

NAVAL WARS IN THE BALTIC

DURING THE
SAILING-SHIP EPOCH
1522—1850

UDGÅET AF
BIBLIOTEKETS
SAMLING

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PREFACE.

In the following pages I have tried to give an account of the long series of naval wars which took place in the Baltic during the sailing-ship epoch. The principal feature of these wars was their exclusiveness, and the way in which they were for the most part decided without involving the fleets of the Western Powers. It is true that in the seventeenth century the Dutch played some part in Baltic affairs, and that the inclusion of the Baltic Powers in the Napoleonic struggle naturally brought them into contact with England; but in a general way the history of naval warfare in the Baltic can be looked on as a distinct section, and can best be treated as such.

I have dealt with the subject in detail from the year 1563 to the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, and have, for the sake of completeness, sketched in outline the course of events between 1522 and 1563 and between 1815 and 1850. Throughout I have endeavoured to give as much detailed information as possible, but have purposely refrained from any discussion of the reasons or lessons of the various operations. This is where my treatment of the subject differs from that of Vice-Admiral Kirchoff in his "*Seemacht in der Ostsee*." He deals with the greater part of the period more or less from the point of view adopted by Captain Mahan in his works on general naval history, while I have tried to follow more in the footsteps of James, and give facts without comment.

Most of the information contained in this book has been published before in one form or another, but its collation and combination has involved a considerable amount of work, and has necessitated the study of a large number of authorities in at least six different languages. A list of the more important works which I have used will be found at the end of the book. A certain amount of information comes, however, from unpublished sources in the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish archives, and here I must express my thanks to Mr. Van Riemsdyk, chief of the Dutch archives, and to his assistant, Mr. Ross, for their help in supplementing the somewhat meagre accounts of Dutch operations in the Baltic to be found in the standard histories, and also to Mr. Tunberg, of the Provincial archives at Upsala, for help with the Swedish records.

I have found some difficulty with regard to the spelling of proper names. I have spelt names of places and people

in a general way, as they are spelt in the countries to which they belong; but in the case of a few large towns I have thought it best to retain the ordinary English spelling. The spelling of ship names has been difficult for several reasons. First comes the fact that in the earlier periods there were often several ways of spelling one name, and in these cases I have made no attempt at uniformity, but have left the reader to exercise his judgment. Secondly comes the Scandinavian practice of joining the definite article *en* or *et* to the end of the substantive to which it belongs. To keep this article would lead to referring to a ship as the "*the Rose*," for example, and I have accordingly removed it, but in the case of obsolete names it is difficult to be sure of doing this correctly; I can only hope that Swedish and Danish readers will recognise the difficulty and overlook the errors. The third difficulty lay in the transliteration of Russian names to the Latin alphabet, but I have tried to do this in such a way that it is more or less obvious what letters the Russian word contained in its original form.

The book undoubtedly contains many imperfections, but I hope that it contains few actual mistakes, and I know that it gives a fuller account of the period than has yet been attempted; perhaps in the amount and (I hope) the accuracy of the matter the reader will find cause to forgive the manner in which it is presented.

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INTRODUCTION.

1522-1563.

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In 1397, by the "Union of Kalmar," the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were united under Margaret. This Union, though by no means popular, lasted in name for over a century. Shaken, and even broken, several times, it again became a fact in 1457 under Christian I., but on his death the Swedes broke away once more. In 1520 Sweden was reconquered by Christian II. of Denmark and Norway, only to be lost again almost at once on the rise of Gustaf Vasa. Two years later Christian II. was deposed in Denmark also and succeeded by his uncle, Frederik I. At this time Gothland was held for Denmark by Severin Norrby, the former admiral of Christian II., and served him as a base for piratical operations. Attacked by Gustaf, King of Sweden, Norrby acknowledged Frederik as King on condition of being recognised as governor of Gothland, but suddenly in 1525 he invaded Skåne (or Scania), the southern part of Sweden, then a province of Denmark, in the name of the exiled Christian II. Aided by Gustaf and the Lübeckers, Frederik I. soon defeated him, but though depriving him of Gothland, made him Governor of two towns in Blekinge, another Danish province in Southern Sweden. Norrby could not, however, refrain from piracy, and in 1526, joined by a famous freebooter, Klement, he had a fleet of ten ships, but was completely defeated by a combined Swedish-Lübeck fleet, and forced to fly for safety to Russia.

