-French officers active in Swedish politics. It was they, above all others, who would push for war with Russia.

Amid the chaos of this Diet, Arved Horn was forced out and a new era began. Through the influence of the Hats the great minister had already been sidelined. The king's mistress, Miss Taube, daughter of the commander in chief of the Navy (a Cap), while she refused French bribes, willingly spoke against Horn because he disapproved of her. Frederick's fickle nature soured against him once again.

The final blow came at the end of 1738, shortly after a 'friendship treaty' was concluded with the Ottomans. By a supreme effort, the ageing minister had killed a vote to enter the Russo-Turkish war as full allies of the Turks, but, as will be recounted shortly, anti-Russian sentiment was at a fever pitch in 1738 and Horn was portrayed by his enemies as at best an appeaser and at worst as a Quisling. He thought it best to retire. He never reentered politics and died in 1742.

[In 1765 the Caps regained power. They instituted an audit of the Hats' administration which revealed policies of reckless spending. On top of their zany foreign policy they had produced a bloated national debt and driven the currency value down by a full third. Only by a massive austerity drive – including forcing the rich to transfer large portions their wealth into the exchequer, was the budget more or less balanced again.]

THE WAR OF THE HATS

The French king's chief minister, Cardinal Fleury, was a perpetually worried man (*rather surprisingly he lived to be 90*). First, in 1731, Britain, Holland, and Austria had signed the Treaty of Vienna, a naked combination against France. Then, in 1733, France and Russia had openly clashed over the Polish Succession.

[France had the dual goal of keeping Russia out of Europe and finding a post for King Louis XV's father-in-law, Stanislaus Lesczinski. Russia wanted a neutral and pliant Poland on her borders.]

Moscow and Vienna were enjoying a period of rapprochement. Prussia was studiously isolationist, as usual. There was thus no real geopolitical barrier separating the Eagles and the Lilies. The Cardinal was very much afraid of Russia. For all the contemporary hype about 'Habsburg Encirclement', at some level Fleury saw Austria as only a proxy for the Bear. And, that was indeed how Russia saw the situation, whatever Austria might say. So, Fleury not only contacted Sweden, he talked to the Infidel Turks. As Kantemir, Russian Ambassador to France, put it:

'Russia being the only Power which could counterbalance that of France, the latter would lose no opportunity of diminishing her strength'.

Rimbaud, p. 67.

[This is a theme that seems to be ignored in many histories, which focus exclusively on the Bourbon-versus-Habsburg conflict. Certainly it can be overstated, and it is difficult to avoid colouring Franco-Russian relations with our modern experiences. All the same, the two real 'superpowers' of the day were France and Russia – and they remained so until the unification of Germany. France saw herself as a champion of Western Civilisation, and the Russians as 'semi-Asiatics'. Russia saw Austria and Prussia, not perhaps as clients, but certainly as powers with 'a duty to be friendly to Russia'. She was, after all, the heir to the Eastern Roman Empire, as France was to the West.]

Sweden might seem a distant choice of friend for France, but remember, 17th Century France bankrolled the Swedish invasion of Germany. Continued infusions of French money were one reason why Sweden had been able to maintain such a disproportionately powerful military. Gradually, however, those subsidies had died away. By the end of the Great Northern War, Charles XII had been desperate for cash.

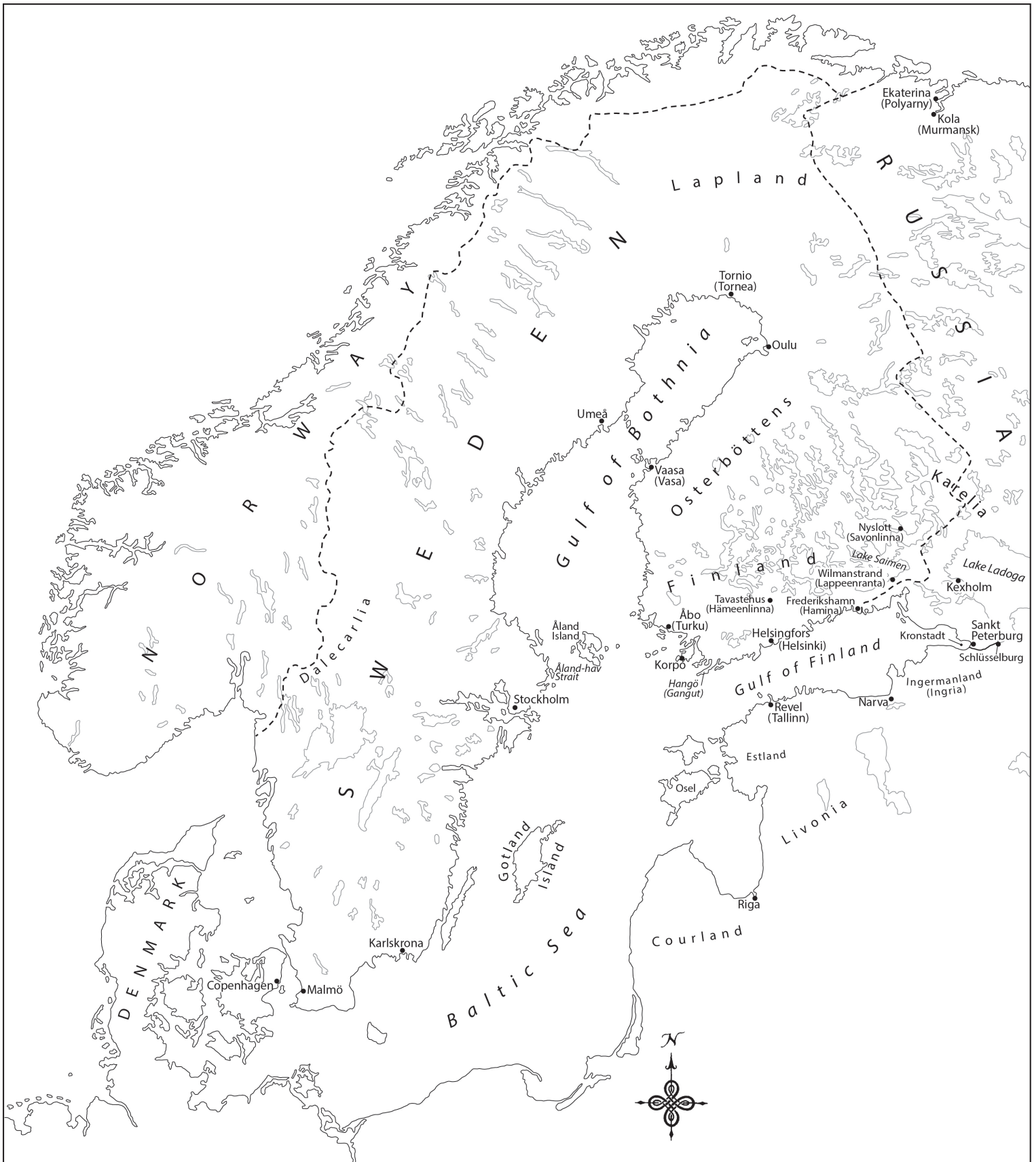
However, despite the loss of most of her empire, Sweden was not a negligible factor in the 1730s. Much of the timber and cordage used in Britain's naval yards came from the Baltic. She still held a post on the German coast – Swedish Pomerania – and, more importantly, she held most of Finland.

Finland was an old possession, and the Swedish nobility owned vast estates there. Unfortunately for them, Peter I took the most fertile strip – eastern Karelia – as a buffer zone for his new 'window on the West' at St. Petersburg, itself once a Swedish border fort.

Prominent Swedes, like the Baltic-German Wrangel family, also owned land in Livonia, which had become Sweden's breadbasket in the days of Empire. Now the Swedes had to pay import duties on their 'own' grain. And soon enough that grain would be under embargo. The clamour for war was growing. Count Horn's voice, however, was still too strong.

[LeDonne states that the Swedes had concerns Russia was treating them as a second Poland; if so, they had only themselves – or Horn – to blame, since this was mainly due to their venal parliament. See pp.85-87 of LeDonne for his synopsis of the war.]

For Fleury, an effective alliance with Sweden was foiled by the fact that Horn's 'system' prevented a unilateral declaration of war by the Swedish king. War could only be declared after a



Area of Operations: Scandinavia & the Baltic

convocation of the estates and a general vote. Very sensible, and making Sweden a useless proxy for France. Frederick I did not seem to care, but his nobility, now there was an opportunity... the Cardinal cultivated the Hats, but found them greedy.

The flop of the first subsidies treaty has been mentioned. In 1736, a new conflict broke out, this time between the Ottoman Porte and Moscow. The Ottomans were old foes of the Russians. Between Russia and Turkey lay the vast steppes of the Ukraine. With the aid of their Cossack frontiersmen, the Russians were slowly pushing down to the Black Sea. Once there – and Peter the Great had already made one attempt at establishing bases on the coast – they would desire an outlet into the wider world. The Russians had not forgotten that Constantinople was once the seat of the Orthodox faith. The Turks, though more concerned with the Danube basin, still had their Tartar clients, now seriously encroached upon yet unwilling to give up their slaver habits that provoked retribution from the North.

In 1737 a treaty of commerce was signed between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire (old debts were also cleared) at the cost of a 72-gun warship (the *Sverige*) and 30,000 muskets, but Fleury's Hat protégés were still too weak to go farther and force a war. Many Hats also distrusted the Turks, who had not approached Sweden of their own volition, but had been pushed to ask for an alliance by the French. It had also proved impossible for Fleury to make the Turks act preemptively. Instead, the Russians, alarmed by France's rising political stock at Constantinople, and annoyed at the frequent raids launched by the Porte's Tatar allies, were the ones to declare war. The conflict was a severe one, lasting until 1739.

Meanwhile, the Swedish Court and its Cap supporters were being portrayed as pro-Russian by the Hats. They were accused of abandoning the ex-Polish King, Stanislaus (father-in-law of Louis XV of France). It was said that they had Defied the Will of the Estates, and worse, turned down subsidies offered by the French that would have significantly eased Sweden's burden of debt – all referring to Arved Horn's 1735 agreement with Russia, though painted with a broad brush to indite the whole Cap government.

A political coup was achieved in 1738. As previously described, Horn was driven out of politics by this 'soft on Russia' campaign; the more important of his 'suspected collaborators' were 'investigated for wrongdoing' by parliamentary committee. Resignations were gained, though the *riksdag* was split on the issue. Still, it was less important for the Hats to make an example of their opponents than to use the furore to bring on board more supporters.

These proved hard to obtain. The peasants were wooed with limited success. They did not want another war. Neither did the clergy. The burghers were discontented over new regulations brought in to pay for military expenditures, though some fell to bribes.

Furthermore, no matter how many war votes were gained, the King's seal of approval was required. A pity, because thanks to their witch hunt, the Hats had managed to transfer most of the executive power of the State into the Secret Committee. Neither the King nor the Privy Council, nor the *riksdag* as a whole, was of much account anymore. And yet, paradoxically, they were. The Hats needed the goodwill of the country to pursue their grandiose schemes – and as elected officials they still needed a political base.

A critical achievement was the treaty of friendship between Sweden and France, signed in October of 1738. The two nations were to make no new alliances and to renew no lapsed alliances. For the next three years (some sources say ten years), Sweden would receive an annual subsidy of 300,000 *riksdalers* (crowns).

This was a great victory for the Hat party, but they needed more aid, and continued to garner domestic support for an alliance with the Ottomans.

However, when the Russian Tsaritsa, Anna Ivanova, asked the French to rein in the Swedes as part of the price for allowing French mediation between Russia and the Turks, the Hats suddenly found themselves asked to take a seat in the waiting room. Cardinal Fleury did not want them queering his pitch.

The Hats bore the delay with ill concealed impatience. Now was the time to strike! The country's quick economic recovery was playing them false. There had been economic recovery, yes, but no military recovery. No matter. On paper – an 'OOB' drawn up in 1716 – Sweden was strong. Why not go it alone? Alarmed, Paris pulled hard on the brake lever.

But the French emissaries, though told to counsel prudence, undermined the line from home by repeating the mantra that Russia was weak, that in combination with the Turks it would be possible to blackmail them into giving up territory, that behind the scenes in Russia, a new pro-French regime was being raised up, who would look favourably on a pro-French Sweden.

The Big Lie

In the 1730s, the Swedish envoy to the Porte was a man named Eric von Nolken. A fanatical Hat (*they were not all fanatics*), he was keen to forge an alliance with the Turks. To boost morale at home, he made extravagant claims about Turkish successes on the battlefield and deliberately false statements about Russia's capacity to wage war. According to him, the Russian Army was being decimated, its ranks filled out with hopelessly ill-trained and poorly-equipped yokels, its leaders incompetent.

[Envoy, not ambassador. The Ottomans had not, up to this point, made a practice of exchanging ambassadors with any nation, not regarding any other nation as their equal.]

The reality was somewhat different. The only real setback the Russians suffered was in 1738, when the Turks successfully prevented a crossing of the Dniester into Moldavia. But that was a campaign of manoeuvre. True, the Russians lost a lot of men to an outbreak of plague. So did all the participants. But by 1741 those losses would be made good. The Ottomans and their Tatar allies, on the other hand, had been mauled (though they in turn soundly defeated the Austrians on the Balkan front) and now faced a major incursion on their eastern frontier by their persistent Persian foe, Nadr Shah.

Nolken's reports were heady stuff to his countrymen, kept them ignorant of the true situation, and gave the Hats a much needed fillip. The phrase that 'one Swede was worth ten Russians' was bruited about again.

Anna Ivanova, then empress of Russia, played into her enemies' hands when, as a warning measure, she banned the export of wheat to Sweden from Russian ports. More and more Swedes perceived that Russia intended to treat Sweden as a second Poland. But would a preemptive move be the best response? The Caps were prepared to accept their nation's imperial decline and make the best of things. Then, the revanchist cause received another boost in the fateful year of 1738, when a man named Major Sinclair was murdered.

The Sinclair Murder

Major Malcolm Sinclair was a Swedish courier, carrying dispatches from Istanbul to Stockholm. These were in fact the fruits of some extremely important negotiations: Sinclair and Nolken had just concluded a Treaty of Alliance and Subsidies with the Porte. The documents in question were the ratification of the same, and of additional sensitivity because the treaty involved

the sale of a warship and arms and ammunition to a power – namely, Turkey – with which a neighbouring power – to wit, Russia – was at war. If the sale became known it would be a *causis belli*, should Russia desire one.

[The arms sale was conducted to cancel debts still owed to the Ottomans from Charles XII's reign. Presumably, also, the treaty was formulated in secret from the Caps (it was a Secret Committee project) – remember, Horn managed to quash the first attempt at alliance and would not disappear from the scene until the end of the year.]

Marshal Münnich, commander of the Russian Army, wanted those dispatches at any price. From the Russian envoy at the Porte he knew in general terms, or suspected, what was going on, but he needed to see for himself. Münnich gave personal instructions to a Lieutenant Levitsky of the Tverski Dragoons: get the documents at any cost. Levitsky picked up Sinclair's trail in Poland.

Sinclair, forewarned, made his way to Austrian Silesia, where Levitsky caught up with him, and with a small band of men, including a locally recruited Irish mercenary, pulled the courier out of his carriage, dragged him into a wood (Manstein says several miles from the ambush site), and murdered him.

[Russia had no formal intelligence gathering bureau. Like other nations she employed her ambassadors and envoys, visiting trade delegates, and so forth. 'Wet work' was carried out by officers seconded from the regular army, on the orders of senior commanders like Münnich.]

After examining the papers and after all finding nothing he did not already know, Münnich sent them on to Sweden by the Hamburg post! Despite this very odd way of couriering sensitive documents, the Swedes saw no evidence of tampering, though the missing major was a puzzle. But his disappearance was explained a few months later. There had been a witness, a French merchant traveling with Sinclair, who after interrogation in a Saxon fortress, paid an indemnity and was released. He repaired to Stockholm with the news.

[Some sources also claim Münnich gave written instructions, which were not destroyed and appeared in evidence against him.]

Münnich got the papers, but he also got a first-class international row. A diplomatic courier and council member of the Swedish parliament had been killed by agents of another power – a power not even at war with the courier's nation – on the soil of a third nation. Even in those days this was a major *faux pas*. The fact that the Austrian authorities at Breslau gave Levitsky a warrant to pursue the courier was an additional insult, but Austria was Russia's ally against the Turks.

[The deed was to have been done on Polish soil, but the net had to be spread wide and too many people became involved. Sinclair was warned and changed his route, thinking to find safety in Austria, but to no avail.]

Europe was appalled (though only moderately – after all, my dear sir, what could you expect from the Russians). The Tsaritsa Anna Ivanova denied all knowledge, probably truthfully as far as prior knowledge was concerned.

[According to Manstein, the affair was the brainchild of Münnich, Ostermann, and the Duke of Courland. Anna was only informed after the news broke.]

The Russian assassins were banished to Siberia, as much to keep their mouths shut as to punish them. The mercenary, a Captain Cutler, was blamed for the actual killing, but Levitsky is known to have participated. The exiles returned on the accession of the princess Elisabeth. Levitsky received a promotion. In Sweden, meanwhile, a Stockholm mob attacked the Russian Ambassador's house.

[The ambassador's name was Bestuzhev. There were two Bestuzhevs, which can be confusing. One was the ambassador, the other was vice-

chancellor at the Russian Court. Both were pro-Austrian, and favourites of the future Tsaritsa Elisabeth.]

With the nation enraged, Sinclair's name became a rallying cry for the Hats and did much to aid them in their coup of that year. The original treaty with the Porte was enlarged into a full defensive treaty (December 1739). Curiously, the French made no objection to this violation of their 1738 friendship treaty with Sweden...

The train was laid. All that was needed was a spark somewhat bigger than the Sinclair murder, and this was not long in coming. It was to be far more than a mere spark. It was to be a crisis in the Imperial succession.

Allies?

The Hats might have been wilfully blind to circumstances, but they were not insane. They were going to need some powerful allies and a good bit of luck if they went to war. Still, Russia was a tumultuous place. Anything could happen...

In a perfect world, Sweden ought to league with loathly Denmark (if only to protect her back), Poland and Prussia, and the Ottoman Empire. The Turks have had their mention; it was a sensible move, but the 1739 treaty came too late to be of any use, either then, or in the future. While Major Sinclair was sent to the Turks, Landmarskalk Tessin visited Denmark and France, ostensibly in a private capacity. Ominously, he was empowered to make binding deals without reference to the *riksdag*.

The Danes proved fickle. There were family ties, and family rivalries, with both Sweden and Russia. Like Sweden, Denmark was also the subject of an Anglo-French bidding war. King Christian VI was a deeply pious, simple, and private man – he virtually forced his subjects to adopt the latest religious fad of Pietism – who, though in common with other Absolutist rulers moulded his realm to maintain a powerful standing army and wasted money on extravagant prestige projects, preferred a peaceful foreign policy. Denmark was to fight no wars under his rule, though she almost made an exception, as will be told.

Christian was intrigued by Tessin's offer to consider his son, the Prince Royal, as a candidate for the Swedish throne, Frederick being old (at 64) and lacking a legitimate heir of the body. Many in Sweden welcomed the idea, though not all. Sweden's asking price was a combination against Russia. The Danish king should be more willing to help given the fact that St. Petersburg was considering backing a pro-Russian candidate. Unfortunately, Tessin's visit came too late. The Danes had just signed a three-year alliance with Britain, yoking them to the Anglo-Russian axis in opposition to France, and to Sweden. However, Christian indicated his willingness to reconsider the proposal in 1743.

[The British made a last-minute effort to woo the Danes after being alerted to the Hats' intentions by Anglophile Swedes. Though successful, they lost capital with Sweden, driving her farther into the French camp. The Danes did not officially participate in the War of the Austrian Succession, but because of the alliance sent a brigade to garrison Hanover, releasing the local forces for service elsewhere.]

After a friendly but futile reception in Denmark, Tessin travelled to Paris. Surely Sweden's oldest ally would send not only more gold, but a naval squadron. France, however, played her own game, turning support on and off like a tap as the situation warranted.

Already, after encouraging the Swedes to join with the Turks, she had changed her mind and forbidden them to spoil her attempts at mediation (mediation that would bring France lucrative trade opportunities in the Levant). All the same, there was more to it than cynicism. Cardinal Fleury's agenda did not always mesh with that of his representatives on the spot, many of whom were

enthusiastic advocates of the causes espoused by the nations they resided in, sometimes to the detriment of their mother country.

It was an accepted practice of the day for diplomats and other agents to receive pensions from foreign potentates, with the tacit assumption that, while serving their own masters, they would endeavour to present said potentates in a favourable light. Spy-work for the donor was also practiced, but was deemed less honourable and could be dangerous. Naturally, this led to divided loyalties. Men also had their convictions as to what alliances were most 'natural'.

Thus, the Russian Chancellor Bestuzhev was pro-Austrian, and did all he could to eradicate pro-French sentiment in Russia. The French ambassadors to Sweden were pro-Swedish. They were successful in bringing about the Franco-Swedish axis in opposition to the Anglo-Russian one, as Fleury desired, but were as keen as the Hats to 'have a go' at Russia when all the Cardinal wanted was a state of tension.

Thus, Tessin was received by the French as a cherished ally, but found enthusiasm for a Russo-Swedish war somewhat lukewarm. Negotiations between the Russians and the Turks were in a difficult phase and the Cardinal did not want to hear talk of 'troop surges' and 'showing the flag' – Tessin asked for an increase to the subsidies for the deployment of more men to Finland, and for the presence of a French naval squadron in the Baltic.

The Swede had been told to ask for funds for 30,000 men and the commissioning of 20 ships of the line (necessitating a sum of 750,000 crowns). Informed that the penurious Fleury would make a flat refusal, he toned the request down, and still received a flat refusal. But a trade treaty was agreed to.

Tessin also inquired whether France would pay the Hessian Subsidies. Frederick I, remember, was also Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Traditionally, England paid him for the use of the Hessian Army. He was willing to consider loosening Sweden's ties to Britain if France picked up the tab. Fleury thought hard about this one, ultimately rejecting the idea; like most French ministers, he was mean with money, mostly out of necessity.

Though Tessin's unofficial flying visit was unsuccessful, the French, once the Turkish question was settled and with a new war looming, would eventually up their subsidies from 300,000 crowns to 400,000. The visiting naval squadron would also be agreed to, but pressure from Britain would prevent its arrival.

With regard to lesser lights, Prussia and Poland refused to rise to the bait dangled by the Hats. Both nations, due to constant meddling in their affairs, had reasons to fear and dislike the Russians, but neither was willing to endure the fury of a military response while Sweden sat comfortably on the other side of the Baltic.

Poland in any case was ruled by the Russian candidate, Augustus of Saxony, whose father had led the Poles against the Swedes in the Great Northern War. Prussia was not approached until the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, when she had bigger fish to fry and absolutely no desire to provoke the Bear.

So... then... no allies? Well, sometimes they turn up in the most unlikely places...

Russia's New Empress

It will, hopefully, be remembered that Russia in 1740 was undergoing a crisis of state. While the high and mighty were squabbling over the Imperial Regency, discontent began to coalesce around the 28-year old princess Elisabeth. A bit vapid, but popular, she was

'tall and very pretty, with great quickness of mind though very ignorant, lively and joyous, a bold rider and fearless on the water; with soldier-like manners'

Ram baud, p.69

Elisabeth frequented the Guards barracks and soon had the junior officers and men in her pocket. Her status as a daughter of Peter the Great counted for much with them. She invited them to call on her whenever they liked. She acted as godmother to their children. By the time the Regency arrested Biron all three of the regiments had sworn fealty to her, and the garrison of Kronstadt was openly asking why she had not launched her coup.

It was her own indolence, more than anything, that delayed matters (an indolence that does not appear to have been feigned for policy reasons, but simply a weakness). Then too, under the Regency, she was closely monitored. But the Government had an even greater fear of action than she did.

[Some say Elisabeth's coup was prompted solely by the Regency's attempts to curtail her debaucheries. She was more interested in drinking and sleeping with guardsmen than governing a country. The straw that broke the camel's back was a proposed forced marriage with Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick-Bevern (not to be confused with Anton Ulrich Leopold, his brother and husband of the Regent). The man was a loser. And ugly. Manstein tones Elisabeth's foibles down; at least she had wit enough to exploit her 'intimate' relations with the Guards for political ends. And the sources inimical to Elisabeth do not bring up the fact that the Regent was planning to make herself empress and exclude Elisabeth's issue (if any) from the succession.]



Meanwhile, aid was forthcoming from an unexpected direction – from France, and even more surprisingly, from Sweden. The French Ambassador to Russia was one de la Chétardie. Affecting to be devoted to Elisabeth, he claimed to be appalled that she should have her children's inheritance denied by the Brunswickers, and questioned why she did not grasp the helm of state – hinting that French support and French money were to be had for the asking. She, then, was to be the 'new broom' the French had promised the Swedes. Chétardie did not tell Elisabeth that the plan was one dusted off from previous years, intended to destabilise *Anna Ivanova's* reign.

There are two interpretations for France's interference in Russian internal affairs. In both, Chétardie was acting on strict instructions from Cardinal Fleury. The mild version is that France, preparing for war against the Austrians, wanted a friendly Russia at Austria's back door; warming the relations between Russia and Sweden would secure that friendship even more, while propping up France's 'northern knight'.

In the 'adult-rated' version, Fleury intended that Russia should be weakened and distracted so that she could not aid Austria. In fact, since Elisabeth's power base was anti-foreign, she might be forced to dump her entire stable of experts. That would send Russia back into the Middle Ages and return her to 'Asiatic' status. Sweden would be France's stick in case the donkey did not like carrots.

[Of the two explanations, the second appears more likely. Or, rather, the diplomats aimed for the first goal while Fleury, manipulating his own people, aimed for the second.]

Elisabeth's cabal consisted of the noblemen Alexis and Peter Schouvalov, Michael Voronzov, her lover Razumovsky and another man, Schwartz, plus her French physician, Doctor Lestocq. It was the doctor who became the liaison with Chétardie. Soon, Chétardie deemed the time ripe to link her up with the Swedes.



*Jacques-Joachim Trotti,
Marquis de la Chétardie*

[Razumovsky started life as a Ukrainian peasant. His bass voice earned him a place in a St. Petersburg choir. Elisabeth, denied a suitor from her own class while living in the shadow of Anna Ivanova, and also unable to 'marry down', took him as one of her lovers. There were rumours of a secret marriage. Razumovsky became known as 'the Emperor of the Night' and became a prince and a field marshal, not to mention a Count of the Holy Roman Empire.]

In some accounts, Chétardie approaches the Swedish Ambassador to Russia. In others, the Swedes make the first move (perhaps to avoid being shut out of the negotiations they saw going on). Since France had bought most of the Secret Committee, the point is not that important. Very likely, Chétardie pretended a brainwave and the Swedes acted coy before being 'talked round'. Interestingly, the new Swedish Ambassador to Russia was that rabid Hat turned overnight Russophile, Eric von Nolken.

[Nolken was not Russia's friend. He was still on a one-man mission to start a war. For the benefit of the Swedish riksdag he continued to write reams of copy portraying the Russian Army as hopelessly defunct.]

A Little Demonstration

Chétardie's stated intention was to aid Elisabeth's coup by destabilising the Regency through a small war. His argument was plausible because the Swedes disliked the Regency almost as much as the Russians did. Nolken, of course, would be happy to let the Volga run with Russian blood any day of the week (that attitude might be useful to the French if the Russians got 'sticky').

A Swedish attack on Russia – a demonstration, really – would distract the Brunswick regime. The Swedes would assemble an army in Finland, and threaten St. Petersburg, at the same time demanding the overthrow of the current regime in favour of Elisabeth. If she could be persuaded to accept this demonstration as a token of support rather than the opportunity to 'make hay while the sun shone' that it really was, and appeal to the Russian Army in Finland, asking them not to resist their Swedish 'liberators', France would get a proxy war, she would get the throne, and Sweden would get, as the price of peace, some of the Finnish territories that had been lost to Peter the Great.

As odd as it may sound at first, this was not such a peculiar plan. On the question of concessions, it was an open secret that the fortress of Kexholm, on Lake Ladoga, was negotiable, and so too, presumably, the land between there and the current border. What made it a 'zany scheme' was the wild thinking of the Hats.

Everyone understood the party desired the reconquest of Livonia, not just bits of Karelia. The most extreme Hats wanted nothing less than the restoration of the boundaries of 1617. *That* meant not just Livonia or the Karelian isthmus, but Latvia, Ingria (Ingermanland, south of and including St. Petersburg), the islands lying off the coast, and the whole of Lake Ladoga, with the new border running through Lake Onega to the White Sea, so that Russia's only northern port would be Archangel. Russia's Baltic Fleet would cease to exist and Sweden, not Russia, would set grain prices in the Baltic.

Obviously, these demands, even the one for Livonia, were impossible and their voicing abroad was muted. But more sober individuals believed at least Karelia could be regained, and to guarantee it, why not make outrageous demands? That way, the Swedes would be sure to gain something.

The other reason the plan looked good on paper were the family connections. Two months after the death of Peter the Great, Elisabeth's elder sister married Carl Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (1700-39). He was the nephew of Charles XII of Sweden. In 1728 there was born to the couple Carl Peter Ulrik, who on his father's death became new Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. In Russia, however, he was to become known as Peter III – the Czar who so admired Frederick the Great. His mother had died only two months after he was born, and the princess Elisabeth took an interest in him. On her accession she would make her nephew her heir-presumptive. Peter's importance prior to Elisabeth's coup lay in the fact that he was a potential heir to the thrones of both Sweden and Russia.

[Peter would in fact be named by the Russians 'King of Finland' in 1742, in virtue of the fact that Charles XII, following the custom of designating provinces as the personal property of princes, had been Grand Duke of Finland. As will be seen, at almost the same time the Swedes offered to make him the heir-presumptive to the Swedish throne. A few years later (1745) he would marry the future Catherine the Great and soon disappear from history.]

There was more. Elisabeth herself had been betrothed to Carl Augustus of Holstein-Gottorp. Sadly, he died shortly before the wedding, in 1727. He had a brother, Adolph Fredrik, whom Elisabeth also knew quite well, and admired. This brother, now Bishop of Lübeck and guardian of the teenage Carl Peter, was yet another candidate for the Swedish throne. The childless King

Frederick I might easily be induced to accept either Adolph or Peter III as Sweden's Prince Royal.

[Elisabeth herself was considered as a potential bride for King Louis XV of France, but her House was deemed too obscure.]

France and Sweden, by the by, would foot the entire bill for this phoney war, and as much as they could for the coup. They gave proof of this immediately. Nolken made over to Elisabeth the sum of 100,000 roubles. She got less out of Chétardie – perhaps 2,000 in gold. The money was used to bribe the Guards and pay off the princess' debts.

There was just one small problem. Although Elisabeth seemed willing to agree to a future transfer of territory, she would not put it in writing. It would look like she was selling out her nation. In Nolken's view, however, this was a trivial matter. If Russia did not give the Swedes their rightful territory, they would simply take it back.

[Propagandists seem fated to believe their own lies.]

War!

On July 28th, 1741 (*some sources, August 4th*), Bestuzhev, Russian Ambassador to Sweden, was presented with a document. The text is unimportant, being the usual mixture of exaggerations and self-justifications. It was a declaration of war.

However, it was a declaration of war against the Court of St. Petersburg, not against the 'glorious Russian nation', which was groaning under the yoke of 'heavy oppression and cruel foreign tyranny'. The Regency was accused of violating the Peace of Nystädt (which capped the Great Northern War), of interfering with the Swedish Succession, of placing an embargo on Swedish grain (from Russian-controlled Livonia), and of barring the princess Elisabeth and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (the future Peter III) from the Russian throne. Major Sinclair also received a mention. On August 13th, the formal reply was given to Ambassador Nolken.

Given the taut political climate between the two nations, the Regency had expected the Swedes would, at the closing of the current *riksdag* session, start some hard diplomatic bargaining. But they were surprised at this level of aggression – especially since the best time for Sweden to attack would have been during the height of the Turkish war, not two years after it. (Though in fact, the Hat political base was too narrow prior to 1738 for a war vote to succeed then, especially without the guarantee of mutual aid from the Turks that only came in 1739.)

The Swedes delayed issuing the declaration of war as long as they could, while orders were given forbidding the loan of horses to couriers and preventing the sailing of any vessels from Swedish ports. Nolken left St. Petersburg before the news became known, ostensibly 'to check on his Pomeranian estates'.

Fortunately for the Regency, Bestuzhev had a network of informers in the *riksdag*. Fortunately, too, the Swedish military dropped the ball. The offensive would therefore *not* commence at the same time St. Petersburg received the official declaration of war (travel between the two capitals taking about a month). Bestuzhev managed to get a message away by a Courland vessel which brought the Russians word of the declaration of war within fifteen days of its announcement in Stockholm. Meanwhile the Swedish commanders dithered.

Down to the Wire

Manstein notes that the best year for a Swedish attack, on military grounds alone, would have been 1737, when Russia was fully distracted in the Ukraine. The Swedes did nothing then, taking a full year even to work out the treaty with France, never mind

coordinating with the Porte. Nolken's rages could not expedite matters.

By 1739, with the defensive alliance with the Turks in place, the Swedes began building up their forces in Finland. King Frederick even asked the Secret Committee to draft a 'plan for national defense and security'. It is not clear whether he understood this to be a preemptive strike before Russia could recover from her war with the Turks, but since he was personally opposed to war, he probably intended a literal meaning. The Hats did not.

An allocation of 6,500 men and the commissioning of 20 ships of the line had been approved by the *riksdag*, but because the negotiations with the French had not yet produced the money for the fleet, the fiscal appropriations would have to come from taxation. The bill therefore came with a rider that the money only be used for defensive purposes, which in turn meant the forces in Finland were not on an offensive footing when war broke out.

Initially, a mere two regiments – 800 men – were dispatched (June 1739). Their only effect was to wave a red flag in Russia's face. In October of that year 6,000 more men were sent, plus 800 artillerymen. Meanwhile, deputations from the Peasant Order kept asking 'why this', 'why that', especially when the number of troops was voted up to 10-12,000. French gold was needed more than ever, both for bribes, and to cover the costs of the deployment. And, as already noted, just at this time the French were reluctant to chip in. The end of the Turkish war put everything on hold.

[There was not the money to pay those few troops in Finland in 1739, let alone for the following two years before war finally broke out.]

War fever was cooling. The clergy and peasantry, and the King, too, could be whipped up by events like the Sinclair Murder, but essentially they just wanted peace. The burghers were divided (depending on whether they had war contracts or not, one supposes). An Anglo-French bidding war had produced a political stalemate, where the Anglophile Court and *riksdag* favoured Russia, just as their foes contended, while the Secret Committee and the noisy clubs of Hat noblemen favoured France.

Irked by repeated opposition to their schemes, however, the Hats were more than ever committed to war, whatever its wisdom. It had become a point of pride with them.

Its outbreak was avoided in 1740 because of a marriage that year between Prinz Wilhelm of Hesse and Princess Mary of England. King Frederick desired to avoid complications. And there would have been some. As King of Sweden, Frederick was the friend of France, but as Landgrave of Hesse he was the friend of England! The Caps supported the King. The Hats opposed the marriage, seeing it as a betrayal of the French; they managed to score a partial victory by preventing an alliance between Sweden and Britain.

At sea the Swedes, trying to assert their trade rights, perhaps merely trying to provoke a response, had begun to interfere with Russian trade, even demanding that mail boats travelling to and past Gotland lower their sails and submit to inspection. Naturally, many Russian captains refused, leading to the exchange of shots. In 1740 a Russian frigate was dispatched to the area to protect Russian shipping.

December, 1740, was the tipping point. The situation had changed once again. Not only had Anna Ivanova died, but also the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI. Prussia swiftly attacked Austria. France lined up with the Prussians and sought ways to prevent Russia aiding her ally, Austria. (It was at this point that Fleury decided to increase the Swedish subsidies.) An extraordinary convening of the *riksdag* was called for (the next was to have been in 1743), almost completely devoted to the question of war.

Tension grew. The Caps still opposed war. The Secret Committee, now holding an unprecedented power not only to secretly deliberate but to actually make executive decisions without referral either to the country, the Privy Council, or the King, could not at first make headway. The *riksdag* debates raged on. Despite the power of the Secret Committee, it could not act unilaterally. And though predominantly composed of Hats, the men seated on the council ran the gamut of opinion.

The Gyllenstierna Affair helped. Gyllenstierna was a council member. He was spotted one night – February 25th, 1741 – exiting the official residence of the Russian Ambassador. His arrest, and the arrest of several other prominent men, swiftly followed. Accused of selling secrets to the Russians, he confessed all. This was a boon to the Hats, who could now accuse obstreperous Caps of ‘un-Swedish-ness’ and hint darkly of treason whenever a ‘nay’ vote was cast.

[Gyllenstierna was sentenced to death ‘with ignominy’ but this was commuted to a pillorying and life sentence; the other conspirators received light sentences.]

In March, 1741, France changed the beat of the dance once again. She agreed to continue her subsidies, but Cardinal Fleury now added a stipulation that Sweden attack Russia as soon as possible or the subsidies would stop! Austria had been given a breathing space and seemed likely to concentrate her armies on the French forces invading the Rhineland that spring. Russia must be distracted.

In April, a vote for commissioning more of the fleet was passed in the *riksdag*. In May, the first 400,000 crown subsidy arrived.

A report from General Buddenbrog, acting CO of the Finnish Army, told of Russian mobilisation (not quite a fiction, but exaggerated). He reported his own forces in a state of readiness (also an half-truth). Most of the *riksdag*, let alone the country, was in ignorance of the true situation. War was expected, but its nature – its size, its scope – was unknown. Above all, the impending Russian coup was a deadly secret.

A two-months wait was imposed while Prussia was sounded on providing a subsidy. Only in July, with Frederick the Great’s definitive ‘don’t bother me, I’m busy’, was the vote finally put. Not until September 3rd would the Swedish commander-in-chief arrive in theatre – for until a month before he was busy with his duties in the *riksdag*.

For most people, their vote for war was made in utter ignorance. Four meetings of the Privy Council were required to achieve the necessary lineups, and even they clarified nothing. Many were for war, but did not want to ‘go it alone’. Where was Denmark? Could enough be achieved solely by the threat of war and stiff negotiations?

In the end, the pacific rubber-stamp, Frederick I, King of Sweden and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, leader of the Caps, cast his vote in favour of war. He was not, of course, required to give his reasons. Mostly, they were not the sort that should be aired in public. One of them involved his mistress, Miss Taube. She had been banished from the country. The Hats arranged for her return to a pining Frederick. Another involved his relationship with England. Most of the Swedish nobles, Hat or Cap, did not approve of the Anglo-Hessian arrangements. Frederick just might be asked to choose between Hesse and Sweden.

Frederick said only that war with Russia was now desirable. He did not mention that he, personally, disapproved. Certainly, they Hats were right when they pointed out that it was now or never. He offered to lead the troops personally. When the King chose war, cipher as he was, there was war. The Peasants followed his lead – if the King desires war, then most certainly it is justified.

Their acquiescence enabled votes on doubling the size of the armed forces – and on appropriations to pay for the same – also to pass.

Swedish Preparations

In 1740, the man commanding the Swedish forces based in the Duchy of Finland was General Carl Cronstedt, famous from the Great Northern War as the Father of the Swedish Artillery. He had at his disposal 6,500 foot, about 3,000 horse, and a train of artillery. An explained earlier, this ludicrously small force began arriving in 1739, intended merely as moral support for the Turks. At that time, the French were reluctant to see it increase in size; this meant that when war was declared, many of the additional forces raised – while the French screamed for instant action – were still in transit.

[Even in 1739 there were hopes that this tiny army could be used to browbeat the Russians into surrendering territory – perhaps Kexholm? Vyborg, anyone? It was at this time, when the Russians actually appeared to be tired of war, that someone suggested staging a regime change. Anna Ivanova was known to be ailing, and the Brunswickers already had an evil reputation.]

Cronstedt had spent his time improving his command. The cost to civil society in Finland had been high, however, and in July of 1740, he was recalled. That was the official reason. General Cronstedt opposed the idea of war, and was naturally sacked for speaking his mind – and the truth about the state of Finland’s forces. His replacement was Count Carl Emil Lewenhaupt (1691-1743).

Though some sources describe him as both inexperienced and incompetent, Lewenhaupt’s reputation was actually pretty solid, and he was extremely popular with the Swedish people – at least, those who mattered. He was a veteran of the Great Northern War and perceived to be a great tactician. Most importantly, he would be, by the time war broke out in the following year, *Lantmarskalk* – Speaker of the House of Nobles and Marshal of the Diet. In this most political of wars, who better to command than a politician. *Do not attempt to answer that question...*

Opinion is divided on his politics. He was a Hat, and Manstein credits him with telling fibs about the state of his army’s preparedness, just so he could have a nice little war. It is also said that he had dreams of acquiring the governorship of Finland – perhaps even ruling it as a breakaway state. Others portray him as lukewarm, going through the motions in what was supposed to be nothing more than a show of force in aid of a ‘regime change’. The former is nearer the mark.

[If Lewenhaupt did want to rule an independent Finland, perhaps being defeated by the Russians would be a good thing. They were known to favour such an entity, and might install him as their puppet. But it is a bit of a stretch to believe one of the leading lights in the Swedish riksdag planned to throw in his lot with the Russians, and even more of a stretch to believe the Russians would allow a Swede to rule Finland after they had conquered it. Besides, there is no indication that any such plot was hatched. It is far more likely that the war, as in so many instances, even in recent times, was simply not thought through properly, and that the multitudinous problems Lewenhaupt faced would have defeated a better general than he.]

Like many German Swedes, Lewenhaupt entered the Dutch service at 16, becoming Captain in 1709. In 1710 he joined the Swedish service. In 1712 he fought, as a Lieutenant Colonel, at Gadebusch (the last Swedish victory of the Great Northern War). At the end of the Great Northern War he was made a Major General (1722). During the years of peace he served in the *riksdag*, becoming a member of the Privy Councillor and a member of the Secret Committee. He had been *Lantmarskalk* once before, in 1734.

Lewenhaupt was also head of a 'French club' called the 'little generalitetet'. This group of prominent senior officers, not all of them foaming-at-the-mouth Hats, had a major impact on the thinking of young, aspiring officers during the 1730s. There may have been a spectrum of opinion among the members, but the group was decidedly pro-French and anti-Russian.

Lewenhaupt received his latest appointment as *Lantmarskalk* at the extraordinary diet in December of 1740. The vote was nearly unanimous; even the Caps agreed as to his personal integrity, and they had no candidate of their own to match him. He had yet to visit his command. In his stead, one of his cronies from the *little generalitetet*, General Buddenbrog, superintended matters on the ground.

[Not Lewenhaupt's fault. He asked to be relieved of the duties of Lantmarskalk so he could go to Finland. The Party considered him 'indispensable' on the floor of the riksdag and refused to consider the idea.]



Lantmarskalk Lewenhaupt

1741 was dragging on. The general mobilisation stagnated. Stockholm's instructions were unclear. Was there going to be a war, or was there not? Was it to be defensive, or offensive? Where was the troops' pay?

Most of the paperwork received by the Finnish Command consisted of propaganda. The Russians would not fight. 'We have only to kick in the door, etc.' Word that the Swedes were acting as auxiliaries to a Russian faction began to get around. Official communiques let it be known that Princess Elisabeth and her nephew, 'Peter Holstein' (widely tipped as her replacement commander in chief and *possibly* the next king of Sweden), were even now visiting Swedish units – *just not at your particular post, Herr Colonel*.

[At least the Swedes never talked themselves into attacking Moscow.]