In 1531 the exiled King Christian II. left the Netherlands with a fleet of twenty-five ships to reassert his claims. Ten of these ships were lost in the North Sea, but Christian landed in Norway, and was again received as King. Next spring a combined Danish and Lübeck fleet was sent against him, and trusting to a promise of safe-conduct, he came to Copenhagen to treat with Frederik, only to be taken captive and sent as prisoner to the fortress of Sonderborg in Als, an island on the coast of Holstein.

Frederik died in 1533, and confusion once more broke loose in Denmark and Norway. No successor had been chosen, and for some time the choice lay between Christian Duke of Holstein, Frederik's eldest son, and his younger brother Hans, but at this moment Lübeck decided to support the claims of Christian II., and put forward Christopher Count of Olden-

burg as his champion. The real object of this move was undoubtedly to make Denmark a mere dependency of Lübeck, so as to be able to exclude foreign trade, especially that of the Dutch, from the Baltic. Faced by this danger the Danes chose Duke Christian as King, but in the meantime Count Christopher had attacked Holstein, taking several towns, and then leaving Lübeck in June, 1534, with a fleet of twenty-one ships, had quickly become master of Skåne, Sjaelland (or Zealand), and most of the other Danish islands. At this moment Christian III. was chosen King, and took up his task. This was made easier by the fact that Lübeck had become involved in war with Sweden. King Gustaf had a squadron of ten ships ready to help the Danes, but for the moment there was no base from which to use them. Further the northern part of Jylland (or Jutland), including the town of Aalborg, was conquered for Count Christopher by Klement, the former associate of Norrby. Christian III. succeeded, however, in forcing Lübeck to neutrality as far as concerned Holstein, and at the end of the year he defeated and captured Klement, and reoccupied the whole of Jylland, though, on the other hand, the island of Fyen was taken by the Count.

Early next year, 1535, the enemies of Lübeck collected a considerable fleet. In pursuance of treaty obligations Duke Albrecht of Prussia supplied a small squadron, and a number of small ships were equipped in Jylland, but the real strength of the allied fleet depended on the Swedish contingent of eleven vessels. Early in May the Swedish ships reached Gothland, and were joined by the Prussians and Danes; in theory the Prussian squadron consisted of ten ships and the Danish of eleven, reinforced later to eighteen, but at first only six Prussians and three Danes materialised. However, the resulting fleet of twenty ships under Peder Skram, a Danish admiral, with his flag in the largest Swedish ship, the *Stora Krafvel*, was enough to defeat a squadron of nine hostile ships off Bornholm early in June. The defeated enemy fled to Copenhagen, but Skram proceeded to Travemünde, the port of Lübeck, where he captured a warship and several merchantmen. He then sailed to Fyen, and defeated a second Lübeck fleet of ten ships, driving them ashore, and capturing all save one small vessel, which was burnt. Fyen had meanwhile been retaken by Christian III.'s troops, and Skram was now able to recapture Langeland, harry the other islands, and finally, in July, blockade Copenhagen and Malmö. At the same time Christian III. had approached Copenhagen by land, and the Swedes, after taking Halmstad, Varberg, and Helsingborg, were able to besiege Malmö and Landskrona on the eastern shore of the Sound.