In the late summer of 1741 (before his arrival), Lewenhaupt's command had grown to about 18,000 men, distributed as follows:

- A corps of 5,000 men under General Henrik Magnus von Buddenbrog at Qvarnby (or Kvarnby, now *Myllskylä*, north of Frederickshamn/*Hamina*). Here, Buddenbrog was in communication with the fleet, should it arrive, covered the dumps at Qvarnby, and covered Frederickshamn (a small garrison in the town itself could be continually supplied with reinforcements since the terrain prevented investment as long as Qvarnby was held). Qvarnby was a crossroads, and the northeast road from it led to Davidstadt (*Luumäki*), where;
- A corps of 3,000 men under General Carl. H. Wrangel guarded another crossroads. This post blocked any attempt to cut Wilmanstrand (*Lappeenranta*) off by a thrust from the southeast, where;
- There was a garrison of 1,100 men – 500 foot in the town and 600 dragoons of the *Karelska* Regiment. Their commander was Colonel Ernst Gustaf von Willebrand.
- In addition there were a number of small garrisons and march columns scattered about.

By type, the breakdown was 2,730 dragoons, 12,945 *indelta* and 1,600 *vævarde*, plus 800 gunners. *Indelta* were national Swedish and Finnish troops, raised through a cantonal reserve system similar to Prussia's. *Vævarde* were mercenary regiments, often recruited whole, though most had been long in Swedish service and so were not true mercenaries. 'Colonel's regiments' would perhaps be a better term. 24,500 horse and foot remained in Sweden.

These dispositions were in accordance with Lewenhaupt's initial conception of the circumstances, but no one had in fact sat down and drawn up a proper plan of campaign. One reason the marshal was so late getting to the front was that the *riksdag* was still arguing about what to do.

General Cronstedt, who, though had been removed from command, had not lost his seat in parliament, played wet blanket, pointing out that Finland had few fortifications, all of them weak. The budget for Finland's army had already been spent on other projects, mostly outside of Finland.

Cronstedt advocated establishing a solid line on the Kymen River, abandoning the border fort of Wilmanstrand and the wilderness castle of Nyslott (Savonlinna). The coastal town of Frederickshamn, weak, but the best fortification in the country, would be the line's anchor. Once this was done, the Swedes could take stock and react to events. This advice was ignored, coming as it did from the 'party of unsound methods'.

To his credit, Lewenhaupt was swayed by Cronstedt's arguments, but he wanted a more active strategy. After all, they were only supposed to be threatening the Russian Regency on behalf of the Russians, not trying to hold back the eastern hordes (or, for that matter, preparing for a massive breakout drive on Moscow). His plan was to concentrate at Wilmanstrand and Frederickshamn (40 miles apart) and launch a dual drive down the Karelian Isthmus, defeating the Russians, if need be, in a traditional Swedish blitzkrieg – something for which the Army was well trained.

There were some obvious problems with this plan. A small army operating at the end of its supply chain was going to attack a large army operating at the base of its supply chain, along a narrow, heavily fortified route. The small army was not even going to start the campaign as a single unit, but as two separate formations, 40 miles apart. In Finland, 40 miles might as well be the other side of the planet.

There were logistical issues, too. The Swedes had built up quite a stockpile in Finland, especially at Frederickshamn and Helsingfors, but perhaps too much transport had been allocated to supplies and not enough to moving men. There had been delays in filling out the cadres of the local Finnish units. Back in February, Buddenbrog expected no more than 10-12 days would be required for a full muster. After the summer's false start, this timetable no longer met the reality of the situation, and after being notified of the outbreak of hostilities on August 12th, it took several days for the Army to react.

Having said that the Swedes had accumulated large stockpiles, it must also be said that 'large' is a relative term. Buddenbrog lacked forage for his horses, and he lacked the facilities for feeding large numbers of men in one spot. For this reason he had divided his troops into their two concentrations, creating a cordon around the frontier. Not the best deployment for an offensive.

Ready money was also in short supply. The war chest comprised only 69 barrels of gold coins, of which 27 were from the French subsidy. Lewenhaupt pointed to this as another reason to act fast. Indeed. When the Hats finally did act, they behaved so precipitously that they made a right hash of things.

A German, a Scotsman, and an Irishman walk into a bar...

In theory, Marshal Münnich should have commanded the Russian Army in the coming Finnish campaign. One of the multitudinous German experts, he had risen to the top slot, Commander-in-Chief, primarily on ability. But Anna Leopoldovna feared him. As much a politician as a soldier, he, and Count Ostermann, and one or two others, were quite capable of overthrowing the dynasty if they so chose, though how long they would remain in power was a question. Münnich's days were growing very short.

Therefore, the man chosen to command the Russian 'Army of Finland' was not Münnich, but his lieutenant, Piotr Petrovitch Lascy (1678-1751). Described by a Russian as 'one of the best type of foreign generals of Peter's time, who knew and loved the art of warfare', he was perhaps the greatest Russian general before the appearance of Suvorov. Marshal Münnich laid some claim to that title, and believed it of himself, but Lascy eclipsed him.

During the course of his life Lascy participated, by his own count, in 18 battles, 18 sieges, and 31 campaigns. In 1735 he had taken a Russian army to the Rhine. In 1736, 1737, and 1738 he had taken one to the Black Sea. Today, he was taking one north and west, into Finland, and possibly to Sweden. But Lascy (henceforth, 'Lacy') was not a Russian. His real name was Pierce Edmond de Lacy, of the House of Bruff, and he was born at Kileedy, in County Limerick, Ireland.

He took part in his first action at the age of 13, hastily commissioned as a Lieutenant and leading a band of his countrymen defending the town of Limerick against the army of William of Orange (1691). At the peace that year, Lacy's father, his brother, and himself, took flight with the Wild Geese – going to France to join the Irish Brigade.

Lacy lost his relatives while fighting in Italy during the Nine Years War, and went over to the Austrian service. Two years later, in company with his commander, he joined the Russian Army in time to participate in much of the Great Northern War. Beginning as a Lieutenant at Narva, he became a Colonel in 1706; at Poltava, where he distinguished himself, he was a Brigadier. Then came the conquest of Livland (northern Latvia and southern Estonia) and his appointment as chatelain of Riga Castle. In 1719 he participated in the invasion of Sweden proper, when the Russian Army marched across the Gulf of Bothnia over the ice.

After the war he entered the tsar's new Military College (*that is, the Ministry of Defence, not an educational institution*) as a General, then took command of the occupation army of Livland as Governor of Riga. Here, he came into contact with the future Tsaritsa, Anna Ivanova. Under her, Lacy fought in the War of the Polish Succession and the Russo-Turkish war of 1736-39, before returning to his governorship as a Field Marshal. Now, he had been appointed by Anna Leopoldovna to command in Finland. He had fought against Lewenhaupt once before, defeating him at the battle of Tönningen in 1714.

[This would be Lacy's last war. After, he returned to Riga, serving at that post until he died in 1751.]

[Lacy, though a 'foreign expert', was opposed to Münnich's innovations. The two had had disagreements since they cooperated during the war of the Polish Succession. In the Turkish war of 1736-39, Münnich made sure Lacy operated as far away from him as possible, on the Don River, while he operated on the Dniepr. Lacy had cause for complaint when his chief failed to keep him informed of events. It is also said that a jealous Münnich once drew a sword on him.]



Field Marshal Lacy

Among Lacy's generals, the most important during the campaigns to come would be General Keith, his second in command. James Francis Edward Keith (1696-1758), was as his Christian names imply, a Scottish Jacobite. Born at Inverugie Castle in Aberdeenshire, he was the son of the 9th Earl Marishal of Scotland (his brother, also a confirmed Jacobite, eventually took the title). His early training was for the law and literature, but his own tastes were for soldiering.

In 1715 he took up arms for the Old Pretender, James Edward Stuart, and was forced to flee to France; in 1719 he returned to Scotland and fought with the Spanish against King George's men at Glenshiel.

Transferring to the Spanish service at that time, he also participated in the Siege of Gibraltar (1727). Due to his Protestant religion, promotion in the Spanish service came slowly. So, he went to Russia; Peter II (that is, the Regent of the day, Catherine I) gave him command of a Guards regiment.

Like Lacy, Keith fought with skill in the War of the Polish Succession and the Russo-Turkish campaigns. Upon the outbreak of war with Sweden, he was a General of Infantry. He was also noted for his abilities in civil administration.



General J. E. Keith

Keith, like Lacy, was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the great captains of his time. And Keith's merits included a liberal humanity and sense of justice which were unusual for the period, and even more glaring in Russia.

[Feeling that Elisabeth was not giving him his due – indeed, fearing imprisonment as a foreigner, by some accounts – he went to Prussia in 1747. Frederick the Great made Keith a Field Marshal, and Governor of Berlin. In the Seven Years War, before his death at Hochkirch in 1758, he fought at Lobositz, and commanded the siege of Prague, then defended Leipzig. Later, he was at Rossbach, and held an independent command while Frederick fought the Leuthen campaign. His health was broken in his final year, but he gamely fought on, being killed while leading a charge.]

Poking A Bear With A Stick – 1741

Lacy's campaign plan for 1741 was based on his knowledge that the Swedes were disorganised and weak. This had been learned through contacts in Finland, and in any case could be inferred by the circumstances. Buddenbrog tried to give the impression that the entire Swedish Army was poised like a coiled spring, but not very successfully. Obviously a Swedish attack was in the works, but not immanent. The season was already late, so they might be planning to wait until the spring of 1742, as the naysayer General Cronstedt had indeed urged.

Lacy decided to upstage the enemy. Since the season *was* late, a quick foray would have to do. His troops would cross the frontier with only five days rations, take Wilmanstrand (Lappeenranta), which, along with Frederickshamn (Hamina) on the coast, and Nyslott (Savonlinna) farther to the north, was one of the three key Swedish border forts, and withdraw, leaving parties of Cossacks and Kalmyk tribesmen behind to make the winter unpleasant for the Finns.

The border in those days followed the coast eastward from Hamina before bending north to Wilmanstrand on the shore of Lake Saimaa. From there it ran northeast above the shore of Lake Ladoga into the untracked wilderness. The Arctic section of the border roughly followed its modern route.

There were only three roads into Finland: the King's Road that followed the coast, routes from Vyborg and from Kexholm on Lake Ladoga that merged at Wilmanstrand, and a rougher track from the north shore of Lake Ladoga via Nyslott that branched out among the small forest communities in southern Finland. Halfway between Vyborg and Frederickshamn, a branch road left the coast and cut northwest to Davidstadt, where it met one of the secondary roads running east-west.

Freed from war in 1739, Russia had quickly deployed 80,000 men to the Baltic region to forestall an expected Swedish invasion. They had been there ever since, quietly recuperating. And, thanks to Bestuzhev's intelligence service, a Russian expeditionary force was already prepared.

The main camp was established on July 22nd at the village of Ossinoua Rostchtsche, near Krasna Gorka – Red Mountain (often called the Red Hills), 16 Km northwest of St. Petersburg (now probably *Roshchino, due north of Kronstadt*). The useless but politically un-ignore-able Prince of Hesse-Homburg was commandant. of the camp, and would remain so, indefinitely.

[Hesse-Homburg had no reputation to speak of – or rather, a bad reputation. For some reason he had attained to Master of the Ordnance and had to be given a command of importance. Everyone agreed he would not be commanding troops in the field.]

The troops in this camp, and in smaller camps toward the frontier, amounted to 10,500 men. In addition, General Löwendahl, a Danish mercenary who would later become *Maréchal de Saxe's* right hand in the French Army, was given command of the southern Baltic coast and began forming two defensive corps in Livonia and Estonia.

[LeDonne gives a total of 35,000 men at or around Vyborg, and a further 33,000 in Ingria (the environs of St. Petersburg) and Estland (Estonia), including 12,000 Cossacks, Kalmyks, and Bashkirs. However, Manstein, whom LeDonne obviously uses as a source, provides the smaller initial total. Certainly, though, the number of 65,000 was attained by the opening of the 1742 campaigning season. Manstein does not mention Bashkirs. These were a Siberian tribe. They traditionally supplied a contingent of 10,000 men. Since there were only 12,000 irregulars, mainly Don Cossacks, and irregulars would not serve as garrison troops, it does not seem likely the Bashkirs were present, unless a few bands had been retained in arms at the end of the Turkish war. Some Kalmyks did

participate. They were a Turkic tribe, akin to the Tatars but, uniquely, Buddhist not Muslim; they still fought with bows and arrows.]

On the 6th of August, General Keith took the bulk of the forces based around Krasna Gorka – 5 regiments of foot and 3 regiments of dragoons, plus some detached grenadier companies – on to Moola Muisa (*Seleznyovo?*), about 8 miles (*English?*) beyond Vyborg. This was a road junction which permitted the outflanking of the latter place, so he ordered the construction of a fortified post.

[Manstein's account is obscure. There is no modern equivalent that even remotely looks or sounds like 'Moola Muisa'. The modern crossroads, where routes running through Vyborg direct by the 'Bridge of Åbo' (across the estuary) and running east from the town met the road running around the coast, are closer than 8 miles. Since Manstein probably meant an 8 mile walk, the crossroads on the far side of the bay is the most likely location. This would place Moola Muisa at or near Seleznyovo. Confirmation comes from the still extant trace of a rough fortification located not far from the modern crossroads.]

On August 25th, Keith announced the declaration of war to his troops and returned to Vyborg, camping on the Bridge of Åbo that lay on the northwestern side. Here he detached General Uxel and 1,000 dragoons to reconnoitre the frontier northward.

[The modern 'town' road crosses the water northwest of Vyborg via an island and two bridges. Presumably it was a similar situation in those days.]

At Vyborg there were nine regiments of foot busy with the fortifications. Keith took six of these under his command. For subordinates he took General Stoffeln and Major General Fermor (of Seven Years War fame); Major General Schipov became commandant of Vyborg. The force was issued 15 days of rations, though, per Lacy's plan, some would be cached for the return journey.

On the 28th, Keith led his army northwest, to the frontier. The going was difficult. Manstein comments:

'The army could only march in one column: for in all that country there is no practicable way but the high road. On each side are thick woods, marshes, and rocks. In all Finland there is scarce a plain found large enough to encamp with four regiments in front.'

Manstein, p. 304.

Thus on the first night, part of the army camped at Cananoia, a village 4 Km from the frontier, and the rest about 2 Km further back along the road. Here, they had their first brush with the enemy.

[Cananoia is probably Cansola, about 14-16 Km SW of Lappeenranta. In 1741 Cansola would have been 12-14 Km from the border.]

A Swedish courier wanted to deliver some letters to the Russian staff – probably to be forwarded to the Swedish embassy. He made two mistakes. The first was to approach the Russian lines at night, when no one could see a thing. The second was not to beat his parley drum until he was right on top of the Russian sentries. They opened fire in fright and killed his horse. The Swede fled, abandoning his drum and the letters.

Marshal Lacy, who joined his army on August 31st, learned of the Swedish dispositions from deserters. Generals Wrangel and Buddenbrog's positions were roughly estimated, along with the number of men they commanded. Wilmanstrand's garrison was put at 5-600 men. The rest of the Swedish expeditionary force appeared to be in transit, either on the march or still on board ship. Lacy concluded it would be another three weeks before they could be considered a threat.

The main concern was whether Wrangel would be able to support the town. Manstein says he was 'three Swedish miles' from Wilmanstrand, means roughly 33 Km distant, or a day's march. Would Buddenbrog vigorously support Wrangel with his own column. He was nearer 66 Km away. If a junction was made, however, 10,000 Russians would be pitted against almost the same number of Swedes. Even the prospect of attacking Wrangel's column at Wilmanstrand by itself, presumably dug in, was felt to be a very risky undertaking. The Russians had learned the hard way not to engage the Swedes except with overwhelming force.

[Peter the Great made it a dictum not to attack the Swedes unless at odds of 4:3 or greater (some chroniclers put it at 3:2).]

Fortunately, the Swedes were completely surprised. They did not believe Lacy would act so late in the year. Only at the last minute would Wrangel race to the rescue, and be caught up in a débâcle.

[Ten Swedish miles corresponds to a degree of latitude. The only problem with that unit of measurement is that it depends on the latitude! The formula for converting distances based on latitude into other units of measurement is trivial – if you are a mathematician. At 60° of latitude, where southern Finland is, 1 Swedish mile is about 6.9 'normal' miles. In short, Wrangel and Buddenbrog still occupied their original positions when Wilmanstrand came under threat.]

Lacy, always an aggressive commander, decided to go ahead. He was convinced the enemy were unprepared. The regimental commanders were all summoned to his presence and given their orders personally. On September 1st, the Russians crossed the frontier, leaving all its baggage behind and taking only five days rations.

[The baggage guard was composed of detachments from all the regiments (100 men and 3 officers each), plus the Nizhgorod Regiment, which had just arrived.]

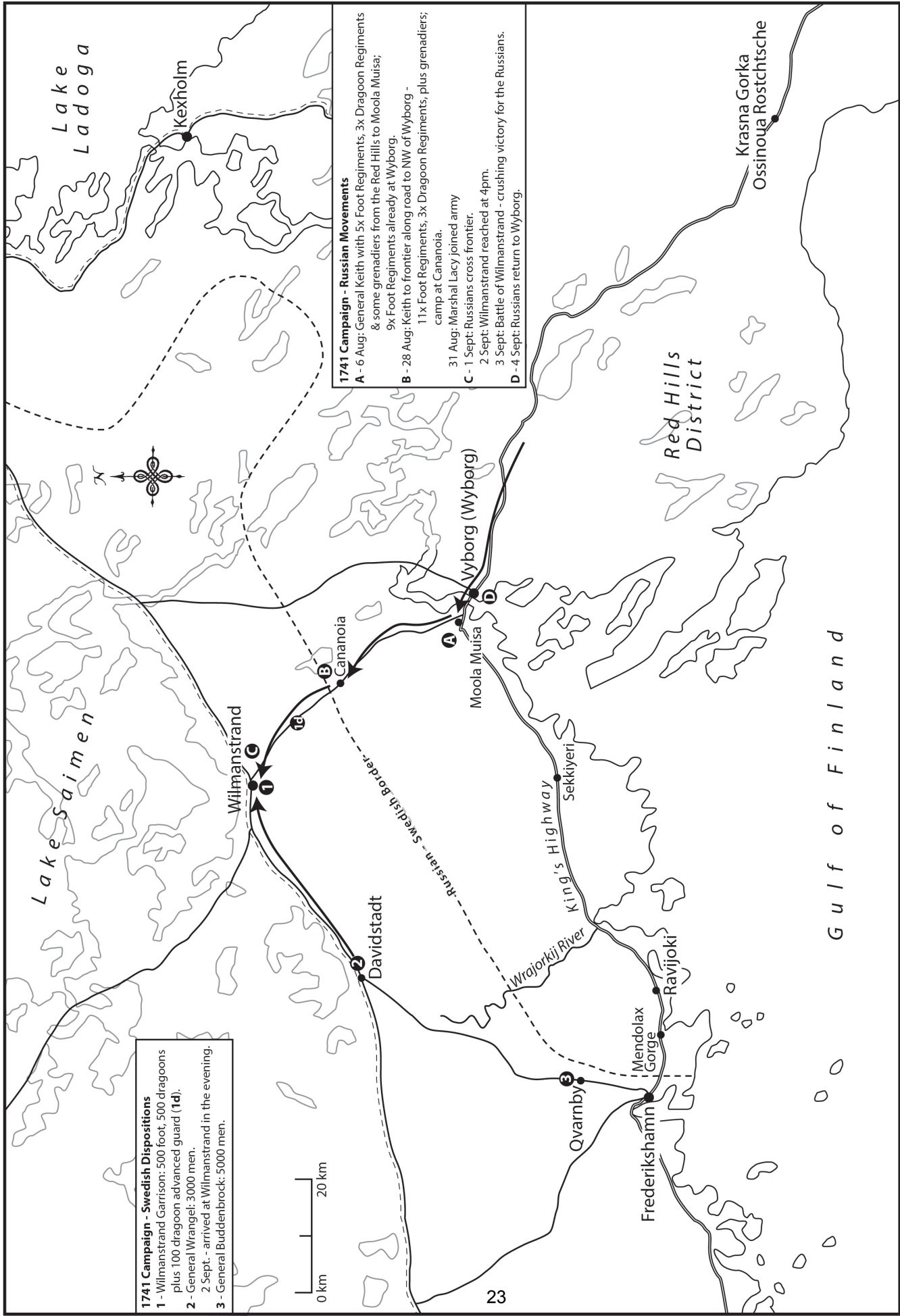
The march to Wilmanstrand did not take long. The first day, the Russians made six kilometres beyond the frontier, encountering no opposition but seeing the locals take to the woods. They camped for the night in three lines, with Lacy's HQ between them, dragoons, then infantry, only 30-40 paces apart, laying on their arms. This nearly proved fatal to the commanders.

About 11pm, four Swedish soldiers from Wilmanstrand were conducting a reconnaissance when a Russian sentry fired on them. Being near the first line of infantry, he spooked the second line, which rose up enmasse and shot volleys and battalion guns at the first line for about half an hour! Lacy and Keith, laying between the lines, had several bullet holes through their tents. An officer and 17 men were killed in the first line.

This tragic farce had a sequel. Some 200 horses broke their pickets in the confusion and galloped off to Wilmanstrand. The Swedish advance guard two kilometres farther up the road imagined they were being charged and fled into the town with the horses on their heels – a point being that they had to flee across a drawbridge, which no one thought to raise until it was too late.

That was of no immediate import, since the Russians were not actually pursuing. But the affair did have one consequence that would set the course of the campaign. From his camp, General Wrangel heard the commotion. Fearing that the town was already under attack, he decided to go to the rescue without waiting for Buddenbrog, setting off at daybreak after sending a request for aid to the latter. This was directly contrary to his instructions, which were on no account to give battle *without* Buddenbrog.

[Wrangel later claimed he was only trying to insert himself into the fortress so it could hold until his superior arrived.]



1741 Campaign: Marshal Lacy's attack on Wilmanstrand

On the 2nd, the Russians made little progress. The Swedes had broken down a bridge over a small river only four kilometres farther on, which took some hours to rebuild. Leaving the *Kiev Dragoons* to guard it, Lacy marched on. Around noon, the Russian advance guard clashed with about 100 Swedish dragoons (*Karelska Regiment*) and chased them off, taking a prisoner. At about 4pm, Wilmanstrand was reached.

Manstein describes Wilmanstrand:

'It is a little town, at the distance of full four German miles [30 Km; the present border is 20 Km or so] from the frontier of Russia, situate on the side of a great lake; this covered it behind, so that there was no attacking it but in front, where it was fortified with a covered way, a dry ditch palisaded, and a staked rampart, the whole made of earth and fascines. The town, though itself situated on an eminence, has hills all round, which command it. The highest is on its proper right, where there was a windmill. The Swedes had posted a detachment there, to hinder the Russians from occupying it. The rest of the ground is extremely broken and intersected; there is nothing but woods, marshes, bushes, rocks, and ravines; so that it is very difficult to approach except by the high road. Here and there only one may find little bits of fields, cultivated and enclosed.'

Manstein pp. 306-307

Lacy camped at the village of Armila, a kilometre from the town (now central *Lappeenranta*). He and Keith conducted a reconnaissance (protected by a battalion and 200 mounted grenadiers from the dragoons) to within musket shot (250 yards) of the ramparts, then returned. As they did so, it was reported that Wrangel's column was arriving from the west – but of course, the report only stated that several thousand men had shown up; this could be Wrangel and Buddenbrog both... Lacy immediately set his men to occupy the scattered high ground between the two armies, but night intervened and there was no engagement.

Next morning, the Russians saw Wrangel's corps camped on the high ground between the ramparts and the windmill, a few hundred yards from the town. It was a good position, hard to assail. Around 10am, the Swedes conducted their own reconnaissance.

Lacy, according to Manstein, still did not know if he was facing Wrangel only, or twice that number. Because of this he had already sent the artillery park back to the reconstructed bridge, along with his quartermasters, who were to lay out a camp there. However, he was soon reassured, and resolved to risk an attack. This decision was confirmed in a hasty council of war, without dissension.

[It had taken all day for Wrangel to reach the town; Buddenbrog could hardly have started that same evening after receiving Wrangel's note and it would likely have taken him another two days to arrive.]

Including the town garrison, Wrangel had 5,256 men. Lacy had 9,900. The Swedish regiments were one battalion each of:

*Willebrand (a battalion of Björneborgs regemente)
Södermansland regemente
Dalregementet
Västerbottens regemente
Tavastehus läns regemente (Finnish)
Savolax och Nyslotts läns regemente (Finnish)
and the Karelska dragonregemente (also Finnish).*

Russian sources, even Manstein, do not give a full list of their own regiments in the campaign. However, the OOB for those participating at Wilmanstrand is known:

Two dragoon regiments (*Kievski* being absent as baggage guard at the bridge):

*Iambourgski
Kazanski*

Plus the converged horse grenadier companies (a feature of Russian dragoons) from all three regiments.

Nine 'fusilier' regiments, each of two battalions:

<i>Ingermanlandski</i>	<i>Rostovski</i>
<i>Novgorodski</i>	<i>Nevski</i>
<i>Astrakhanski</i>	<i>Nizovski</i>
<i>Narvski</i>	<i>Velikoloutskiy</i>
<i>Apcheronski</i>	

[Ingermanlandski was the only regiment in this list to have three battalions on the books, though the third was not present.]

Plus two battalions of converged grenadier companies from the above regiments. 9,900 men in all.

[Manstein only troubled to include the Swedish names as a rebuttal to critics. Fortunately, there is a period diagram, in German (reproduced by Paul Dangel) showing the battle deployment. Doubtless a detailed OOB exists, written in Cyrillic, lying in some Kremlin archive, available only for viewing in person after a six month wait for a visa application and the disbursement of funds in the proper quarters; note-taking will doubtless be forbidden. No, wait, that's how U of T operates.]

The Battle of Wilmanstrand was thus a small battle, but, like Campo Santo in Italy, and Culloden a few years later, it had a significant impact. The Russians began their attack around 2pm.

The Battle of Wilmanstrand, September 3rd, 1741

Wrangel deployed 4,000 men to receive them. A battery of guns taken from the town defences was placed on the windmill hill – the *Qvarnbäcken* it was called – and the Swedish foot stretched in single line of battalions for some 800 to 1000 yards along a crest line running southwest, starting at a point about a musket shot, or 250 yards, from the ramparts. The six battalions were paired into three ersatz regiments, a common Swedish practice. One apparently lay east of the battery, and two to the west of it.

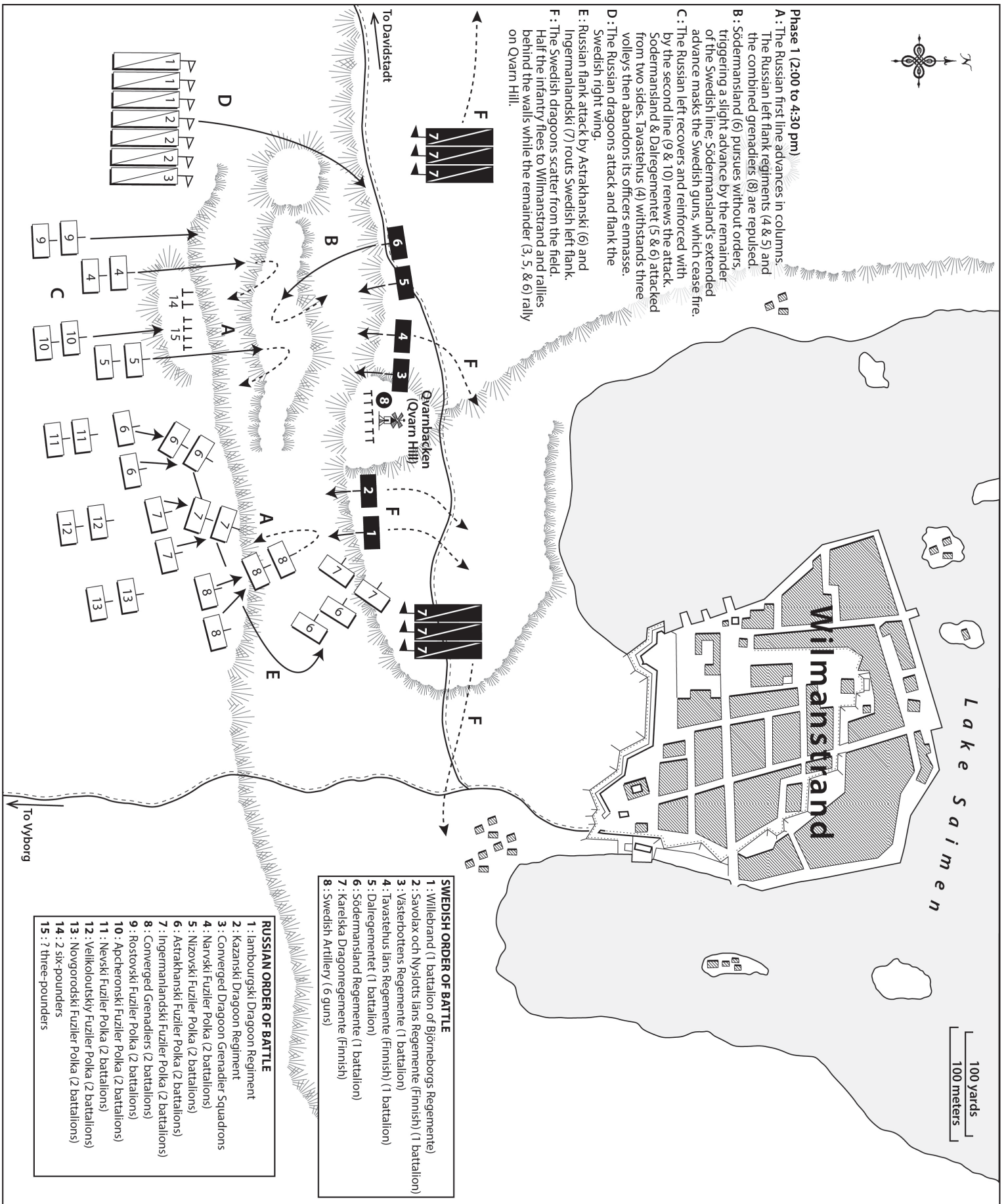
[The artillery pieces were probably heavier than battalion guns, but not too heavy. Perhaps 8-pounders, maybe, just maybe, 12-pounders. Wrangel likely left his battalion guns behind on what amounted to a forced march.]

There is a period map of the battle, from which the map attached to this commentary is taken. It does not show on this map, but both flanks lay relatively close to the lake shore, with just enough room for the one regiment of dragoons to operate on the flanks. Manstein states the Swedish dragoons were positioned on a plain beside a village, on the 'opposite side' of the hill. It is difficult to see where this could have been from either the period or a modern map. The most obvious place is actually the village lying outside the ramparts on the right of the Swedish line.

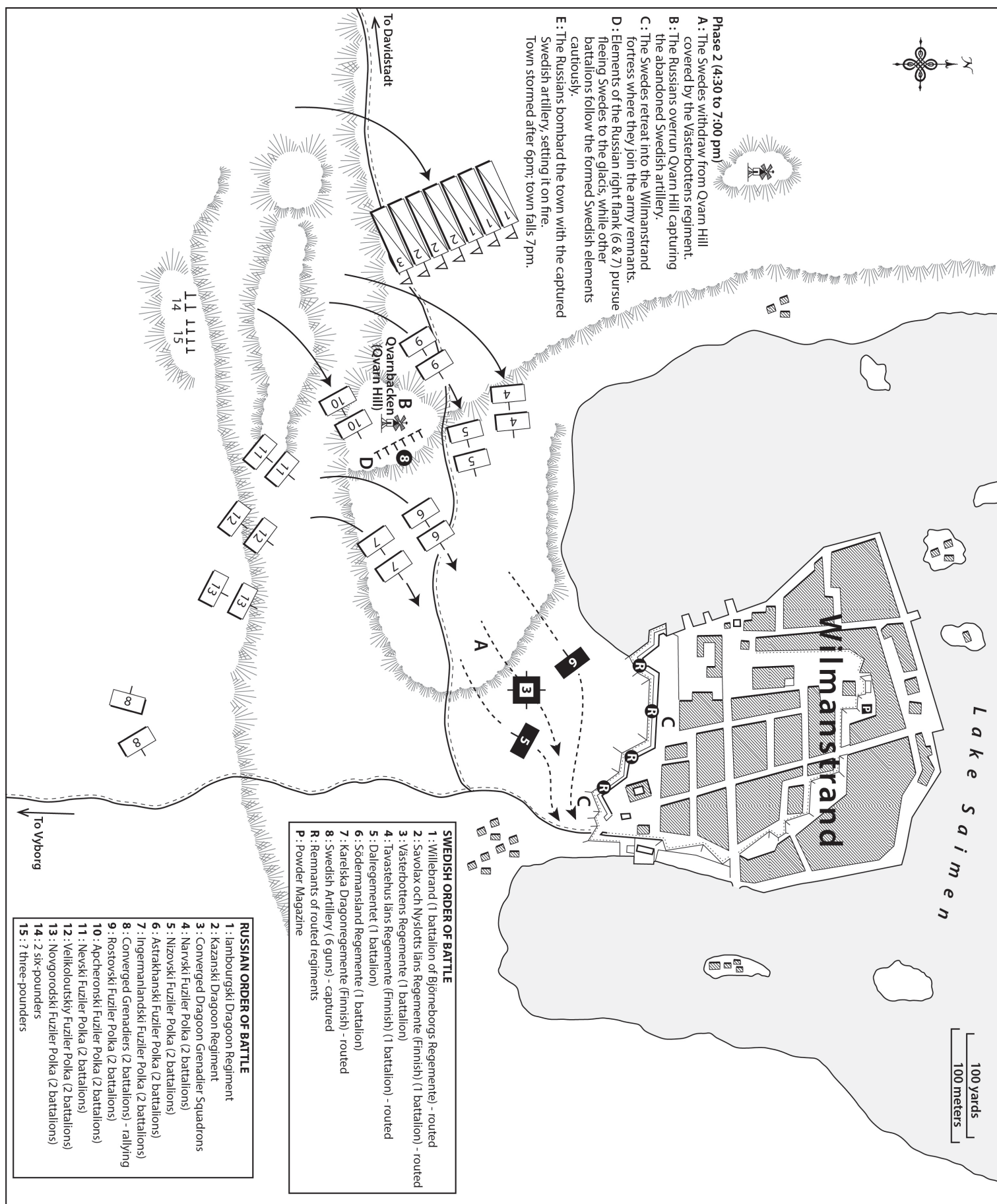
The Swedish foot were covered on that side by a ravine, really a sharp portion of a gully running between the armies (see map). Manstein says the Swedish dragoons covered the other flank, but Swedish sources indicate the dragoons also operated on the right. The most likely interpretation, therefore, is that the dragoons were camped outside the walls, in the village on the right (they would likely have kept their billets after Wrangel set up camp slightly to the west), and were split to cover both flanks during the battle.

Lacy sited his artillery (two 6-pounders and some 3-pounders) on high ground opposite the Swedish batteries and began an artillery

Battle of Wilmanstrand September 3rd, 1741: Part 1



Battle of Wilmanstrand September 3rd, 1741: Part 2



duel. Though damage was minimal, the Swedes had the best of it, and were beginning to inflict casualties.

The Russians had left their camp in no particular sort of order, but according to the period map, were drawn up facing the Swedes on the next rise to the south. The map shows the line bent behind their battery. There were sufficient battalions to make two complete lines.

Initially, the Russian dragoons were drawn up on either flank, but Manstein says those on the right could make no progress through the thick terrain and were diverted to the left. The two regiments were augmented by the converged horse grenadier companies of all three regiments (i.e. including *Kievski*), amounting to another regiment.

Manstein was a staff officer under Lacy's command, and led a critical flank attack in this engagement; his account of the events on his wing are quite detailed, but the other actions are only summarised. From his perspective, the attack is described as an advance by the two grenadier battalions, shown in the period map as being on the extreme right, followed by the battalions of *Ingermanlandski* and *Astrakhanski*, under Manstein's command. These last are shown lined up beside the grenadiers, but according to Manstein, the attack had to be made in column due to the constricted terrain, so that the grenadiers advanced in column of companies, only two companies wide, with the fusilier battalions behind.

From Swedish accounts it appears in fact that the whole of the Russian line advanced, perhaps leading from the right, perhaps simultaneously. Probably, the low ground between the armies was studded with copses; Manstein repeatedly makes the point that there was no room to manoeuvre on Finnish battlefields. This would mean the rest of the line also moved up in 'clumps'.

[It is not even clear that the whole Russian army formed up before attacking, though that would be odd.]

The grenadiers took heavy losses passing through the defile in column, after which they had to climb out of the gully. The Swedish guns seem to have done all the damage (given the layout, this suggests they attacked toward Qvarn Hill in a northwest direction). It seems the grenadiers fell back in confusion before reaching the Swedish line. Although he is listed in the second line, Major General Ukskul seems to have commanded this attack; he was the sole general officer casualty on the Russian side – perhaps one reason the grenadiers fell back.

To avoid the contagion of rout, as the grenadiers retired Manstein received a direct order from Lacy to cut to his right and attack the left flank of the enemy. The Marshal had seen the Swedes begin a movement forward, abandoning their superior position in a counterattack.

Manstein's attack was highly successful. When his men arose from the ravine at 60 paces, they found they had taken the two Swedish battalions to the east of the battery – *Willebrand* and *Savolax* – fully in flank. A single volley sent the enemy scrambling for the town. The Finnish dragoons supporting them (if there were any) bolted without a fight. Wrangel was not in time to stop the rout. Manstein pursued to the glaciis and, according to his recollection, his men began an immediate assault – though actually, some other things occurred first.

[The question of the Karelska dragoons is still not resolved. Manstein does not mention them on his flank, but the Swedish sources do say the regiment was split to cover both flanks. Most likely they were swept up in the rout. It is also odd that the Manstein says the eastern flank was unsuitable for horses, given that the road to Vyborg was right there.]

On the Swedish right, the Russians closed with the enemy, but the line held. Wrangel was in personal command here, but as soon as

the Russians were repulsed, he took himself off to the left – perhaps he had seen the beginnings of Manstein's flank march, perhaps not. Immediately after, one of the regiments on the Swedish right – *Södermanland* (500 men) – commanded by a highborn but impetuous officer, lost control of itself in the excitement and left the line to chase the fleeing enemy. They advanced so far that the Swedish guns had to cease fire for fear of hitting them. The commander of *Södermanland* tried to repair his mistake but was taunted by his men, who called him an 'old man'.

From an interpretation of all accounts, it appears that the other Swedish battalions likewise began to advance. Such was Swedish doctrine, but in this instance it proved their undoing. Manstein was presented with a perfect target, while on the right, the Russian dragoons, under Colonel Lieven, swiftly had the better of an encounter with the Swedish dragoons, routing them. They then attacked the Swedish foot, particularly *Södermanland* and *Dalregementet*, in conjunction with the reformed Russian left which had returned to the advance.

[It is unclear if battalions from the second line took part, but quite possible.]

The remaining four Swedish battalions did not break, but were forced back onto Qvarn Hill. In the center, the *Västerbotten* Regiment fought like men out of some ancient saga. Next to them, the *Tavastehus* Regiment took three volleys, but that was enough. They fled, leaving their officers standing there. Wrangel had his right arm smashed by a ball at this point and was taken off the field before he could rally the troops. The remnants of *Södermanland* and *Dalregementet* closed up with *Västerbotten*.

The surviving regiments fought for a half hour more, but by 5 PM they had been dislodged from the hill, the remnants falling back in good order under command of a Corporal Carlberg, the senior surviving member of his regiment. They made such a fine show that General Keith cancelled an attack by six of his battalions against them, saying it would be too costly.

The Swedish dragoons fled the battlefield entirely. Small groups of men (there is some mention of marines, possibly gunners) scattered to hide in the swamps and forests. The rest of the army escaped into the town, where they rallied and manned the ramparts.

With Qvarn Hill and the Swedes' own artillery in Russian hands, Wilmanstrand came under heavy bombardment, catching fire in several places. At this point, Lacy summoned the town to surrender, but when the parley drummer was shot, the Russians stormed the town.

Some sources say Lacy gave a direct order to storm after the drummer was killed. Such a decision was common practice and obeyed the current laws of war. Manstein says only that the Russians were angry, implying the troops just could not be stopped. That also would be quite natural, especially if his men were already fighting hand to hand on the ramparts. The tragedy lay in the fact that the whole thing was accidental. The commandant raised the white flag when the Russians were crossing the ditch, but neglected to inform all his posts of the fact. Thus, some positions continued to fire.

The Russians soon broke in, and by 7pm Wilmanstrand was in their hands. Wrangel was captured, along with seven of his staff. The commandant, Willebrand, was killed. The Russians took 1,250 prisoners of war, 2,000 horses, 4 standards, 12 colours, 12 guns, and a mortar, besides a war chest of 8,000 crowns (a paltry sum according to Manstein). The population of Wilmanstrand was deported to Russia and, after being plundered, the town was razed (September 4th).

3,300 Swedish dead were counted on the battlefield (Swedish sources say 1,300 killed and wounded, and 1,000 POWs). Less than 500, mostly dragoons, escaped, turning up as far away as Nyslott. The Russians lost a major general – Ukskul – three staff officers, eleven combat officers, and 514 men (the Swedes say 2,400 men killed and wounded, including a *lieutenant* general). Manstein, no raw recruit, reports that the gunfire during the battle was intense, and lasted over four hours.

There is a general agreement that the battle was a toss up. The Swedes had bad luck in losing Wrangel at a critical moment, and the butcher's bill proves they fought extremely hard. They were undone by their aggressive doctrine, and to some extent by general disorganisation. This verdict holds both for the battle itself, and the campaign. Wrangel's first mistake was in disobeying orders and fighting at all, but he was praised for his action – except by his superior. Even then, the battle might have been won, if the Swedes had not tried to launch a counterattack and abandoned an excellent position, just at the time both their flanks were turned.

One suspects the newly levied Finnish units fled out of mere confusion: first they are told to advance, then perhaps someone tells them not to, then they are shot at from the flank. That flank attack was perfectly timed, but even Lacy was not *that* good. The Swedish practice of cobbling companies together to form battalions meant that, in this rushed campaign, the units had not had time to 'shake down'. It would have been far better for them to remain on the defensive – but the Swedes never trained for that.

[It is significant that the units which broke were all Finnish. This does not jibe with their national reputation, then or now, but it should be remembered that most of the men were new to the colours, perhaps only a month under arms, perhaps even less.]

This action set the seal on the entire war. Any hope the Swedes entertained of turning the 'arranged demonstration in favour of princess Elisabeth' into a real advance on St. Petersburg vanished. It was questionable whether the coup would go ahead at all.

Buddenbrog, meanwhile, was having a frustrating time. His troops were too disorganised, according to his own account, to march off immediately, and he was two days from Wilmanstrand. That said, the evening of the battle, fleeing dragoons – not marching at regulation pace, mind you – rushed his camp. The sentries fired at them in error, then fled themselves, taking with them most of the camp. Buddenbrog and his officers emerged from their quarters to find themselves alone. It took most of the following morning to sort things out.

The general's immediate problems were compounded by a disaster that had overtaken the Swedish Navy, ruining the entire plan of campaign. As will be recounted, the entire Swedish Galley Fleet, plus a supporting force of frigates and ships of the line, led by one of Sweden's best fighting admirals, had positioned itself deep within the Gulf of Finland, ready to act in concert with the Army in its advance (or pretended advance) on St. Petersburg. At the critical moment, an outbreak of 'ship's fever' – typhus – devastated the fleet. The admiral was one of the many dead. Although the disease struck the Russians equally, and their navy was inert in any case, this was not realised by the Swedes. The offensive had to be delayed while new plans were made. And Lacy took advantage of the change in momentum.