For the moment fortune was on the side of the two Kings, but in November another fleet of eighteen ships arrived from Lübeck. The allied fleet was not strong enough to blockade the ships in Copenhagen, and at the same time attack this new enemy, and the Lübeckers were able to land a large quantity of stores for the besieged garrison. Landskrona was, however, taken, and used as winter-quarters for the allied fleet, while in January, 1536, the fortress of Kronborg (Elsinore), in Sjaelland, was also captured. A month later a Peace was concluded between Christian III. and Lübeck, whereby the latter renounced the attempt to support Christian II.; but this brought about the withdrawal of the Swedish fleet, since King Gustaf considered that Christian III. had no right to conclude a separate agreement. Skram, however, got to sea with a force of fourteen Danish and ten Prussian ships, captured several merchantmen, and assisted in the sieges of Malmö and Copenhagen. Count Christopher and Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, who had to a great extent displaced him as the leader of the party of Christian II., hoped for help from the Emperor, and Charles V. went as far as to order a Dutch fleet to relieve Copenhagen, but the Dutch, afraid of the result if Copenhagen passed into the power of Lübeck, did not hurry the equipment of this fleet, and eventually the outbreak of war with France gave the Emperor plenty to do elsewhere. At last, in April, Malmö surrendered, and at the end of July Copenhagen followed suit. Duke Albrecht and Count Christopher were granted a safe conduct out of the country. This put an end to the war, though it was not until next year that Peace was concluded between Sweden and Lübeck, while about the same time Denmark and the Empire agreed to an armistice for three years.

Still, in 1538, it was considered necessary to equip a fleet to act in conjunction with the Prussians in preventing any attack by the Dutch. In 1542 a fleet of twenty-six Danish ships was in the North Sea, and in 1543, on the resumption of hostilities with the Empire, no less than forty ships were sent to guard against a Dutch attack. Next year Peace was definitely signed; but now the Duke of Mecklenburg became active again, and it was necessary for both Denmark and Sweden to have fleets in the Baltic to watch him. In 1554 and 1555, a considerable Danish fleet cruised in the North Sea to suppress French privateers, and, in the latter year, the Swedish fleet was commissioned to meet a Russian attack on Finland, but no other naval events of importance took place before the outbreak in 1563 of the war known as the "Northern Seven Years' War."

SECTION I.

THE NORTHERN SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1563-1570.

King Gustaf I. of Sweden had died in July, 1560, and had been succeeded by his son Erik XIV. The new King was twenty years old, one year younger than Frederik II., who had come to the Danish throne on the death of his father Christian III., on New Year's Day, 1559. These two young monarchs soon found excuses for a quarrel. No alteration had been made in the Danish Royal Arms, consequent on the withdrawal of Sweden from the Union in 1523, and they consisted still of the Three Crowns. As a counter-demonstration Erik XIV. added the Danish and Norwegian arms to his own, and thus provided one good reason for difficulties between the two States.

Following on this, operations against pirates in the Gulf of Finland led, in 1562, to the seizure of Revel by Sweden from Magnus Duke of Esthonia, brother of Frederik II. Furthermore, finding that on his seizure of Revel the trade of that port was diverted to Narva, Erik XIV. sent a small fleet to blockade the latter town and announced that all trade with Russia must be carried on through Revel. This fleet captured a considerable number of ships; the majority were from Lübeck, and these were confiscated, but the Danish vessels were merely warned and released.

The final excuse for war came in 1563. Erik XIV., after trying in vain to arrange a marriage for himself, firstly with Queen Elizabeth of England, and then with Mary Queen of Scots, turned now to Princess Kristina of Hesse. The idea of this match was exceedingly distasteful to Frederik II., and he took the extreme measure of arresting the Swedish Ambassadors to the Court of Hesse on their way through Denmark. At once both sides began active preparations for war, and at the same time Erik XIV., seeing that it would be impossible for the Princess to come to Sweden through Denmark, decided to send a fleet to Rostock to fetch her.

On May 24th Jakob Bagge left Stockholm with twelve ships,* and on the 30th the first fighting took place. Frederik II.

* *Elefant* 65; *Svan* 32; *Hector* 37; *Christopher* 58; *Engel* 49; *Forgylta Lejon* —; *Hvita Falk* —; *Calmar Bark* 48; *Wästerwicks Bark* 35; *Hök* —; *Stål Boyort* —; *Nyköpings Bark* 32.

Tornquist i. 30. Guns Tornquist i. Ap. B. (1566), except *Elefant*, which is from Zettersten i. 412 n. Some Swedish accounts give their fleet as nineteen ships (Westling 18 n.); while the Danish story gives it as twenty-two.

had given orders to stop all trade with Swedish ports, and on May 21st Jacob Brockenhuus had left Copenhagen for the Baltic with eight ships,* while four ships were sent to the North Sea. The Danes were at anchor off Bornholm when the Swedish fleet was sighted. As a sign that he did not intend hostilities Brockenhuus left the greater part of his fleet at anchor and proceeded with the *Hercules* 81, *Hector* 38, and *Hjort* 46 towards the Swedes to ascertain their intentions. On coming within range he fired three shots as a challenge, and, either by accident or design, one of these passed through the fore top-sail of the Swedish flagship. Bagge at once opened fire, the Danes were surrounded, the *Hercules*, Brockenhuus' flagship, lost her mainmast, and after four hours the three Danish ships had to surrender.† The rest of the Danish fleet returned to Copenhagen, while Bagge continued his voyage to Warnemünde; he arrived there on June 3rd, but as before, the Swedish King's matrimonial plans fell through, and after waiting in vain for some time the fleet returned home, reaching Stockholm on June 24th.

Meanwhile, in the Gulf of Finland, two small Swedish squadrons were continuing the blockade of all ports save Revel, and the consequent capture of a number of ships from Lübeck naturally led to war. Lübeck declared war on Sweden on July 9th, and on the 21st Frederik II. followed suit.

On August 5th the Danish fleet put to sea. It consisted of twenty-seven warships, with a number of small craft, and was joined by six ships from Lübeck. It was commanded by Peder Skram, who had led the combined Danish, Swedish, and German fleet in the war of 1535. He was seventy-two years old, but was forced from his retirement to take charge of the Danish fleet once more. After a visit to the German coast to drive Swedish corsairs from the trade routes Skram proceeded towards Gothland. About the same time, on September 3rd, Bagge got to sea with the Swedish fleet of twenty-seven ships.‡ The Danish fleet carried out an unsuccessful landing in Öland, and the Swedes a simultaneous and equally fruitless attempt on Gothland. On September 10th the two fleets sighted one another, and next day an action took place north of Gothland. Only thirteen of the Swedish ships were engaged, but the action was quite indecisive; darkness separated the fleets, and they re-

* Garde Eft. i. 53. Some Swedish accounts say 12, and some eleven (Westling *ibid*).

† According to the Swedes, the Danish *Achilles* and *Christopher* were damaged, but Danish accounts do not mention their having been engaged.

‡ Tornquist says only eighteen ships (i. 32), but some authorities give it in the action of September 11th as about forty ships. Some may have joined from Finland (Westling 45 n.).

turned to their respective bases at Elfsnabben, outside Stockholm, and at Copenhagen, to refit. Bille, the Danish Vice-Admiral, was killed. The Swedes did not appear at sea again this year, but Skram stayed out until forced home by the approach of winter.

Neither side was satisfied. Frederik II. removed Skram from the command of the fleet and sent him to take charge of the Castle of Lälholm, in Halland. Here he beat off attacks by the Swedes in 1565 and 1568, and eventually died on his farm in 1581 at the age of ninety. Erik XIV., on the other hand, kept Bagge in command, but deprived him and all his flag-officers of one year's pay, and did everything possible to show his dissatisfaction. Meanwhile the Danish army had succeeded in capturing Elfsborg, a fortress and dockyard on the Göta Elf just below the present site of Gothenburg. The town had been burnt by its inhabitants, and the fortress surrendered on September 4th. Two ships under construction were captured by the Danes, fitted out, and added to the Danish fleet as the *Svenske Jomfru* and *Krabatt*.

Next year, 1564, Herlof Trolle was appointed to command the Danish fleet. He left Copenhagen with twenty-six ships on May 8th, sailed finally from Dräger on the 11th, and was joined off Bornholm by nine Lübeck vessels under Knebel. Trolle arranged twenty-seven of his ships (21 Danes and 6 Lübeckers) in a somewhat elaborate formation in three lines; the centre was an ordinary line-ahead led by the flagship *Fortuna*, but the other lines were, roughly speaking, bow and quarter lines, with their leading ships on either quarter of the flagship. The heavier ships were in the centre, and the result was a wedge-shaped body with the flagship at its point. The six Lübeck ships were put towards the rear, but with two Danish ships astern of them in each line. Five Danish small craft, with the three smallest Lübeckers and the merchant brig *Achilles*, were told off as scouts.