With the Swedish offensive disrupted, the Russian marshal recrossed the border, leaving Cossacks and bands of Kalmyks (perhaps 3,000 irregulars) to prosecute the *kline krieg*, and handing command over to Keith, who took his men into winter quarters on November 8th.

Lacy's counterpart, General Lewenhaupt, arrived at the front in mid-September. Even after the debacle of Wilmanstrand he had

22,800 men (or 23,700) under arms. But this count includes 8,000 reinforcements that arrived in October, plus the remnants of the Fleet, most of which was in the process of departing for Sweden. Of effectives he had only 15,400. Still, he faced only 16,000 Russians in Karelia. It was a standoff. Lewenhaupt camped around Frederickshamn, and the Russians at Vyborg.

Swedish morale was low. They tried Cossack-hunting, but those wily horsemen had the better of them. Swedish morale sagged still further. After failing to persuade the crippled Navy to support a general advance, Lewenhaupt would make one probe in early November before entering winter quarters, but that will be described in its proper place.

Although rejoicing at his success, the Regency was not pleased with Lacy's too-brief dip into war, but the Swedish Army was still a bogeyman to the rank and file, and it would not do for Lacy to place his men in a spot where his command might be destroyed through sudden panic. He had already lost 2,000 men in this brief thrust. There was also the question of the large number of POWs to be guarded, a lack of provisions, and 'oh, by the way, what happened to my reinforcements?' Such arguments were irrefutable. The Marshal omitted to mention that the Army might soon be fighting for a different boss.

Generals Buddenbrog & Wrangel



Left: Lieutenant General Baron Henrik Magnus von Buddenbrog (1685-1743) was born in Livonia. Captain in the *Livgardet* (1711), Major of Grenadiers (1715), Major General (1721). Elevated to the status of *friherre* (1731), Lieutenant General of Infantry (1739). Executed in 1743, as will be explained. A Hat, and one of Lewenhaupt's coterie.

Right: Carl Henrik Wrangel, born in Sweden. Joined the Army at 15. Captain in the *Livgardet*, Lieutenant Colonel of the *Skånska ståndsdragonerna*. Captured at Poltava (1709). Repatriated in 1722. Colonel of the Nyland cavalry regiment (1722), of the *Tavastehus* Regiment (1727), *Nyland* Dragoons (1729), *Skaraborgs* Regiment (1739) Major General (1732). In 1739 he was offered a seat on the Privy Council but declined in order to keep his Army commission. Captured at Wilmanstrand (1741) and repatriated in 1742, he returned to Sweden a hero. In 1743 he was promoted to Lieutenant General, and in 1754 to Field Marshal. A Cap, though basically apolitical.

Naval Affairs for 1741

Given the geography of the theatre, the naval element was crucial. The Russian Army would be forced to march along the coast of Finland. The Russian Navy, based at Kronstadt, would be needed to support and protect this advance, but could do nothing to prevent the Swedes reinforcing and supplying their own troops unless they could break out of the Gulf of Finland.

Sweden's active naval forces were based at Karlskrona, far to the south of the area of operations. Prior to the official outbreak of war (May 22nd), a squadron commanded by Vice Admiral Thomas von Rajalin set sail and proceeded toward the Gulf of Finland. The squadron consisted of five ships of the line and four frigates, with four smaller vessels:

Ulrika Eleonora (76)
Enigheten (66)
Prins Carl Fredrik (72)
Stockholm (68)
Finland (60 or 70)

Of the frigates, *Freden* (42) and *Svarta Örn* (34) are named.

In June, four more ships of the line and a frigate would be added:

Friheten (66)
Bremen (60)
Hesse-Cassel (64)
Verden (54)
Drottningholm (42) frigate.

Patrolling the North Sea since June were the *Öland* (54) and the frigate *Fama*. These were to give early warning of the approach of any ships from Archangel.

Stockholm's instructions were again vague and contradictory, but Von Rajalin was independent-minded and aggressive. After entering the Gulf of Finland, he established his base at the Åspö skerries, off the coast near Frederickshamn, sending patrols out to Rogervik (*Paldiski, an anchorage just west of Revel/Tallinn*), Hogland (*the large, long island 180 Km west of St. Petersburg*), and Sommers (probably *Summa roads, on the Finnish coast west of Frederickshamn*).

Two more ships of the line – *Göta* (70) and *Skåne* (62) – arrived at the end of September. This gave von Rajalin 800 guns and 5,060 men, plus 700 marines.

[The 80-gun Sverige was also at sea, but on her way to the Dardanelles as a gift to the Sultan.]

Vice Admiral Abraham Falkengren commanded Sweden's nascent galley flotilla. His instructions were to based itself at Kutsalo – Frederickshamn's roads – in support of both the Army and the Navy. Falkengren commanded two prahms (tubby gun platforms firing broadside), fifteen galleys, and ten support ships; his command numbered 1,470 sailors and 2,930 soldiers.

The Russians equalled the Swedes in number of ships of the line:

Sviatoi Aleksandr (70)
Sveryni Orel (66)
Revel (66)
Slava Rossia (66)
Osnovanie Blagopoluchii (66)
Ingermanland (66)
Astrakhan' (54)
Gorod Arkanhangelesk (54)
Severnaia Zvezda (54)
Neptunus, (54)
Azov (54)
Sviatoi Andrei (54)

Novaia Nadezhda (54)
Kronstadt (54)

but obeying a standing order not to engage unless at one-third advantage or better, did not sortie, save for a few small patrols. The battle fleet remained under the guns of Kronstadt.

The Russians sent a frigate to the coast off Krasna Gorka and another to Vyborg, to secure a path for the galley fleet based at Oranienbaum on the southern shore. Others scouted the north shore of Kotlina island (site of the Kronstadt naval base) – apparently the north shore had been deemed unfit for navigation until 1740, when a visiting merchant ship found a passage.

The only naval action took place on August 26th, when a Russian double-boat, commanded by midshipman Ivan Dirikova, fired on some Swedish oared boats at long range, to no effect.

[Double-boats are exactly what the name suggests: twin hulls joined by a flat deck. Useful as transports, artillery platforms, and bridging components.]

As already mentioned, the Swedish Navy had lost all its steam. Sickness had broken out even before the fleet left port. By the time they took up station, the Swedes were losing hundreds of men every month – by August 19th, 729 sailors had died and 2,382 were ill, leaving the battle fleet a mere 2,000 active personnel. 900 troops had to be transferred to the ships as basic crew, plus 400 men from the galleys. 1,300 more were sent from Sweden. Von Rajalin himself died on September 26th, a great loss to his war effort. More delay ensued while his replacement, *Schoutbynacht* (Rear Admiral) Aaron Sjöstjerna, found his feet.

Sjöstjerna in fact soon departed for Sweden, perhaps to report on matters, perhaps to have his command confirmed. The reasons are not stated, but he was a council member. Having refused a request from Lewenhaupt for a sweep to the Birch Islands (*Beryozovye, near Primorsk*), he may have needed to make a personal justification for opposing the will of the *Lantmarskalk*. On November 5th, with rime ice beginning to appear, the remainder of the Swedish vessels set sail for Karlskrona, losing, as a parting insult of fate, the frigate *Svarta Örn* (34), to rocks off the Finnish coast.

Taken in conjunction with the strategic situation, the Swedes had, one supposes, despite all the setbacks, accomplished their mission. The Russian fleet had not sortied. The galley arm, a new creation suffering from teething problems, had been tried out under wartime conditions. It would have been absolutely pointless to remain on station longer – the Gulf of Finland routinely freezes solid throughout its length and remains in that state until late Spring. Somehow, however, the affair lacked satisfaction.

It would have been difficult for the Russians to sortie for a fight. Their fleet, too, was in disarray. Ships had been constructed much faster than they could be crewed, and the crews were still very dependent on foreign expertise for such things as navigation and medicine. (That was a major reason why they used so many galleys.) They lacked even the most basic combat training. The Turkish war had also caused losses among the 'old salts' – although there was no Black Sea Fleet, a large number of small vessels had been constructed for riverine and coastal duty in the Ukraine.

In 1737, 1739, and 1740, only five battleships were capable of putting to sea for annual manoeuvres in the Baltic; in 1738 there were only four. Six frigates were at sea in 1737, but only three in 1740. In 1739 Russians sortied all the way to the Krasna Gorka; in 1740 they made it as far as Riga.

[On the eve of war, the head of the Navy, Admiral Golovin, had to travel to Holland to find men with the necessary skills. Overall, Russian crews

remained 36% under strength, even counting their complements of marines and draughts from the Army.]

The galleys were no better off than the sailing vessels. By way of illustration, take Captain Ivan Kukarin. He commanded three training galleys and eight oared transports employed in the ferry service between St. Petersburg and Kronstadt. Working with understrength and unskilled crews did not seem to bother him – he was perpetually drunk. His case was so bad that he was summoned to appear before the Admiralty Board. He did so – drunk. So drunk, in fact, that he did not even realise he had been arrested, and when he awoke in prison, treated the guard as his personal servant, striking the man when he did not obey. Kukarin received the knout and the sack.

The Arctic Squadron

The Arctic Squadron was an unsung Swedish bogey in this war. Archangel was Russia's original 'window on the west', established over a much older fishing settlement to cater to the British and other traders who did not want to pay tolls to Denmark (who in those days owned both sides of The Sound – the passage into the Baltic). Though in decline after the recent establishment of St. Petersburg, Archangel was still a viable port (for five months out of twelve, anyway) and had its own shipyards and fortifications.

In May-June of 1741, presumably as part of a routine transfer, the Russians deployed three frigates from Revel to the White Sea – *Vahmeyer* (36), *Dekrondelivde* (32), *Kavalar* (32). Leaving on June 2nd, they arrived July 29th. Then the recently launched *Sviatoi Panteleimon* (54), *Sviatoi Isakii* (54), and *Leferm* (66), plus the *Apollon* (32) frigate set out on the return journey. The frigate *Mercurius* (32) remained behind.

[There are discrepancies in the sources. Four other ships of the line – Schastlije (66), Blagopoluchie (66), Fridemaker (66), Lesnoje (66) – are sometimes given. Panteleimon and St. Isaac are sometimes recorded as launching in 1743 and Leferm in 1742. Fridemaker, too, is sometimes given a 1742 launch date. Some sources state that the entire force, less Mercurius but including the newly arrived frigates, made the return journey.]

Somehow the squadron received word of the outbreak of war – perhaps from the Danish squadron that routinely cruised the North Cape, or from fishing boats. But they already had their orders. The Russians crossed to the Shetlands, then put into Bergen to resupply before returning to Archangel. Bad weather forced them to winter at the ice-free port of Ekaterina (Polyarny).

[The Danish vessels consisted of: Prinsesse Carlotta Amelia (60), Markgravinde Sophia Christina (48 or 60), Prinsesse Louise (60), the sloops Christinasoe (18) and Blass Heyre (18), and the snow Søs Ridder (12).]

There were fears that Sweden would interdict the White Sea trade route; indeed, King Frederick (or the officials who used his stamp) had given orders to that effect, and offered a number of letters of marque. In the event, however, the Swedes did nothing about the problem. Ever. Initially, they were fixated with the planned coup, but even in 1742 and 1743 they failed to act. Baltic trade diverted away from St. Petersburg to Riga and Revel, which did not exactly prevent Russia from obtaining those goods. Trade with Archangel was completely unaffected; in 1741 a record 96 grain ships (mainly Dutch) arrived there.

[1741 was also the year Vitus Jonassen Bering arrived off the coast of Alaska. He had left St. Petersburg in 1733 and crossed Siberia, not arriving at Yakutsk on the Lena until 1735. From here two ships were readied to explore the Arctic coast while other parties searched for a trail to the Sea of Okhotsk. Bering arrived at the town of the same name toward the end of 1737. Here, an expedition was preparing for a first visit to Japan. Not until 1740 was the expedition to America ready – the immense costs involved beggared the entire region. Bering had navigated the strait

that would later bear his name years before, but only to prove there was no land bridge; his party had not sighted America. On July 27th, 1741, Bering stepped ashore at Mount Saint Elias, on the Alaskan coast. Separated from his chief, Bering's second in command, Alexi Chirikoff, chartered the northwestern coast of Alaska. Meanwhile, Bering crossed back to Kamchatka, but he was shipwrecked. Falling ill of scurvy, he died on Bering Island, December 19th, 1741.]

Sister, It Is Time To Get Up! – The Coup

Anna Leopoldovna's rule was now on very shaky ground. The Swedes were also shaken by Lacy's unexpected attack, but resolved to go through with the 'demonstration'. They could not convince the Turks to create their own distraction – the Porte was itself distracted by Nadr Shah – so the hope that the diehard Hats retained of developing the demonstration into a real offensive was fading. For their part, the Russians tried and failed to enlist the aid of their 'loyal client', Prussia. Frederick II was rather busy in Silesia, attacking their other 'loyal client', Austria.

France, the chief promoter of the whole scheme (excepting von Nolken), had spent the summer outfitting a large flotilla at Brest, bound for the Baltic, but strong words to Fleury from the Russian Ambassador, and an open threat from Britain, quickly killed the enterprise. This, too, dampened Swedish enthusiasm. They had been counting on that squadron. The war was becoming an isolated affair.

And, the coup was immanent. In early November, Lewenhaupt, made a movement along the King's Road against Vyborg. Taken as a purely military action, this made very little sense. Lewenhaupt took with him only 6,000 foot and 450 dragoons (and 10 guns). A small column of 500 men under a Lieutenant Colonel Sprengtport probed the border from what remained of Wilmanstrand. Another column sortied from Nyslott.

But, hampered by deep snow, Lewenhaupt stalled at Sekkiyeri. The improvised sledges his men were using to pull their gear along were worn out, and there was no means of acquiring new ones. This, was the climax of the Swedish intervention on behalf of Princess Elisabeth, though in the opinion of some historians it was just bumbling.

Even so, there was panic in St. Petersburg. On November 24th, Anna Leopoldovna ordered the Guards regiments north. They refused to go. Some said the Swedish advance was a lie, others whispered that the Tsaritsa's foreign Administration wanted to remove them from the palace before their favourite, Elisabeth, was prepared to act.

The crisis had come, but the princess was not ready. She dallied. Her cabal, Vorontsov, Razumovsky, Shuvalov, and her physician Lestocq, insisted she must call on the Guards. At 2pm on the 25th, she finally agreed. Putting on a man's cuirass, she went out to the Preobrajenski Barracks. Presenting herself before the ranks, she held up a crucifix and exclaimed,

'My children, you know whose daughter I am.'

The guardsmen responded,

'Mother, we are ready; we will kill them all.'

'I swear to die for you; will you swear to die for me?'

That night, traveling by sleigh, guardsmen riding on the runners, she rushed to the Winter Palace while parties dispersed to arrest the Brunswicker crew: Marshal Münnich, and the ministers, particularly Ostermann, plus Anna's lover, and Baron Mengden, with his family (Mengden's wife being the lover of Anna's husband).

At the Winter Palace, Elisabeth walked straight into Anna's bedroom: 'Sister, it is time to get up!' Waking, Anna exclaimed, 'How are you ma'am?' Spying a bevy of grenadiers in the doorway behind Elisabeth, she guessed the truth and asked only not to be separated from her children. The two of them went off to collect the heir-child Ivan Antonovich. In the morning, Elisabeth issued her first manifesto.

The Brunswickers and their creatures were exiled to Siberia. Technically, the 'Germans' were all condemned to death: Ostermann to be broken on the wheel, Münnich to be quartered, and the rest merely decapitated. But this was just ritual designed to display the ruler's clemency. Anna's family was sent to Kholmogory, a small community some 75 miles south of Archangel – home to more than one such royal party over the centuries. The infant Ivan VI, and possibly Anna's husband, the prince of Brunswick (Anthony Ulric Leopold), were imprisoned in the Schlüsselburg fortress. The young Peter-III-to-be was summoned. Those exiled by the old regime were recalled in droves. In all this, Elisabeth faced two immediate questions. How far to take the coup? And, what to do about the Swedes?

[Münnich wound up at Pelim, in the house he had built to accommodate his rival Biron. Ostermann vegetated on the Ob River, and Biron's family at Iaroslavl.]

To deal with the second question, she was required to be merciful with regard to the first. This was not easy. The salient feature of her first manifesto was the proclamation of her right to the throne by birth, in opposition to Peter the Great's law of choice. Clearly, she intended to turn the clock back. The idea that she might have been persuaded by others to make that declaration, or that it was a purely opportunistic move, was not to be thought of.

The clergy proclaimed a holy war against all foreigners and gave Elisabeth the mantle of a champion against the foreign devils. There were revolts in St. Petersburg and within the Army. Some foreigners did retain the trust of the new Administration. Marshal Lacy, for example, who immediately reported for duty (November 26th) and pledged his loyalty, was retained in his command. But everyone knew he had no interest in local politics.

[It is recounted that before the success of the coup was known, Lacy was woken from a sound sleep in the dead of night and asked where his loyalties lay. Even in that state he had the presence of mind, tempered with a sense of irony, to reply: 'with the reigning empress'.]

General Keith was also spared, being a popular former Guards colonel, and equally apolitical. Elisabeth could not do without at least some foreign workers, so she turned a deaf ear to the firebrands calling for a general massacre. The English, Austrians, and 'Saxons' (this a jab at Anna's lover, Lynar the Saxon) were targeted, but the French were hailed as liberators. The French Ambassador, Chétardie, had his hand kissed by officers of the Guard. Even Mardefeld, the Prussian Ambassador, received favour as an ally of France.

Elisabeth herself was inclined to peace by nature. Besides, the conclusion of a peace at the start of a new reign always goes down well. The Swedes were supposedly marching to her assistance. Lacy's attack on them had been by order of the old regime, and could be disavowed. The Swedish POWs were feted. Until one of them started shooting off his mouth about 'Swedish superiority' and got them all shipped to Siberia.

[And that man just happened to be the same upper class twit who sparked the ill timed advance at Wilmanstrand. Some mothers do 'ave 'em. (Elisabeth ironically gave him a golden sword at war's end).]

Truly, the Swedes were marching to aid Elisabeth, in a way. If Lewenhaupt could have reached St. Petersburg, he might have played a starring role in the drama, might have forced a peace on terms very favourable to Sweden. Instead, after learning of the

coup's success he returned to Frederickshamn and sent his regiments into winter quarters.

In a conciliatory mood, Elisabeth sent a message to the Swedish general via a released POW, inquiring about terms. Chétardie did likewise, suggesting now was the best time to make a deal favourable to Sweden. He proposed a truce. Lewenhaupt agreed. On December 6th, pending the outcome of deliberations in Stockholm, Russia and Sweden signed an armistice.

'The Worst Roads In The Universe' – 1742

The French diplomats would certainly have liked things to stop here. Prussia may have stabbed them in the back by calling truce with Austria, but they had ascendancy at the Russian Court. The pro-Austrian elements (including the perfidious English) were in full flight. Russia would be distracted for quite some time. But the Swedes refused to alter their demands. Elisabeth even offered to pay the costs of the war. They would not accept. In large part this was wilful blindness on the part of the Hats. But they would not have been so bold if they did not believe they would have support for their claims.

The French were sending mixed messages. Chétardie wanted peace, but Louis XV wanted to reward the Swedes for honouring (as he saw it) their commitments. There was still hope that Russia might disgorge territory, if they feared a combination against them. The French Foreign Minister, Amelot, strongly urged that Ottomans openly declare for Sweden. A vain hope. At the same time, he upbraided Chétardie for the 'field armistice', which had been concluded without consulting Paris. Chétardie ought to have maintained the pressure, while simultaneously assuring Elisabeth of French goodwill.

[There are times one feels that governments do not pay their ambassadors adequately.]

On January 11th, the new Tsaritsa, who had already asked the French King to mediate, was presented with a note from Louis XV along the lines of 'give the Swedes a bone or you'll be sorry'. She responded by pointing out that while she was grateful for Sweden's aid in toppling the old regime (although it had been hard to spot, buried in a snow drift), she could hardly make one of her first acts as Empress the dishonouring of her grandfather's memory and the humiliation of her country. Chétardie, feeling a yawning gulf opening beneath him, did not give up. He approached both Chancellor Bestuzhev (brother of the ambassador) and Doctor Lestocq with the offer of a French pension of 15,000 livres.

Bestuzhev refused, having just presented Elisabeth with proof that the French and Swedes were trying to incite the Turks against Russia, but Lestocq accepted. It would do him little good in the long run.

[Bestuzhev, on the other hand, when he later aligned himself with a pro-Austrian cabal, used the fact that his 'hands were clean' as a tool to help him bring Elisabeth to his opinion that the French were not to be trusted.]

To muddy things further, Nolken, well known industry spokesman for war, mingled with the St. Petersburg nobility, urging peace. Some months passed in this vein. In April, despite the fact that the armistice had officially been broken by the Russians on March 1st, Nolken even attended Elisabeth's coronation at Moscow (April 25th). But concessions were as far away as ever.

Annoyed at the futile attempt to drag in the Ottomans, Elisabeth gave a diplomatic counter-thrust, issuing a manifesto to the Finns, promising to set up an independent Finnish state and urging them not to fight. (That fell on deaf ears; the Finns have lived next door to the neighbourhood bully for too long.) The Swedes, expecting the French to work out a back-room deal while they stonewalled,

were to be brutally disillusioned. In May, Nolken left Russia. The war had resumed.

The Lagencrantz Mission

One day, while preparing for the summer offensive, the Russians had an encounter with the Swedes, in the form of a colonel, one Lagencrantz, bearing offers of peace; Lacy had him sent on to Moscow.

Colonel Carl Otto Lagencrantz had come from Stockholm. He also had the blessing of Lewenhaupt, who he met on the way. Despite the Swedish Government's tough outward stance, they were under fewer illusions than Lewenhaupt. Of fifteen votes on the War Council, only three were for defending Frederickshamn. Some were for defending the Kymi River line. Most agreed that peace was their only real option. At least, it was hoped, Lagencrantz would buy them some time.

But, Colonel Lagencrantz's diplomatic mission was a failure. Arriving during Elisabeth's coronation, he spoke with Nolken, and with Chétardie, had an audience with Elisabeth, and even visited the Duke of Holstein, candidate for the Swedish throne – the colonel just happened to be the duke's biggest supporter.

Cue for a biographical sketch. Sweden was undergoing a succession crisis. The Queen of Sweden, Ulrika Eleonora, died in December of 1741. Admittedly, she had long ago abdicated in favour of the *riksdag* and her husband (in that order), but she was still the Queen, and the King so far had had no legitimate children, and now never would.

But far more importantly, the Queen had been resolutely opposed to the so-called Holstein Party, who favoured the succession of that family to the Swedish throne, now represented in the person of the teenage Carl Peter Ulrik, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

His name and title do not properly convey his importance. To begin with, his mother was the elder sister of the new Tsarista. He was also in the process of becoming Grand Duke of Russia and heir to that Empire. It took a while, but he would eventually make it – as Peter III.

As a carrot for those Finns who wanted independence, Peter was being toasted as Grand Duke of Finland. After the Russian conquest of the country he was actually given that title, but he had a right to it anyway, because he was *also* grandnephew of Charles XII. That is, *he had the potential to be king of both Russia and Sweden*. Elisabeth swiftly snatched him out of the Swedes' reach in January of 1742.

The Holsteiners regarded the duke as their next sovereign, and his guardian, Elisabeth, either as a friend or as a mighty force worthy of propitiation. Many officers were Holsteiners, which is why they had been so hot to fight in 1741 and were now very, very reluctant indeed. But more on that later.

While Lagencrantz did convey the impression that the Swedes wanted to talk peace, he was unable to slow the pace of the Russian Army by so much as a day. Instead, as a rather clumsy gesture of goodwill, he made a free present of Lewenhaupt's dispositions! He then proceeded to Frederickshamn and told Lewenhaupt what he had done (perhaps suggesting that the only roadblock to peace was the failure of certain high officers to recognise the Grand Duke as the lawful heir to Sweden).

That high officer, already hating Lagencrantz as a 'Holsteiner' – Lewenhaupt favoured the Danish Prince Royal – had him arrested and shipped back to Stockholm, where the *riksdag* found itself forced to reject Elisabeth's offers along with their envoy. Nolken, just back from the coronation, was sent to make another try, with no better result.

In fact, the Tsaritsa declared the Ambassador *personae non grata* – he had begun insinuating that Russia needed another coup. Nothing would do for Elisabeth now but that the Swedes cede *her* some territory – up to the Kymi River at least. This, the Swedes refused to countenance. Carried away by the moment, Elisabeth angrily demanded the occupation of Stockholm, so that a 'proper' peace could be dictated. And so, the dance of death continued.

[Interestingly, Nolken's proposed candidate for the second coup was the Duke of Holstein.]

Second Round

In those latitudes the campaigning season always opened late, but Marshal Lacy had another daring plan in mind. In early March, with the snow still thick on the ground, a raiding party of 300 hussars and 300 foot crossed the frontier and made a sweep. The intention seems to have been partly a reconnaissance but mainly an attempt to draw the Swedes' attention. The Russians were preparing to set out along the coast road to Frederickshamn, but that was not the surprise. Lacy intended to send an infantry column straight over the ice from Narva to Frederickshamn! He was aware the overwintering garrison there was weak, and this was a move they would never expect. All was in readiness for late March, but unfortunately the ice began to melt unusually early and the plan had to be abandoned.

[This was the tail end of the 'little ice age'. Winters were in general very cold, and in the 1730s the Baltic had frequently been completely iced over. 1742 happened to enjoy a freak spike of warming. Lacy's route would presumably have followed the various islands that stretch from coast to coast. The water here is shallow and the ice could certainly have remained thick enough.]

The marshal was still keen to make an early start, but there was too much snow for a land advance. In any case, the horses, always grass fed in the summer, could not be made ready for war until late May, when their food supply was high enough for grazing.

The Swedes, for their part, did not fare any better. Lewenhaupt set up his advanced HQ at Kymmenegård in April, all hot to take the offensive. He had been truly shocked when General Keith sent him a letter announcing three days grace before the resumption of hostilities – *but... but... putting Elisabeth on the throne was our idea*. He saw there was nothing for it now but to press the Russians and keep them off balance. But the Russians' operational problems were also his problems.

[The Swedish commander faced other problems, unique to his situation, but those will be described later.]

Moreover, the Swedish Navy was operating under strict instructions to maintain a patrol line between Helsingfors and Revel and ignoring requests to do anything else (*Admiral, now Vice Admiral, Sjostjerna's influence, perhaps?*) Lewenhaupt wanted them to enter the bay of Vyborg and cut the Russians' line of communications. Nothing doing. Instead, he was asked for 2,000 soldiers to crew the fleet.

It was also during this lull that Elisabeth issued her manifesto calling for the Finns to practice non-resistance, which, whether it effectively persuaded a given group of Finns or not, made the Swedes leery of using them in battle.

[In the event, the local peasantry appear to have offered vigorous resistance to raiding parties. Given the Finns' reputation, Cossack casualties in this undocumented aspect of the war were probably fairly high.]

So, as late as June, there was no activity beyond routine preparations and pinprick raids. Then the Russians nearly suffered a debacle of their own.

Mutiny!

On June 6th, the Swedes missed a golden opportunity to reclaim the initiative. Ambassador von Nolken, who had been conferring with Lewenhaupt, had just appeared at the front, sending a junior officer and a drummer to Lacy's camp to announce his arrival. The officer also bore a letter for Ambassador Chétardie at Moscow.

Now remember, after the coup Elisabeth had great difficulty preventing a general anti-foreign pogrom – she eventually had to place all foreigners under her personal protection. Her bodyguards were the most vocal, with the Guards regiments not far behind. With the Court wintering at Moscow, rumours went the rounds in St. Petersburg that the Tsaritsa had actually granted permission for a massacre and general despoiling of foreigners in the town; the Guards, rowdy as always, went about bullying and robbing (and not much caring if the marks were foreign or not).

At Easter, there was an altercation in St. Petersburg between a guardsman and a line grenadier. One of the grenadier's officers tried to break it up but the guardsman summoned a mob, and it transpired that the officer was a German. He was chased into a house containing other foreign officers and they in turn were hunted out. Some were beaten to death. Marshal Lacy, the senior man in the town, was able to restore order by massing the line regiments, who despised the Guards, and using them to impose a strict curfew. The perpetrators were punished, but only mildly, and the Guards grew ever more 'insolent'.

So, when the Swedes appeared in the Russian camp, there was another incident. The Swedes were accorded the usual courtesies by the commandant, Major General Lieven, but the Russian troops had other ideas. The Lievens were a Baltic German family, with scions in Sweden as well as Russia. The troops saw *Swedes* entering the tent of the *German* commandant. No matter that standing orders require Lieven to personally convey the dispatches to Lacy at St. Petersburg. When he left the camp the troops feared betrayal. A cry arose: 'To Arms! Swedes, Swedes!' A lynch mob gathered, headed by the Guards. After abusing the Swedish officers and anyone who got in their way, they were about to murder the lot when General Keith appeared.

If you want to stop a riot – or start one – send for a Scotsman. Keith strode up to the most vocal Guards officer, clapped a pistol to his head and bellowed for a priest to confess the man before he fired. The Provost and the Executioner were also summoned, while Keith's staff officers started breaking heads. Instantly, the mob dispersed to their tents. *Ye'll no fickle Thomas Yownie*. Order restored, the Swedes were saved and seventeen of the mutineers were given the knout and sent to Siberia. The ringleader also had his hand cut off.

[Keith was helped partly by being well-known to the Guards, partly by his physique – remember, these were Russian Guardsmen and so relatively small in stature – but mostly by the fact that the line regiments, and the horse guards, remained loyal to him.]

The affair, which might have been an opportunity, instead showed the Swedes that they could expect no concessions. It might have been – but was not – stage-managed for their benefit. It gave certain indication of what would happen if the Tsaritsa yielded on any point. The war was certainly back on.

[By the way, Manstein seems certain Lieven had no thought of selling out.]

Back to Business

Marshal Lacy now had about 36,000 men in Karelia under General Keith and the Danish mercenary Löwendahl:

- 3 cuirassier regiments totalling 1,640 men
- 300 horse-guards
- 6 regiments of dragoons (4,200 men)
- 3 hussar regiments (1,786 men)
- 2,500 Cossacks of the Don
- An unspecified number of Kalmyk tribesmen (*and, if LeDonne is correct, Bashkirs as well, bringing the total number of irregulars to 12,000*)
- 3 battalions of guards (one from each regiment)
- 28 battalions of the line (averaging 500 men per battalion)
- Plus 10,000 men aboard the galley fleet (under General Levashov). These included a mix of line battalions, converged grenadier formations, and militia.

[Several units had also had to donate their men to the battle fleet, but Manstein – the source – apparently ignores them. In fact, about 60% of the Russian Army was concentrated in the Baltic region, though only about 20-30% participated directly in the campaign. A Major General Butler took over from Löwendahl on the Estonian side of the gulf.]

[Manstein names as subordinates, Lieutenant Generals Stoffeln, Count Saltikov, and the Prince of Holstein; Major Generals Bratke, Lieven, Bruce, Wedel, Count Lacy, Browne, Lapouchin, and Tscherntzov, with Lieutenant General Brilly and Major Generals Karaoulov and Kindermann in the galleys. The artillery commander was Major General Tamilov.]

The Russians faced 23,700 Swedes (*according to LeDonne; actually far fewer were effectives*), so the Russians had a 1/3 advantage in frontline troops; higher than that probably, as the Swedish total includes garrisons.

[LeDonne's total for the Russians is 70,000 men, but he undoubtedly means for the Baltic region as a whole. The Russians had let Lewenhaupt know he would be facing 50,000 regulars and 30,000 Cossacks, but that was propaganda.]

On June 5th, Lewenhaupt's council of war failed once again to persuade their naval counterparts to assist an offensive by sailing to the Birch Islands. Stationing themselves there, they would have prevented the cooperation of the enemy galley and battle fleets (a sortie to the bay of Vyborg was of little use by now since the Russian galleys were concentrated there). A Swedish offensive became out of the question.

On June 7th, the day after the Russian mutiny, Lacy's army set forth from Vyborg. To oppose them, Lewenhaupt had about 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse. At a council of war, the decision was made to fall back and concentrated at Qvarnby, a central point from where the army could rescue Frederickshamn or move north to intercept an inland advance from Wilmanstrand.

After a pause while the marshal rejoined his command, Lacy's corps, trailed by the galley fleet, began wending its way west along the coast road, Major General Wedel being detached with the Cossacks, 600 dragoons, and 1,000 hussars to sow fear and confusion on the northern flank. The latter proceeded from Wilmanstrand.

Again, Manstein describes the march of the army:

'The Russian army during this campaign observed the following order during its marches, when at a tolerable distance from the enemy. The light cavalry, followed by the cuirassiers and half the dragoons, composed the van; the artillery came next, followed by the infantry; the other half of the dragoons formed the rear-guard. But as often as the marshal judged there was the least likelihood of coming to an engagement

he put part of the infantry at the head. For, as the country of Finland is extremely hemmed in, there is always a necessity to defile on a very small front, and there is no marching except in one column; nor is any way practicable but along the high road, with rocks, woods, and marshes on each side. As, in so broken a country, there is not room for encamping an army all together; there was always a flying camp of four regiments of foot and some dragoons of the rear-guard, separated by the distance of one or two leagues [4-8 Km] from the main camp.'

Manstein, pp. 358-359.

On the 20th of June, after a six day trek, along, as Manstein put it, 'the worst roads in the universe', every moment expecting an ambush, Lacy's corps arrived at a bend of the Virajoki, where they rendezvoused with a supply train carrying ten days rations and spent some time rebuilding the bridge. The countryside was deserted, burnt by the Cossacks the previous winter.

Alerted by more deserters that the Swedes were fast concentrating against them, Lacy ordered the baggage left at the bridge, guarded by 200 Cossacks, 800 foot (to guard the Cossacks), and Major General Kindermann (who presumably needed no one to watch him). The sick were sent back to Vyborg by galley, exchanged for two regiments of converged grenadiers and 3,000 foot, and all the rations were issued.

Wedel returned with news of only a single encounter (successful); he was sent out again to reconnoitre on July 2nd, the army crossing the river on the 1st.

The Swedes, all out of breath, occupied a position about 20 Km east of Frederickshamn, at a place called Mendolax Gorge (*Mäntlahti*). They were digging in. But deserters reported much of Lewenhaupt's army was still assembling. In all, he was reported to have:

- 4 regiments of horse
- 3 regiments of dragoons
- 19 regiments of infantry

all rather under the weather. Some of the regiments were of two battalions, some of one, and some were scratch units, amalgams of march companies and decimated battalions.

Wedel reported about 4,000 men in the entrenchments, but the Swedish galley fleet lay offshore in support. Lacy ordered his own galleys to chase them off, if possible.

On the 3rd, Lacy's men arrived at the last obstacle before the Gorge, a village called Ravijorki (*somewhat to the south of the modern road*), that lay about twelve kilometres from the enemy. Frederickshamn was another 8 Km farther on.

[By the by, Ravijorki is only 10 Km from the Virajoki, a journey which took three days. And this was along the so-called King's Road, the primary highway of Finland! Although paved today, this stretch of the road is still narrow, winding through dense, unending walls of trees.]

Two days later, the Swedes sallied against the Russian vanguard west of Ravijorki, employing 300 foot and 50 dragoons. Wedel's hussars dismounted and engaged them 'briskly', killing 16 and capturing 10; the hussars lost two dead and 40 wounded.

And then the Russians were at Mendolax Gorge, only half a mile from the enemy entrenchments. Lacy and his staff conducted their reconnaissance. The terrain was incredibly close. In front, the Swedish position was well nigh impregnable. Approached through thick woods that brought one out into the open within musket range, the gorge was 1,500 feet long and 100 feet deep, looking as if it had been cut by hand, with a stream and boggy,

heavily wooded ground at the bottom. Above, the Swedes had constructed earthworks. At the bottom they had felled trees over the swampy mess to turn it into an impassible jumble. On their right was the sea, and on the other flank a lake which proved to be unfordable – marshy and muddy, it stretched off into dense woods.

[The lake on the inland side of Mäntlahti is now farmland. This author is quite pleased with himself for having located the site by an examination of the terrain, before being confirmed in his analysis by the sources.]

Lacy decided to attack. There were two approaches, one via the main road and another by a narrow (narrow-er) track. *General-anchef* (full general) V. Levashov, pulled off the galleys earlier, was detailed to take this route, with six infantry regiments, two dragoon regiments, and some hussars. Lacy would lead the rest along the main road.

Even the main road was so narrow they had to hack a way through for the guns. But, as they approached the enemy, word came that the site had been abandoned! Both Levashov's hussars and Lacy's own scouts reported the same thing. They had come right up to the works – the hussars had actually dismounted and gone in – and seen no one. The marshal ordered a pursuit down the main road (the only way the enemy could have gone) with his light forces, but they found nothing. The Swedes had fled the night before and were already in Frederickshamn.

Manstein and the rest of the army boggled at this event. According to him, the Swedes had prepared a position for 7,000 men and 20 guns. If they had held it, the Russians *might* have taken it, eventually, perhaps, maybe, but they would have lost most of their infantry doing so and would have had to call off the campaign. He records how some grenadiers made a trial of the slope and took over an hour to climb it, even without being under fire. Oh well. Stupid is as stupid does. On to Frederickshamn!

[Apparently the local Swedish commander simply lost his nerve.]

This was the last of the frontier fortifications to be taken (although Wilmanstrand was hardly a major work, and Nyslott had only the castle of *Olavinlinna* – though a tough nut to crack in the Great Northern War). The garrison consisted of eight regiments (single battalions):

*Bousquet (probably a composite unit)
Willebrand (a battalion of Björneborgs)
Åbo läns infanteriregemente
Österbotten regemente
Savolax och Nyslotts läns regemente
Kiminogor (probably a composite unit)
Nyland infanteriregemente
Tavastehus läns regemente*

To the west of the town lay the Swedish camp (at Summa), with the remainder of their army.

[The reader will note several of the names match the list for Wilmanstrand. Those units can hardly have been enthusiastic about a rematch.]

The Russians reached the town on the 6th. In a general way it presented the same situation as Mendolax Gorge – a fortified post lying between a lake and the sea. The town was of course larger, and the defences were only earthworks (the site was properly fortified at a later date), but the position could not be turned; the lake was 20 Km in circuit. Since Frederickshamn could not be invested, Lewenhaupt could feed men in as often as he needed. In front lay rocky ground, and where there were no rocks, there were thick woods, or swamp. As Manstein said:

'The camp [the Russian army] occupied was so uneven and full of rocks, that were was not a place in

which they could draw up a single regiment in order of battle.'

Manstein p. 364.

[A satellite view shows the lake still in existence; well, more of a scummy, jumbo-sized beaver meadow, as well as the trace of fortifications. But those defences postdate this war. To the west, a wide estuary – the Summa – stretches from the lake to the sea. The bridge was to the north of the most prominent modern one (a motorway).]

Meanwhile, three Swedish galleys galled the Russians with their cannonading. Some of the dragoons had to camp within cannon range of the enemy and found themselves 'discomfited'.

Lacy decided to attack. What is life without a challenge? The enemy galleys were driven off when the Russian gunners pummelled one of them from the shore. The town was formally 'invested' on the 7th.

Lacy planned to open his trenches on the night of the 9th and 10th. Russian galleys had been sent off to collect siege guns from Vyborg, and General Löwendahl, appointed siege master, was busy constructing wooden firing platforms and fascines. It was a waste of time.

On the night of the 9th, Frederickshamn went up in flames. The Russians thought Lewenhaupt was being sensible, clearing the suburbs, but the hussars reported the town center was burning. The Russians tried to put out the fire, only to be thwarted by 'I.E.D.s' – barrels of gunpowder, shells, grenades, and loaded muskets stacked in several houses. They did manage to rescue a few of the hospital cases who had been abandoned.

75% of the town was burned to the ground. The Russians recovered ten brass 18- and 24-pounders, plus 120 iron cannon of varying calibre. Most of the magazines – this had been the Swedes' main dump – were destroyed, but in just one the Russians found a thousand barrels of pitch and 400 'quintals' of gunpowder. They also recovered one of the colours from the Österbottens Regiment.

Manstein is scathing in his judgement. So Lewenhaupt had expected a peace treaty. So perhaps he was intentionally retreating and just offering token resistance. He should have at least made contingency plans. He had blown up his main magazine, leaving his army with only 10 days rations. He had made no arrangements for switching his supply services over to the other dump at Helsingfors. Thus, he could not even delay the Russians but must fall back all the way to the latter place.

'The marshal ordered 2000 workmen to clear the town and the galleys to enter the port. On the 10th, the festival of St. Peter, the name-day of the grand-duke, the Te Deum was sung in thanksgiving, on the ground that the Russian army had taken Fredericsham, the only fortified town in all Swedish Finland, without losing a single man.'

Manstein p. 366.

'He is Not to be Saluted, He is No Longer in Kommand'

'the ablest general in the world could scarcely have effected the least thing with [the army].'

Manstein, p. 372.

A defence can be offered Lewenhaupt, provided one skips over the 'you ought have known better than to start a war with Russia' part.

At the operational level, Manstein and his successor historians ignore the fact that the Swedish Navy was still plagued with... well, a plague... and could not protect Lewenhaupt's flank if it

wanted to. The Army, too was wasted by sickness. The Swedish inland garrisons had, apparently on their own initiative, begun leaving their positions in the face of both the Russian column advancing from Nyslott and hordes of Cossacks. Any line the main army tried to hold would simply be outflanked.

Also, rightly or wrongly, Mendolax Gorge had been pegged as the key to Frederickshamn, so there was (by that wisdom) no point holding the town now. Helsingfors was at least a peninsula; any enemy landing on it from the sea would themselves automatically be surrounded. The Swedish galleys had also retired there, and it would be as well for everyone to remain together.

[A minor point. The huge supply dumps that Lewenhaupt was supposed to move with his nonexistent transport were a legacy from the aborted attempt to aid the Turks in 1739, and something of a liability. They may not even have been edible. The furore over their destruction reminds one of the Wrath of the Taxpayer.]

The Russians achieved a greater level of surprise than they expected. In the spring of 1742 there was still disorganisation in the Swedish Army. Lacy, once again, attacked too soon. The Finns, always sent home over the winter, dribbled in late; those living in areas overrun by the Russians did not bother to show up. They were too busy fighting for their farms or reaching accommodations with the enemy.

The hasty improvisation of the 1741 campaign had led to poor quartering and futile marching. Living conditions had been improved over the winter of 1741-42, but only enough to give the troops energy to grumble. They openly blamed Lewenhaupt, their former hero, for all their ills. Desertion rates rose. The officers, far from squelching the mutinous racket, chimed in. They blamed their commander for the entire failure of the 1741 campaign.

Ultimately, politics was to blame. Remember that many officers in Lewenhaupt's command were Holsteiners – supporters of the future Peter III of Russia. Throughout 1742 they were reluctant to fight, on two counts. First, being members of the *riksdag* or supporters of members of the same, they felt their place was in Stockholm, where the succession crisis was blooming. Large numbers of officers simply left the Army, with or without permission.

Second, believing the Grand Duke ought to be their next king, they felt that fighting Russia was a bad idea – well, even more of a bad idea; they had been all for it when it was in aid of toppling the opposing regime. Obviously, a peace treaty was the only logical solution, and Lewenhaupt was virtually a traitor for wanting to continue the fight. He had even arrested the man honoured by an audience with the Grand Duke!

With his enemies returning to the seat of government, Lewenhaupt found his official authority being eroded along with his moral authority. At the outset, the *Lantmarskalk* had been accorded the usual powers commensurate with a generalissimo's job description. Now, his powers were vested in a permanent council of war, in which he, the commander-in-chief, held only one vote! They took minutes of all the meetings, and in some cases posted them to Stockholm for approval before acting. The decision to abandon Frederickshamn had been made by the council of war.

[There are only three legitimate reasons for a council of war: to sound the feelings of the officers, as a convenient excuse for delaying when the time is not right and everyone is impatient to act, and to share the responsibility for a retreat. If a council of war is called for any other reason, it will probably devolve into the third excuse.]

This most aggressive of commanders was told he lacked drive. Despite Lacy's sucker punch at the outset of the war, they had been so close to victory. If they had only abandoned their gear and pushed on through the <waist-deep> November snow to St.

Petersburg. Camped in the Winter Palace, fêted as allies, they could have dictated the peace to their protégé Elisabeth and watched Carl Peter's elevation with joy. But now...

Lewenhaupt either made only token attempts to cope with the general discontent, or pretended he did not hear. The condemnation was too widespread. Being who he was, the *Lantmarskalk* compensated by the continued pressing for new offensives, to which his subordinates themselves turned a deaf ear.

Continuation

July 10th. The Swedes camped on the west side of the Summa River. The Russians poked about the remains of Frederickshamn.

July 11th. The Russians occupied the Swedes' camp across the Summa. The Swedes crossed the Kymen River, leaving a rearguard to deal with the pesky Russian light horsemen. The Kymen was, for Finland, a major river. It was also a district boundary. Near the sea it formed a delta with at least three branches. It was an excellent line to hold, if the Swedes had desired to do so.

[Manstein says the Russian march was 3 leagues, or roughly 12 Km, which implies they went around by a northern bridge across the Summa.]

July 12th. Lacy's forces reached the Kymen as the enemy rearguard withdrew. The Russians made camp, but no sooner had they relaxed than the Swedes bombarded them with cannon, formerly masked by what had appeared to be a reconnaissance party. The Russian cuirassiers, being closest, suffered most, though mainly in their dignity. The Russian artillery returned fire, immediately scored two direct hits, and the Swedes withdrew.

July 13th. The Swedes were away again. The council of war originally decided to hold the Kymen, now they decided to abandon it. The Russians were preparing bridges when a courier arrived from Court. Lacy was instructed to end his pursuit as soon as the Kymen had been reached. St. Petersburg had decided to make the river the new frontier. The army would henceforth establish a string of fortified posts, garrison them, and return to St. Petersburg for the winter.

[The Swedes probably had some inkling of this.]

So Lacy decided... to continue the pursuit. He did get the agreement of his council of war, first. Tellingly, the Russian element were all for obeying the Tsaritsa to the letter, while the foreigners felt that if the Swedes were going to be so obliging as to give them the country, they ought to accept the gift. The Marshal, as a foreigner, concurred. Even some of the Russians began to see that Finland might be turned into a demilitarised zone, if only they could clear the Swedes out for good.

The road led to a place called Pernokirk (*probably an outlying hamlet of Perna*), where the Swedes were inconveniently blocking the road, but after a few days' staring contest the enemy went away. Lewenhaupt's men might have stood here, but they lacked the cover of their galleys, while the Russian fleet was very much in evidence. They fell back on Borgo (Porvoo). This, or rather the nautical roads nearby, called Parkala (Pellinki), was, next to Helsingfors, the best anchorage on the whole coast, capable of sheltering an entire fleet, and, what was more important, unaffected by contrary winds that might keep the ships inshore.

[Parkala became an important base in later times. The headland was also valuable when long range guns were developed, because a battery here could fire across to the Estonian shore.]

At Borgo there was another river, and so there was another staring contest, followed by another retreat as the Russian galleys came up. The Swedes dumped their grain stores in the local lake.

After Borgo, taken on the 1st of August, a stand was made at Helsingkirk, a mile north of Helsinki. This was a good position, covered by a small river on the left, and by a kilometre wide swamp in front, accessible only by a narrow path. It did not appear practicable, but Lacy detached Lieutenant General Stoffeln – one of those aggressive German officers who accumulate both battles and wounds, and more wounds than battles – with a few regiments, to turn the position by a wide hook. A skirmish occurred between the defenders and the pinning force (5-6,000 men) in which the latter were thrown back, giving the Swedes the chance to escape.

Last Stop: Helsingfors, and the remaining Swedish magazine. By now their army was in terrible shape. But preparations had at least been made to receive the fugitives. The town itself was not fortified – it was not the capital in those days, either, and contained a mere 300 houses – but there was a fortified camp. As a bonus, 2,400 recruits had arrived from Sweden. Under good leadership, the place could have been held, the army's morale improved. A siege throughout the winter was very unlikely, and in the spring, the Swedish Navy, released from the ice weeks sooner than the Russians, would be there to succour them. Helsingfors had the best harbour on the Finnish coast.

It was a Finnish peasant who tipped off the Russians that the Swedes planned to decamp for Åbo (Turku) on the following day. The peasant showed the Russians a bypass road constructed during Peter the Great's campaign, overgrown, but still useable. By this road the Russians could cut off the Swedes' retreat. Löwendahl was despatched with a body of grenadiers (64 companies) and four line battalions to establish a blocking position on the Åbo road; Lacy followed that night. At 6am, as the Russian main body debouched from the woods, they saw the Swedish army advancing to meet them. A slight pause, and then the Swedes turned to run back to Helsingfors.

[Löwendahl and Lacy did not get along, and partly for that reason, partly because he felt he had not been rewarded sufficiently, the former would leave the Russian service in 1743. Unlike some of the Swedish commanders, however, Löwendahl would always do his duty regardless of personal animosities.]

According to Swedish sources, the plan was not to make a run for Åbo, but to a superior defensive position at Domarby (*Tuomarinkylä, now a northern suburb of Helsinki*). They got there all right, but only held for a day before withdrawing.

Lacy, though he had the Swedes invested, was in a towering rage over the failure of the Russian Admiral to bring up the battle fleet and seal off the port. The latter felt this would be against the Tsaritsa's express orders to cease operations (all right for her white-haired boy to take liberties, but not for a native-born Russian). In the event, the Swedes were unable to take advantage of this 'lapse'. Their own galleys had been withdrawn into the town's harbour and were under blockade by the Russian galleys. (The galleys were under Army command; Lacy's concern was that the Swedish battle fleet would suddenly arrive and destroy his galleys.)

[An ugly incident occurred during August. The Cossacks, as was their wont, conducted deep reconnaissance and raids. One of the most daring was the Don Cossack hetman (chieftain) Ivan Krasnoshchekova. He was wounded in action, taken prisoner, and died of his wounds. A rumour spread that he had been skinned alive. This is untrue, since his body was returned for burial, but the account became part of the official history of the campaign and at the time made the survival of lone Swedes highly problematic.]

The Swedes held out until September 4th, 1742, mainly for form's sake. They made great show of strengthening the defences, but at the same time opened talks. Any hope of holding out until winter had disappeared. The sick list grew and grew, while Sjöstjerna bombarded the defenders with requests for soldiers to replace his own losses. Thinking to kill two birds with one stone, Falkengren offered to take away 3,000 men on his galleys.

This brought on the crisis. Who would be the lucky few? When Lewenhaupt left camp to confer with Falkengren a mutiny of the officers began. It was decided that Lewenhaupt and Buddenbrog should be arrested and sent to Sweden. Generalmajor Didron was elected as the army commander, with instructions to offer surrender. With a return of some of his old fire, Lewenhaupt quashed the rebellion. But he did not punish, and after a few days the clamour arose again, louder than ever. The *Lantmarskalk* convened 'his' council of war and agreed to surrender to the Russians – on condition that Stockholm approved.

Two days later, Stockholm anticipated events and sent its reply. Major General Jean Louis Bousquet was to take over the defences and seek terms from the Russians. Lewenhaupt and Buddenbrog were to return to Sweden on the instant. On their arrival, they were arrested and imprisoned, pending trial. The politicians were already selecting their scapegoats.

The surrender was arranged between Bousquet and Löwendahl. Neither had much relish for the job. Bousquet was accounted one of Charles XII's bravest officers; Löwendahl wanted to test the mettle of his Russians in a standup fight.

The capitulation had four main articles:

- All ten Finnish regiments to be disbanded and the men to return to their homes. The dragoons to hand their mounts over to the Russians. Finns serving in the Swedish regiments were given the option; virtually to a man they chose to disband (though not the officers). There were 3,000 Finns at Helsingfors.
- The contents of all remaining magazines, all artillery (including 90 fortress pieces), and all *stored* small arms to be handed over. The Swedes would receive subsistence rations only.
- All Swedish infantry to be embarked and shipped back to Sweden, with passports.
- All Swedish cavalry, with some of the infantry, to take the coast road north, under escort. (The King's Road, in name at least, ran all the way around the Gulf of Bothnia).

At the time of their capitulation, the Swedes, despite sickness (4,000 men) and desertions, still had 12,000 effectives, well supplied, and occupying entrenched positions. The Russians, who had suffered nearly 50% attrition from various causes (including detachments to garrisons), had roughly the same number – no more than 18,000 by the highest estimate. An assault would have been costly, and *that*, perhaps coupled with a winter retreat east, would *not* have been overlooked by St. Petersburg. What made the difference, of course, was leadership.

Winter Quarters

All this time, a smaller Russian column under Prince Meshchersky had been marching from Kexholm on Lake Ladoga to Nyslott (arriving August 18th), entering the latter place without a fight. Meshchersky then took the inland route to Tavastehus (Hämeenlinna), arriving September 6th. The column encountered no resistance, yet had not even reached the coast by the date of the surrender. Finland was a harsh place to campaign in.

With the Swedes sailing into the sunset, Russia controlled all of Finland. Before the season ended they had occupied Åbo, Vasa,

and Uleåborg (Oulu). Now began the *Pikkuviha*, the Lesser Wrath.

It was a 'lesser' wrath, in comparison to the Greater Wrath of Peter I's conquest, mainly thanks to General Keith and his morganatic Finnish wife, Eva Merthen. Keith had been appointed Governor, at Åbo, with enough men to secure the country and a small fleet of 16 galleys and 2 prahms (flat-bottomed platforms for mortars). His 'wife', the mayor's daughter, whom he met at a dance, is still remembered as the 'Duchess of Finland'. Thanks to her influence, and Keith's own humanity, the Occupation was a relatively mild one. The pair met at Åbo; Eva was the mayor's daughter.

[After the war everyone treated Eva as the general's wife (they were never formally married due to his high rank) – to the extent that she won a property lawsuit against his brother after Keith's death. Her family was also of Scottish origin.]

Naval Affairs for 1742

1742 began as a repeat of 1741. The Swedes, led by Vice Admiral Aaron Sjöstjerna, came out from Karlskrona on June 16th with fifteen ships of the line, five frigates, three brigs, two bomb vessels, two hospital ships, and a fireship. They were followed by Admiral Falkengren and his squadron of 25 galleys. Since the ice had broken early this year they were stationed off the Aspo skerries by June 27th.

[Some sources give June 3rd as the date Sjöstjerna arrived at the Gulf of Finland, with the galleys arriving a week later.]

[The ships of the line appear to have been roughly the same as the year before with the addition of Vastmanland (62); the frigate Svarta örnen had been wrecked in November 1741.]

Neither Sjöstjerna nor Falkengren was willing to undertake aggressive action. As mentioned above, an early thrust into the bay of Vyborg might have thrown off Lacy's timetable; a landing on the Birch Islands would have forced the Russian battle fleet to fight under adverse conditions. But the Swedes had barely enough men to keep their ships off the rocks.

[The sources do not mention whether the admirals were Holsteiners. Sjöstjerna was a Hat, and a councillor, and had presumably voted for war. So it cannot be said with certainty that politics played a role in the Navy's reluctance.]

The Russians were slow to start, but their vanguard, under Rear Admiral D. S. Kalmykov, was already active. On May 19th, they had organised a raiding force:

*Revel (66)
Astrakhan (54)
Kronstadt (54)
Severnaia Zvezda (54)
Osnovanie Blagopoluchiiia (66)
Gorod Arkanhangelesk (54)
Sviatoi Andrei (54).*

plus three frigates (*Rossia*, *Hector*, and *Voin*, all 32s), and three bombs (*Jupiter*, *Samson*, and *Donder*).

[Some sources add two prahms (Oliphant and Wild Bull), but these seem to have been with the galley fleet. Unwieldy gun platforms, they would have been useless in a fleet action.]

These ships dribbled out from St. Petersburg to Kronstadt between Jun 9th and June 30th; their activities were in consequence minimal. Still short of trained crews, the navy now had to deal with an epidemic (again, probably typhus). By June 10th the Russians had 3,315 sick. 60-80 more men reported sick every day. The ships were so undermanned that soldiers had to be drafted in from the *Derbentski*, *Dahgestanski*, and *Salyanski*

regiments (who retained cadres with experience in handling ships on the Caspian Sea during the 1730s).

[As of February 1743, the three regiments had so many men serving with the fleet that they had to be disbanded. Manstein mentions that one, unnamed, regiment was disbanded immediately.]

Sjostjerna maintained contact with Kalmykov via a patrol of three ships of the line, but no engagement occurred for some time. The Russians were based some 30 miles southeast of the Swedes, around the islands of Lavensaari (Ostrov Moshchnyy) and Seskar – two of a triplet of islands between Hogland and Kotlina. On July 15th, the Russian fleet commander, Vice Admiral Zachary Mishukov, arrived, and by the 21st his full force was concentrated. In addition to the vanguard he had:

Sviatoi Aleksandr (70)
Ingermanland (66)
Sveryni Orel (66)
Azov (54)
Neptunus (54)
Slava Rossia (66)

plus an hospital ship, *Novaia Nadezhda*, presumably the 54-gunner of the same name.

Simultaneously with these activities, the galley fleet, under *General-anchef* V. Levashov, left the Neva in late May. 30 galleys joined 14 more at Kronstadt. These then transported 10,000 troops up to Finland by way of Vyborg. They were covered by a squadron of 15 war-galleys, and the 12-gun packets *Mercurius* and *Pochal'on*, and the snow *Zapad Shlyup*.

[An alternative number for the galleys is 45 in all.]

Mishukov's orders were to screen the Russian galley fleet as it supported Lacy's land advance. According to standing orders, he was not to engage the Swedes unless he had to – despite the fact that most of his command and most of his superiors expected him to do so. As mentioned before, Russian naval policy prohibited engaging the Swedes at less than 4:3 odds.

In July, Russian scouts from Lavensaari soon located the Swedish fleet off the Aspos. On the 23th of July, facing demands from his officers for action, Mishukov ordered his fleet to approach the Swedes, despite standing orders. The enemy were observed in line of battle – 19 sail were counted – but to everyone's surprise, they withdrew westward as the Russians approached. That, at least, was the Russian view. From the Swedes' side, it seemed that the Russians had withdrawn eastward. In fact, the two fleets formed for battle and passed one another without firing a shot.

Seeing the enemy disengage, Mishukov gave orders for a pursuit by *Osnovanie Blagopoluchiia* and two other ships of the line, plus his three frigates. These passed Hogland on the following morning, but paused to allow the main body to catch up – it was assumed it would do so. Instead, Mishukov hung back. Later, he claimed he had been held up by headwinds. Everyone believed this to have been a mere excuse (though the prevailing wind was from the west and likely to cause trouble, especially for the inexperienced Russians).

[Admiral Golovin later asked him, if there were headwinds, why had the vanguard made good progress?]

Having broken contact in this manner, the Russians based Ekholma (Mohni).

[Ekholma/Ekholm, now Mohni, is a small island off the Estonian coast, 65 Km east of Tallinn. There are four peninsulas, two long (shaped like a crab's claw) and two short. Ekholm lies off the righthand long peninsula.]

The Russian galley fleet meanwhile was contesting control of the Finnish coastline with the Swedish galley fleet – a mere 25 or so

against some 60 Russians. Lieutenant General Brilly was detached to deal with the threat, but again, the Swedes did not fight. They were still in the vicinity, though. As already recounted, on July 6th three Swedish galleys bombarded the Russian army positions at Frederickshamn. But by early August the Russians were sweeping the waters around Borgo with impunity: galleys towing the two prahms *Oilphant* and *Wild Bull*, accompanied by the three bombs.

Falkengren's inertia encompassed more than an unwillingness to fight. He refused to resupply Lewenhaupt from Helsingfors. Sjostjerna did the same. Both cited strict orders from Stockholm to do exactly as they were doing, and no more. This despite the fact that Lewenhaupt was their superior officer and the *Landmarskalk*. Sjostjerna did not even fall back from the Aspos – he returned there after the action on the 23rd – because he had no orders to do so.

When the Admiral did retreat, on the 27th of July, the Russians felt he had made a major blunder. He withdrew all the way from the Aspos to the Hango Peninsula. In so doing, he forced Falkengren to fall back, first to Parkala, only 30 miles east of Helsingfors, giving the Russians a clear field.

All this was inexplicable to the Russians until on July 28th the *Neptunus* took two small Swedish vessels in the Helsingfors archipelago. Aboard them were found letters explaining the Swedish fleet's oddly passive conduct – they were suffering from the same epidemic as the Russians. Many Swedish ships lacked the manpower to tack in strong winds.

On August 7th the Russian galley vanguard spied a Swedish galley squadron withdrawing westward from Parkala. On the 9th the Russian galley fleet reach Borgo in force. Nine days before, the army had taken the town without a fight. The Swedish galleys were retreating to Helsingfors, where they would remain until the capitulation.

[The source used for this information says the Swedish squadron was four miles from Galernaya. But Galernaya was the old St. Petersburg dockyards, which seems very odd. Best to assume the squadron was leaving Parkala. The text then makes sense.]

Where the enemy fleet had gone was not discovered by the Russians until August 20th. The latter meanwhile continued to hover around Lavensaari, losing the frigate *Hector* (*Gektor*) (32) to an unmarked sandbank. A replacement was received in the form of the *Sviatoi Pyotr* (66), escort to a resupply convoy. Back luck for the Russian sailors – a fluyt was taken by the Swedes around this time, along with its cargo of 8,731 buckets of beer.

[Because the sand bank was unmarked, the captain of the Hector was acquitted of blame.]

[A fluyt is a Dutch-designed two-masted merchant ship, capable of operating with a very small crew. They had a shallow draught and box-like wide hull, but with a narrow deck – Dutch merchants had to pay customs based on the span of their decks. They were stoutly built and were armed; scaled down East Indiamen, in fact.]

August 14th, two of the Russian bombs and one prahm were detached to Admiral Mishukov. The third bomb (*Donder*) returned to Kronstadt. The galley fleet then moved to Helsingfors to assist in the investment of that fortress.

On the night of August 20th-21st the Russian battle fleet encountered the Swedes off Hango. The latter had 14 sail (*Sophia Charlotte* having been dispatched to Gotland). As the Swedes formed line of battle, it was the Russians this time who turned away; they hove to some distance to the east. Standing orders again. Mishukov's council of war could only recommend that they remain in the vicinity to monitor the Swedes. On the 23rd, a violent storm drove them to take refuge at Rogervik (*to the west*

of Tallinn). From there, on the 24th, they shifted to Nargen island (in the bay of Tallinn) where they remained until October 7th while ships (four of them) went to Revel for repairs.

[The Swedish Verden was also dispatched to Gotland on the 25th of August, full of the sick.]

Meanwhile, Mishukov received orders to proceed to Helsingfors and place himself at the disposal of Marshal Lacy. The admiral did not exactly refuse, but he did delay, and delay... 75 miles away from the siege, he repeated the same excuses – head winds, fog, too many sick. On September 22nd he received contrary orders. The Swedes had capitulated and there was no need of his presence.

[There are suggestions that Mishukov was complying with the will of Court, despite his orders – Lacy on the other hand having exceeded his mandate. But, when Lacy's actions brought about a desirable result, Mishukov was faulted for his timidity. The admiral was suspended from active duty on November 6th, but became commandant of the port of Kronstadt. A demotion, but not Siberia. Admiral Golovin was given command of the fleet for 1743.]

The verdict on Sjostjerna's actions would seem to be that he had had little choice. He was replaced but not otherwise punished. Sweden's defeat can perhaps be put down in large measure to a simple epidemic.

[There seems to be no analysis available of Swedish land-sea cooperation. In 1742 at least, it was minimal, but was this solely due to the epidemic? It would be interesting to learn what role politics played, personal jealousies, or even simple command confusion.]

Despite an active campaigning season, neither side suffered combat losses. The Russians lost a galley through a magazine explosion. The *Bucephalus* galley struck in anchorage near Helsingfors, and a *konchebras* (*Tosno*) struck near Frederickshamn. The Swedes lost the *Öland* when a lieutenant gave the wrong manoeuvring order during a storm (he was sentenced to death, commuted to three weeks on bread and water and discharge from the Navy).

[One source mentions that the same storm also wrecked the Russian frigate Hector.]

[Cantschibasses, or konchebras, were small Turkish-style vessels with both sails and oars, crewed by 80 men.]

The Swedish fleet left the Gulf of Finland for good after the capitulation. Four ships of the line and two frigates were sent on a cruise under *Schoutbynacht* Cronhawn, looking for the Archangel squadron, and the rest of the fleet went to Stockholm; the galleys rebased to the Åland Islands while beginning to ferry the troops home. In October the battle fleet moved to Karlskrona, Cronhawn returning at the end of December.

The Russia naval forces were divided up: the galleys in three elements at Borgo, Frederickshamn, and Helsingfors, the fleet at Revel (5 ships of the line (all 54s), the frigate *Rossia*, and the bomb *Samson*), and Kronstadt (8 ships of the line including a 70 and 7x 66s). The capable Admiral, Nikolai Fedorovich Golovin, was now in charge.

[A curious incident occurred on November 4th. A Swedish frigate, the Ulriksdal (24), was taken in Revel harbour. The ship had only a skeleton crew and no food on board.]

The Arctic Squadron

After wintering at Ekaterina, the Arctic squadron returned to Archangel on July 2nd. On the 30th of July the squadron received new commander, Vice Admiral P. P. Bredal, one of the best admirals Russia had. The squadron now consisted of:

Panteleimon (54)
St. Isaac (54)
Leferm (66)
Schastlije (66)

and the frigates:

Vahmeyster (36)
Dekrondelivde (32)
Kavalar (32)
Mercurius (32)
Apollon (32)

plus the hooker *Kronshlot*.

[Most Hookers are two-masted coastal merchant ships, of varying designs, usually with rounded bows.]

One ship, the *Blagopoluchie* (66), was lost when she grounded in the northern Dvina that June. She was later hulked.

Bredal took the squadron out to the North Cape again. This time it seems the intention was to double the cape and reach St. Petersburg – the Swedes having made absolutely no effort to interfere with trade, though a small squadron of one ship of the line and two frigates spent the summer patrolling in hopes of catching the Russians.

The Archangel squadron reached the cape around the 21st or 22nd of August, but was driven back by storms. No ships were lost but the squadron was divided, with the frigates and hooker returning to Archangel for the winter and the ships of the line remaining at Ekaterina until the following July.

[Bredal's career began in 1703. It suffered a reverse in 1738 when he lost his entire command off Fedotovskaya Spit in the Black Sea. Anna Ivanova overlooked this incident, but it was raked up by Elisabeth's government; Bredal was put on trial in 1744, but died of natural causes before a verdict could be given.]

Bargaining Chips – 1743

Over the winter, the Swedes debated what to do. At least if there were Swedish troops on Finnish soil, their bargaining position would be improved. So, a counterattack. Or perhaps the coming campaign was only intended as a desperate attempt to slow the enemy long enough for the negotiators to do their job. The *riksdag* was still bogged down in discussions over the succession, with the Hat party now under fire for the fiasco of the previous season.

For their part, the Russians determined to invade Sweden, or to press her by making preparations to do so, that negotiations would be speeded up and weighed even more in their favour. Like the Swedes, the Russian men – and women – of influence had different notions over what might constitute a successful war. But all could at least agree on the application of a heavy hand.

Whatever the thinking, the current strategic situation would make 1743 a predominantly aquatic campaigning year. Strategy would also, on the Swedish side, be more than ever tied to politics and the peace process. Other than general exhaustion, this is the main reason Swedish efforts were to be so lacklustre – even more so than in 1742. The council and two committees had to be consulted before every important move. The Swedes were going through the motions until the treaty could be signed.

Initial Moves

There were only two places galleys could safely cross the Gulf of Bothnia: the chain of islands between Vaasa and Umeå, and the narrow strip of water between the Swedish coast and the Åland Islands – the *Åland-hav*. The latter, in view of its proximity to various points of interest, like Stockholm, was the obvious choice.

[The other advantage of the southern route was that the Ålands tend to experience warmer weather; meaning the ice would have broken up there while the gulf itself was still frozen.]

The Russians spent the winter in preparation. The bulk of their forces had returned to St. Petersburg, and in December of 1742 the Court also returned there from Moscow. The army and the navy both did their utmost to make ready. Additional regiments were brought up from guard duty in Livonia and new ships were launched. At the same time, the diplomats fixed on a congress, to be held at Åbo that spring. Things began to move in March.

[It may seem strange for the royal court to winter in the north, but St. Petersburg was built on a swamp. Swamps are unpleasant places in summertime. There were also political reasons why the Court had to periodically appear in Moscow.]

By March 26th, 1743, Falkengren's galley fleet had secured the island of Åland, landing some 1,800 troops under command of Colonel Gotthard Wilhelm Marcks von Würtemberg (the *Åland-hav*, being deep water, was already ice free). The Russians, hampered by ice in the Gulf of Finland, and by the need to draw on the fresh regiments from Livonia, did not begin to move until May.

[Technically, the Ålands, where Swedish is spoken, lie only at the west end of the archipelago. The eastern islands are the Åbo Archipelago. By the by, the region has more land than water; do not rely on a map for inspiration, use a satellite image. No map, whether ancient or modern, shows the region correctly. Must be those Finnish elves.]

May 14th saw the embarkation of the bulk of the expedition aboard the galleys at St. Petersburg – 34 galleys and 70 *konchebras*. More regiments marched along the coast road, toward Åbo.

The Tsaritsa led the divine service on board Lacy's flagship before wishing him every success and repairing to her palace to watch the fleet depart. (This was a show of support for Lacy, demonstrating that Elisabeth approved of the marshal's 'disobedient' conduct the previous year).

The galleys were organised into a van under General Leveshov, seconded by Lieutenant General Brilly and Major General Wedel, a main body under Marshal Lacy and Major General Lopukhin, and a rearguard under Count Saltykov and General Stuart. The van carried three regiments plus three companies of grenadiers, the main body three regiments and two companies of grenadiers, and the rear carried three regiments and three companies of grenadiers. 2,000 Don Cossacks, with mounts, were also embarked. On top of this, the Russians continued to build galleys and man them with troops, so that a continuous stream of reinforcements would follow Lacy.

[Some say Admiral Golovin had charge of this force, but since he was overall commander of the 'blue water' navy, this is incorrect. Some sources give Lacy 133 ships of all kinds.]

General Keith, working as governor at Åbo, also had a small force of galleys at his immediate disposal – four from Borgo, five from Frederickshamn and ten, plus two prahms, from Helsingfors. These he called up as quickly as he could (May 11th – there was still much ice). They were commanded by Lieutenant General Khrushchev. Six more galleys were under construction at Åbo.

Patrols by the Russian battle fleet had begun as early as May 9th, but they had to contend with a large number of ice floes. Only a small portion of the Russian fleet was in play, the 'vanguard' based at Revel, under Rear Admiral Johann Barsch:

*Astrakhan (54)
Kronstadt (54)
Azov (54)
Neptunus (54)
Severnaia Zvezda (54)
Arkanhangelesk (54)
Sviatoi Andrei (54).*

plus the frigate *Rossia*, the bomb *Samson*, and a snow.

Meanwhile, Lacy's main force joined the escorting battle fleet at Kronstadt on the 15th of May, but were forced to wait two days due to the wind. On the 18th they came out of the roads, but then anchored while the Tsaritsa paid them another visit. She conferred with Lacy and Golovin, but Manstein does not record what was said. The plan was obvious. While the galleys followed the Finnish coast, Golovin's fleet would clear the gulf of any threats.

The Revel squadron acted first, proceeding to the west of Dager Ort (May 18th). That night, eight enemy ships were sighted. The following morning, around 8am, the Russians closed in. The Swedes turned out to be five ships of the line (including two 60s), two frigates, and a snow.

[Dager Ort is the peninsula at the west end of the island of Hiiumaa, then known as Dager.]

The commander of this vanguard was Commodore von Staude. Admiral Jean von Utfahl commanded the main fleet, which was patrolling between Gotland and Osel (now Saaremaa island). In all, Utfahl disposed of sixteen ships of the line and five frigates.

A chase began with Staude retiring west into increasingly high winds. *Kronstadt* was the first to become damaged by the rough seas and fall behind, then *Sviatoi Andrei*, with split masts and a hole forward. Barsch reluctantly called off the pursuit and withdrew to effect repairs off Nargen Island (May 25th).

Staude remained observing for some days, then joined Utfahl. The Admiral's intention was to block the passage of the Russian galley force as it followed the Finnish coast toward the Ålands, so he made for Hango, arriving there on May 29th. Unfortunately, he had missed General Keith's local fleet, but he was ready for the main flotilla when it should arrive. At Hango, the galleys would have to leave the shelter of the coast, rounding the cape in open sea, and the Swedes would have them.

Lacy had been delayed by contrary winds and by the ice which continued to clog the coastline. It was extremely cold. Frederickshamn was only reached on the 27th of May. Keith had two regiments in garrison here, and Lacy exchanged some of his sick for 100 grenadiers, in addition to victualing the fleet. Thanks again to contrary winds, it was the 31st before they could get away. Lacy, aware that Keith was threatened by large Swedish forces, chafed extremely. The Russians did not raise Helsingfors until June 2nd.

[The great argument for galleys is that they 'can ignore the wind'. Actually, that is the argument in favour of steamships. Galleys frequently used sails, since rowers could hardly be expected to 'pull' continuously for days on end. They also needed calm seas.]

Here again they found another garrison of two regiments and a stock of supplies. After victualling (15 days rations), they left on the 5th. That very morning, word came that General Keith had won a victory over the Swedes, and a *Te Deum* was sung.

Lacy's force made good progress now that there was no need of haste, proceeded by a scouting group of two galleys and four *konchebras*, just rocketing along, despite some severely narrow passages, all the way to Tweermunde (*Tvarminne – the old name for Hango town and the anchorage on the east of the peninsula*), which they reached on June 6th. Here, Lacy learned that the Swedish battle fleet was waiting for him off Hango point, and here he would have to wait.

[While describing this journey, Manstein comments on how easy it would have been for the Swedes to have stopped the Russians in 1742. The galleys travelled between a string of islands and the shore for much of the way, especially near Frederickshamn and Helsingfors. The waters were shallow and treacherous, the winds fickle. Furthermore, the Russians had had no pilots. The Swedes need only have sunk some blockships and the Russians would have had to risk the open waters of the gulf.]

Meanwhile, Russia's battle fleet emerged from Kronstadt on May 20th, arriving at Nargen on the 23rd. But, it was not until June 1st that, augmented by Barsch's ships, Golovin set sail and headed west.

Golovin's forces, besides the Revel squadron, consisted of:

Sviatoi Pyotr (66)
Sviatoi Aleksandr (70)
Sveryni Orel (66)
Revel (66)
Slava Rossia (66)
Ingermanland (66)
Osnovanie Blagopoluchii (66)
plus one bomb vessel, two fireships, two snows, and five small craft.

[Manstein reports also the sailing of the Imperatrics Anna (114), but she did not accompany the fleet out of Kronstadt. She lacked the crew.]

The Russians had not been aware of the Swedes' location, but their patrols sighted them off Hango on the 3rd of June. Closing the distance, Golovin put himself in communication with Lacy, who was waiting impatiently for the Navy to act. But a further delay of some days ensued. Golovin was one ship short of the numerical superiority required to initiate action. The delay did have some good effect. Lacy received a reinforcement of five regiments under Major General Karaoulov, 14 new galleys, and 18 new *konchebras*.

[There was probably some political byplay here, perhaps anti-foreign sentiment, although it must also be said that strict adherence to 'the book' was a characteristic of all native Russian commanders. Golovin was court martialed for failing to aid Lacy, but was acquitted after quoting Peter the Great's dictum.]

On the 10th a storm arose and Golovin, not wishing to be blown on the rocks, took himself off to Rogervik, returning on the 12th. The Swedes scored a moral victory by riding out the storm. Three days later the Swedes spied the admiral's ships returning. And, for two days more, the Russians sailed about in the vicinity, before anchoring some 4-5 miles southeast of the Swedes on the 17th of June. A clash was immanent.

The Battle of Hango, 17th-18th June, 1743

The two sides were evenly matched (the Russians with 15 ships of the line to the Swedes' 16) and neither wished to risk combat. On the same evening – the 17th – a light encounter battle in advance of the respective fleets took place.

Lacy had sent Golovin 14 of his better *konchebras*. Did 14 galleys equate to one missing ship of the line? No, Golovin wanted their crews and soldiers. The Swedes sought to intercept.

The Swedish frigate *Ekholmsund* (26) approached and the Russian *Severnaia Zvezda* (54) and frigate *Rossia* (32) gave

chase. Utfahl detached three ships of the line to assist and Golovin five of his own. But, since neither side would come closer than maximum range, no hits were scored. In fact, only the opposing bomb vessels actually fired at all, the Russians trying their luck first.

After this skirmish, Utfahl came to the decision to risk a major engagement. He could not get at the enemy's galleys while the their battle fleet was present, and, as will be told in due course, things at his back were unravelling. The afternoon of the 18th the Swedes got underway.

The Russians, too, were in motion. The opposing fleets each 'formed on the starboard tack'. The wind was from the WNW, with the Swedes holding the weather gauge. All night the fleets manoeuvred without firing.

The next morning was calm and foggy. In the pre-dawn, the Swedish bomb *Thordon* fell out and found herself among the Russian fleet. As the fog lifted, she escaped with minimal damage (after inflicting none, despite firing several shots) with the help of two ships of the line.

The Russians had been on the port tack when the sky lightened, and they now swung onto the starboard tack, straggling somewhat. At 11am Utfahl signalled his ships to close. This time, it was the Russians who withdrew, to the north. The Swedes pursued until evening, then turned back. But in the interim, Lacy's galleys were able to slip past Hango; secure once more among rocky islets and shallow straits, they proceeded toward the Ålands. Having done its job, and rather weatherbeaten, the Russian battle fleet returned to Rogervik (June 20th).

[Anderson interprets the final moves a little differently, saying that Utfahl did not pursue very far, instead turning back to try and catch the Russian galleys – falling between two stools. Anderson thought he should have either held his position or at least gone after Golovin with vigour. Manstein gives a third view, in which no general engagement took place. He does, however, mention that two Swedish ships blocking the passage around Hango removed themselves, which allowed Lacy to dart forward and double the cape.]

Amphibious Operations

Meanwhile, there had been action in the Ålands.

May 17th, Khrushchev reported the assembly of most of his forces at Hango. He was still waiting for the five Frederickshamn galleys. General Keith put aside his Governor's duties and came down from Åbo.

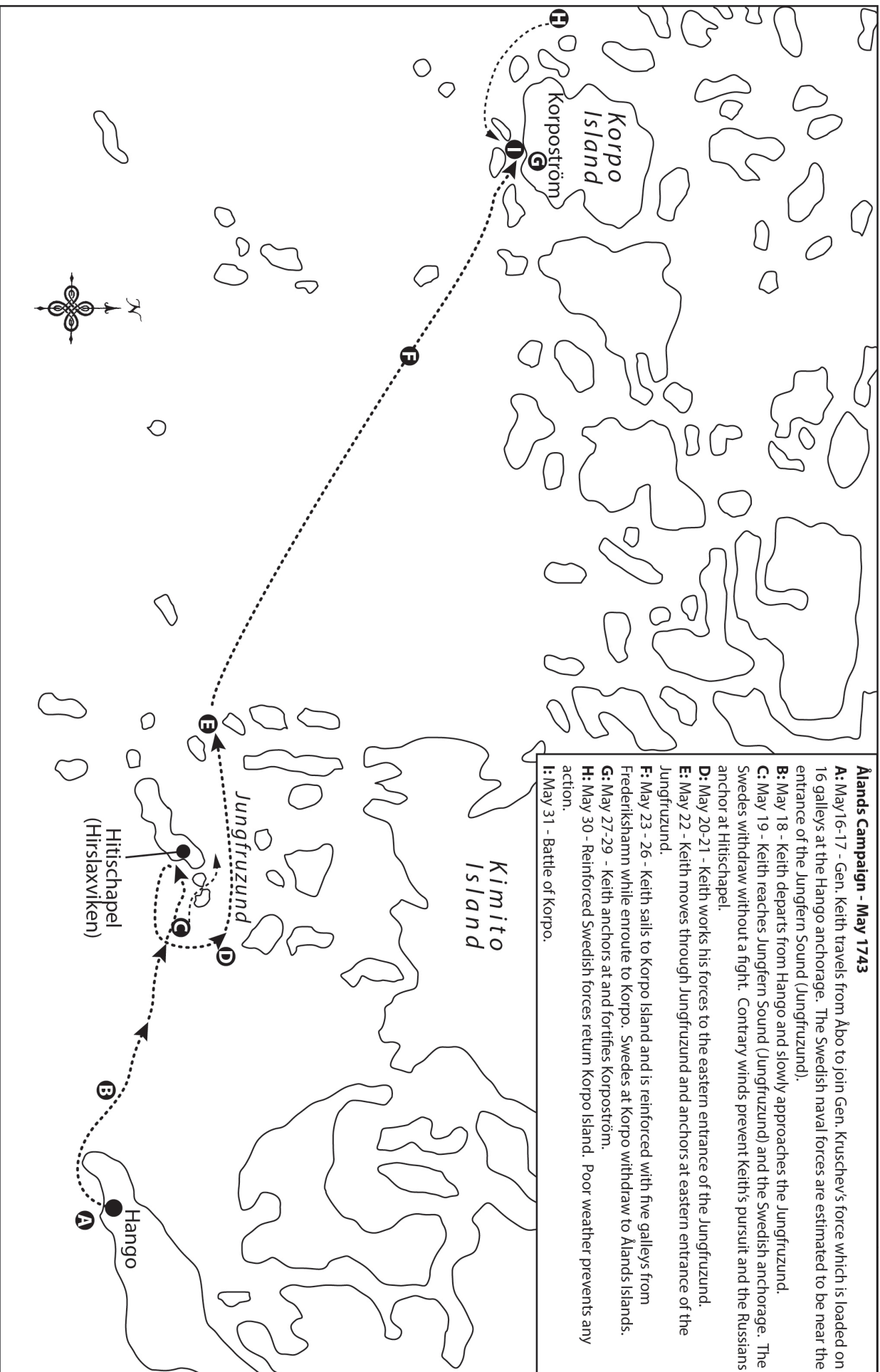
Khrushchev had:

- 16 galleys
- 2 prahms
- 3 galiots
- and 2 armed smacks.

Manpower amounted to 5,070 naval personnel, 575 marines, and 4,495 army personnel, taken from the following regiments: *Permski*, *Kexholmski*, *Chernigovski*, and the 1st and 2nd *Landmilitz*.

[In northern Europe a galiot was a one or two masted ship with square sails (perpendicular to the hull) set over lanteen sails (in line with the hull). The bow was almost vertical, and rounded.]

Falkengren was the senior Swedish officer in the archipelago. His command had been augmented to 28 galleys and three prahms, but he was reluctant to use them. Colonel Marcks suggested he interdict the Jungfruzund, basing himself at the anchorage of Korpoström. Though easily lost amid the myriad islands, both were keys to the control of the archipelago. The former was the best route for galleys to travel between Hango and the west, while



Ålands Campaign, May 1743

the latter was an excellent, centrally located anchorage, used in the Great Northern War and in future times developed as a forward naval base. Falkengren chose instead to base at Föglö (on the west side of Degerby Island), but did dispatch forces to monitor the Russians.

Meanwhile, after a council of war decided not to wait for the remaining galleys, the whole Russian force, *de facto* commanded by Khruschev, and carrying troops taken from Åbo, headed out on the 18th. Course WNW across the sound lying between the Hango peninsula and the tail end of Kimito Island. Among the straggle of islands was a secure passage to the next body of open water – the Jungfruzund (or Jungfern Sound).

Not much progress was made that first day – only 10 Km. Thanks to the wind, the prahms, which were to play a critical role in any encounter, had to be towed, and thanks to the shallow waters – badly charted – one of them grounded. Getting her off the rocks absorbed several hours. That evening, however, the Russians heard two shots fired and saw a Swedish brigantine observing them at a distance. It was estimated that the enemy was some eight kilometres away, somewhere near the entrance to the Jungfruzund.

The 19th was another slow start, but at 8am the Russians spied a Swedish force no more than a few kilometres away. It appeared to consist of 7 galleys, 1 brigantine, 1 snow, and several boats and double-boats. South of the entrance to the Jungfruzund there was a safe anchorage; a couple of passages led north between small islands to the sound.

After they had closed to within half the distance, the Russians saw the Swedes up-anchor and sail up one of the passages – the Jungfruzundskim. The entrance proved too narrow for the Russian prahms and Keith was forced to row to another passage on his left. He was foiled in this too, when a strong northwest wind arose; having lost the enemy the Russians anchored off the village of Hitischapel (now Hiittnen or Hirsilaxviken), which is situated on an island forming the southern shore of the Jungfruzund. To enter the sound from here, the Russians would have to first sail ENE and swing round to the west at a point several kilometres away. More delay.

The next day the contrary wind died around noon, only to pick up again as soon as the Russians made a start. So, Keith marked time by sending out some shallows to scout for the enemy and to see if they could find a few locals with knowledge of the exceeding treacherous waterways.

[A shallop is a small, open boat of no more than 25 tons, with a single mast and fore-and-aft sails – something like a longboat with sails.]

Better luck was had on the 21st. Starting very early (3am), the Russians took advantage of calms seas and made the Jungfruzund by noon. Here they were joined by their scouts, who reported that all the locals had fled. They also reported seeing a strange sail in the sound, and that evening a Swedish shallop closed to within a sighting distance of the Russians before turning around.

Combat in the narrow waters of the archipelago would take on the nature of a land skirmish. The Jungfruzund proved a good position for the Swedes to defend in or attack from. The prevailing wind blew down the strait from the west, against the Russians.

The 22nd of May was a good day. Though forced to halt around noon due to the wind, the Russians had made the exit of the sound – a journey of about 20 Km – and had located, not a useful pilot, but an equally useful Swedish gunner, who had been left behind on one of the islands. According to him, the Russians were facing:

- 15 galleys, with 2 more on the way and another 8 fitting out

- 15 ‘arpins’ – light ships with 10 guns each
- 1 double shallop (in actuality there were at least two)
- 1 prahm coming up with the extra two galleys

The Russians’ own reconnaissance proved at least the presence of some enemy vessels 7-8 Km ahead of them, when a galley was spotted that evening.

From the 23rd to the 25th, Keith and Khruschev inched forward northwest through ‘open’ water – no large islands but plenty of shoals. After only two kilometres they had a brief tussle with Swedish forces. A Russian patrol pushed too far ahead and was chased away. The Swedes withdrew as the enemy main body advanced in support. This was the Swedish rearguard – 3 galleys and a few boats. Their main body was perhaps six kilometres away.

Anchoring among the shallows, Keith reorganised his force, now augmented by the five weatherbeaten Frederickshamn galleys, under Major General Bratke, into three squadrons: Khruschev in the van, Keith commanding the main body, and Bratke in the rear.

At dawn on the 26th, a patrol spotted six Swedish galleys (including the flag galley of Vice Admiral Falkengren) beyond some low islets, a few kilometres out from Korpo Island. The Admiral had at last sallied from Föglö.

Keith, sending out an advance guard of 10 boats and *konchebras* supported by two galleys, manoeuvred around the islets, forcing the Swedes to retreat westward toward the Ålands. Confirming their POW’s story, the Russians counted 17 enemy galleys (plus a half-galley, two galiots, and two armed smacks).

Keith quickly secured his new position by anchoring off Korpo Island that afternoon. His forces were now halfway through the archipelago. While the Swedes lay somewhere out of sight to the west, their anchorage covered by three batteries, Keith duplicated them by establishing a battery of four guns (8-lbers), protected by 300 troops, on the right of the entrance to his harbour. The two prahms were anchored directly in front of the entrance.

[A second battery was to have been landed but for some reason this had not yet been done when the battle commenced. It is not clear exactly where the battery was, but the Russian battle line formed near the western entrance, and during the coming battle, the guns were 600 feet nearer the enemy.]

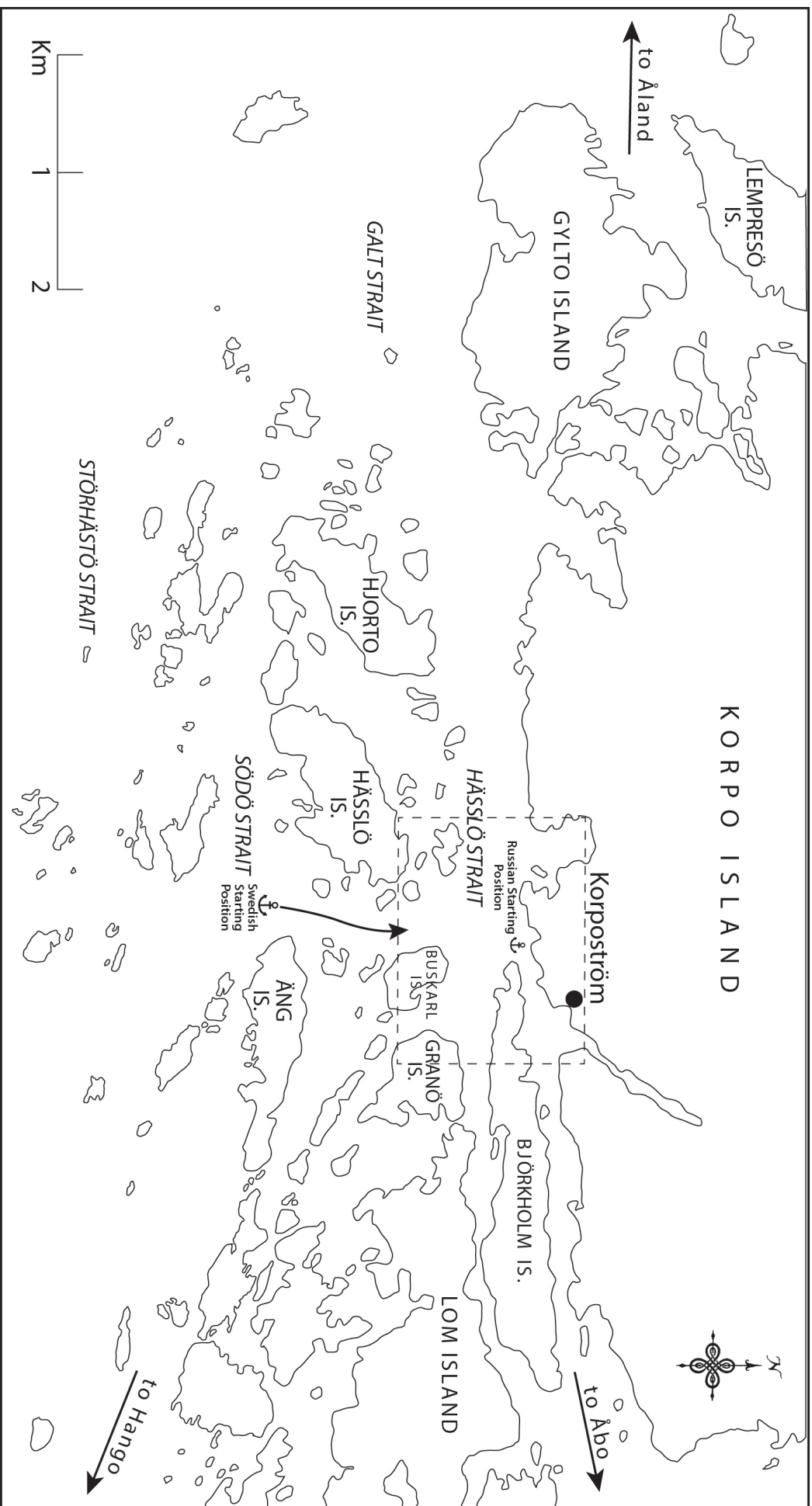
Keith was unable to leave due to contrary winds. So, over the next few days both sides reorganised and refitted. The Swedes received a reinforcement of galleys, and a frigate. Falkengren was only waiting for reinforcements before launching an attack. It came on the 30th. The Swedes disposed of 18 galleys and a prahm. Approaching in three divisions, the enemy spread into a single line across the harbour approaches at a range of 3,000 yards. The Russians faced the enemy with 21 galleys and 2 prahms.

[It is important to realise that the galleys were armed with forward batteries only, while the prahms fired broadside.]

The Battle of Korpoström, May 31st 1743

A heavy thunderstorm prevented any engagement until the 31st. At noon on that day, the Swedish prahm *Hercules* was seen advancing. She fired flares and commenced ranging shots against the Russian shore battery, which was 200 yards in front of the Russian line of battle. She found the battery to be out of range. Boats were used to tow her closer; other boats formed a screen.

Shortly after, at 3pm a general advance by the Swedish galleys was begun, and by 4pm the opposing lines were in range of one another. Keith forbade any firing until the Swedes had come within musket range. But almost immediately the Swedish prahm could be seen turning to bring its guns to bear and Keith ordered



Battle of Korpoström, Environs
(inset shows area of activity)

ranging shots made. One shot went long; the other struck the poop of the *Hercules*. Keith then signalled 'general broadsides' and had himself rowed to the shore battery, from whence he would direct the battle.

[Manstein says the Russian prahms fired first, other sources says the shore battery. Perhaps this is an assumption, since Keith was with the shore battery during the battle, but he only rowed over to it after giving the general order to fire.]

Both sides kept it up until 7pm. The Swedish right was exposed while their left was protected by the shore. Only three Russian galleys and the two prahms had room to fire, while the Swedes were able to employ their entire fleet. Keith ordered the rest of his ships into reserve.

Hercules was soon badly damaged. Other galleys suffered hits, including the Swedish flagship. Both it and the prahm withdrew behind islands, the prahm on the Swedish left and the flagship on the right. At 7pm the Swedish galleys pulled back, having received worse than they gave. Unable to follow due to the wind, which was now blowing straight into the harbour, Keith sent a few armed boats and a *konchebras* to clear away the remaining enemy small boats.

The Russian prahms fired 1063 rounds, the galleys 322, and the battery 89. *Wild Bull* had been hit at least 39 times and suffered 3 guns disabled; *Oliphant* took at least 20 hits. Two galleys had suffered similar damage (one nearly being shaken apart by its own gunfire). The Russians lost 1 officer and 6 other ranks, with 8 wounded. No details are available about Swedish losses. On June 1st, Keith learned they were anchored at Rocksheera, five (German) miles away.

[Given the distance, and the name, Rocksheera is probably Roslax, NW from Korpo and about halfway between there and Soutonga (the latter place being SW of Roslax).]

Excursus

Korpo, or more properly, Korpoström, is one of those battles which are at least a good exercise in analysis. Hard-fought, despite its slight butcher's bill – no ships were lost on either side – it was important because it was the Swedes' last attack, and it failed.

The most detailed source of information for the battle is General Manstein's *Memoirs*. But in this instance Manstein was not an eyewitness, he was working from Keith's after-action report. Moreover, the present author has used the English translation, which naturally eliminates any nuances contained in the original French. And, Manstein's account is minimalist, mentioning the key points and leaving the rest to be understood. Without additional investigation, even the location of the battle is uncertain.

Korpo is one of the larger islands. Manstein says 'Korpo village', suggesting the main community, but in fact the Russians' anchorage lay off the smaller hamlet of Korpoström. Now a popular camping and boating spot, it boasts a small memorial to the battle (erected in 1959). This memorial gives some proof that the battle took place here, and not off Korpo village, since the locals ought to know. Other proofs come from Manstein's description of the battle, which only fit Korpoström's environs.

If the reader will refer to the maps, he will see that Korpoström lies in the southeast corner of the island of Korpo, itself the western extremity of the Åbo (Turku) Archipelago. Along the south coast of Korpo lies a strait, from half a kilometre to a kilometre wide, formed by a number of islets that parallel the coast. Just before the hamlet, this strait bends to the south. Or, rather, there is an extra large gap to the south, for the strait also continues east, spilt by a large islet into two narrow channels.

Korpoström is situated on the northern channel, which widens out into a snug moorage basin and then narrows again.

Having located the site of the battle, where, exactly, were the Russians deployed, and where the Swedes? Actually, the first question is easily answered by accepting Manstein's sentences as a literal description and not a generalisation – and by looking at a map.

The Russians occupied the harbour basin. To defend it, they positioned their prahms just outside the western channel leading to the harbour, and erected their battery on the promontory formed by the islet (*Björkholm*) that splits the channel. The galleys were located slightly to the east, in the narrow neck leading to the harbour.

Caveat: the above is an interpretation. Manstein says the prahms were 'opposite' the harbour, and the battery was 'on the right' of the harbour. The question then becomes, 'which right'? Manstein does imply on the *harbour* right, not on the Russians' right. The course of the battle makes the most sense if one imagines General Keith being rowed about the strait looking for suitable sites. Similarly, the prahms, being opposite, were outside the harbour, acting like turrets or bastions. 'Turrets' is a good simile because the ships would have been 'sprung' with anchor cables to allow them to turn rapidly.

There are two alternate locations for the battery. It was on a hill, and Manstein says it was 100 fathoms from the prahms – 600 feet. One alternate is on a promontory of the Korpo shore, which juts into a small bay. The other is about halfway between that spot and the neck of the harbour entrance. Of the two, the former *sounds* right, except that in that case the prahms would be farther out in the strait, and the galleys would likewise have to be farther out, which in turn would mean more of them could be in the line than any of the sources allow.

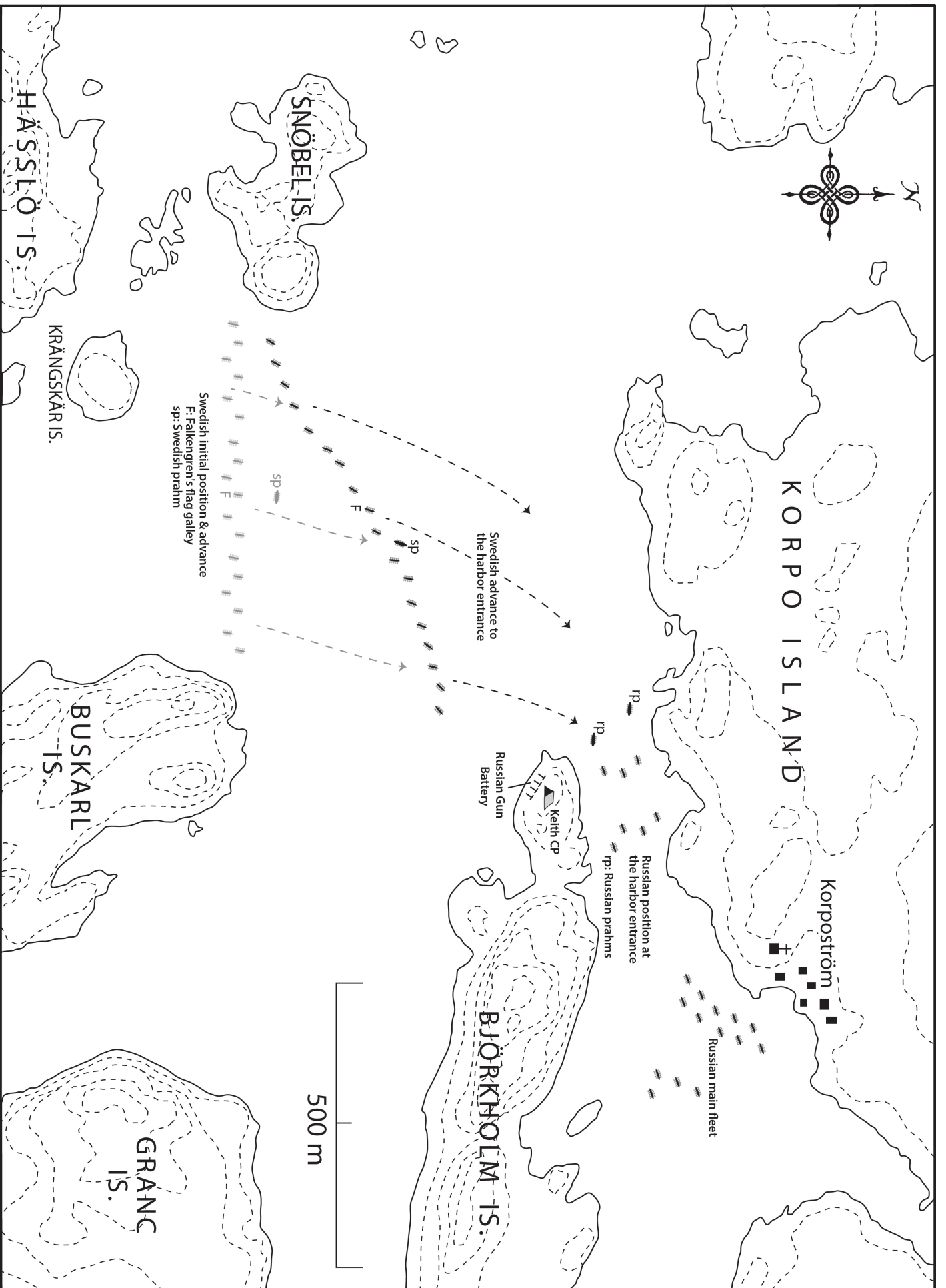
Also, General Keith directed the battle from the battery hill. Neither of the alternates is an effective CP. The point of Björkholm is. All elements – battery, prahms, galleys, and the enemy, would be in plain sight.

As to the Russian galleys, Manstein is quite explicit: only three galleys were able to fire, bow on, and this after they had come a little forward of the harbour mouth to help the prahms. Skilled galley fleets employed a frontage per galley equal to twice the width of the ship plus the length of one bank (or side) of oars – or roughly 60'. Three galleys fit nicely at the channel entrance, just behind the Björkholm promontory.

Other sources mention that seven galleys were engaged, out of the 21, but this probably means only that they took fire. Manstein does say that Keith pulled some galleys back when the Swedes began their approach. Normally, a single galley line zigzagged, with those behind preventing the enemy from turning into the leading ships, whether for ramming (not a tactic employed at this date) or boarding. The width of the harbour entrance from shore to shore is under 400 feet, and that does not take into account shallow water. Seven galleys in an interlocking line would need 420 feet. So, probably there were initially seven, and the General removed four from the line and pulled the remaining three back so he could secure the harbour mouth.

[There are also suggestions that the battle was more chaotic than the simple gun duel portrayed by Manstein. One Swedish source reports the capture of a Russian galley, the Orel (Eagle). In that case, the withdrawal may have been forced on Keith and his seven galleys may originally have been ranged outside the harbour mouth, in a NW-SE line, or lined up along the Korpo shore.]

There is now the question of the Swedish approach route. There are three routes to Korpoström: west, south, and east. The eastern



Battle of Korpoström, May 31st 1743

route can be discounted for several reasons: it does not fit the description of the battle, the Swedes came from the Ålands to the west and would have had to make some tricky manoeuvres to get at the entrance, and the memorial is not located at the hamlet found at that end of the strait. The Swedes attacked either from the west or the south. Manstein does not say which, and neither does anyone else.

Both are possible, the western approach appearing the best on the map, since the Swedes' 18 galleys, in a single line, were all able to fire on the Russians. But this fact applies to the southern route as well. The strait is narrower, but only in relative terms. The Swedes might have used both routes, but Manstein is clear that on arrival they anchored in a single line at 3000 yards (2.74 Km – i.e. out of range of the 24- and 12-pounders used by both fleets), and in order to do that, they must have all occupied either the western end or the southern end, not both.

Prevailing winds are from the southwest, which is not much help, but they would be more useful for a force approaching from the south. After the battle, Keith's forces were locked in the harbour by this wind. There is a greater chance the Swedes might have been pinned against the harbour mouth if they came up the western channel; coming from the south they could use the wind and tack to better effect. There are some indications that they retreated by the western passage.

The Russians earlier had problems with a northwest wind, and it is likely the thunderstorm came from the north. Manstein mentions that before the battle the Swedes rode out the inclement weather behind some islands. This is easily possible if the southern route were used and the high winds were from the north. Manstein also says that while sheltering the Swedes were hidden from view. The western channel does not offer much in the way of small islands to shelter behind from either a north or a southwest wind.

The engagement began, probably, when the Swedes were within 1000 yards. Manstein says Keith initially forbade firing outside of 'musket range', but allowed the prahms to fire when the Swedish prahm was within 'a good cannon shot'. 'Musket range' and 'cannon shot' are colloquial terms usually meaning 250 yards and 1000 yards, respectively. 24- and 12-pounder guns could fire farther than that of course, but they would not hit anything, especially not a narrow-fronted galley, and even if they did hit, the shot would be unlikely to penetrate. The Russians fired two ranging shots at the Swedish prahm and scored only one hit, even at a mere 1000 yards. During the fight, Swedish vessels took cover both to the right and the left, behind various islets. This is quite possible within the 1000 yard radius of action, but not at greater ranges.

The map included with this commentary shows only a possible deployment. Especially, it assumes a southern approach. It shows the Russian galleys within the harbour mouth, when they may have been deployed farther out, at least initially. The Swedes are shown with their left against Snöbel Island and their right exposed. Their left may even have been behind the island; there is an account of them firing blind over an islet, which would be Snöbel. The same account states their right was exposed.

Manstein does not say whether the Swedes closed from their initial position, only that the action lasted about three hours and that both sides took a beating – the Swedes withdrew at 7pm but sunset was not until 10:30.

The map has made the assumption that the Swedes did close, though the land battery would have made this risky. A Swedish account states that the galley *Sturgeon* captured a Russian galley called the *Eagle (Orel)*. That suggests close quarter fighting. But the account is very vague, and not substantiated. All the same, it

can be argued that if the Swedes had remained at 1000 yards, Keith would have introduced more galleys into the fight.

Factors opposing a closer approach include the presence of the land battery, the direction of the wind, and the fact that the Swedish crews were mostly conscripts unused to manoeuvring in narrow waters. Incidentally, this may be why Falkengren was unwilling to risk combat earlier. Korpoström came about when he was given a direct order to attack.

[The map, one of Paul Dangel's, was not cheatingly copied from a book. It is derived solely from this author's interpretation of the various accounts and the terrain. Please reserve your applause for the end.]

[Korpoström later became an important defensive harbour, with its own garrison of 14 men.]

Further Actions

On the 4th of June, Keith moved against the Swedes at Rocksheera. Spying the enemy at anchor behind the island, he manoeuvred against them, only to watch them up-anchor and flee. For some time the Russians could not make out why – the Swedes were the stronger party, and had the tremendous advantage of at least one frigate, loaned by Admiral Utfahl. Then it was learned they had panicked. Aware that Lacy was approaching along the southern edge of the archipelago, they had mistaken the Russian 'sutler fleet' – a mass of small provision boats with many sails – for Lacy's galleys. All the Swedes saw from the other side of the island was a field of canvas.

[Although on the water, the Russian forces still had their usual train of civilian contractors and merchants. Someone decided it would be a good day to go and sell beer to the troops.]

Pursuit was not possible. A little farther on, there was less than 11' of water, which was insufficient for the prahms. Keith collected his forces and followed at leisure to Soutonga (*Suttonge/Suttonga*). The Swedes had hoped to rest here, but displaced upon the Russians' approach to a spot 3 Km farther on.

Keith found he had a strong position, and, expecting Marshal Lacy to join him with the bulk of the galley fleet and several regiments, built seven batteries of from 4-5 guns each to cover all possible approaches to his anchorage (there is a string of islands forming the bay). The prahms were floated over the shoals to block the main harbour mouth (8th June). The left of the harbour entrance was easiest to cross, so a triple cable was rigged across it. Deception was also employed, fitting a mere galliot with the 'broad pennant' of a man-o-war. Meanwhile, the Swedes implemented similar measures in their own anchorage.

[Keith's anchorage was on the east side of the Soutonga island chain. The location of the Swedes is not clear. There is a bay on the west side, south of a channel cutting the chain in two. This may be where the Swedes were located. It would give them the ability to escape north or south along a wide strait where there would be room for frigates. Alternatively, there is a deep passage to the north of Soutonga – suitable for a frigate – but on the other hand it may have been too exposed to the weather.]

For a while the two sides probed and riposted without any effect. On June 22nd the first of Lacy's forces arrived: the *Ladoga Regiment* and a company of the *Narva Regiment*, carried on four galleys. Three days later 10 more galleys arrived bearing more troops under Major General Karaulov. By June 23rd, the full force was assembled.

The same day, the Swedes were seen on the horizon, apparently a mixed force of galleys and sailing vessels – Over-Admiral Taube, upon joining the Swedish battle fleet in the central Baltic with his newly built flagship, the *Fredrik Rex* (62), had immediately detached a reinforcement of two ships of the line and four frigates to aid Falkengren. Five hours after this sighting, the Swedes once

Gulf of Bothnia



Baltic Sea

Åland-hav

Åland Island

Lemland

Degerby

Suttunga

Rocksheera

Åbo (Turku)

Korpoström

Hangö (Gangut)

Tweermunde Bay

Ålands Campaign - June 1743

- A:** June 1 - Swedes shelter at Rocksheera. Keith conducts repairs at Korpoström.
- B:** June 4-5 - Keith sails west to Rocksheera. Swedes withdraw and Keith pursues them to Suttunga where he 'digs in' with the Swedish forces nearby.
- C:** June 19 - Lacy's van slips past the Swedes at Hangö.
- D:** June 23 - Lacy's joins Keith and Swedes withdraw to Stockholm.
- E:** June 26 - Lacy takes station off Lemland until peace is declared (29 June).

Ålands Campaign, June 1743
(inset shows area of May's activities)

again appeared to be retreating. This time, Keith ordered a pursuit by a few galleys and *konchebras*.

[Admiral Baron Edward Didrik Taube was supreme commander of the Swedish Navy – technically, President of the Admiralty College (appointed 1734). He was also the father of the King's mistress. Things had come to such a pass that he had to assume field command.]

On the 25th of June the Russian vanguard (most likely Keith's entire force), some 20 Km ahead of the main body, spied the Swedes near Degerby Island, their main base of operations. The Russians, guided by an abandoned sailor, observed the enemy from one of the islands as their own main body drew near. For a time the enemy made the expected demonstrations, but following their usual practice, ended up by retreating without firing a shot. This time they had gone for good. Lacy's main force arrived at Keith's final position, off Lemland, on the 26th.

[Lemland is an island SE of Åland Island, so close as to appear as part of it on some maps.]

Here, a council of war determined to proceed to the west side of Åland, to Rouden-ham, an island in the chain called the Scheers of Åland, the last strip of land before the Swedish coast some 70 miles away. There was no intention of a full scale invasion, only a few 'descents', possibly because Major General Bratke and six battalions were to return to Österbotten (the midlands of Finland) with much of the provisions. Apparently the Russian forces there were starving, while their Swedish foes had already made off home for lack of food. But high winds on the 27th and 28th prevented any sortie, and on the 29th a courier arrived from Åbo. The war was over.

A ceasefire went into effect on June 28th for the Swedes, and June 29th for the Russians.

War's end saw the Swedish battle fleet again cruising between Dager Ort (*Hiiumaa*) and Gotland. The galleys had gone to Stockholm to help deal with a peasant revolt. For his part, Golovin was awaiting reinforcements at Rogervik (he received the new and powerful second rate, *Sviatoi Apostol Pavel* (80)). Lacy and Keith remained on the east coast of Åland until late August, at which time, as will be explained, most of the Russians went home, or into garrison in Finland, but a substantial force went on to Sweden, at the enemy's own request!

Naval losses this year were the Russian galleys *Frenzy*, *Crocodile*, *Narva*, *St. Nicholas*, and *Kestrel*, all due to 'navigational error'. The Swedes do not appear to have lost any ships. No mention is made of army losses, but doubtless the attrition rate was high on both sides.

The Bothnian Campaign

Manstein says little about the fighting that took place in northern Finland this year, other than that the Swedes were engaged by Lieutenant General Stoffeln, commanding a large body of dragoons and Cossacks, and that they accomplished nothing.

From Swedish sources it is learned that after Helsingfors the Swedish cavalry, accompanied by some of the infantry (maybe 2,000 or so) travelled to Vaasa before taking ship for Tornio (October 1742). This mixed force was retained there into 1743. In this new year it was to advance south again, supported, as soon as the ice melted, by 6,000 troops assembled at Gävle and Umeå, who would make amphibious landings on the Finnish coast. The goal was to spark a rising of the Finns, oppressed by a winter of Russian occupation. Overall command was given to Generalmajor Christopher Freidenfelts.

The plan had merit. There were only 2,000 Russians in the north, and a further 5,000 garrisoning the rest of the country. Swedish officers from the disbanded Finnish regiments would provide

cadres for the locals. But the only practical road into the country lay along the coast. The rest was a wilderness dotted with isolated communities connected by tracks and lake craft. In the event, both sides had enough of a fight just to stay alive.

In his concluding remarks on the 1743 campaign, Manstein states that Stoffeln marched as far north as Oulu. The Swedish sources say he approached Tornio in April – halting at the village of Ii, then withdrew to Oulu as Freidenfelts began his own advance. The Swedes stopped at Kello to await reinforcements, but while conducting reconnaissance Freidenfelts was accidentally drowned among the pack ice. According to the sources the plan collapsed for this reason. His men retired to Tornio and the general rising never happened. The forces based at Gävle and Umeå only conducted limited 'descents' with limited results, mainly burning timber stockpiled for galley construction.

The Arctic Squadron

In the summer of 1743, Bredal once again attempted to round North Cape. This time he could not get away until August 6th. Two new 66-gunners had been constructed (*Sviatoi Ekaterina* and *Fridemaker*) and these joined the *Sviatoi Isakii* and frigates *Mercurius*, *Apollon*, and *Kavaler*, plus the hooker. *Vahmeyster* and *Dekrondelivde* had been condemned.

On August 18th, after collecting the rest of the squadron at Ekaterina, Bredal made for the Baltic. This time, despite storms which scattered his squadron completely (September 1st), he was successful. *Sviatoi Pyotr*, *Sviatoi Isakii*, *Leferm*, and *Blagopoluchie* reached St. Petersburg in November. The flagship, *Sviatoi Ekaterina*, arrived at Copenhagen on October 5th. The *Mercurius* struck a bank in the Kattegat – after her captain confused the beacon light with his own ship's lantern! Fortunately, everyone was rescued. The remainder of the squadron had to return to Ekaterina but arrived at Kronstadt the following summer.

[Schastlije is named by Anderson as one of those that made St. Petersburg. Apollon, incidentally, reached St. Petersburg in 1743, returned to Archangel later the same year, and went back to St. Petersburg in 1744. So it could be done.]

THE PEACE OF ÅBO

The Helsingfors capitulation in 1742 had been no armistice, but the lateness of the season effectively made it one, and the Swedes let it be known they were serious about ending the war.

A peace congress therefore opened at Åbo in March of 1743. The representatives were, for Sweden, Ambassador Nolken and former ambassador Baron H. Sederkreys; for the Russians, *General-anchef* A. Rumyantsev and General I. L. Lyuberas. England was approached as facilitator (a blow from the Caps against the pro-French Hats).

To a casual observer, the Russians had Sweden at their mercy. The Swedes had no money. The French subsidies were spent and their ally had other fish to fry. The general population was in no mood to accept more taxes. Both Army and Navy were severely weakened. Ten regiments (the Finns) had been disbanded. Some source say up to half of the men shipped back to Sweden died enroute from disease. Even if that is an exaggeration, further military action was out of the question. The Government faced serious domestic unrest, too; among other things, men called to the colours were refusing to leave their farms until the officers put aside their politics.

For, shortly before Helsingfors, a new *riksdag* had been called. This *riksdag* was the one which drew so many of Lewenhaupt's officers away. Ironically, it saw a reduction of the Hats' power. Several Cap nobles obtained seats on the Secret Committee and

Privy Council. To the dismay of the Hats, one of the parliament's first decisions was to set up a commission of inquiry into the finances of the war and the allocation of the French subsidies, beginning from 1738 – i.e. during the entire Hat Administration. Prominent Hats were also to be questioned on the conduct of the war and pre-war preparations.

It was at this point that Generals Buddenbrog and Lewenhaupt were arrested, pending court martial. The competence of a new Administration to judge the decisions of a former Administration itself became a subject of debate and it was decided that the King alone could pronounce judgement on the Government. However, this did not give immunity from prosecution to individual members of that Administration.

The restaffed Secret Committee also desired to restore some power to the King and parliament. As an unprecedented emergency measure, they asked the Peasant Order to work with them, both in solving domestic grievances and in establishing a true picture of the state of the country under the Hats.

Succession Crisis

Of course, the burning question was the Succession. Everything else could wait. Over the course of the next few months, the Swedes came up with six candidates:

- Carl Peter Ulrik, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, nephew of Tsaritsa Elisabeth and future Tsar of Russia.
- The Prince Royal of Denmark, Frederick of Oldenburg, later to become Frederick V of Denmark and Norway.
- Adolph Fredrik of Holstein, Prince-Bishop of Lübeck and guardian of the Russian Grand Duke (see choice #1).
- Christian IV, Pfalzgrave von Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, of the same family as Charles XII.
- Frederick II of Hesse-Cassel, a nephew of the current king (and his 'factor' in Hesse). A lightweight contender, but he would perpetuate the dynasty (assuming that mattered).
- The Duke of Deux-ponts. Well, every election has its 'joke' candidate.

[The Duke of Deux-ponts was a man of some power and influence – uniquely, he owned both a French and an Imperial regiment simultaneously and got away with it – but he could not truly compete with the others. Frederick II was soon discounted as well.]

The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (pictured at right, as Peter III of Russia) got the most press. The Holsteiners had returned from Finland in a noisy body and demanded his selection. They pointed out that since his aunt was their current enemy, he was also the nation's best hope for obtaining a favourable peace. This argument gained wide support among the nobility, both Hats and Caps, though the former had more to gain by the choice since it would justify the war as truly being waged on behalf of Elisabeth. On November 3rd, 1742, the question, should the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp be made heir presumptive of Sweden, was put to the vote and carried.

There were those who dissented. The Holsteiners were the Moderates. Those in favour of continuing the war supported the Danish Prince Royal. However, in view of the state of things, they went along with the vote. Unfortunately, the fifteen-year-old Duke, now Grand Duke of Russia, graciously refused the offer.

The Grand Duke might have accepted, but for the fact that the vote was not made public, so by the time the Swedish delegation arrived in St. Petersburg to pop the question (January 2nd, 1743) Carl Peter had already undergone the Orthodox rites and been declared heir to the Russian throne – to be a Swedish king, he

would have had to be a Lutheran. And at bottom this was a fortuitous cover story anyway. The Russians were not really interested in ruling Sweden directly, only in having her as a client, a buffer state. Carl Peter would have lost the chance to be Tsar if he had chosen to be King of Sweden.

[Sweden might then have entered the Seven Years War on the side of Prussia.]



Elisabeth told the delegates she regretted the way things had turned out, but she already had a solution. Sweden would have to give up all territory conquered by Russia, *and* pay the costs of the war unless... unless they accepted Carl Peter's guardian, Adolph Fredrik of Holstein, as a replacement.

In Sweden meanwhile, the Danish Prince Royal was gaining converts, and when the Grand Duke's rebuff became known, another name was added to the list of candidates – Christian IV, Pfalzgrave von Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld. Young and full of various merits, he was put forward by the French and supported by many of the nobles and burghers. This caused a split in the Hat party between those who favoured Christian IV and between those who favoured the Danish Prince.

The argument for Frederick was telling. A union with Denmark would be the surest defence against Russian encroachment. With Sweden allied with France, and Denmark allied with England, Russia would be kept at bay. Frederick was married to a daughter of King George II, and the Russians had just signed the Treaty of Moscow (December 1742) with Britain.

The danger inherent in this choice was that the Danish candidate's father was an Absolutist monarch; many feared that Sweden would be forcibly annexed by Denmark and lose her own laws. Or, she might be partitioned. Strong pro-Danish sentiment was to be found in the south and west of the country – provinces which had not been Swedish very long.



The Prince Royal, as King of Denmark

French and Danish lobbyists shelled out barrels of gold on bribes. Open table for MPs and market square banquets for the peons (at least the peasants got something out of the deal, and did not have to listen to attack ads.)

[These practices were banned by the Government, by the way, to no avail.]

The Russian Candidate

Though still the dominant party, the Hats were under a dark cloud. Once the succession question was settled, the parliamentary inquiry into their conduct of the war would resume. They also had to deal with deputations of angry peasants bearing lists of grievances a mile long. These had been promised a hearing as soon as the succession issue was settled.

[Remember, the Peasant Estate uniquely had representation in the riksdag, but all the same, it could only send deputations to the House of the Nobles.]

The Åbo talks were stalled. Tsaritsa Elisabeth was adamant that Sweden and Denmark could not be united, even as an independent monarchy. The Kalmar Union would *not* be reconstituted. The Swedes must choose Adolph Fredrik.

Adolph Fredrik of Holstein, Prince-Bishop of Lübeck was in many ways a good choice. He was the nephew of Carl Peter's father, and on his mother's side a scion of the Vasa dynasty. His candidature was also supported by England (whose agents had to work for his election secretly, because they were also pledged to help the Danish Prince Royal!)

Known and liked by Elisabeth, Adolph was pliable and unlikely to make waves. He might not have the will to curb the Hats, but he would not be inspired by them, either. Sweden would be

prevented from joining a Nordic Bloc. But only the Caps would vote for him out of hand.

The Swedish negotiators at Åbo, despite their hopeless bargaining position, continued to insist that Russia must return all territorial gains – they were expecting great wonders from Chétardie, the French Ambassador to Russia. But he had other things to worry about. The Tsaritsa had not been pleased when in 1741 she had asked France to mediate and instead found them inciting the Turks against her. As the War of the Austrian Succession gathered steam, the pro-Austrian Bestuzhev clique was manoeuvring to completely destroy French influence at St. Petersburg.



Christian, Pfalzgrave of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld

At the pinnacle of her anger, the Tsaritsa had called for an invasion of Sweden (which her field commanders, especially the cautious Admiral Golovin, toned down to some projected 'descents'). But further military action risked drawing in the Danes, and, it will be recalled, Marshal Lacy had been instructed to halt on the Kymen.

[This had something to do with Lagenkrantz's mission, which was therefore not a total failure.]

Behind closed doors, there was quite an argument among the Russians. Lacy and the other generals, as well as Admiral Golovin, continued to advocate turning Finland into neutralised buffer state, all but the north being occupied by the Russian Army for an indefinite period of time. Rumyantsev and Lyuberas, the actual negotiators, took the Tsaritsa's surprisingly mild position (to which she was talked round by Lestocq and her other pro-French confidants). This was, in return for the acceptance of Adolph, the very moderate annexation of just the southeastern districts of Savolax and Kymi; the Swedes could keep the rest of Finland.

[The Bestuzhevs were not on top yet. At one point, certain 'adjustments' to the Finland-for-Adolph swap were made which alarmed the Swedes, but these were disavowed by Elisabeth as being penned in on the Bestuzhevs' private initiative.]

Decision Time

With three candidates still to choose from, the question for the *riksdag* became, should the vote take place now (in late February or early March of 1743) or should the Swedes keep their options open. Most Hats believed they could bargain harder with the Russians if they did not make the country's choice plain too soon.

The envoys of the various candidates presented their cases. The Swedes heard that King Christian VI offered military aid in the form of 10,000 men, twelve men of war, and six frigates. An additional 10,000 men could be raised. All the French offered was vague promises of paying the next subsidy on time and doing something to aid the Navy. Adolph Fredrik's man only offered a letter. But it came from the Tsaritsa and it said that the Swedes could have Finland back.

In the subsequent debates, the Prince Royal was reluctantly abandoned by the majority. Danish aid, though it sound good, would not restore Finland, and it was all too likely that Sweden would become Denmark's newest province. The Caps thought the Russian offer a good bargain. Some thought the odds of Adolph Fredrik escaping Danish wrath were slim, though (he resided at Lübeck). The Hats advocated closer ties with France, through the Zweibrück dynasty – besides, that young man was a paragon. But this argument was tempered by the knowledge that France was bogged down in the Rhineland. Adolph Fredrik it would have to be.

The people most unhappy with choice of the Russian candidate were the Peasants. As the lowest of the 'Lower Houses', they had been left out of the entire discussion; they had not had their grievances addressed, either. Though their deputies said they would accept the decision of the *riksdag*, many, especially from formerly Danish regions, openly continued to support the Prince Royal.

Stora Daldansen

A storm was bound to break, and it did. They called it the *stora daldansen*, the Great Dalecarlian Dance. The Dalecarlians went into revolt.

Dalecarlia, or Dalarna, (i.e. 'the Dales') is a district on the border with Norway, west of Stockholm. A vacation spot even in those times, it is still known for its independent-minded inhabitants. It also had a reputation as 'hillbilly country'.

Although the Danes made use of this peasant rising, feeding it with gold, it was not of their direct making. The troubles began as news from Finland worsened in 1742. Discontent rose for several reasons, and not just in the Dales.

New customs regulations introduced by the Hats fell heavily on the peasantry. There was famine in Sweden in 1742. Bread prices were kept artificially low, but the customs regulations made it hard to import enough bread from neighbouring Norway, and the war prevented it from coming from Livonia. Emergency 'adjustments' to the laws were made, but too late.

The nation's verdict on the campaign in Finland, meanwhile, was 'gross incompetence'. The outbreaks of typhus in the Navy and Army, and the generally poor living conditions, were evidence of criminal negligence on the part of the entire officer corps. The men of the Dals Regiment (*Dalregementet*), recruited, as the name indicates, from Dalecarlia, especially let this be known to the people at home.

The fault of the country going to war at all was laid at Aristocracy's door. It was widely believed that many nobles were turning a profit from war industries and manipulation of the customs laws.

The King was not blamed, though. He was pitied. The peasants did not like the way he had been 'manipulated' and kept from exercising his functions. He was known to oppose the war, yet the Hats and their Secret Committee had made war anyway; they had denied the King his right to command the Army when he had offered to do so – Frederick had made this offer on the outbreak of war, and he made it again after the Helsingfors surrender, when the scale of the disaster became known.

Although a symbolic gesture on his part, the Government's refusal had two negative consequences. In the spring of 1743, men angry with the Government refused to muster to the colours until their officers did so; since much of the officer corps was needed in Stockholm to bolster the Hats' sagging fortunes, Sweden's Army was even less prepared to face the Russians. If the King had been allowed to take the field, the troops would likely have obeyed him.

And, the officers' refusal to quit playing politics was perceived as being all of a piece with the Government's acceptance of the Russian Candidate, with their refusal to let the King lead the Army, with their continued refusal to hear the grievances of the Peasant deputies. Obviously, the Hats, nay, the Aristocracy, intended to cling to power no matter what the cost.

The disaster in Finland did not spark the uprising, it merely fed it. Before the Helsingfors capitulation was reported, the farmers had demanded that time be set aside when the peasantry could air their grievances. Their representatives were told they could only meet with the Government in small groups, each group on a different day. The peasants went ahead and held a mass meeting on August 1st, 1742, at which a 22-point letter of appeal was drafted. This meeting came at a bad time for the Government – during the elections for the 1742 *riksdag*. Some members of parliament adopted the peasants' cause as their platform.

Over the winter months, deputies from the Peasant Order tried to meet with the other Houses, but the Succession took precedence, and that was a matter strictly between the Nobles and the King. The deputies were told they would be heard at some unspecified future date. So it was, that in the spring of 1743, things boiled over, not from the war, nor the succession, nor the famine, but from all those factors. The people were fed up.

The Dalecarlians were merely the first to take action. Individuals from the Dales visited other provinces, telling willing ears that it was time the self-serving Aristocracy had its wings clipped; what the country needed was a single king, not many. Maybe the country would be better off under an Absolute Monarch such as Christian VI. The peasants would have no say in government, but how was that any different than the situation now. At least there would be no pack of fractious high-born committee-men milking the system while the country went down the tubes.

[History does repeat itself. This entire 'oscillation' of human activity – a strong monarch curbing the nobles, followed by the aristos curtailing the monarch's powers, followed by a peasant rising (usually in Dalecarlia) to protest the arrogance of the nobles, followed by a new monarchy that restricted the nobles' powers, was nothing new.]

In March, 1743, the men of the Dals Regiment set out a petition stating they would not serve until the warmongers, criminals, and traitors were punished, and until the Danish Prince Royal was chosen as heir presumptive. If their demands were not met, there would be consequences.

In April, the Dals Regiment, camped at Leksand for a mass meeting in support of the Prince Royal, was ordered north to Tornio, to take part in the Bothnian campaign. It mutinied. Other regiments were infected with discontent, and so attempts were made to negotiate a settlement. All failed.

Early in June, the regiment marched to Falun to join with bodies of angry farmers and supporters of the Prince Royal. Here they armed themselves and sent off delegates to the capital to present their demands. The country waited to see what would happen.

On June 22nd, the Dalecarlians marched on Stockholm. The very same day, representatives from the Government set out to meet them. All sides wanted a peaceful solution. The King was opposed to violence, as was most of the *riksdag*. Even the Hats admitted the peasants had a point – this government ‘free of royal interference’ that they had set up was out of control.

Led by elected NCOs and officers, the Dalecarlian peasant army presented a disciplined and united appearance. The Government felt it could negotiate with it. While many of the rebels’ demands were incoherent and unrealistic, the core of the matter was the choice of the Prince Royal and the meting out of punishment to the warmongers, profiteers, and other abusers of the public trust.

This put the Government in a cleft stick. They had already agreed in principle to the Russian candidate. Though there had been no formal vote as yet the Russians would be sure to view any change of mind unfavourably. After stormy debate, however, it was agreed by the three lower Houses that the Prince Royal was, after all, an acceptable alternate candidate. The Nobles, who had the most to lose if Finland were detached from Sweden, held out longest for Adolph Frederik but were eventually persuaded to back the Prince Royal, after adding the following rider: *provided that peace was not achieved before July 3rd.*

This news halted many of the Dalecarlians, but the core were not satisfied. Only this one point had been settled, and only conditionally; they continued the march, pausing at Ståket for a reply to their appeal for a settlement on all points. Meanwhile, their representatives in the capital began stirring up the population.

The Secret Committee cited its incompetence to deal with internal security matters and appealed to the King, who made a plea to the Dalecarlians to lay down their arms, without success. Unwilling to shed the blood of his subjects, he withdrew from the arena. Halting attempts were made to block the rebels’ advance, but none of the Estates, not even the Nobles, was willing to take responsibility for violently suppressing the revolt.

It was at Norrtull that the Dalecarlians learned of the signing of the peace treaty, bringing its unconditional acceptance of Adolph Fredrik, and though they had promised not to enter Stockholm, this ‘betrayal’ annoyed them. They decided they must go to town and ‘eradicate the weeds’. On the other side, the *riksdag* decided the use of force, if necessary, was now acceptable.

But first, the King and his senior military advisor, Marshal Hamilton, rode over to Norrtull. They reassured the rebels and asked that they only send a delegation to the *riksdag*. This was agreed to, but while the delegates were away, being ‘suborned’ with Government gold, the rank and file fell into a tumult and began to march.

The Swedish guards regiments (led by the ubiquitous Colonel Lagenkrantz) were deployed against them, but they had been given orders by the King not to fire. The rebels mingled with them and walked off with their artillery. This happened once or twice more, until suddenly the Dalecarlians were in the city, being quartered on the populace and talking with various MPs who came out to greet them.

The *riksdag* stalled for time, promising a commission to look into wartime abuses but the mob – some 5,000 strong – became more and more unruly. The formal proclamation of peace was read, in which it was made absolutely clear the Danish Prince Royal was now out of the picture. Certain councillors with black reputations risked being chased down the street. Eventually, shots were fired, a senator was killed, and a riot broke out. The Guards still refused to act, even when the rebels began using their captured artillery.

Fortunately, that was the day the galleys returned from the Ålands. The troops on board had no clue what was at stake and obeyed orders. 50 rebels were killed and 80 wounded. 3,500 of them were rounded up. The rest escaped. With the riot quelled, the ringleaders, scattered in quarters throughout the city, were swiftly rounded up. The peasant leader, one Scheduling, was beheaded; his advisor, a Major de Wrangel of the Dals Regiment, lost his patent of nobility and was imprisoned for life. Six others received death sentences. Among the rank and file, every 30th man was given the rod.

The immediate rising subsided, but other provinces, Uppland, Surmaland, Småland, and Scania (a former Danish province) were in turmoil, only staying their hand when the Dalecarlians failed.

[Confusingly, Carl Henrik Wrangel, the defender of Wilmanstrand, was on the side of the authorities. Although he was a war hero, he was unable to dissuade the rebels.]

Peace

At Åbo, the Swedes tried to use the July 3rd deadline and the threat of Danish intervention as an ultimatum, but it fell flat. *General-anchef* Rumyantsev countered that the Swedes could, of course, do as they pleased, but in that case the Russians would break off negotiations and keep Finland. There seemed nothing else to say. The news from Sweden was bad. The diplomats decided they had to keep faith with the Russians. The preliminary articles of the peace treaty, known as the Uveritelny Act, went into force on June 28th.

In recompense, though they put forward the principle of *uti possidetis* (finder’s keepers), the Russians were quite happy to return most of Finland to Sweden, retaining Kymmenegård County as far as the river Kymen, plus Nyslott and the parts of Savolax surrounding it, east of Lake Saimen. That is, what the Russians had discussed annexing in 1742. This meant that the three key towns of Wilmanstrand, Nyslott, and Frederickshamn became Russian property. The Treaty of Nystadt (1721) was reaffirmed, guaranteeing Russia possession of her earlier gains under Peter the Great. Finland, they said, should be neutralised. As a concession, the local population would retain their old laws, religion, and property.

[According to Manstein, various border adjustments – committee work – were still still underway when he composed his narrative years later.]

Despite the unseemly haste of the diplomats, there were only six days left before the deadline when the preliminaries were signed. *Oh my, almost forgot we asked the Danes over!* Hence Lingen’s leaking boots and sodden tricorne. He arrived in Stockholm the very day the *riksdag* was to vote on their choice of candidate and while the Dalecarlians were making their presence felt.

On July 4th, Adolph Fredrik was unanimously elected heir presumptive of Sweden. King Frederick I gave his assent. Elisabeth sent Adolph Fredrik 50,000 roubles to cover his traveling expenses. The final peace was signed at Åbo on August 18th and ratified by the Tsaritsa Elisabeth on August 30th.



Adolph Fredrik of Sweden

The Danish Threat

The peace did not stop the Danish Peril. They were concentrating most of their small but potent fleet and a body of troops at Copenhagen. Originally an aid Sweden, it was now an invasion force. A second corps began assembling on the Norwegian border.

Early in July, shortly before the Dalaric revolt collapsed, two Danish frigates scouted the eastern Baltic. In response, beginning on August 3rd the Russian fleet began cruising the mouth of the Gulf of Finland as a deterrent, and continued to do so until November 12th (although seven ships of the line were pulled out to refit at Kronstadt on October 19th).

[At Revel, on the 10th of July, the two 30-gun Danish frigates suddenly appeared. Though tensions with Denmark were rising, their arrival was routine – they had come to buy food and fix their rigging – but the response was not. It was customary for arriving ships to report at the guardship (an old British purchase named Princess Anne). The Danes found the commander absent on shore and his crew and staff all drunk. So, they sailed on into the anchorage without reporting. No one paid any attention to them. Next day, the guardship commander was put on trial.]

Meanwhile, the Swedish fleet transferred from Elfsnabben to Karlskrona, while the Danish fleet prepared at Copenhagen – twelve ships of the line and six frigates, with six more ships of the line in reserve (commissioned in September):

Norske Løve (70)
Dannebrog (70)
Prinsesse Charlotte Amalia (60)
Jylland (70)
Prinsesse Louise (60)
Markgrevinde Sophia Christina (60)
Tre Løve (60)
Prinsesse Sophia Hedvig (60)
Oldenborg (60)
Slesvig (50)
Ditmarschen (50)
Delmenhorst (50)

Plus:

Christianus Sextus (90)
Justitia (86)
Elephant (70)
Nordstjern (72)
Svanen (60)
Fyen (50)

And so, in an ironic twist, on September 14th the Swedish *riksdag* applied to Russia for help against Denmark! By the treaty newly signed, Russia reserved the right to interfere in Swedish affairs (including internal affairs) if these were seen to run counter to Russian interests.

General Keith and his men, but lately poised to conduct a hostile landing, were invited to take winter quarters around Stockholm, in Södermalm, and in Östergötland, where there was still a great deal of domestic unrest. This would prevent a rising in favour of the Danes.

[LeDonne paints this as a forced occupation by the Russians, but Manstein is clear that the Swedes did invite them (though maybe the Hats clenched their teeth a bit.)]

Keith was given 18 battalions (9 regiments) and 10 companies of grenadiers – 11,000 men in all. Lieutenant General Saltykov and major generals Lapouchin and Stuart accompanied him. Bad weather delayed the deployment until November. In the interim, a Russian patrol (consisting of the frigate *Rossia*) sailed to Copenhagen to monitor the Danes. The remainder of the fleet wintered at Revel.

[Manstein notes that the Russian naval officers did not believe a deployment in November was even possible. Keith had ridden aboard Spanish galleys in the Atlantic, and had a different opinion. He accepted their written protests, pocketed them without reading them, and gave the order to sail on.]

Long before the Russians arrived, Christian had got the message. Although George II promised his support, that was not likely to be much help. The Danish king tried landing small parties of marines in Scania, but his sympathisers failed to act. Dalecarlia and the other provinces remained turbulent for a while longer, but he could expect no more risings. The Danes decommissioned their fleet in early October. On the 15th of that month Fredrik Adolph was picked up by a Swedish ship at Dornbusch, arriving at Karlskrona on the 17th without incident. In February of 1744, the Prince Royal of Denmark formally renounced Danish claims on the Swedish throne.

In the summer of 1744, Keith, whose men had worn out their welcome dealing with local disturbances, was asked to leave, which he did on August 24th of that year. The same summer, the Swedes formed a fleet of 16 ships of the line and six frigates, to

operate in conjunction with the Russians, who cruised with a fleet of 19 ships (12 Swedish and 7 Russian) in the Gulf of Finland. The most onerous duty that year proved to be the escorting of Adolph's bride, Louisa Ulrika of Brandenburg (sister of Frederick the Great) to Sweden.

The Ghost of Charles XII had ceased to walk. For a time.

POST MORTEM

This silly war cost the Russians 10,500 casualties and POWs. At a minimum the Swedes lost between 12,000 and 13,000, *plus* POWs. Higher estimates put total losses around 50,000 men, 40,000 of those being Swedish. The war also cost the Swedes 11 million *riksdalers*. The Finns suffered from the Occupation, though less than they might have, thanks to General Keith and his wife.

Post-war, a veil was drawn over the period, but a commission examined the conduct of the war before consigning it to oblivion. It was decided that the war plan had been a good one, but that it suffered from sloppy execution. Dark whispers of treachery were made, but these were found to be untrue.

History has similarly consigned this war to a footnote. Pipe-dreams of a small group of noblemen which finished off whatever great power status Sweden still possessed. A successful ploy by France to distract the Russians and keep them from aiding Austria. True enough, but was it a pipe-dream?

If the sole aim of the war was to support a coup in favour of a pro-French, pro-Swedish regime in Russia, then it was not a fantasy. Lewenhaupt very nearly succeeded in his object. That he did not was due to the friction of war compounded by hazy political goals. Unfortunately, the coup was not the sole aim of the war.

Sweden's Government was more like that of Britain's than of her neighbours. Parties and interest groups adjusted Sweden's aims and the four Estates were not always in accord. The Hats tried to solve this problem, and incidentally increase the power of the Aristocracy, by taking over the Secret Committee and expanding its executive role in government. Because the war was lost, this practice backfired on them. But from the start, even among themselves the Hats had a conflicting agenda.

The small option promoted by France, a coup in Russia supported by Swedish arms, blurred into nebulous delusions, fed by Hat propaganda, for the reconquest of Karelia and Livonia. The Holsteiners sought to regain territory through diplomacy, using the coup as a means of lining up their favourite for the succession by currying favour with his aunt. This view clashed with that of the hardliners, who backed the Danish Prince Royal and believed that with the backing of France and Denmark, Russia could be made to disgorge Swedish territory at bayonet point.

Lewenhaupt was of the second party, while many of his officers were of the first. Despite this, he tried faithfully to carry out the 'demonstration' without embellishments, only to be parried by the Russian, shall we say... professionals, who were not about to hurt their reputations by allowing the Swedes an easy victory.

Operations

With regard to skill at arms, tactics and operational activities, the Russians demonstrated a complete grasp of the art of war. They had developed an excellent system that would stand them in good stead during the Seven Years War. Naturally, good leadership was essential, and in this case was evident. But whether looking at overall strategy, the massing of forces, the logistical support, or at the day to day routine of march and camp discipline, they were truly a professional force. Affairs such as the shooting of the front

lines by the rear lines on the road to Wilmanstrand happen all the time, and make, for the survivors, amusing after-dinner stories, without proving the army or its generals to be incompetent.

The Swedes, too were a professional force. Given the disparity in numbers, they might have been crushed anyway, but they could have made the Russians pay dearly, perhaps even forced them to give up the offensive entirely. Wilmanstrand was a hard fight, and could have gone either way. The troops did not lack courage, or equipment, or supplies. There was plenty of all of that in Finland.

But the Swedes, though led by professionals with good reputations, were, in the event, *ill* led. Lacy's preemptive attack in 1741 caught the generals by surprise. Manstein feels Wrangel lost the campaign. He was a physically brave officer, and his presence was missed at Wilmanstrand when he was wounded. There was nothing wrong with his battlefield deployment, either. But he was evidently headstrong, and possibly lacking in morale courage. Because he blamed Buddenbrog for the débâcle.

Buddenbrog's column lay two days' forced march from Wilmanstrand. If Wrangel had wanted to engage the Russians, he should have waited for support – *as he had been ordered to do*. Or, he could have fallen back to join Buddenbrog. Instead, he rushed off in the mistaken assumption he was succouring a town already under siege, allowing the Russians to defeat the Swedes in detail. On the other side of the coin, his action nearly caused the Russians to retreat. But Lacy was not that sort.

[Some sources do suggest Buddenbrog ordered Wrangel to proceed without him, but this is against the evidence of the more reliable chroniclers.]

Again, Manstein points out it was Wrangel's responsibility to conduct local reconnaissance. If he had done so, he would not have panicked when his picquets wrongly reported Wilmanstrand was under attack, and could have coordinated with his superior. Probably, the Swedes would have foiled Lacy's attempt that winter, and who knows where that would have led. At the very least, by repulsing the Russians, they would have remained prepared for the November demonstration while the enemy were in disarray.

Possibly the greatest psychological weakness of the Swedish Army was, ironically, its reliance on the Offensive phase of war. A small force often capable of beating much stronger opponents, they had developed a culture of 'conquer or die'. Holding defensive positions went against the grain, and made them nervous. Even at a tactical level, the offensive was everything. For this reason *Södermansland*, holding the hill at Wilmanstrand, left its position, leading the other regiments to do what came naturally. Wrangel's hasty reinforcement, seen as part of the cult of the Offensive, becomes less reprehensible, if still as mistaken.

[It says something about Lacy's skill, and Manstein's promptness, that that outflanking move went so smoothly. When one has spent several years fighting the Turks, one learns to respond to events quickly.]

Defeated in the first battle, the Swedes, led by officers divided by faction, fell apart as they were told to retreat, and retreat again – the most difficult phase of war to understand, and one that was not even taught by the Swedish military.

The campaign in 1742 went bad from the start. Partly this was due to the shock of Wilmanstrand, and partly it was due to faulty organisation. Mostly, however, it seems to have been due to the expectation that the armistice would take hold and become a permanent settlement. Lewenhaupt was full of plans for a second offensive, but could get no backing. The pestilence in the fleet was unforeseen and out of his hands, and the Navy could hardly be expected to perform miracles, but Lewenhaupt *did* have

authority over the fleet, and he should have been obeyed. Stockholm gave him no encouragement.

The Hat party, goaded by the French, had sprung this war on the nation without any sort of psychological preparation. They themselves could not decide whether bluffing the Russians – that is, whether aiding the princess Elisabeth – was all they wanted, or a grand offensive so they could dictate terms. The troops were told the Russians were allies, and then the Russians attacked them because their leaders behaved with arrogance.

After the Russians broke the armistice (with three days notice), Lewenhaupt's command problems multiplied. The death of the Queen was another unfortunate blow from the hand of fate, but the way his subordinate officers quit their posts was inexcusable; the imposition of a committee on his HQ was ludicrous. The Holsteiners probably justified their actions by claiming they were doing more to secure Sweden's position than their general. Fighting the Russians 'for real' was the last thing they wanted.

But committees cannot command on the battlefield; neither can politicians in some remote capital. And, if the officers quit the country because they were more concerned with their representation in the *riksdag*, why should their men remain with the colours?

Command paralysis compounded with heavy attrition and the inability to cover the Army's flanks. A skilful retreat could have inflicted punishment on the Russians. Having been drawn out as far as, say, Helsingfors, the enemy could have been pinned in a siege while the Swedish Navy and Finnish irregulars cut *their* lines of communication. Instead, the Swedes engaged in a headlong flight, abandoning supplies and superior positions alike, until they were finally forced to capitulate. That act, too, was unnecessary from a purely military viewpoint. It occurred solely because the remaining officers had no desire to fight Russia.

In 1743, the peace talks had priority. The Russians made massive preparations for an offensive, and could have carried it out in full, but it was also diplomatic posturing. The Swedes, already crippled, could do no more than make a token resistance – though if General Freidenfelts had lived, would the Finns have risen?

For Want of a Nail...

Putting aside the completely fractured Swedish command structure, perhaps lack of transport was the greatest factor in the failure of the initial Swedish plan.

Despite the opinion of some historians that the Swedish troops were poorly supplied, this does not seem to have been the case. The problem, it seems, was one of transport. The supplies were there, but they could not be distributed. Instead, the troops had to hunker down at their magazines; in a retreat, the supplies could not be moved, but had to be destroyed or abandoned.

The obvious reply to this is that Finland was a tough country to campaign in. The rejoinder to *that* is the Swedes ruled Finland for centuries. Surely they knew better.

If one assumes a hasty offensive against St. Petersburg was all that was intended – or that was intended in 1741 – then the failure of the troops to reach the city in time to participate in the coup and be hailed as liberators stems directly from the lack of transport. The sleds wore out.

In saying this, of course one ignores every other issue, such as whether being in St. Petersburg would really have made a difference, or whether the Swedes should just have sent 'best wishes' and a sack of money. But since the Swedes never made it to the palace on time, one is allowed to speculate.

If Lewenhaupt had showed up earlier – remember, his party would not release him from the *riksdag*... *if* he had taken charge after Wilmanstrand, or, better yet, not allowed it to happen, or better still, beaten the Russians (a possibility in 1741), perhaps the advance on St. Petersburg would have taken place before the snows.

But would the sybaritic Elisabeth have wanted get off the couch and lead a coup that early in the year?

Scapegoats

The Army leadership came in for most of the blame. The Navy's inertia was put down almost entirely to the epidemic. Pre-war measures to prevent such an outbreak were not investigated. Those Navy personnel whom it was felt had behaved in a manner detrimental to the Service had already been punished in-house.

In June of 1743, Marshal Lewenhaupt and General Buddenbrog were condemned to 'loss of life, honour, and property' for negligence and general incompetence. This was a sacrifice to the god of Parliamentary Inquiry. Two lambs to the slaughter and no questions asked.

Originally, their court martial, decided upon in August of 1742, was merely part of the ongoing parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the war. The news of the surrender of Helsingfors, and the utterly defenceless state Sweden was thus placed in, changed the purpose of their trial even before they had arrived at Stockholm. The fact that Lewenhaupt had no desire to surrender, and that he had left the town before any such negotiations began, was of no consequence. Several MPs sought clemency, but, the presence of the Dalecarlians in Stockholm at the very time he was sentenced sealed the general's death warrant.

As a leading member of the *riksdag*, Lewenhaupt was responsible not only for the conduct of the war, but for starting it in the first place. History has made him out a buffoon on the battlefield as well, but this is grossly unfair. Lewenhaupt was a leading tactical thinker and a veteran. If he had been beaten before (by Lacy in the Great Northern War) he had also won battles. His chief flaw was his inability to deal with a mutinous officer corps. Perhaps the reader has found that a trifling task?

Buddenbrog was charged with failing to support Wrangel. The latter became a popular hero for his troops 'resistance against overwhelming odds' so Buddenbrog had to take the blame for both of them. In fact, his legal defence was so sound that he would otherwise have been acquitted. Nonetheless – and the public was never told this – he *was* deemed guilty of spreading false reports about how the Russians had taken a beating in the Turkish war and so would be ripe for the plucking. The general dug himself in deeper by claiming, truthfully, that his command was in a state of disorganisation (begging the question, 'why?').

Six others were sentenced to death, but only Colonel Froberg, the officer who abandoned Mendolax Gorge, received the full penalty.

Postscript

Five major powers were affected by this war so some degree. Russia, though kept from supporting her ally Austria, gained a compliant Sweden and a secure position in the Baltic. In the Seven Years War, Sweden would fight alongside Russia, not against her. Austria, of course, suffered through not having a counterweight to Prussia and France, but she did all right. And, Prussia, who would have been seriously inconvenienced by Russia, was free to act. The Russians did not join the War of the Austrian Succession until it was nearly over, and then only because Britain gave them money.

Despite Sweden's hubris and her concomitant defeat, the French did not lose much ground politically. It was only after they tried and failed to dislodge the pro-Austrian Chancellor Bestuzhev from Elisabeth's favour that things went wrong for them. In reprisal, his spies acquired damaging evidence not only of their plots, but also their unflattering opinions of Elisabeth. The Austrians some time later suffered the same fate, for much the same reasons, leaving Russia in the enviable position of wielding a big stick and owing no favours.

The Hats fell from grace. But not for long. In 1746, Adolph Fredrik, Russia's choice for the next king of Sweden, obeying the well known dictum that the Crown Prince always leads the Opposition, swept the Hats back to political power. This led to much chagrin in St. Petersburg, and tension between Russia and Sweden in 1747, but no hostilities ensued. In 1751 Adolph Fredrik became King of Sweden. His bride, estranged from her brother, Frederick the Great, became a thorn in the Prussian King's side. Despite losing to the Caps in the 1760s, the Hats remained a force in Swedish politics until the Napoleonic Wars.

ARMIES & NAVIES

THE SWEDISH ARMY

It is well known that at one time the Swedes led Europe in the technique of war. Gustavus Vasa I founded Sweden's military machine, perhaps the first modern army, funded by an efficient, and reasonably fair, tax revenue. But it was Charles IX (1550-1611) who completed the development of Absolute Rule. Now wholly Protestant, the State was also militarised. By the *riksdag* decree of Linköping (1604), a regular army of a fixed establishment was created, based on a provincial recruiting and billeting system. Gustavus Adolphus took this system and refined it until the Swedes established military paramountcy over northern Europe.

Discipline was strict, but based on personal morals. Lutheran priests accompanied the army and were present on the battlefield. From the pulpit they preached the righteousness of serving the King through becoming a soldier. Morale was also boosted by regimenting the men by district. Punishments for crimes that affected the communal spirit, like stealing from a comrade, were severe. Blasphemy carried the death penalty, and so did interrupting a man as he prayed.

But as the War of the Hats proved, those days were long gone. It can be argued that during the Great Northern War the Swedes were a potent force as ever, but the Russians got the measure of them eventually, and though perhaps not up to their enemy's standard in those years, had far greater resources to draw upon. Much of Sweden's battlefield dominance had to do with mystique, and the Russians put the lie to Swedish invincibility at Poltava.

Still, man for man the Swedes were as good as ever in the 1740s and their drills left nothing to be desired. But, their leaders were overconfident and divided by bitter factionalism. Moreover, the Great Northern War had stripped much territory from Sweden; manpower reserves were depleted, and some of its best recruiting grounds lost. 20 regiments of foot and 12 of horse had no official recruiting grounds after the territorial concessions of that war. And, with the loss of the grain fields of Livonia, the Swedish peasant was forced to spend more time on the farm and less under arms.

The Finnish regiments suffered even more after the War of the Hats. It had been stipulated that all the Finnish regiments be disbanded. Given that the Russian border was advanced yet again, there was in any case even less of a population base to support them.

Because of Sweden's limited resources, from the start of her expansionist drive her Army employed a 'modern' cantonal recruiting system. The bulk of the regiments were designated *Indelta* – cadres to be fleshed out in time of war. Unlike some militia systems, these regiments retained full muster rolls, but the soldiers were permitted to go about their civilian trades until needed.

The rest of the Army comprised a small body of Household troops and specialists, and the *Varvårde* regiments. These were the Regulars, primarily mercenary units. Some regiments were permanently integrated into the Army, staffed by soldiers serving life terms, while other units were hired as needed. The parallel in the French Army would be Colonels', or Nobles', regiments, as opposed to the King's regiments.

Germans, as always, provided a stable recruiting base – especially since King Frederick I was also the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. But, there were many Dutch, Danes, and Norwegians, plus Scots. Since the Jacobite Wars, a sizeable expatriate Scottish community had taken root in Sweden, and the name of Hamilton was a power in the State – Field Marshal Hamilton was an advisor to the King. One factor that limited the size of the Army was a restriction on just which foreigners could serve. The Swedes were very particular.

Supplementing the Army was a provincial 'home guard' consisting of the entire male population between 16 and 66. The larger cities had their own militias, too. These units received older uniforms and equipment, of which there was a vast surplus. But they should not be seen as cannon fodder. The high cut-off age meant that many of the militia were veterans of the Great Northern War.

The cantonal system involved the whole nation. Landowners were grouped and each group was required, by crown contract, to pay for the support of at least one soldier. This included providing him with a cottage and garden. The system originally guaranteed the Crown an army of 18,000 Swedish and 7,000 Finnish infantry, and 8,000 Swedish and 3,000 Finnish cavalry.

Army strength for the 1740s was higher than that, and is difficult to determine precisely. One source gives 28 (or 27) regiments of foot, 7 *Ryttare* (horse), and 6 *Dragoner* (dragoons). 10 of the foot regiments (some sources only 9) were Finnish, as were 3 dragoon regiments (though in reality the bulk of all the dragoon rank and file were Finns). A new cavalry unit was raised in 1743, to make 14 mounted regiments – though, of course, by that time the Finns were gone.

Not usually included are the Pomeranian garrison units: at some point these consisted of a Straslund regiment and Stettin regiment, a guard foot and a ceremonial guard horse regiment, a line infantry regiment and an independent battalion, plus 1 horse and 1 dragoon regiment. Stettin became a Prussian possession in 1720, so it is unclear whether all of these units were still in existence in the 1740s.

Guards

Although some units were notionally 'guards', in practice there was no distinction between them and the line, the exception being the *drabanterna* or royal bodyguard. Until the time of Charles XII, this unit fought in the field. Disbanded upon his death it was reconstituted in 1722 as a palace guard (Charles and his forbears being fighting monarchs, of course, while Frederick was not).

The Foot

Line infantry regiments varied in size, but all were based on the *company*, not the battalion. Even brigades did not exist in peacetime. Instead, on the outbreak of war, a regiment would muster a variable number of companies and group them into battalions. With more than 6 companies a regiment would have 2 battalions. Companies had no fixed size, either, but averaged 150 men. This procedure undoubtedly contributed to the Swedes poor command performance during the war, because the Russians gave them no time to train as battalions.

Grenadier companies were also ad hoc; each line company had a file of 10-12 grenadiers who would be pulled out as needed. It seems companies were rarely concentrated into battalions, though. Light troops were not employed, but the line troopers were familiar with 'open order' fighting.

Nearly all the foot regiments were uniformed the same, varying in detail only – dark blue wool coats that had been fashionable in 1700 but were now outmoded. In practise, the dyes quickly 'greyed' to a colour closer to that used by Bavaria. Coats were worn buttoned to the neck; turnbacks were sewn in place. Cuffs were small (and called 'Swedish'). Vests were also of an older style, sleeveless and long (to the knees). It was the vest that had a collar, not the coat, but the collar was folded down outside the coat.

Breeches and vests used the regiment's colour. Unusually, gaiters were not worn, only coloured stockings, above a pair of shoes often handed down from grandpa. Even their hats were 'old school' – unlike everyone else, they wore their tricorne level, with the point front and center. Hair was not powdered, but 'bagged' with a short queue. Moustaches were *verboden* except for the grenadiers of a few *Varvärde* regiments.

Even in those days, the Swedish arms industry was famous for providing hard wearing ironmongery, and the Swedish soldier was required to keep his weapon in top condition. There were seven smallish-scale arms factories – state run – formed by the compulsory concentration of former cottage industries.

Equipment consisted of locally made steel barrelled flintlocks, of excellent quality (the locks, particularly were superb), typically 20mm. (*The Brown Bess* was 18mm, and slightly heavier). Ramrods were either of steel or wood bound with iron. Like the Spanish, the Swedes used a red leather sling; they also carried a 16 inch steel bayonet. This was worn at the left hip along with a hanger (short sword). On the other hip was a black cartridge box carried slung over the left shoulder.

Grenadiers employed a larger ammo pouch and carried the usual match case on their shoulder strap. Instead of a tricorne they wore a metal-fronted cap (brass or pewter to match their buttons) with a blue bag hanging behind. (Royal cyphers sometimes dated back to the reign of Charles XII).

The Horse

The Swedish cavalry retained the reputation it had acquired under Gustavus Adolphus. Through careful breeding, mounts (uniformly dark coloured) were large and strong, capable of charging home and definitely overmatching the puny Russian horses. Unfortunately, Finland was not really a suitable country for cavalry action.

Unlike the infantry, the size of the horse units was regulated, at 4 squadrons per regiment. Each squadron had 2 troops of 125 men. Exceptions were the *Adelsfanan* – 150 men per troop but only 2 squadrons, and the *Livregimente* of 6 squadrons of 140 per troop. The former was a remnant of the old 'feudal host'. Only the *Livregimente* was a *Varvärde* unit.

Uniforms were similar to the foot, except for larger pockets and provision for supporting cross belts instead of a single cartridge belt. Elkskin or leather was sometimes used for breeches and vests. The primary weapon was still the sword, backed up by pistols. The original *Drabants* wore the cuirass, but it appears their latest incarnation did not.

Dragoons

As noted before, most of the dragoons were Finns, mounted on light horses very similar to those of the Russian or Polish armies – small but tough. Though the regulations prescribed normal cavalry tactics plus the common dragoon role of *ersatz* infantry, the Finns were known for making impromptu charges *à outrance*.

Uniforms were similar to the horse, but a bayonet was carried, along with an infantry-style ammo pouch, and the men were equipped with muskets (also infantry pattern) as well as a pistol.

The Guns

The Swedes had a fairly extensive artillery establishment, 4 regiments in all: 2 'national', 1 'German' (*Varvärde*), 1 'Finnish'. As in other armies, the technicians were sent where needed and muscle was provided by the units they were attached to. Batteries varied in size, usually from 4-6 guns. Sappers, pioneers, and the like, were an element of the artillery.

The Swedish Army suffered from a lack of good battalion guns. Each regiment (foot and dragoons) had 2 pieces and 6 permanently attached gunners, but the cannons were only 2-pounders. The general quality of ordnance and artillerymen, however, was high.

Larger field pieces ranged from 3- to 18-pounder cannon, and 8 to 16-pounder howitzers. 16-pounder mortars were also used. Much heavier pieces were available for sieges and coastal defence. Sweden's four state cannon factories actually supplied about a third of Europe's artillery in this period.

[A company called Finspong was Sweden's sole exporter of artillery until squeezed out by Bofors in the 1880s.]

Infantry uniforms were worn. Officially, they were to be dark blue, like the foot, but in practice the older dark grey coat (with black facings) was common. The gunners carried muskets in addition to the tools of their trade.

Coastal artillery was a branch of the Navy. At this time there were roughly 30 batteries sited all around the Baltic; at Stralsund the gunners, not the local authorities, even had charge of the walls. In addition, the Navy was trained to land gun detachments from their ships. The branch saw action against the Russians in Finland, and against landings by Danish marines on the Scanian coast.

Strategy & Tactics

Swedish strategy, as well as tactics, was based on the offensive. Being a small army, and often operating in vast theatres far from home, they had to keep moving and hit hard. The art of retreat was not even taught. Swedish soldiers were expected to stand to the last. If they were slated to die, then running away would not prevent it. The downside of this situation, naturally, was that the army could not afford a major defeat, either in terms of men lost, or in terms of morale. Furthermore, a static campaign was liable to attrit morale as well as men to a higher degree than in other armies.

The Swedes were crushed at Wilmanstrand in 1741, but they fought hard; after that defeat, however, they lost the will to resist. Then the men were marched about in seemingly aimless fashion, without attacking the Russians. Morale plummeted to the extent that the troops could not even hold superb defensive positions but

retreated as the Russians approached. The static defence, too, was not something the Swedes were known for.

The Swedish cavalry played a minimal role in the campaigns of the 1740s. The terrain prevented massed cavalry charges with the sword – the drill was the same as in earlier days, a discharge of pistols, increase speed to a trot, then out-swords and charge home knee-to-knee. Two or three ranks could be employed. The dragoons, as noted above, were supposed to function as mounted infantry and were used as skirmishers, but the Finns also liked to ride into their foes.

Infantry battalions formed in four ranks. Firing *by* ranks was not used. Instead, though the infantry *could* conduct platoon firing, the Swedes preferred to use their patented '*Ga Pa*' system – literally, it means 'walk on'. They were taught to close with the enemy – or to let the enemy close – and not fire until 'they saw the whites of their eyes'. Immediately after, they would charge with the pike, and later, with the bayonet. Sometimes, the firing portion was omitted.

In detail, *Ga Pa* meant closing to 50 meters, whereupon a formation's two rear ranks would discharge their muskets and draw swords. At 20 meters the two front ranks would do the same. Then the whole formation would charge home with sword and pike. When the bayonet was introduced, muskets were discharged at extremely close range.

To accomplish this they had to endure the enemy's fire well within 'effective range' before retaliating. But the retaliation was often brutal. On occasion, even the sight of the Swedes advancing unmoved by their opponents' fire was enough to unnerve the latter and cause them to flee.

This is what occurred at Wilmanstrand, but something went wrong in the execution. All sources, even Swedish ones, fault the line's advance off its secure position. It would have been smarter to stand, blaze away with their heavier artillery, and pour fire down the slope at the advancing Russians until the latter gave up for the day. With Buddenbrog's column expected on the morrow, the Russians might well have retired.

Like many armies, the Swedes sometimes took their grenadiers out of the line in order to form bodies of shock troops. But on other occasions, they kept them on the flanks of the battalion. From here they would toss grenades to disrupt the enemy. This tactic could have (perhaps was) been employed to augment the firepower of the line.

There seem to have been four tactical factors that played against the Swedes at Wilmanstrand. First, they were outnumbered two-to-one. That was not supposed to be an issue for Swedes, but it did mean the Russians could absorb some losses.

Second, some of the units – the Finns, including the only mounted unit – were hastily raised. Individually they may have been veterans, but as units they had not had time to work together. Those units fled almost immediately, without much resistance, and especially, the mounted regiment left the field, exposing the flanks – the third factor, since even a static defence would have been at risk with both flanks open. (Though the Russian dragoons would have more likely dismounted and harassed the flanks, rather than risk charging formed infantry.)

Fourth, the *Ga Pa* counterattack, which was often a successful tactic, was not conducted smoothly. The texts give the sense of it being impromptu. *Södermansland* alone advanced a great distance. The other battalions seem have responded to that unit's cue in a hesitant manner. Did the line have definite orders from Wrangel to hold its position, against 'standard operating procedure'? Or perhaps the dense terrain prevented the other units from seeing clearly what was going on. Setting aside Manstein's

flank attack, the Russians elsewhere were given time to rally and return to the attack, probably with the assistance of units from the second line. If the Swedes had made a coordinated charge, they might have plowed through the Russian line – all the same, it was an all or nothing tactic at one to two odds.

The question of ammunition should also be raised, but here there is no information. Only, the Swedes began firing their guns at 2pm and the Russians, after capturing the battery were able to bombard Wilmanstrand until 7pm. Even allowing for a cessation of fire for, say, an hour, the battery must have had a good four hours' worth of ammunition.

With only the one battle to go upon, it is hard to say if *Ga Pa* was an outmoded tactic, but in the close terrain of Finland fighting from fixed defences would have been far more effective, especially if the Finnish dragoons were used to harass the enemy lines of communication. But this was the sort of war the Russians liked to wage, not the Swedes. And, of course, speaking of fixed defences on an exposed coast then leads into the question of naval support.

THE SWEDISH NAVY

Although Sweden's naval traditions are ancient, the modern Navy got its start in 1522, when Gustav Vasa bought 10 warships from Lübeck. Soon, the Swedes were building their own vessels. Beginning with single-deckers, over time they mastered the skills needed for two- and three-deckers. The *Konung Karl* was Sweden's largest ship during the War of the Hats, launched in 1694. She had a displacement of 2,700 tons, had a crew of 850, and her three decks carried 110 guns. Like many such ships she functioned most frequently as a HQ for the admiral while in port. 850 men were hard to come by, and better uses could be found for them than crewing a top-heavy, unmanoeuvrable gun platform.

Most of the work was done by two-deckers, typically of 54, 66, or sometimes 70/80 guns. 18- and 24-pounders iron guns were the most common. Maximum range with such weapons was perhaps 700 meters; effective range was more like 500 meters.

In the Baltic, it was possible to achieve greater range – out to 2000 meters – by skipping the shot across calm water, but this reduced the penetrating power, and in any case one needed a dead calm – and how, then, could the ships move? As a technique, it would have been more useful for shore batteries covering narrow straits.

Sweden's primary naval base was, and still remains, Karlskrona, established after the Scanian War on the southeast coast, but Göteborg, near the Norwegian border, and Stockholm, were also important. There were good anchorages off the Finnish coast, especially Helsingfors and Porkkala, but not bases, although Åbo had the facilities for constructing galleys.

The Navy used the same cantonal system as the Army, which guaranteed a body of 6,000 sailors (600 of whom were Finns). The men were taken exclusively from coastal towns. There is no mention of the press gang as a common practice, but the epidemic during the war meant the authorities were desperate to find new bodies, and resorted to using several thousand soldiers.

Strategy & Tactics

Sweden's Royal Navy had a sterling reputation, and was noted for its aggressive behaviour and its skill in combined operations. The Swedes had neglected galleys (probably because they were seen as outmoded) but the success of the Russians with this arm in the Great Northern War led the Swedes to build quite a powerful galley fleet – 77 by war's end, though they only had about 21 war-galleys in commission when the War of the Hats broke out.

[The expansion may have had much to do with the lack of trained sailors. This was the same reason the Russians used so many galleys.]

In the Baltic, there were only three permanent navies: Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. The British routinely sent a squadron there, and the French did so from time to time. Not even the Danes, however, were keen to take on Swedish ships. And yet, in the War of the Hats, the Swedish navy accomplished little.

Partly this was due to policy, and also, partly, to the fact that there was a strong Cap presence among the higher naval personnel. They were not about to give the Hats any justification for either starting the war or continuing it. The untimely death of admiral Von Rajalin did not help. Nor did the nonappearance of a French squadron, under Admiral d'Antin, that had been present in 1740 to lend moral support. But probably the biggest culprit was a catastrophic epidemic that broke out in 1741, preventing the Swedes from carrying out a proper blockade; indeed they could barely keep their ships manned.

The admirals did what they could in the nature of manoeuvre warfare. They used the elements to their advantage – forcing the poorly built Russian ships to return to base, knowing it would be unlikely they could be repaired before the next season. With bases in the southern Baltic and along the sea's deeper western coast they enjoyed a longer period of active operations, while the Russians were trapped in the frozen Gulf of Bothnia until late spring. Thus the Swedes could be on station at the mouth of the gulf before the Russians even left port.

Sweden was faulted by the pundits for not employing commerce raiders, and indeed, there seems no reason why they should have been so slack in this area. The shortage of seamen may be the main culprit. Most Baltic potential pirates – pardon, *privateers* – would have been Swedes or Danes. The Swedes may have been mustered to the fleet. The Danes perhaps were warned not to interfere and given stiff penalties for doing so. Just a guess.

The Swedish galleys are given low marks. They were not used aggressively. Whether this was due to inexperience, lack of manpower, or the intimidating reputation of the Russian galley fleet, is not clear. There are very few instances of the galleys assisting the land forces during Lacy's advance in 1742. They were an annoyance to the Russians, but nothing more. In mitigation, the Swedes had only a handful to pit against a swarm.

At Korpo the battle line outnumbered the ships that the Russians put bring to bear, but the damage inflicted was slight, so raw crews may have been a factor. Timid leadership, though, for whatever reason, probably had more to do with their hesitant employment. Manstein's example of the failure to use blockships in any of the channels also the Finnish coast comes to mind.

The Main Fleet

In 1741, Sweden had 35 'sail', including 20 ships of the line and 15 frigates, plus 6 lesser vessels and a couple of fireships. One new 4th Rate, the *Fredericus Rex* (62) was commissioned in 1742.

There were two First Rates – harbour-bound most of the time, as was usual with such ships, but only one Second Rate and five Third Rates. The remainder were classed as Fourth Rates. Although most of these carried 60 guns or more, they were often of older design, and their gun batteries were weak. Four were rebuilds. Apart from that, Sweden's shipbuilding industry was as good as any other navy's, certainly better than the Russians. Lack of funding and lack of manpower were probably the two main reasons the Swedes could not expand or upgrade their forces.

The Swedes managed to get 18 or so ships of the line out each year, but they could barely crew them, mostly due to the ongoing

epidemic, which had broken out before the war began. One source describes the fleet as a 'floating hospital'. In consequence, the ships could only put on a show, retiring when pressed.

Tactically, the Swedes used no special manoeuvres. Like everyone else, they formed lines of battle, tried to gain the weather gauge so they could control the pace of the battle, matching themselves ship for ship at close range (under 1000 meters and usually much closer than that) and pounding away with broadsides. In small actions, it would be possible to rake stern or bow, sending shot the length of the enemy vessel. In the War of the Hats, however, no such action occurred, for the reasons already mentioned.

The Swedes, and the Russians, did make use of 'bombs', reinforced ketches that carried one or two mortars, in fleet actions (other navies reserved them for use against shore facilities or ships in harbour) but had little success.

The Galärflottan

The Swedish galley fleet was instituted after 1721 as a response to the effectiveness of the Russians' use of the 'obsolete' craft. Ships with shallow drafts were really a necessity among the islands off the Finnish coast, and galleys had the advantage of being able to use either wind or oars. In their element, they could even take on ships of the line, if any were foolish enough to try their luck in the narrows.

Like the Russians, the Swedes crewed their galleys with soldiers, not sailors, but their commanders were naval officers – in the Russian fleet they were army officers (the later Swedish galley squadrons were likewise commanded by army officers). Their primary role was to transport men and supplies around the coasts, and to prevent the enemy from doing the same.

During the 1741-43 war the Swedes began with 21 armed galleys. More were constructed during the conflict, but still relatively few each year. Supplementing these were galiots, half galleys, and prahms, as well as small craft such as doubleboats and shallops. Brigs, brigantines, and even the better class of frigate could also lend their aid. The use of frigates in combination with galleys was a tactic feared by the Russians, but again, in the War of the Hats its efficacy was not tested.

The one galley action of the war, Korpo, does not reveal much about galley tactics. The primary cannon on a galley were mounted on the bow, so the ships attacked in line, but with the bows toward the enemy, as Classical times. The line tended to be ragged, because the ships were not particularly handy, but there was a deliberate zigzag arrangement so that the opposing galleys could not break through the line.

Sails were not used in action, only oars. Ramming tactics were not employed. Most battles tended to be static, with the galleys anchored and firing at the shore or at enemy vessels at the other end of some narrow waterway. This occurred at Korpo, where conventionally firing prahms supplemented both sides' endeavours. Boarding was *probably* practiced, but the only hint of this at Korpo is a mention that a Russian galley was taken; none of the sources clearly state that anything other than a gun duel took place.

[As a technical term, Galärflottan applies to a later period, when the force was properly institutionalised.]

THE RUSSIAN ARMY

'Taken as individuals, the Russians are gentle, even timorous. But massed in battalions they manifest a herd-like cohesion which makes them redoubtable, and sometimes unbeatable.'

Masson

[This section is predominantly copied from the author's Commentary, Heirs of the Golden Horde.]

Russia missed out on the 16th and came late to the 17th Century modernisation drive. More than any other army in the Age of Absolutism, its creation can be said to be the will of a single man – Peter the Great. Despite the many deep-rooted socio-economic problems his efforts spawned, it was a remarkable achievement, during a time of turmoil and war, and against the will of most of his countrymen.

Peter's desire to bring Russia into the mainstream of modern Europe, by force if necessary, is well known. Of all the spheres that needed 'upgrading' – social, religious, economic – the one he had the most success with was the military. Indeed, so focussed was the Tsar on this particular sphere that the other spheres became bent and twisted the better to serve it. Serfdom, to take a prime example, became strengthened and institutionalised at a time when other countries were beginning to free their peasantry, because of the Army's need for a large pool of manpower; serfdom was also seen as a means of strengthening the economy and the aristocracy, which again benefited the Army.

Early Days

Peter's own military experience began, famously, with his 'toy' army, the *Poteshnyi*. In 1682, when he was ten, Peter's mother had him moved to the royal Preobrazhenskoe lodge, safely away from the intrigues of the Kremlin. Here Peter 'amused' – the root word behind *Poteshnyi* – himself in the military arts with an army comprised of peers, retainers, and volunteers. The First Soldier of the new Russian Army, Sergei Bukhvostov, was one of Peter's grooms. The first 100 volunteers were organised into a company called The Bombardiers, of which Peter was enrolled as the First Bombardier (only many years later was he persuaded to take on a more 'prestigious' title). As Peter grew older, they began training with real weapons, including cannon, and, driven to excel by the young prince, it was not unusual for the men to suffer casualties (Peter himself was injured by a grenade) during the very realistic war games they put on.

By 1685 the corps was 300-strong and lived in specially constructed barracks at Preobrazhenskoe; further expansion necessitated the formation of another unit at the nearby village of Semyenovskoe. Peter also expanded his artillery train, had a fort built to test it on, and with all the technical knowledge this required, received foreign instructors. When Peter became Tsar, these men became the kernel of his officer corps.

By 1687, volunteers from the *Streltsi* (the old musketeer corps) were being enrolled into the *Poteshnyi*, which was now formally organised as the Preobrazhenski and Semenovski Companies (at this time, units of all-arms). In 1689, Peter's mother attempted to extend the powers of her Regency and exclude Peter from the throne. Fortunately, the '*streltsi* and *boyars*' (that is, the foreign officer corps and the native Russian nobility) stood for Peter.

Now Tsar, Peter, though he left actual rule to his mother for a time, was finally able to tap into the unlimited resources of his realm. Five more years were spent wargaming, culminating, in 1694, in a massive month-long training campaign involving 15,000 men – a competition between elements of the 'old' and 'new' armies, which proved the latter's worth. In 1695, Peter quit playing. He and his army were now ready for the real thing.

The Old Army

Actually, much of the groundwork for the Army's modernisation was laid by Peter's father, Alexis Michaelovich, abetted by the foreign advisors he had imported, chief of whom was a Scotsman by the name of Alexander Gordon. When Peter came to the throne in 1689, his army consisted of 63 'foreign' regiments (mercenary formations, or units organised on European lines with native troops, or a mixture of both), 44 *Streltsi* (musketeer) regiments, at least 11,000 noble horsemen cast in the feudal mould, 2,000 specialists (artillerists and engineers), and 10,000 Cossacks – a total of 150,000 men. In 1689, this force, commanded by one of the Old Nobility, Prince Golitsyn, was utterly routed by the Tatars. Peter later said in disgust, 'the army proved incapable of standing not just against civilised nations, but even against barbarians'. Something would have to change.

The break with the past was not a clean one. Elements of the old Russian military survived for some time, particularly the *Streltsi* who lasted until 1698, and the Cossacks, who lasted, and in fact expanded their role dramatically, until after the Revolution of 1917.

The *Streltsi* were late-Renaissance musketeers, the corps founded in 1550. They were much like those found in other countries – France's *compagnies d'ordonnance*, for example – during the same period, though, as might be expected with Russia, there were a lot of them – 45,000 men in 22 regiments, later expanded to 44. They were modelled on the Janissaries, and came to resemble them in ways other than the bearing of gunpowder weapons. Like the Janissaries, their military effectiveness dropped as they focussed more on cabals and agitation, and on pursuing secondary civilian trades (not only were the men insufficiently paid, the colonel of a regiment could turn it into a factory and line his own pockets). A second mark against them, in Peter's eyes, was their resistance to innovation.

Again like the Janissaries, the *Streltsi* were composed of natives and led by the Old Nobility, highly conservative in outlook. In 1698 they revolted en masse and were, in consequence, disbanded en masse. Six regiments that were based outside of Moscow, since they were less tainted, fought in the Great Northern War, but the most reliable elements of the rest were divided up among the new Petrine regiments being formed.

By the time Peter came to power, another element of the Old Army had virtually disappeared. These were the 'foreign regiments'. 80,000-strong under Tsar Alexis, they proved themselves to be a worthless rabble and were disbanded during the 1680s and 1690s. Only two regiments remained intact to serve with the new army: Francis Lefort's Regiment of Foot, and Patrick Gordon's Regiment of Foot (1st Moscow and Boutyrski, respectively).

Although each regiment's colonel was given a lot of organisational leeway, a standard foreign regiment could be said to comprise 1,200 men divided into 8 companies of 150 men each. Pikes were greatly in evidence, the ratio being 1 pikeman for every 3 musketeers. This because of a chronic shortage of cavalry. The *Streltsi* were organised in similar fashion, but averaged 2,000 men in 10 companies of 200.

Of the 100,000-plus irregulars that could be raised from time to time, it need only be said that they were not rated as highly as the foreign regiments. All the same, the division between foreign regulars and militia did lead to the more effective division of the Petrine Army into its Mobile and Garrison components.

As to cavalry, the Old Army was chronically short of it. The non-Cossack element was almost entirely composed of feudal nobles levies, and proved useless against the Tatars – Russia's main

enemy after the Swedes. Peter continued to use them initially (he had 10,000 at Narva out of 11,533 in all), but they did not improve, even when reorganised.

The bulk of the noble cavalry were of the minor nobility (in Russia, often quite poor people) led by the powerful boyar class. Patents of nobility were awarded for wounds and POW status, greatly augmenting the lower orders of nobility without guaranteeing military quality. The wealthy were accompanied by armed serfs from their estates, and often replaced themselves with paid substitutes.

The Moscow nobility were seen as the elite of the army; the remainder, or 'provincial' horse, was divided into two divisions: Smolensk and Novgorod. At Narva, this force fled before the Swedes were even engaged; Peter soon broke the corps up and used the raw material to form his new dragoon regiments.

The Guards

The Russian Imperial Guard dates its foundation to April 25th, 1695, with the establishment of the *Preobrazhenski* and *Semenovski* Life Guard Regiments. (The designation 'Imperial Guard' was awarded in 1721). Each regiment consisted of 12 companies of 100 men, in 3 battalions. A Bombardier Company was added to Preobrazhenski in 1697; mainly comprised of members of the original elite company, it had 6 mortars and 4 field pieces. In 1700 the regiments were reorganised. Preobrazhenski was given another battalion, and both regiments had battalions of 4 companies, each of 100 men, excluding officers, NCOs, and supernumeraries. Grenadier companies were added in 1704. Unusually, these were never brigaded with other grenadier formations.

The Lieb Garde or Garde du Corps was a palace formation, a sinecure for young aristocrats, but also a training and indoctrination machine. In the event that they ever did go into combat, they were taught to operate as conventional cavalry. The unit had 2 squadrons, numbering 220 men.

Following the practice in the rest of the army, promotion was to be based on merit, and, to begin with, many of the officers were foreign-born. However, Peter always saw the political value of the Guard, and made sure that loyal members of the native nobility were given choice commands. Indeed, the Guard soon became the preserve of the Russian social elite, with even the common soldiers being members of the nobility, if not the high aristocracy, and holding commissioned-rank-equivalents in their dealings with the Line. Yet at the same time the Guard was made the breeding ground for reform. An officer cadet school was even developed for sons of the nobility.

Unlike the *Streletsi*, from the first, the Guard demonstrated its prowess against both external and internal enemies. Its first campaign was in 1695-96 against the Turks at Azov; two years later it put down the Streletsi Revolt. In the Great Northern War the Guard was used as a strategic reserve (and security force), only taking the field three times.

As the century wore on, though, the political aspects of their role became more important (especially given that even the rank and file were noblemen's sons); in the 1730s only a battalion from each regiment fought in the Ukraine. This was also the case in the War of the Hats, where they very nearly never served at all, being more inclined to mutiny and play at politics. After this war, the Guard saw no field service for a generation.

Indeed, as early as the last years of Peter's life, the Guard and the associated units around St. Petersburg had become a danger to the regime. The capital was defended by 30,000 men (2 Guards regiments, the Lieb Cavalry, all 4 of the 3-battalion regiments (most had only 2 battalions), plus 4 militia regiments, 2 dragoon

regiments – *Belozerski* and *Narvski*), and a mounted company of *Drabants* (elite guards copied from the Swedes). Their proximity to power led them to take liberties, and their commander, Prince Menshikov, eventually suffered the fate of all overmighty subjects of the Tsar – exile to Siberia. The danger was so acute, in fact, that when Peter II moved the capital back to Moscow he left the troops behind.

On the accession of Anna Ivanovna in 1730, the Government attempted to make her the figurehead of a republican constitutional monarchy, but with the help of the Guards the 'plot' was foiled. Large numbers of the Russian aristocracy were exiled and Army control passed even further into German hands – this was the beginning of the Army's 'Germanification period'. To further consolidate her rule, Anna rewarded every member of the *Preobrazhenski* grenadier company with enrolment in the aristocracy, and raised a third, German-officered Guards regiment, *Ismailovski*, and a regiment (actually a very large squadron) of guard cavalry.

The Guards' role in the 1741 coup against the Regency has already been recounted.

The Infantry of the Line

The Petrine Army's foundation (ignoring its older elements) can be dated to 1699, when a general call for recruits went out. Voluntary enlistment was encouraged by generous (to a Russian peasant) bounties that were primarily intended to found the regiments being created at the capital (still Moscow at that date). But the bulk of the levies were obtained by conscription, with each parish or landowner being required to provide 25-50 men. By the spring of 1700, the Army was 32,000-strong and had already begun training. 27 regiments were formed, ranging from 953 to 1,322 men each (in either 2 or 3 battalions).

The whole body of regiments (at least in 1700) was divided into 3 Divisions to provide flexibility of deployment. Two were based on Moscow, and the third on the lower Volga. This divisional structure was an expedient. In common with other European armies of the period, there was no permanent command structure above the regimental level. Regiments would be brigaded in groups of 3-4 as required; a division was just a grouping of brigades. All-arms 'flying columns' were also employed, as well as similarly composed groupings of 'advance guards' and 'rearguards' – usually a brigade of infantry with cannon, supported by irregular horsemen.

The new army's Military Articles also dated from 1700. A Military Code established in 1716 remained in force until 1900. Training by foreign officers, mostly German, with a leaven of Scots-Irish and French, led to the adoption of the Austrian style of drill – many of the officers had been lured from Imperial service. Western rank structures were introduced. But the use of foreigners was not the key to victory. Language barriers, Russian xenophobia, and the presence of a great number of talentless adventurers, were problems that remained with the Army for years.

Initially, therefore, performance was mixed. Through the trials of the Great Northern War – the disgraceful rout at Narva, the heroic stand at Poltava, the humiliating surrender on the Prût – lessons were absorbed and much of the dead wood pruned. Charles XII's decision to turn away from his 'defeated' foe and campaign against the Saxons after Narva gave Peter a six-year breathing space. By mid-war, the Russian Army had regained its confidence and had more than doubled in size – 47 regiments of foot, 5 of Grenadiers (plus the Guard), 33 regiments of dragoons, plus the Artillery and large numbers of Cossacks. This did not prevent its defeat by the Turks, but the loss was not as destructive to morale

as the initial defeat at Narva so many years before. By the 1730s, the Army would be burning for revenge against the Infidel.

By the Regulations of 1698 (introduced by a German, Adam Weide), a normal foot regiment, or *polk*, was of 2 battalions, each of 5 companies. Apart from the Guard, four other regiments had an additional battalion: 2nd *Moscow*, *Kiev*, *Narva*, and *Ingermanland*. Every regiment had a battery of two 3-lbers. As in the West, the regiment and its first battalion were commanded by a colonel, and the remaining battalions by lieutenant colonels.

In 1704 one company in each battalion became a grenadier company. In 1708, the Tsar ordered the abandonment of the practice of naming units by their colonel in favour of naming them after their depôts; this was intended to heighten unit pride. In the same year, most of the grenadier companies were stripped from their parent units and used to create 5 grenadier regiments. In 1712 regimental organisation was again altered, this time to increase firepower by the addition of extra artillery: 2 battalions of 4 fusilier companies, each with a battery of 2 guns (such measures usually indicate a lack of manpower, and this was the mid-war period). Regimental strength was increased to 1,487. Peter's last reform was that of 1716, when his Military Code laid down a regimental strength of 2 battalions, except for the Guard and *Ingermanland* – 35 regiments of foot in all. (There is evidence that the other 3-battalion regiments in fact retained their organisation). The number of servants per regiment was reduced from 86 to 54.

At the time of Peter's death, the Army consisted of 49 regiments of foot, 49 (later 75) corresponding garrison regiments, 30 dragoon regiments and 4 garrison dragoon regiments, a large artillery train, and further assets in the form of large Cossack bands and various tribal levies. In all, the Army may have had 240,000 men, before adding in the 100,000 or so irregular forces.

In 1734, 3 Marine regiments were raised for Baltic service. Each consisted of a single battalion of 4 companies, of 145 men. These disappeared into the Navy after the War of the Austrian Succession.

Marshal Münnich was one of Peter's German imports, and a faithful disciple. Upon his appointment as President of the War College (Army C-in-C) by Anna Ivanova in 1730, he attempted several further reforms. Some proved effective, while others did not. Elisabeth's reign would see more restructuring, but the bulk of his work remained.

The infantry regiments were given 3rd battalions, nominally structured the same as the other battalions. However, they were depôt units, not field formations, used to collect and train recruits, and to provide regimental continuity. (They were not part of the Garrison Army). All battalions were composed of 4 companies of 150 men, with the first two battalions having in addition a grenadier company of 144 men; official battalion strength (for the 3rd battalions also) was 744. The permanent Grenadier regiments were disbanded (to be reconstituted in later years), but one company of grenadiers was frequently detached and brigaded with others on an *ad hoc* basis, in the standard Western manner.

The Cavalry

Münnich (and Peter) had high hopes for the cavalry arm, but circumstances were against them. The mounts available, bought in bulk from the steppes of Central Asia (tens of thousands came through the markets of the Nogai Tatars every year), were hardy, but small and light, little more than ponies. They were good for frontier skirmishing, which is what the cavalry spent most of its time doing, but they could not stand up to Western horse regiments. In consequence, nearly all the Russian mounted

regiments were dragoons – real dragoons, trained to fight on foot and use their horses for mobility.

In peacetime, regiments were divided up and parcelled out among the outposts of Siberia, meaning they had little opportunity to train for large-scale actions. Peter saw no opportunity to address these issues beyond ordering that the cavalry avoid contact with Swedish formations (!) but Münnich raised 3 cuirassier regiments by converting 3 dragoon regiments. Tsar Peter had opposed this concept, saying that dragoons were the best option. He was probably right. But Münnich hoped they would prove effective against the Turks. A fourth regiment was converted in 1740 and the senior regiment (Lieb) was made into a Garde-du-Corps, but not until 1742. At least three of the regiments served in Finland.

The Saxon cuirassier model was used with regard to the organisation and equipment of Münnich's babies, but even cuirassiers were expected to train for and engage in dismounted combat, which they frequently did in the Finnish campaign. The shortage of suitable mounts was acute. Generally the cuirassiers remained in barracks: training good heavy horse units also takes time. Their real coming out party was held during the Seven Years War, but they made a poor showing. A cuirassier regiment consisted of 4 squadrons (some sources say 5) of 2 troops ('companies') of 125 men. (Some sources say the cuirassiers had smaller companies than the dragoons; perhaps this was in practice). Paper strength was 1,000 men per regiment.

Again, the bulk of the Petrine Army's regular cavalry were dragoons, amounting to 30 regiments in 1725. The first units gave as poor a showing as the old noble cavalry, but this was mainly due to lack of experience. Peter solved the problem by a program of massive expansion, overwhelming potential enemies by weight of numbers. Altogether, six regiments served in Finland, two in 1741.

The dragoons had an infantry-style organisation: 4 squadrons (some sources say 5) of 2 companies of 115 men. In common with the infantry, they went about with permanently fixed bayonets! (Which could be reversed to prevent them poking their horses in the wrong spot). Dragoon regiments also had a company of mounted grenadiers that could be brigaded into larger *ad hoc* horse grenadier squadrons. (Originally, the horse grenadiers were, like their infantry counterparts, massed into three permanent grenadier regiments).

Quality was never that good, in contrast to the infantry, which steadily improved. Units were often badly led, and the problem of decent mounts was universal. This led to their employment as mounted infantry: dismounted, they stood some chance of repelling Swedish cuirassiers and Tatar tribesmen.

Experimental hussar formations were also tried. Peter raised the Serbian Hussars out of refugees from the fighting in the Balkans that took place in 1716-18. In the 1730s, Münnich raised a further 2 regiments: the Hungarian and the Georgian, supplemented during the Turkish war by a body of Vlachs that later became another hussar regiment. All three units were officered (at least initially) by men from the regions named, but most of the rank and file were Cossacks and other vagrants. They were poorly regarded – you could get the same dubious quality from a plain old Cossack regiment, and at half the price.

The main function of the hussars seems to have been to present a striking appearance in their brightly coloured uniforms and thus improve the irregular cavalry's overall cohesion. Also, they were not prone to revolt. Nevertheless they gave a good account of themselves during the Finnish campaign. They frequently acted in concert with the Cossacks. Strength was, as with the Cossack formations, fairly fluid, but officially a hussar regiment comprised 4 squadrons (some sources say 5) of 2 companies of 99 men each.

Again, mounts were a problem for every branch of the cavalry. During the Turkish war, local sources ran completely dry. Münnich's solution was to import large quantities of horses from the Imperials. After that war the problem abated as domestic stables were established; also, the Tatar markets were reopened. Though the dearth continued during the War of the Hats, which commenced only a year or so after the termination of the Turkish war, it was not critical since Finland was barely suitable for the employment of cavalry – as noted, only 12 or so mounted regiments served there.

The Guns

The Artillery Regiment was founded in 1716 by General Bruce, yet another Scotsman in Russian service. It was an elite formation whose personnel enjoyed a reputation for dedication.

From an early date, the Muscovites specialised in heavy guns. Siege warfare was seen as their primary venue. Most guns were produced at Tula, but in Peter's day the Ukrainian Cossacks had their own foundry, at Kiev. With Western technology, bronze was supplemented by iron, and new foundries opened in the Urals. Water transport was used to move the completed gun barrels; carriages were constructed at the destination, and could be pretty crude. Since this method of transshipment proved to have limits, further foundries were established in European Russia; state powder factories were also established. As early as the 1720s, the Russian armaments industry had a surplus for export.

Peter lost his original train at the Battle of Narva. The guns were too heavy, the carriages badly made, ammunition and powder unreliable. Everything was lost. This forced the Russians to rethink the role of the arm, and to redesign their equipment from scratch.

Bruce's reforms led to the separation of guns into field, fortress, and siege batteries. The Siege Train was divided into three parks, at St. Petersburg, Kiev, and Belgorod. By the 1750s the whole consisted of 120 heavy guns and 340 mortars. Regimental artillery was separate again, with each regiment having two, and later four, 3-lbers; *Preobrazenski* had 4 cannon and 6 mortars; *Semenovski* (and later *Ismailovski*) 6 cannon.

Calibres ranged from 2-lber horse artillery (an experiment that had been abandoned by the 1730s) to 12-lber field pieces, 18- and 24-lber siege guns, 20- and 40-lb mortars, and a variety of coehorns. Bruce also standardised the ratio of weight to size for ammunition and managed through to reduce average gun weight to 1/4; carriages were also lightened. In fact, Bruce's efforts created one of the earliest 'artillery systems' in Europe.

Since Münnich himself was a gunner, the arm did well during his time. The Artillery Regiment's personnel were organised into 1 bombardier & 6 gunner companies for the field and heavier 'positional' guns, while the Siege Corps had its own bombardier company, plus 3 gunner companies.

Münnich emphasised the regimental guns and strove for professionalism. Every infantry battalion was given 4-8 light coehorn mortars (6-lbers) in addition to its direct fire weapons. To serve the battalion artillery, 1 NCO, 5 bombardiers, and 15 gunners were seconded to each battalion. Each infantry regiment had an artillery lieutenant, and each brigade a captain. Additional crew was taken from the battalions. At the end of the 'period of Germanification' in the early 1740s, the Artillery Regiment had 2,100 men and included a fusilier regiment.

During the Finnish campaign, the gunners were given few opportunities for action, but outclassed the Swedes on every occasion when they did. Thanks to the galley fleet, the heavier pieces and siege train could be left behind and shipped in as needed.

Engineer and other technical branches were almost nonexistent, depending mainly on the individual expertise of ordinary field officers (which in some cases was very professional). Labour was provided by the infantry.

[At some point prior to the Seven Years War, the Engineers were given their own Regiment, within the Artillery branch. It consisted of a company of miners, a company of pioneers, and a company of skilled labourers, each of 250 men. Their primary role was that of constructing field fortifications. Common soldiers were still employed for menial tasks.]

An exception was the Pontooner company, which was regularly equipped with something like 90 wooden pontoons. Its personnel were sailors, commanded by a naval lieutenant. The bridge they built across the Dnieper in 1737 comprised 128 pontoons and was capable of being swung to allow river traffic to pass. General Fermor developed the method of using empty water casks to build supplementary bridges; the casks could be refilled after the bridge was taken up.

The Nizovoi Corps

In 1722, Peter attempted the conquest of the Caspian region. The object was to gain control over the lucrative silk route and caviar trade. Persia was very weak at this time and had left a power vacuum. 18 line and 2 grenadier regiments contributed to the initial invasion. This campaign, which lasted until the Russians evacuated the area in 1734-35, was the largest signal drain on the Russian Army in the 18th Century. Some 135,000 men are estimated to have perished there from disease alone (compared to 100,000 combat and attritional casualties for the 1730s war against the Turks). One man reported that out of a draft of 26 officers, only he was still alive after 2 years service.

The regiments of the corps (all infantry) serving permanently on this less than desirable posting were those of:

<i>Apsheron</i>	<i>Shirvan</i>
<i>Derbent</i>	<i>Kabarda</i>
<i>Dagestan</i>	<i>Nasheburg</i>
<i>Salian</i>	<i>Nizovsk</i>
<i>Baku</i>	<i>Kurinsk</i>
<i>Tengin</i>	<i>Navaginsk</i>

Despite their losses, these regiments had apparently recovered their strength by 1741. Half of them are named as participating in the War of the Hats (a nice change from wilting in the heat). Because of their experience handling boats on the Caspian, many of the men were transferred to the Baltic Fleet, so that eventually, *Dagestanski*, *Derbentski*, and *Salianski* had to be disbanded.

The Garrison Army

The Garrison Army of the 1730s was founded in 1712. Peter raised 39 regiments of 1,483 men each, taking the cadres from the Line. Total strength was 64,769 men, slightly more than the Infantry of the Line and the Guard combined. Their role was to maintain internal security, keep the peace in tribal regions, and defend strategic lines of approach in depth.

In 1716 the garrison infantry was expanded to 49 regiments of 2 battalions, and an additional battalion. By the 1730s, this had become 75 infantry regiments and 3 independent battalions, plus a number of special units. 20 musketeer regiments were designated *Ostzeiskiy* (northwest) troops, and given higher pay and status; 55 regiments were termed 'Internal' and had general policing duties within the interior provinces. All garrison musketeer regiments were of 2 battalions of 4 companies, but the *Ostzeiskiy* had a strength of 1,319, while the Internal regiments had a strength of 1,309.

On the eastern frontier were the Garrison Dragoons, 4 regiments and the *Roslavl Squadron* (some sources say 7 regiments).

Dragoon regiments had 1,077 men in 10 companies; Roslavl had 544 men in 5 companies. These units were intended as frontier and security troops and rarely if ever operated as formed bodies. The Roslavl Squadron was based at Moscow. From time to time there was also a Derbent Squadron (or regiment) as Imperial Bodyguard; the men were Tatars or taken from other eastern tribes.

In addition, the Ukraine had its own body of 18-20 regiments of mounted infantry, called *Landmiliz*. The *Ukrainian Landmiliz*, were a key component of the southern frontier. Their regiments (8 mounted companies of about 180 men each) were normally just administrative bodies, though they fought as integral units when campaigning during the Russo-Turkish War. There was no battalion-level organisation. They were settled in widely dispersed military posts, or on the Lines of the Ukraine.

Similar to the *Ukrainian Landmiliz* was the *Zakamskaia Landmiliz*, a body of 3 mounted infantry regiments and 1 musketeer regiment, based at Orenburg on the River Kama.

Socially, the *landmiliz* enjoyed higher status as 'yeomen', and later as 'crown peasants' (a rank that had to be bought by the payment of 40 kopeks). This meant they were not serfs, and were spared a lot of the hardships that went with that life.

The *Mecklenburg Corps*, a little known formation, arrived in Russia in 1719 when a short war broke out between Russia and Britain. The Duke of Mecklenburg, Karl Leopold, was tied by marriage to the Tsar, and his lands were occupied by the British. In consequence the duke fled to Russia with his army of 1,900 men. The men were settled in the Ukraine. There is no indication of when this unit disappeared.

During the War of the Hats, the *Ostzeiskiy*, backed by several line regiments, played an unsung role securing Livonia against a Swedish invasion. At least two *Landmiliz* regiments fought in Finland.

Administration

The best description of early Petrine military administration can be given in a single word: 'minimal'. As an autocrat, Peter naturally did not require a large governing council.

In the field he was accompanied by a small chancellery, the *blizhnyana pokhodnaya kantseliariya*, which served not only the Army, but the entire State.

During the course of the Great Northern War, the country was divided first into military districts, then subdivided into provinces, then re-divided into regimental districts. What civilian administration there was, was soon supplemented or supplanted by the Military when the entire nation was placed under the 1716 War Regulations. Governors could be general officers, or aristocrats given general officer rank – in practice there was no difference, since society as a whole was regimented, the only variations being relative status and the opportunity for advancement.

A Senate was organised to collect taxes and centrally direct the machinery of war-making. The senators, too, were all military men. Regimental districts, grouped into larger military districts, were responsible for billeting, paying, supplying, and staffing them.

Councils of war began as informal groupings, but were eventually systematised into a War College, of which the President (sometimes Minister of War) was also Commander-in-Chief under the Tsar. The War College was responsible for Army Administration. Business was run through various working committees, and overseen by an independent group of Assessors.

All in all, Peter's administrative apparatus was viewed as the best in Europe. Here was a state totally subservient to the requirements of the Army at every level, and in every area, from the supply of recruits and materiel, to finance and decision-making.

The weakest link was probably the Commissariat, for the usual reasons: ignorance, sloth, and opportunities for corruption. A General War Commissar presided over two Chief War Commissars – one for Infantry and one for Dragoons. Divisional-sized formations in the field always had one of these men attached to them (usually there were only one or two large armies, facing Sweden, Poland, or the Ottomans).

Victualling was assessed annually per soldier: 50 buckets of flour, 1.5 buckets of oats, 24 pounds of salt, and 75 kopeks worth of meat per man; horses were given 6 buckets of oats and 90 pounds of hay every 6 months. Rations were scaled up when on campaign outside the regiment's province, and converted to 2 pounds of bread, 1 of meat, and 2 glasses of spirits per day (in theory). Within a regiment's province, food and clothing were deducted from pay at source (food at 5 roubles per man per year, uniforms on a set scale based on the 'life expectancy' of the cloth). Clothing was quite cheap, and depending on the item, was expected to last from 1 to 3 years. The Garrison Army cost less per man than the Regular Army – under half as much, even for the elitist *Ostzeiskiy*.

In 1720 the Army was costing 4,000,000 roubles per year, with 1,243,000 going to provisions. These figures are far less than those encountered in other European states, and are one of the main reasons behind Russia's ability to replace her losses in manpower – new recruits did not cost much.

Münich's Army Reforms

As noted above, the President of the War College was, on behalf of the Sovereign, Commander-in-Chief as well as Minister of War. In 1730, Münich was appointed to the post. Previously, he had been Director of Fortifications and Master General of the Ordnance. In 1731, he also became President of the Military Commission, set up by the Tsaritsa to reform the Army. In 1736, as war fever began to rage, the Commission also became responsible for military administration – in essence, Münich drew as many threads as he could into his own hands.

Although a foreigner, one of Münich's early acts was to standardise the pay scale, which had been divided into 'foreign' and 'native' scales, with foreign 'experts' being given higher pay. He also raised the pay of the men by abolishing deductions for food and clothing. And he limited the number of foreigners who could apply for service in the Russian Army (though high ranking officers and volunteers were always welcome).

Münich reduced length of service for the ranks from life to 25 years (at least it looked good on paper, though of course it meant that on discharge the State was no longer responsible for a man). A Cadet Corps was set up to train young noblemen. Furthermore, Münich moved away from Peter's doctrine that rank and service to the state were to be strongly linked: i.e. social rank was no longer to be directly tied to military service.

Other reforms were not as popular. In uniforms and equipment, the European standard was adopted (rather uncomfortable by comparison with the old uniforms): powdered and queued hair, gaiters and stocks, tight coats and breeches. Standardisation of equipment was attempted, but was not always successful. Foreign purchases came from a variety of sources, while local product varied in quality. (Officially, the musket was a 1734 pattern copied from the Austrian model). And, as mentioned elsewhere, Münich experimented with cuirassiers and hussars.

Officer Corps

The Petrine Army's Officer Corps was dominated by two things: the Table of Ranks, which equated military and civilian service, and tied them both to service to the State (in the form of the Tsar), and the predominance of foreigners. Peter saw both as necessities. The Table of Ranks stayed, though watered down during the 1730s. The foreigners stayed too, but became much less prevalent over time.

Most of the original officers in the Russian Army appear to have been Saxons. General C. H. von Manstein called them 'the most useless throw-outs from the rest of Europe'. Service in Russia was not desirable for men whose ability could win them a place in more salubrious surroundings. Peter tried to weed out the incompetents and replace them with Russians, but a high percentage of foreign officers proved essential for many years. By his death, in 1725, roughly two-thirds of the general officers were Russian (and a Russian was always given command of the Field Army when fighting German states such as Prussia). Where possible, officers were sent abroad for training and experience, though a number of colleges were opened in Russia.

In Russia, even more than in other European countries, the Nobility's reason for existence was service to the State. At 16, a young aristocrat was expected to join the Army, the Navy, or the Civil Service. The latter was the preferred choice, which was a problem. Those entering on a military career would be enrolled in the Guards for their apprenticeship, and might even be sent abroad to study. (The alternative was to serve as a supernumerary with a regiment, but, since, in contrast to enrolment in the Guards, this brought no social benefit, it was rarely practised, and there were a lot of youths wandering the streets in uniform who had no military training whatsoever).

[Manstein mentions the fact that in 1738 many promotions to general officer were made, but that the generals were permitted to retain their regiments – usually this was not the case. This had been done for fiscal reasons, since the Army only had to pay them the balance of their pay rise.]

In 1722, the Army rank structure was brought in line with the nobility's Table of Ranks, giving army officers the same pay and perquisites as other aristocrats. When coupled to the idea of a meritocracy, this made the Army a potential route for ennoblement.

Noblesse oblige was, in a reverse trend, transferred into the military sphere. Officers were expected to be as fathers to their men. Unlike the West, the paternalistic nature of Russian society made this more likely than one might expect. Of course, the father-figure was often draconian, but many officers exhibited real care for the men under their charge. And high rank provided no immunity from punishment in the Russian Army. Any officer who failed in his charge could expect corporal punishment, exile, even death, as much as any of his men – though an officer, as always, had more means of official redress and better recourse to unofficial channels.

No matter what career path he chose, a noble was expected to serve the State for a minimum of 25 years. This was intended to foster professionalism, but it also led to incidents of incompetence when civilian officials were rotated through military commands. More prevalent was the militarisation of society as officers were rotated through civilian posts.

[Ranks:

<i>Generalissimus</i>	<i>Commander in Chief</i>
<i>General Feldmarshal</i>	<i>Field Marshal</i>
<i>General-anchef</i>	<i>General</i>
<i>General-Poruchik</i>	<i>Lieutenant-general</i>
<i>General Major</i>	<i>Major-general</i>

*Brigadir
Polkovnik
Major (1)
Major (2)
Kapitan
Poruchik
Podporuchik
Praporshchik*

*Brigadier General
Colonel
Major 1st Class
Major 2nd Class
Captain
Lieutenant
2nd Lieutenant
Ensign*

Guards officers were graded two ranks higher.]

The Men

The Petrine Army began as a volunteer formation, but very quickly became conscript in nature. The first national levy took place in 1701. In 1705, compulsory service was established. Theoretically, all Russian men were eligible – except the Clergy and the Nobility, both of whom already served the State anyway. In practice, the village council would dispatch the local 'incurrigibles'. During the Seven Years War, annual enrolment was about 3% of available manpower (or 40,000 men per year).

Service was for life, eventually commuted to 25 years (15 for the Baltics, Ukraine, and Byelorussia). It was common for young men snared in the annual roundup to be given a village funeral before they departed for the *depôt*, since they would never return. A peasant who managed to join his regiment without having deserted (branding was experimented with in 1712 and chaining was nearly universal) or dying on the road, could expect a lifetime of toil – much like the one he had left.

Discipline was brutal, but again, not much different from civilian life – indeed, the Military and Civil Codes were very similar. Minor offences were punishable by death. For major offences the pain of departing was intensified: breaking on the wheel, decapitation, and burning at the stake (officers also underwent these forms of execution). Light punishments included burning the tongue with a red-hot iron, beating with the knout (flogging), riding a sawhorse or running the gauntlet (borrowed from the Swedes). Any officer could order any man to be beaten. Colonels had the power of life and death. Unit punishments commonly included decimation, with the survivors being beaten.

The men survived on a ration of flour and water, used to make *sukhare*, or biscuit, and sourdough. Cabbage was added to make *shchi* (cabbage soup), and a watery beer was made out of rye. Meat was a rarity, and had to be purchased, usually by the 'platoon mess' or *artel*.

In fact, the Russian soldier was not supplied with much. He was expected to bake his own bread, sew his own uniforms, cobble his own shoes, fashion harnesses, build wagons, and construct shelters, all from raw materials dumped in front of him, the cost of which was deducted from his pay. Regiments became miniature factories (and a paying investment for some colonels – often, too, soldiers not required for campaigning would be sent to work as serfs on their colonel's estates). Fortunately, a peasant with the necessary skills could usually be found somewhere in the unit.

Military training was another matter. It was not until 1721 that schools for NCOs were established in the various garrison towns, and all NCOs were former serfs. Though the manual of arms was standard to all, each regiment could impose its own training regimen, with a consequent variation in quality.

Manstein gives a sample of how specialists were obtained:

'As to the surgeons of the companies, scarce can they shave. On a review of recruits a colonel will order a common peasant, who may have followed the plough-tail, to be a surgeon: the poor fellow protests in vain that he has no inclination to the profession, and that he shall never be able to learn it; but this avails him

nothing, he must try; and if he has a thick head, it is made more penetrable by dint of blows. In the same manner are their hands chosen; so that one may easily judge of the quality of their music.' (Manstein p.171).

He also explains that this lack of qualified medical personnel is a great problem. Despite their reputation for endurance, the soldiers often become sick, and about a third die of their illnesses in every campaign. Their religious life, which comprised a large number of fast-days, contributes to the weakening of their constitution. (At the same time, their fatalism enabled them to cope with suffering and death).

Cavalrymen were recruited in the same way as infantrymen; there was no social status to be gained from the point of view of a common serf. And Greater Russian serfs proved to be poor riders, though excellent foot soldiers.

The Russian soldier's weaknesses included ignorance and a lack of initiative. But his advantages were an incredibly deep love of country, an even deeper religious faith, and an utter indifference to hardship. As a Russian general from a later time once said, 'the man who does not fear death is terrible. Nothing can stop him, if he is not shot down on the way.' When properly led, a Russian army could be invincible.

Uniforms & Equipment

From the start, Peter stressed uniformity in dress and equipment. There was a political angle to this as well as common sense. The *Streltsi* had worn reds, blues, and oranges; Peter ordered the Army to wear green. His efforts were only crowned with success in 1721, however, and even then he had to permit the dragoons to wear blue and the artillery to wear red. Facings were introduced in 1730. Uniforms were 'German', but not 'Prussian-tight'.

Every infantry regiment, even the guard, wore long, green, single-breasted coats, called *kafians* (basically a variation on civilian attire), turned back in red and with a red lining (not universally sewn back until 1742). The coat was fastened with 9 or 10 copper buttons and had 3 copper buttons on each cuff. Red worsted lace outlined the buttonholes down the left lapel. There were 2 decorative buttons at either side of the small of the back. Some sources report no pockets, others very simple ones. Dye quality was poor, often making the coats seem black. Vests (*kamzols*) and breeches (*pantaloni*) were red; summer service was sometimes performed without coats. Vests were long, and with sleeves, buttoned in the same manner as the coats. Black stocks and gaiters were white (introduced in 1729). Over all used to be worn the ankle-length greatcoat, or *shinel*, though apparently it had disappeared from service by the 1740s.

The native *kartuz* head-dress (a felt cap with flaps at the back and sides) was replaced by the tricorné (*treugolka*), except for grenadiers, who wore a uniquely Russian cloth mitre cap known as a *grenaderskaya tshapka*. The lower half of the front of this cap was covered by a brass plate decorated with the royal cipher and regimental iconography. The cap itself was green in front, red over green at the back, piped white, with a red tuft. It had a white flap at the back that could be folded down to cover the neck.

No regimental distinctions were permitted other than the regimental colours. The men were clean-shaven (grenadiers were required to have moustaches) and wore their hair in the usual queue (not always powdered).

Marines had the same dress, but vest, breeches, and cuffs were all green, and collars were white.

The bulk of the cavalry consisted of dragoons. These wore the same uniform as the infantry, but in mid-blue cloth. They also carried the same equipment, since they frequently fought

dismounted, except for carrying a *pallasche* rather than a *hanger*. The same statements can be made for the horse grenadiers.

Both infantry and dragoons used the model 1731 flintlock, fitted with a 16' triangular bayonet. This had no frog, since it was intended to remain permanently fixed to the musket. A buff leather shoulder belt supported a plain blackened cartridge box holding 24 rounds. A similar buff leather waist belt supported a 'hanger' (short sword) at the left hip.

For the Turkish war, Münnich ordered the carrying of pikes – 200 per regiment. These were to be used to fend off Tatar cavalry charges. In the event, the cumbersome and universally detested sticks were more useful for crossing obstacles, though they also helped to repel Turkish assaults on Russian-held fortifications. However, battalions were also required to transport portable *chevaux-de-frises*, and these came in very handy. On more than one occasion, the infantry advanced onto their objective carrying their *chevaux-de-frise* with them. This practice was not necessary in Finland, where more orthodox drills were employed.

Grenadiers carried a black leather grenade pouch in place of the cartridge box, containing 2 grenades. Cartridges were carried in a black belly box. Both containers had brass plates similar to that of the grenadier cap. Grenadiers also carried a brass match case on the grenade pouch's strap, at chest height.

The Cuirassiers were dressed and equipped like those in the Saxon Army, even down to the cloth colour: pale cream coats faced red, vests red, with brass buttons. No regimental distinctions were made until late in the 1740s (for the Garde-du-Corps). Coats and breeches were pale cream, with red turnbacks and cuffs and collars, and all the regiments had brass buttons. The cuirass was regularly worn, and if ever on active service against the Turks or Tatars, backplates were worn as well. Headgear consisted of the tricorné, edged in white lace and lined with an iron 'secret'. Cuirassiers carried the *pallasche* cavalry sword, a pair of pistols, and carbine and bayonet. A cartridge belt was worn over all.

Hussar uniforms were cut to the original Hungarian model. The intention was to uniform them in red and blue as a visible means of stiffening the hordes of irregular horsemen accompanying the army. In practice, the hussars had their own ideas. The Hungarians did wear red, but the Georgians went for 'aurora' (a kind of orange) and the Serbs embraced lilac. Dolman, pelisse, barrel sash, and breeches were of the same colour. The dolman was done up with toggles rather than buttons. Frogging and piping was black (red for the Georgians); the pelisse was lined with wolfskin. Caps were low, brown fur busbies (Kolpaks) and had a bag in the same colour as the uniform, with three 'flounders'; boots appear to have been black, except for officers, who wore higher-status yellow.

The hussars were equipped with curved Hungarian sabres that could be hung from the wrist by a sword knot while firing a carbine. The carbines were a light, Dutch-made model, and rifled. However, poor quality powder and rough operating conditions led to frequent jamming and inaccurate shooting. As with every other branch, hussar carbines carried bayonets. Belts were black leather, rather than the usual plain deerskin.

The Artillery wore infantry-style uniforms, but in red cloth and with dark blue facings and copper buttons. Gaiters were white. Bombardiers were dressed and equipped like grenadiers, in artillery colours. They wore a unique helmet made of leather and copper, with a neck guard at the back, a copper plate at the front, and a small plume on top. The helmet became standard for the grenadiers in the 1750s. The Artillery had a fusilier regiment as well, carrying infantry equipment but wearing artillery uniforms. Engineers came from the Artillery and were dressed accordingly

(as officers they would have gilt buttons, gorgets, sashes (indicating rank), and would not 'turn back' their coats).

The Garrison Army wore a slightly different set of uniforms. They lacked vests, and wore collarless grey working coats of cheap quality. The garrison dragoons, were dressed the same, but with dark green coats over the grey. The outer coat had red facings. Breeches were also red. The Ukrainian Land Miliz were dressed in a similar manner to the Regular Army, although civilian dress appears to have been permitted while on duty.

Officer dress was similar to the rank and file, though of better quality. Breeches were green for infantry officers. Buttons were gilded. Coats were not turned back unless the officer was mounted. Mounted officers wore riding boots. All officers also wore the gorget and a sash over the right shoulder. In the mid-1730s a universal golden-yellow sash was adopted to emphasise Anna Ivanova's imperial claims. Three black bands on this sash meant a company officer, one thick black band meant a field officer. Generals had plain golden-yellow sashes. Officers below the rank of major were required to carry fusils, but not polearms.

Tactics

Initially, there was little agreement on drill or tactics. Generally speaking, however, since an Austrian model was adopted, lines were of 6 ranks, with volleys also being by rank. Cadenced marching was not introduced until 1755. From the start, the bayonet was heavily emphasised, particularly when Tatars or Turks were to be engaged. Beginning, like every other army, with a large body of pikemen, these were gradually reduced to nothing, but pikes and other pointed implements were retained for use against the Ottomans and their Tatars allies; they were normally carried with the regimental baggage.

1708 saw Peter's first codification of combat drill. Battalion ranks were reduced to four, and volley by rank or platoon was practised. Münnich brought in Prussian experts in 1731, but the Prussian model had been applied for some time. A battalion was composed of 4 divisions, split into platoons, with the grenadier company (if present) on the right of the line. The fourth rank did not fire, but served as a reserve. Battle experience also demonstrated that only platoon fire was effective over long periods of time.

Tactical deployments were to be 'Western': 2 lines and a reserve, with the cavalry on the wings. Details were left to individual commanders. Entrenching was recommended – an expedient at first, stemming from combat against the highly aggressive Swedes.

Münnich stressed firepower (during the Seven Years War, though doctrines changed, the Russians frequently achieved a higher rate of fire than the Prussians) and developed a tactic of a 'rolling advance' against the Turks that proved quite successful. He also made frequent use of divisional-sized squares, both defensively and offensively, allowing an army a certain amount of articulation in its manoeuvres when facing hordes of cavalry.

At the Battle of Stauvutschina which sealed the fate of the fortress of Khotin, the Russians made a flanking assault on the hilltop Turkish camp while formed in divisional square, firing as they advanced, and carrying their protective *chevaux-de-frise* with them. The Ottomans were so unnerved by this seemingly unstoppable machine that when the Russians reached the top they found the enemy's camp abandoned.

In the accounts of the Battle of Wilmanstrand, in 1741, tactical details are omitted. What stands out is the skill in which manoeuvre elements were redeployed. Manstein recounts how, after the leading element was repulsed, he was ordered to move his supporting command out of the way and use it to flank the enemy,

all done, despite exceeding tough terrain, with apparent ease; on the opposite flank, it is clear that something similar occurred. Obviously, the Russians were capable of much more than a stoic defence or unwavering frontal assault.

[Having mentioned the habit of entrenching against the Swedes, this was not done at Wilmanstrand. Marshal Lacy must have felt confident enough in his men to dispense with such caution.]

Heavy emphasis was placed on the science of fortification. Fortified posts and fortified lines were used to consolidate control over newly acquired regions; operationally, entrenched camps and redoubts were regularly constructed to protect lines of communication as the army advanced, and the enemy was 'invited' to attack the well-positioned Russians, rather than the Muscovites seeking battle. Against the mounted warriors of the steppe, this was pretty much the only way to guarantee victory. Terrain was also used to advantage; the Russians did not scorn the use of woods and swamps, even by their horsemen.

On the offensive, the Russians used the rather modern concept of multiple columns, screened by an advance and rear guard. In the Finnish campaign, especially, the use of an advanced guard of mixed cavalry and infantry was essential to prevent ambushes. The narrow routes through the wilderness in that campaign forced them to move in a single column, but strategically, multiple lines of advance were possible. At least one detached column crossed the hinterland well to the north of the main action, though it took all season to arrive at its destination. Also, the Russians had the advantage of their galley fleet for transporting supplies and reinforcements, and for removing the wounded. Oddly enough they did not attempt risky landings behind the Swedes, but the threat of that tactic kept the enemy on the run. Scorched earth was applied as a deliberate policy.

Unlike most European armies, where a balance was maintained between dragoons and heavy cavalry, the Russians focused entirely on dragoons. As mentioned earlier, this was due to the poor combat quality of horses available (compared with Western breeds). Massed mounted action was avoided. Instead, the dragoons were used for pursuit, rearguard actions, reconnaissance, harassment, and laying waste the enemy's lands. Formed into a *korvolan* or flying column, dragoon regiments could have a devastating impact, and were more reliable than the Cossacks, who added a thirst for booty and an instinct for self-preservation to their otherwise similar duties.

Fighting dismounted, the cavalry adopted the infantry's four-rank line and frequently made use of covering terrain, such as tree lines, and of fortifications. For mounted action, they operated in a three-rank line, by line of squadrons, with the colonel's squadron in the center. They would advance no faster than a trot. This was the Prussian doctrine of the day. At 30 paces they would discharge their carbines, then either draw pistols and close for a further volley, or turn tail, rally, and begin again – very much 17th Century drills. But against the superior Swedish cavalry, what else could they hope to do.

Toward the end of the Germanification period, however, some colonels began to abandon the reliance on firepower in favour of charging home, which was again becoming fashionable. Initial actions against the Prussians showed the wisdom of this, and at the height of the Seven Years War it was standard practice to launch a charge at 100 paces after a trotting advance of some 400 paces. Horse Grenadiers, though also poorly mounted, were effective as storming parties and 'fire brigades'.

Strategy

Russian grand strategy during the 1730s evolved out of the struggle for survival against the Tatars, Poles, and Swedes. As

security was established, emphasis shifted to the offensive, partly in a never ending search for greater security, but also in a drive for new markets, both foreign and domestic. It became a drive for regional hegemony as the only way of fulfilling both aims.

The lessons learned subduing the Swedes and Poles were combined with the techniques acquired from dealing with the Tatars and other Asian polities. For the Russians, despite appearances, war has rarely if ever driven policy, it has always been one of a number of tools available for the political struggle.

In the 1730s, grand strategy was still developing. Essentially there were three tiers. Defensively, the core lands, how ever they might be defined at any given time, were protected by static formations – the Garrison Army – backed by a number of extensive fortified lines that channelled an enemy's potential approach.

Beyond the frontier, client states and allies acted as buffers. Poland became such a state in the 1730s; if the French royal candidate had been allowed to remain in power, Poland would have become a threat instead. Finland was annexed in the 1740s, putting Sweden under direct threat. In the south were the Cossack Hosts, and in the east, various tribes and khanates. The rulers of these clients were given legitimacy by the tsars, as well as money, trading privileges, and weaponry, allowing them to develop their own security against other neighbours. Further afield, allies like 'Austria' worked to guarantee Russian interests.

In return, the third tier could be mobilised to defend the other two. This was the Mobile Army. How it was employed varied with the situation. It could be concentrated to defend the core lands, parcelled out against a number of threats (not as effective a strategy, of course, but the threats might be fairly weak), or used to conduct deep strikes against enemy core areas. This last method was employed during the 1730s.

First, against Persia (really from the later 1720s), where a strike was launched from Astrakhan against the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. At the time, this was at the extreme edge of Russian power, and the position could not be held over the long haul.

Second, the march to the Rhine during the War of the Polish Succession. This was a propaganda move, similar to one conducted in the 'teens against Denmark. Again, the Rhine was at the extremity of Russia's reach, but the demonstration had a salutary effect, from St. Petersburg's point of view. The army did not have to be maintained on the Rhine in perpetuity – the threat of return was perpetual.

The Russo-Turkish War was nothing *but* a series of deep strikes. An attempt had been made to hit the Crimea in the 1690s, but the Russian Army, indeed the Russian State, was not capable of achieving the goal. In 1736 it was. For the first time, the Russians were striking at the core of their Tatar enemies' own realm. The invasion of Moldavia was a similar effort, against the Ottoman Turks. The invasion of the Kuban was conducted by surrogates but also served to weaken Tatar hegemony over the Black Sea steppe. The upshot of the war was a decline in Ottoman and Tatar power, in the latter case, enough to topple the Khanate in the next generation, by a mixture of military and political means.

Against Sweden in the 1740s, Russia deployed 60% of her forces, but employed 30% or less offensively. The remaining troops secured the Baltic coast and acted as a reinforcement pool. With her easy successes on the battlefield, a policy debate developed over whether Sweden should be converted into a friendly power through a change of dynasty, or kept at a distance by the annexation and demilitarisation of Finland. The first was a short term solution, and though adopted, it failed when the Russian candidate championed Sweden's anti-Russian faction. Since then,

Russia has preferred the latter strategy of demilitarisation, though Finland's state of dependence on her has fluctuated.

As the sphere of influence of a neighbouring power declined, Russia's expanded, allowing peaceful settlement of the former border zone and direct administration. Any client state in the zone would be dissolved or absorbed. A new frontier would be defined, and new clients developed. In Europe, this system could only be developed so far; in Europe there were any number of powerful regimes, with strong cultural and political identities, economies much more robust than Russia's, and militaries, that at least in combination, could match her own. In the east, however, expansion was possible clear to the Pacific Ocean.

THE RUSSIAN NAVY

The very first ship built in Russia (by Danish builders), was the *Frederick*, launched in 1736. It was wrecked in a storm on its maiden voyage. (Surprisingly, the ship sailed on the Caspian, having been built far up the Volga in Muscovy and floated down). The first Russian ships to sail the Baltic were built on the initiative of a local boyar during the Russo-Swedish War of 1656-58, but they were destroyed as part of the peace terms. The same boyar went on to construct a small flotilla on the Volga; the *Oryol* (22) was Russia's first Russian-built warship.

Peter the Great, however, is the man properly credited with establishing Russia's Navy. In 1696, Peter employed two sailing ships, four fireships, and 23 galleys against the Turks. This Azov Fleet was broken up when Azov (the port on the Don which predated the founding of Rostov) was returned to the Turks, but the effort led the Duma (the Russian parliament) to decree, at Peter's instigation, the creation of a regular navy (October 20th, 1696).

The Baltic Fleet arose from the necessity of protecting Russia's gains in coastal territory. The Galley Fleet appeared first, mostly constructed between 1702 and 1704. The sailing fleet took longer to construct, and had to be augmented with purchases from abroad. It was initially based at St. Petersburg (the Galernaya Yards in the Neva River), and moved to Kronstadt when that fortress was established. Secondary bases were founded at Revel (Tallinn) and Vyborg (Vipuri). Russia's Admiralty Board was established in 1718; the Navy's Charter in 1720.

Russian vessels were notoriously short-lived. The wood used in construction was often not of the best, and not properly seasoned. Most sailing vessels serving during the War of the Hats were built or purchased in the 1720s and 1730s. But ten or so major warships, including the *Sviatoi Apostol Pavel* (80) were commissioned during the war, both at St. Petersburg, and at Archangel.

Archangel was Russia's first northern port, and though primarily for the use of visiting merchantmen, had its own shipyards, capable of constructing ships of the line; a number of third rates were commissioned there during the war.

The Navy had been in decline after Peter's death, but Anna Ivanova instituted a massive building program. The Baltic Fleet was to have 27 major warships:

- 4x 80-guns (second rates)
- 16x 66-guns (third rates)
- 7x 54-guns (fourth rates)

Plus:

- 6x frigates of 32-guns
- 2x 24-gun prahms
- 3x 6-gun bombs
- 18x flutes

- 8x packet boats
- 3x galiots
- 5x smacks,
- 2x fob boats
- 2x floating workshops

Soon after the start of the war, the Russians were only short 2 of the second rates and 2 seventh rates. In addition, Anna Leopoldovna ordered an increase in the number of third rates by 3, the bombs by 2, and ordered the construction of 20 additional small boats, of which there were already many.

The projected galley fleet was immense: 130 vessels of varying sizes. This number was attained either shortly before or during the war, and more galleys were constructed in 1742 and 1743. Of the 130, the numbers were broken out as follows:

- 19x 22-gun
- 41x 20-gun
- 70x 16 gun

Two years after the war, the Russians had 36 ships of the line, 9 frigates, 5 bombs, 3 *shnyavas*, and 77 other craft. The galley fleet contained 396 vessels! (253 oared ships and 142 brigantines).

[A shnyava was a small two-masted reconnaissance and dispatch ship – essentially a corvette.]

Interestingly, the admiral ranks seem to have been divided into three ‘flags’, on the British model – Admiral of the Red and so forth. In theory, the officers were Russian noblemen, and the sailors Russian recruits. In practice, many of the officers were ennobled foreigners, and the sailors were taken where they could be found, especially from idle regiments of the line. The galleys were always manned by soldiers, but in Russia one could wind up on board a ship of the line instead.

Service was for life. The quality of that life can be left to the reader’s vivid imagination. And no place to desert to. The Free Cossacks hundreds of miles to the south? Siberia? No Russian would think of leaving home to live in the Evil West.

Even for the young nobleman, the decision to enter the Navy would likely be made by one’s father. The School for Mathematical and Navigational Sciences at Moscow (founded in 1701) catered to such young men. Alternatively, a potential officer would be sent abroad to see how the experts did things.

If a man was an expert at something – surgeon, navigator, etc. – he would almost certainly be a foreigner. Admiral Thomas Gordon, is a prime example. Gordon died in 1741 after serving as the Commander-in-Chief of the Baltic Fleet, a post he held for almost 25 years. His successors, however, were Russian.

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<http://www.davidrumsey.com/>

Also Google Earth™.

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<http://threedecks.org/index.php>

A Spanish site of similar quality is:

<http://www.todoababor.es/listado/index.htm>

Commentary by Ian Weir. Maps by Paul Dangel.
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Swedish Units

<i>Infantry Regiments</i>	<i>Bns</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>Based</i>	<i>1741</i>	<i>Wilmanstrand</i>	<i>Nelsingfors</i>
<i>Kungens Livregemente (Svea livgarde)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>to Finland</i>		
<i>Dalregementet</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>Rälsinge regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Jönköpings regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Göta livgarde (1741)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Kalmar regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Kronosberg regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Närke-Värmlands regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Skaraborgs regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Södermanlands regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>Upplands regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Kesse von Kessenstein regemente (1742)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>von Lichtenfels regemente (1741-44)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Drottningens Livregemente (1741)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Västerbottens regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>Västgöta-Dals regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>			
<i>Västmanlands regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Ålsborg regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>			
<i>Östgöta infanteriregemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Björneborgs län regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>Nglands infanteriregemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Savolax och Nyslotts län regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	
<i>Tavastehus län regemente</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	
<i>Viborgs län infanteriregemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		
<i>Åbo län infanteriregemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		
<i>Österbottens regemente</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Karjala län regemente (Kymmenegard)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>Pommerska infanteriregemente</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Länregementet i Stettin</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Tyska livregemente till fot</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Tysk infanteribataljon</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Garnisonregementet i Stralsund</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			

Swedish Units

<i>Cavalry Regiments</i>		<i>Kind</i>	<i>Based</i>	<i>1741</i>	<i>Wilmanstrand</i>	<i>Helsingfors</i>
<i>Livdrabantkåren</i>		<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Svenska adelsfanan (1743)</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>			
<i>Livregemente till häst</i>		<i>V</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>to Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Smålands kavalleriregemente</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>to Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Livdragonregemente</i>		<i>F</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Kareläla dragonregementet</i>		<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>	<i>yes</i>	
<i>Östgöta kavalleriregemente</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>	<i>to Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Västgöta kavalleriregemente</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Västergötland</i>	<i>to Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Nglands och Tavastehus läns kavalleriregemente</i>		<i>F</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		<i>yes</i>
<i>Pommerska adelsfanan</i>			<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Pommerska dragonregementet</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Pommerska kavalleriregemente</i>			<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Södra Skånska kavalleriregemente</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Sweden</i>			
<i>Jämtland dragonregementet</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Sweden</i>			
<i>Norra Skånska kavalleriregemente</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Sweden</i>			
<i>Bohusläns dragonregementet</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>Sweden</i>			
<i>Artillery</i>						
<i>Gotlands artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>??</i>		
<i>Bergslagen artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>??</i>		
<i>Svea artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>??</i>		
<i>Norrlands artilleriregemente</i>	<i>15 guns</i>		<i>Västergötland</i>	<i>??</i>		
<i>Nglands artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		
<i>Turku artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Finland</i>	<i>in Finland</i>		
<i>Straslund artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Pommerska artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			
<i>Stettin artilleriregemente</i>	<i>10 guns</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>			

Notes: *F* = Finnish *Indelta*, *I* = *Indelta*, *V* = *Varvärde*. Foot regiment Bousquet is named at Helsingfors. This is either a scratch unit or a subordinate battalion of another regiment. Regarding artillery, much was captured by the Russians, but fortress and coastal guns were a separate branch, under the Navy, and are not included in the units above. In all, 90 coastal guns were acquired by the Russians when they took over Finland. Karjala läns regemente disbanded in 1744; number of battalions assumed to be 1.

Russian Units

<i>Infantry Regiments</i>	<i>Bns</i>	<i>1741</i>	<i>1742</i>	<i>1743</i>	<i>Wilmanstrand</i>
<i>Preobrazhenskiy Leib-Garde</i>	<i>1 of 3</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Semenovskiy Leib-Garde</i>	<i>1 of 3</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Izmailovskiy Leib-Garde</i>	<i>1 of 3</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Ingermanlandski</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>yes</i>			<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Moscooski (1st?)</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Voronezski</i>	<i>2</i>				
<i>Velikoloutskiy</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>			<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Kabardinski</i>	<i>2</i>				
<i>Apscheronski</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>			<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Nizovskii</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>			<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Ladozskiy</i>	<i>2</i>			<i>yes</i>	
<i>Narvskii</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>		<i>yes</i>	<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Arkangelgorodskiy</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Rostovskii</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Ryazanski</i>	<i>2</i>				
<i>Nizhegorodskii</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>			
<i>Astrakhanski</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>		<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Novgorodskii</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>		<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>Kazanski</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	
<i>Pskovskii</i>	<i>2</i>				
<i>Derbentskii</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Dagestanski</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Salianskii</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>yes</i>		
<i>Rexholmskii</i>	<i>2</i>			<i>yes</i>	
<i>Chernigovskii</i>	<i>2</i>			<i>yes</i>	
<i>Permiskii</i>	<i>2</i>			<i>yes</i>	
<i>Novskii</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>yes</i>			<i>yes (2 bns)</i>
<i>1st & 2nd Landmilitz</i>	<i>2</i>			<i>yes</i>	
<i>Marines (in theatre but at sea)</i>	<i>3</i>				
<i>Tyska lioregemente till fot</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>		
<i>Tysk infanteribataljon</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>		
<i>Garnisonregementet i Stralsund</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>Pomerania</i>		

Russian Units

<i>Cavalry Regiments</i>	#s	1741	1742	1743	<i>Wilmanstrand</i>
<i>Okhrany Zhizni (Horse Guards)</i>	300		yes		
<i>Kirasir Zhizni</i>			yes		
<i>Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Cuirassiers</i>			yes		
<i>Münnich Cuirassiers</i>			yes		
<i>Kirasira Polk</i>			yes		
<i>Kievski Dragoons</i>		yes	yes	yes	yes (grn cys)
<i>Astrakhanski Dragoons</i>			yes	yes	
<i>Sankt-Peterburg Dragoons</i>			yes	yes	
<i>Nizhegorodskiy Dragoons</i>			yes	yes	
<i>Kazanski Dragoons</i>		yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Jambourgski Dragoons</i>		yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Serbskiy Hussars</i>			yes	yes	
<i>Gruzinskiy Hussars</i>			yes	yes	
<i>Vengerskiy Hussars</i>			yes	yes	
<i>Cossacks of the Don</i>	2500	yes	yes	yes	
<i>Kalmuks</i>	??	yes	yes	yes	
<i>Artillery</i>	??	yes	yes	yes	
quantity unknown; most on-call from St. P.					

Notes: very few regiments are named in Manstein's work, and that book is the primary source for most other accounts, including Russian ones. The list of units above comprises those that are named, supplemented by an examination of regimental histories. The number of units matches the totals given by Manstein, bearing in mind that some regiments may have been rotated. Also remember that many more regiments were available at Riga, Revel, and on the Estonian and Livonian coasts, and also that a number of regiments garrisoned St. Petersburg. Gaps in the list do not mean a unit was not present in a given year, only that there is no confirmation.

SWEDISH WARSHIPS IN THE WAR WITH RUSSIA: 1741-1743

SHIPS OF THE LINE				OS = Out of Service	
Guns	Name	Launched	Yards	At Sea	Fate
First Rates (3-deck)					
104	Konung Carl	1694	Karlskrona		Condemned 1771
90	Göta Lejon	1702	Karlskrona		OS 1745
Second Rates					
84	Drottning Ulrika Eleonora	1719	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1765
Third Rates					
76 or 70	Prins Carl Fredrik	1704	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1797
64	Prins Wilhelm	1726	Stockholm		OS 1781
68 or 60	Bremen	1705	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1781
66	Friheten	1731	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1782
70	Göta	1740 rebuild	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1779
Fourth Rates					
56	Pommern	1740 rebuild	Karlskrona		OS 1770
64 or 60	Vastmanland	1727 rebuild	Karlskrona		timber store 1758
64 or 62	Skåne	1728 rebuild	Karlskrona	1741-43	BU 1768
64 or 60	Fredrika Amalia	1698	Karlskrona		OS 1776
56 or 50	Oland	1705	Karlskrona	1741-42	struck 1742
54 or 50	Verden	1706	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1754
68 or 58	Stockholm	1708	Karlskrona	1741-42	OS 1742
52	Greve Sparre	1724	Göteborg		OS 1745
60	Prinsessan Sofia Charlotta	1725	Rolfså	1742-43	OS 1782
64	Hessen Kassel	1731	Stockholm	1741-43	OS 1807
66	Enigheten	1730 rebuild	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1785
56	Finland	1735	Stockholm	1741-43	OS 1790
62	Fredericus Rex	1742	Blasieholmen	1743	OS 1795
Totals					
	1742 x2 unknown			1741 x12	
	1743 x2 unknown			1742 x15	
				1743 x16	

Notes: ship names are only recorded in the sources for 1741. Presumably the same ships were used each year. The 1st rates remained in port. Newly commissioned ships are named (one for e'42 and '43). 2 ships were lost or taken out of service in 1742. Therefore there are 2 unknowns for 1742 and 4 unknowns for 1743, although in 1743 all but one 2nd-4th rate would have been at sea.

SWEDISH WARSHIPS IN THE WAR WITH RUSSIA: 1741-1743

FRIGATES						
Guns	Name	Launched	Yards	At Sea	Fate	Notes/ Guns of class
30	Jarramas	1716	Västervik		OS 1754	20x 12; 10x 8
40 or 36	Reval	1704	Karlskrona		OS 1741	20x 12; 12x 8; 4x 3
36	Svarta Orm	1717	Karlskrona	wrecked off Finnish coast Nov. 1741	wrecked	4x 18; 12x 12; 20x 6; older design
30	Göteborg Vapen	1726	Göteborg		OS 1755	20x 8; 10x 3
26	Thure Bielke	1726	Stockholm		OS 1767	20x8; 6x 6
26	Ekholmsund			1741-43		
24	Mänen	1729	Karlskrona		OS 1773	guns unknown
18	Pollux	1741	Karlskrona		?	guns unknown
34	Svenska Lejunet	1739	Skeppsholmen		?	2x 24; 14x 12; 14x6; 4x?
42	Drottingholm	1731	Skeppsholmen	1741-43	OS 1767	22x 18; 20x 8
22	Kristina	1732	Karlskrona		OS 1773	18x 8; 4x 4
42	Freden	1730	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1750	22x 18; 20x8
32	Fama	1738	Karlskrona	1741-43	OS 1760	20x 12; 12x 4
24	Ulriksdahl	1738	Skeppsholmen		1742<>fate	20x6 4x 3
44	Karlshams Kastell	1736	Karlshamn		OS 1776	22x 12; 14x 6; 8x 3
SNOWS						
10	Draken					
16	Ormrjon					
16	Snejka					
27						
SLOOPs						
18	Gröna Jägare					
18	Karjala					
FIRESHIPS						
	Mitau	1731	Neva			ex 32 gun frigate
	Brilliant	??				
BOMBs						
8	Thordon			1741-43		
PRAMs						
	Hercules			1741-43		
	???			1741-43		
GALLEYS						
			x15	1741		26x guns average; 1-3 24s or 12s in the bow, the rest light guns.
			x25	1742-43		
Notes: <i>Karlshamns Vapen</i> (30) otherwise unknown frigate from 1702; also <i>Packham</i> (20) out of Straslund from 1715 5 frigates seem to have been attached to the fleet each year. If the same ships were used each year, there is one unknown to replace the <i>Svarta Orm</i> .						

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS IN THE WAR WITH SWEDEN: 1741-1743

Guns	Name	Launched	Yards	Located? <i>In 1741</i>	<i>In 1741-1743</i>	<i>May 1743</i>	Fate	Notes/ Guns of class
SHIPS OF THE LINE								
First Rates (3-deck)								
114	Imperatriska Anna	1737	Neva	St. Petersburg	in St.Pet. harbour	absent	OS 1749	unused due to lack of sailors! 28x 24;30x 16;30x 12;16x 6
100	Petr I i II	1727	Neva	St. Petersburg	in St.Pet. harbour	absent	OS 1752	harbour guardship (unhandy vessel)
Second Rates								
90	Lesnoe	1718	St. Petersburg	St. Petersburg	wrecked			wrecked in harbour October 1741
80	Sviatoi Apostol Pavel (a)	1743	Neva	St. Petersburg	joined June 28th 1743	absent	OS 1756	3-decker like useless RN 80's; 26x 24;26x 16;26x 8;8x 6
Third Rates								
70	Sviatoi Alexandr	1717	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes FV	OS 1746	rebuilt from 2 to 3-decker; 26x 24;24x 18; 24x 6
70	Sviatoi Gabrail	≤1741	Okhotsk	Okhotsk	Pacific	-----	?	Bering expedition
70	Leferm (a)	1739	?	St. Petersburg	Broken Up 1742	-----	OS 1737	not in service
66	Slava Rossia	1733	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1746	lead ship of large class 24x 24; 26x 12; 16x 6
66	Svernyi Orel	1735	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1763	
66	Revel	1735	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1752	Alternatively commissioned 1742
66	Ingermanland	1735	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1752	
66	Osnovanie Blagopoluchiia	1735	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1752	
66	Sviatoi Pyotr (a)	1741	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes F	OS 1752	well regarded –hence flagship; ex-Ivan IV some sources give rebuild date of 1742
66	Sviatoi Ekaterina	1742	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	absent	OS 1756	ready (?) 11/17/41; some sources list Solombala: confused with Ekaterina port on Kola Peninsula?
66	Leferm (b)	1742	Archangel	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic	----- FA	OS 1756	departed Arkh 19/7/42
66	Schastlije	1740	Archangel	Archangel	arrived 10/42	-----	OS 1756	
66	Blagopoluchie	1741	Archangel	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic	-----	OS 1744	Condemned 1743
66	Fridemaker	1742	Archangel	Archangel	remained in North	-----	OS 1750	
66	Archangel Mikhail	≤1741	Okhotsk	Okhotsk	Pacific	-----	?	Bering expedition
66	Lesnoje	1741	Archangel	Archangel	Wrecked Bergen 1742	-----	BU 1742	
60	Marlberg	1723/1724	?	?	laid up	laid up	Hulked 1750	not in service; afloat but burned 1804
66	Nadezhda	≤1741	Okhotsk	Okhotsk	Pacific	-----	?	Bering expedition
66	Poltava	1743	Archangel	-----	?	?	OS 1756	
60	Schlisselberg	1714	?	?	laid up	laid up	laid up	not in service
66	Sviatoi Sergeii	1743	Archangel	-----	-----	absent	?	commissioned 1743; in service 1747

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS IN THE WAR WITH SWEDEN: 1741-1743

Fourth Rates								
54	Novaia Nadezhda	1730	Neva	St. Petersburg	harbour duty	absent	OS 1742	Pyotr II class ships; 28x 18; 24x 8; 8x 4
54	Grod Arkanhangelesk	1735	Archangel	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1749	
54	Severnaia Zvezda	1735	Archangel	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1749	
54	Neptunus	1735	Archangel	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1752	
54	Astrakhan'	1736	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes FR	OS 1752	
54	Azov	1736	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1752	
54	Sviatoi Andrei	1736	Archangel	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1752	
54	Sviatoi Georgii	1737	Yakutsk	Siberia	Siberia	-----	?	Exploring Siberian coast
54	Sviatoi Nikolai	1743	Archangel	-----	-----	absent	?	some sources commissioned 1748
54	Kronshtadt	1738	Archangel	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes	OS 1755	
54	Sviatoi Panteleimon	1740	Archangel	Archangel	arrived 11/43	-----	OS 1756	some sources Revel commission 1742; some sources list a <i>Panteleimon Viktoria</i>
54	Sviatoi Isakii	1740	Archangel	Archangel	arrived 11/43	-----	OS 1756	built c1707 & scrapped 1747
54	Armont	1713	British?	?	?	?	laid up 1747	forced to return to North
54	Arondel	1713	British	?	?	?	laid up 1747	name found on some lists
54	Riga	1729	Neva	?	?	?	OS 1746	name found on some lists
54	Varachail	1743	Archangel	-----	-----	-----	wrecked 1748	
52	Devonshir	≤1741	British	?	laid up	laid up	laid up	not in service
44	Esperans	≤1741	?	Revel	laid up; Revel	laid up; Revel	1745 to Med	Wrecked 1746
						?		
	FRIGATES							
32	Rossia	1728	Neva	Archangel	active in Baltic	yes		20x 12; 12x 6
32	Hector (Gektor)	1736	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	-----	wrecked 1742	Gektor class ships: 18x 12; 14x 6
36	Vakhmeister	1732	Neva	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic			22x 12; 14x 6; some sources given commissioning as 1742
32	Voin	1737	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes		
32	Kavalar	1737	Neva	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic			
32	Merkurias	1740	Neva	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic			
32	Apollon	1740	Neva	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic			
32	Dekrondelivede	1732	Dutch	Archangel	failed to reach Baltic		reduced 1742	Amsterdam built
34	Sviatoi Pyotr (b)	1740	Okhotsk	Okhotsk	Wrecked December 1741	-----	?	Bering's flagship
34	Sviatoi Pavel (b)	1740	Okhotsk	Okhotsk	Pacific	-----	?	
	SNOW							
16	Favorite	1723	Neva	St.Pet	active in Baltic			
18	Sviatoi Klimenti	≤1741	?	?	?	?	?	name found on some lists
	FIRESHIPS							
	Mitau	1731	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes		ex 32 gun frigate
	Brilliant	??				yes		

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS IN THE WAR WITH SWEDEN: 1741-1743

BOMBS						
6	Samson	1740	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes
6	Iupeter	1734	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	yes
6 or 8	Blitsnie	1740?	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	?
6 or 8	Donder	1734	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	?
PRAMS						
24 or 8	Pryamie	1740?	Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	?
24 or 8	Oliphant		Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	
24 or 8	Wild Bull		Neva	St. Petersburg	active in Baltic	
OTHER						
Hooker: <i>Kronshlot</i>						
14	Brig: <i>Hoy</i>			Archangel		
	Flute x18			?		
	Packet Boat x8			St. Petersburg		
	Floating Workshop x2			St. Petersburg		
	Sloop: Yakutsk	1737	Yakutsk	Siberia	Siberia	Exploring Siberian coast
	Bolshepetsk	1740	Okhotsk	Okhotsk	Pacific	Bering expedition
B: GALLEYS EXTANT IN WAR PERIOD: By size (number of oars etc) and number.						
Banks of oars	Guns	Built when	Number	Typical Names	Notes	
25	1x 24; 2x 12; 12x 3	1721	2	Dvina, Neva	probably broken up; flagships	
23/24	?	1727	3	Blagaia, Svetlaia	probably broken up; flagships	
22	1x 18; 2x 12; 12x 3	1729-1739	18 (19)	Don, Oka, Nasova	probably division flagships	
20	1x 18; 2x 8; 10x 3	1726-1742	26 (41)	Oryol, Zhar, Korchik	all but 7 built 1726-1728	
16	1x 12; 2x 8; 12x3	1730-1741	30 (70)	Saiga, Elen, Izhora	of these 22 built 1739-1742	
Notes: galleys are distinguished by the number of rowers per bank. For example the 20 Bank used 5 rowers each (ie 200 total), the 16 Bank class 4 rowers per oar (128 total). It also appears that there were many (many!) smaller craft of less than 10 Banks – but these were being used for raids or (more commonly) to transport supplies. When doing the latter space was made by using only two rowers per oar – in effect they were useless for combat. Obviously the same could be done with the war-galleys, removing some rowing benches (but rarely guns) to provide space for stores. Regarding quantities, bracketed numbers are alternate quantities, possibly paper numbers, or total vessels available including those without crews.						
Notes: Neva Yards = St/ Petersburg. Solombala Yards = Archangelsk. The May 1743 listings reflect the OOB on 6th and 13th May; Flags are FV = Rear-Admiral Kalmykov; F = Admiral Golovin; FR = Rear-Admiral Barsh. Note that Kalmykov shifted his flag from Astrakhan (54) to Sviatoi Alexsandr (76). The fourth flag officer was FA = the CinC Archangelsk Squadron Vice-Admiral Bredel. OS + Date = Out of Service in that year. Old Style calendar is used.						
The symbol *** identifies the five SOL that attempted to reach the Baltic from Archangel under Bredel.						

DANISH WARSHIPS IN THE WAR WITH RUSSIA: 1741-1743

Guns	Name	Launched	Yards	North Cape 41-42	Commissioned 1743	Fate	Notes/ Guns of class
	SHIPS OF THE LINE						OS = Out of Service
	First Rates (3-deck)						
90	Christianus Sextus	1733	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1769	26x 24; 28x 18; 28x 12; 8x 6
90	Dronning Anna Sophia	1722	Copenhagen			OS 1752	
	Second Rates						
88	Justicia	1707	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1751	26x 24; 26x 18; 26x 12; 12x 6
80	Sophia Magdalena	1727	Copenhagen			OS 1758	
	Third Rates						
78 or 72	Prins Friderich	1727	Copenhagen			OS 1758	
70	Dannebrog	1739	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1761	
70	Elephant	1741	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1760	
70	Norske Løve	1735	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1764	
70	Jylland	1739	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1761	
70	Wenden	1742	Copenhagen			OS 1781	26x 24; 26x 18; 18x 8
70	Tre Kroner	1742	Copenhagen			OS 1761	
70	Njordstjern	1715	Copenhagen	Yes	Yes	OS 1785	
60	Prinsesse Carlotta Amelia	1731	Copenhagen	Yes	Yes	OS 1767	
60	Markgravinde Sophia Christina	1732	Copenhagen	Yes	Yes	OS 1756	
60	Prinsesse Louise	1731	Copenhagen	Yes	Yes	OS 1771	
60	Oldenborg	1740	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1748	
60	Prinsesse Sophia Hedvig	1731	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1754	
60	Tre Løver	1730	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1753	
60	Svanen	1730	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1754	
81	Fourth Rates						
64	Ebenetzer	1709	Copenhagen			OS 1747	
50	Delmenhorst	1735	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1777	
50	Ditmarschen	1732	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1767	22x 18; 22x 12; 6x 6
50	Laaland	1711	Copenhagen			OS 1762	
50	Fyen or Funen	1736	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1745	
50	Sydermannland	1715	Copenhagen			OS 1752	
50	Slesvig	1733	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1768	
40	Falster	1742	Copenhagen			OS 1753	
	FRIGATES						
30	Hvide Orn	1715	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1751	
30	Raae	1709	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1751	
30	Höyenhald	1709	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1754	
40	Cronjagten	1742	Copenhagen		Yes	OS 1753	
32	Straslund	1715	captured		Yes	OS 1761	
34 or 36	Ilderim or Pommer	1717	purchased		Yes	OS 1765	
	SNOWS						
12	Søeløve						
12	Søe Ridder			Yes			
	SLOOPS						
18	Christiansøe			Yes			
18	Blå Heyre	1734		Yes		OS 1761	rated either as a frigate or a sloop

Annex C: Ship Types

Sail Types

Sailing ships have a wide variety of sail configurations, or *rigs*. Also, each sail has its own name, indicating its position in the rig and its function. Some of the more common types include:

Fore-and-Aft rig: most of the sails follow the line of the keel instead of being perpendicular to it. A Schooner is an example of a ship with multiple masts and fore-and-aft rigging.

Square rig: most of the sails are perpendicular to the keel. A Ship of the Line is a prime example. Note that such a ship will have some fore-and-aft rigged sails to help with manoeuvring, such as the *lanteen* at the stern and the *jib sails* at the bow.

Full rigged: three masted (or more) ships with a purely square rig. Such ships were commonly called a plain 'ship' in contrast to, for example, a 'schooner' or 'brigantine'.

Special sails mentioned below include:

Trysail. A triangular fore-and-aft sail used to control the vessel when the winds are too high for other sails to be used – mainly, it is used to keep the bow facing the wind so the ship will not be rolled. It is hoisted behind the mainmast.

Jib. A triangular sail attached at the bowsprit which functions as an airfoil and reduces turbulence on the main (square) sails.

Lanteen. Lanteen = Latin-rig. A large triangular sail tied to a yard fixed at an angle to the mast, running fore-and-aft. The sail allows better handling and gives the ability to tack or heading into the wind; the square-rig, however, is better when running before the wind.

Ships Used in the War of the Hats

Brig. A two-masted square-rigged ship with 18 or so guns. Later brigs were often armed with carronades. They were fast and manoeuvrable, and for their size carried a decent punch.

Brigantine. A two-masted square-rigged ship like the brig, but smaller, and with more sails, built for speed. Used as merchant ships and reconnaissance vessels.

Cantschibass/Konchebras. Small Turkish-style vessels with both sails and oars, crewed by 80 men.

Double Boat. As the name suggests, a boat with twin hulls placed close together, with a single deck acting as a platform for guns or mortars, or for carrying troops and horses.

Fluyt. A two-or three-masted merchant ship, square-rigged, and capable of operating with a very small crew. They had a shallow draught and box-like wide hull, but with a narrow deck – designed by the Dutch, who had to pay customs based on the span of their decks. They were stoutly built and were armed; scaled down East Indiamen.

Frigate. A three-masted, two-decked warship, square-rigged. Guns were usually carried on the upper deck only. Though this reduced the weight of the broadside, their seaworthiness and speed more than compensated – and although 28-32 guns were the norm, 40 or even 60 could be carried on some classes.

Galley. A typical galley was 100-130' long, 18' wide, and had a draft of only 6'. It had a single deck. Bow and stern were both built up. A battery of guns, usually 2x 18- or 24-pounders or a 24-pounder and 2x 6-pounders, would be mounted on the forecastle, facing forward. There were 20-22 pairs of oars, each manned by 5 men. The oars were typically 40' long. Speed was 1.5 knots oared and 3 knots under sail. A galley would have two masts: a main and a foremast. Crew for a galley of this type would be 300 men, commanded by a lieutenant.

Only the officers had quarters – in the stern. The crew slept on deck. Because the galley could only fire forward, many navies phased them out. But they were useful in restricted waters, where a conventional ship could not turn to fire broadside.

Galliot. Various craft, but in northern Europe a galliot was a one -or two-masted ship with square-rigged sails set over a fore-and-aft rig. The bow was almost vertical, and rounded.

Hooker. Usually a two-masted coastal merchant ship, of varying designs, usually rounded in shape. There is an Irish fishing boat with a single mast known as a Galway hooker; very seaworthy. Bow and stern were rounded and high. The rudder was very high and for steering a tiller was used, not a wheel.

Prahm, or Skottpråm. The name means barge, or gun barge. Prahms had 3 masts: fore, main, and mizzen. They also had 7 pairs of oars. A typical prahm would be 127' long and 33' wide, with a draft of 9'. They carried their guns broadside, so although they had to turn to fire, they projected a heavier weight of metal. They were armed with 24x 12-pounders and 16x 4-pounder guns. Above the gunports were loopholes for muskets. There were also 2 swivel guns that fired down the deck, for repelling boarders. Only the stern was built up, with a basic cabin. Taking the *Hector*, which fought at Korpo, as an example, a prahm might have a crew of 100 men to man the ship and 300 troops.

Shallop. A small, open boat of no more than 25 tons, with a single mast and fore-and-aft rig – something like a longboat with sails.

Ship of the Line. A two-or three-decked ship (i.e. three-masted, square-rigged) carrying cannon on two or three decks. Technically, 64 guns was the threshold for a ship of the line. They were classed from most powerful to weakest as First, Second, and Third Rates – though the Third rate was the workhorse and the best all-round ship. Until the late 18th Century, Fourth Rates – 54- down to 40-guns functioned as ships of the line. Fifth and Sixth Rates were, respectively, large and small frigates.

Sloop. Single-masted fore-and-aft rigged vessel, with at least one jib sail. 25 tons or less.

Smack. Fore-and-aft rigged fishing boat, about 60'-70' long.

Snow. Two-masted square-rigged vessel with a special adaptation – a 'snowmast' rigged just behind the mainmast to carry a try sail.

1742 Naval Campaign

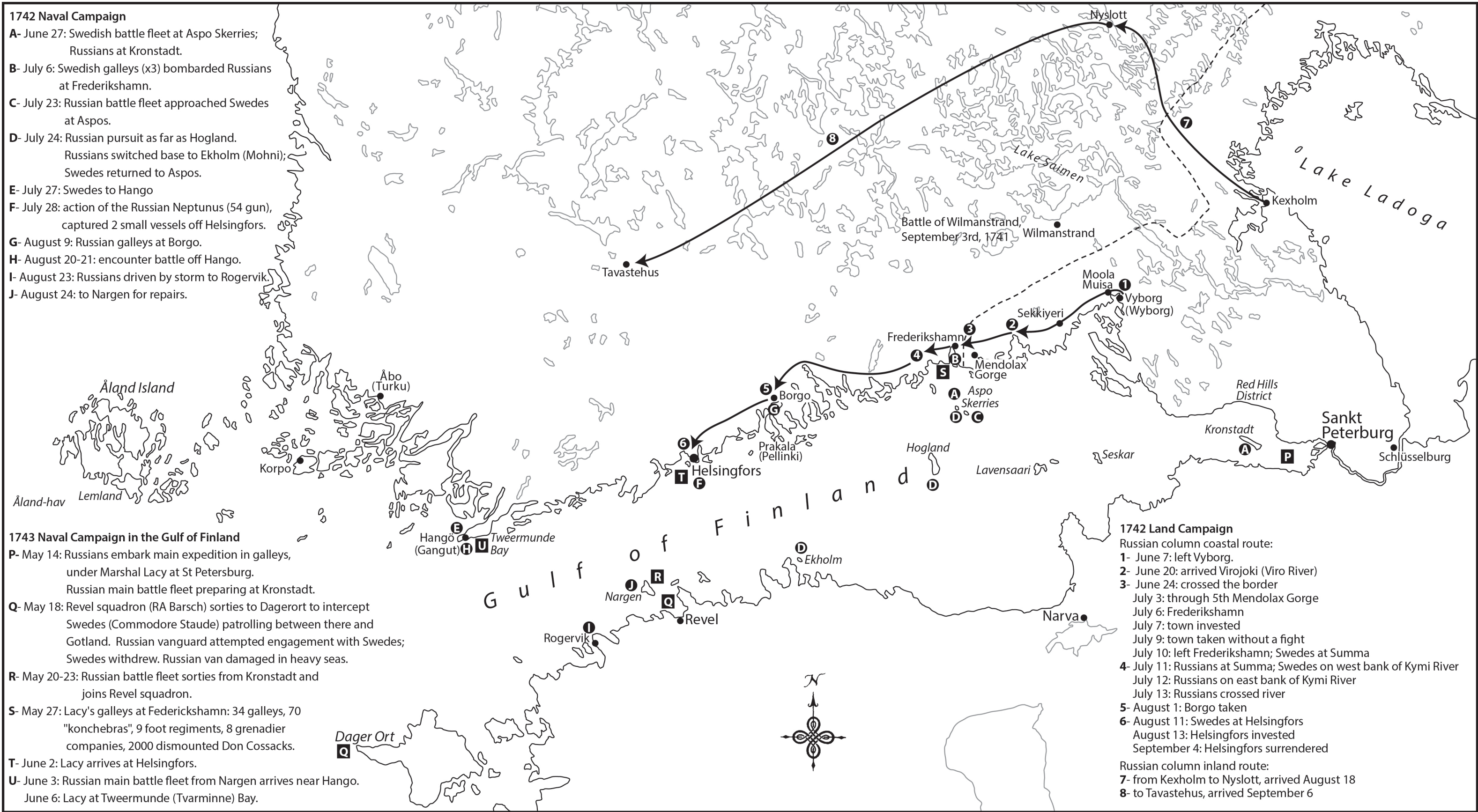
- A- June 27: Swedish battle fleet at Aspo Skerries; Russians at Kronstadt.
- B- July 6: Swedish galleys (x3) bombarded Russians at Frederikshamn.
- C- July 23: Russian battle fleet approached Swedes at Aspos.
- D- July 24: Russian pursuit as far as Hogland. Russians switched base to Ekholm (Mohni); Swedes returned to Aspos.
- E- July 27: Swedes to Hango
- F- July 28: action of the Russian Neptunus (54 gun), captured 2 small vessels off Helsingfors.
- G- August 9: Russian galleys at Borgo.
- H- August 20-21: encounter battle off Hango.
- I- August 23: Russians driven by storm to Rogervik.
- J- August 24: to Nargen for repairs.

1743 Naval Campaign in the Gulf of Finland

- P- May 14: Russians embark main expedition in galleys, under Marshal Lacy at St Petersburg. Russian main battle fleet preparing at Kronstadt.
- Q- May 18: Revel squadron (RA Barsch) sorties to Dagerort to intercept Swedes (Commodore Staude) patrolling between there and Gotland. Russian vanguard attempted engagement with Swedes; Swedes withdrew. Russian van damaged in heavy seas.
- R- May 20-23: Russian battle fleet sorties from Kronstadt and joins Revel squadron.
- S- May 27: Lacy's galleys at Federickshamn: 34 galleys, 70 "konchebras", 9 foot regiments, 8 grenadier companies, 2000 dismounted Don Cossacks.
- T- June 2: Lacy arrives at Helsingfors.
- U- June 3: Russian main battle fleet from Nargen arrives near Hango. June 6: Lacy at Tweermunde (Tvarminne) Bay.

1742 Land Campaign

- Russian column coastal route:
- 1- June 7: left Vyborg.
 - 2- June 20: arrived Virojoki (Viro River)
 - 3- June 24: crossed the border
 - July 3: through 5th Mendolax Gorge
 - July 6: Frederikshamn
 - July 7: town invested
 - July 9: town taken without a fight
 - July 10: left Frederikshamn; Swedes at Summa
 - 4- July 11: Russians at Summa; Swedes on west bank of Kymi River
 - July 12: Russians on east bank of Kymi River
 - July 13: Russians crossed river
 - 5- August 1: Borgo taken
 - 6- August 11: Swedes at Helsingfors
 - August 13: Helsingfors invested
 - September 4: Helsingfors surrendered
- Russian column inland route:
- 7- from Kexholm to Nyslott, arrived August 18
 - 8- to Tavastehus, arrived September 6



Campaigns in the Gulf of Finland, 1742 & 1743