The allied fleet was off Gothland on May 24th, and met the Swedes between that island and Öland on the 30th. The Swedish fleet, which was again under Bagge, had left Dalarö, near Stockholm, two days before; it consisted of twenty-three ships,* but no details of its arrangement are to be found. Still, when the action began at about 3 p.m. on May 30th both fleets were scattered and in disorder. The Swedish flagship *Mars* 173,† supported by only two other ships, was attacked by

* Zettersten (i. 415 and n.) contradicts the usual statement that it was 35 ships strong (Törnquist i. 34), but it is worth noticing that Trolle estimated it at 38 (Garde. Hist. i. 62). Possibly it left Delarö with 23 ships and was joined by others at sea.

† Called also the *Makalos* and the *Jutchatar*. She was a new ship, just completed at Kalmar, and was the biggest ship in the Baltic, if not in the world.

Trolle in the *Fortuna*, also with only two immediate supporters; the *Mars* had rigged out booms which made boarding impossible, but the *Fortuna* was driven out of action with the loss of her mainyard and a Lübeck ship, the *Lange Bark*, which had joined in the action, was sunk with all hands. The fight ended as night came on, but began again next morning. At first the wind was easterly; the Swedes were to windward, but still scattered, and the *Mars* 173, *Elefant* 65, *Finska Svan* 82, and *Svenska Hektor* 87 were a good deal to leeward of the rest of their fleet. Trolle attacked, as on the previous day, with the *Fortuna*, *Byens Løffue* 56, and *Arck*, and, fortunately, the wind shifted to N.W., putting the Lübeck ships, which were previously to leeward, in a position to join in the action and preventing help from reaching the *Mars* and her consorts.

As before, the *Fortuna* was driven out of action and the other two Danish ships badly damaged, but the Lübeckers now came up and joined in the fight. The Lübeck flagship *Engel*, followed by the *Fuchs*, boarded the *Mars* on the weather side, while the *Byens Løffue* did the same astern. At this moment the *Mars* took fire, but whether before or after surrendering is uncertain; the flames spread fast, and she blew up, with most of her crew and some three hundred of the enemy. Bagge, his second in command, Arved Trolle, and about a hundred men were saved and taken as prisoners to the *Engel* and *Byens Løffue*. Fleming in the *Elefant* took charge of the Swedish fleet, and withdrew to Elfsnabben,* while the Allies went to Bornholm for repairs.

They were ready again by June 12th, and cruised for a month in the Western Baltic, using Bornholm as a base. On July 11th they sailed southwards from Bornholm to look for the Swedish fleet, which had put to sea again on the 4th under Fleming. On the 14th the Swedes reached Bornholm, and anchored in the position formerly occupied by the Allies, with the result that a fleet of Lübeck merchantmen arriving on the 15th from Narva sailed straight into the enemy's hands and were captured.†

A minor action took place on July 12th off Warnemünde, the port of Rostock. Three Danish ships, the *Byens Løffue* 56, *Morian* 47, and *David* 42 attacked the Swedish guardship *Hvita Falk*. After defending himself against these heavy odds from daybreak till noon Björnson, the Swedish captain, blew up his ship rather than surrender, and perished with all but two of

* Apart from those lost in the *Mars* the Swedish fleet had only 101 killed and wounded (Westling 60 n.).

† Törnquist (i. 40) says 18 ships were taken and three burnt. Zettersten (i. 416) agrees that the fleet consisted of 21 ships. He gives 22 names of captured ships in a footnote, but says some of these may have been taken in the Gulf of Finland. Garde, on the other hand (Hist. i. 65), only mentions 14 ships. Westling (60 n.) gives various estimates.

his men. The Allies apparently remained near the German coast for some time, since the Swedes, who reached the northern end of Öland on July 18th, saw nothing of them, in spite of a short cruise at the end of July and beginning of August.

At last, early in August, Fleming proposed to send his bigger ships home, but when Erik XIV. heard of this he not only sent strict orders to the contrary, but also sent Klas Horn, the commander of the army in Småland, to supersede him.

Horn joined the fleet north of Öland on August 12th, and the same day the Allies were sighted. The Danish and Swedish accounts are difficult to reconcile, but apparently what happened was somewhat as follows*:—The Allies were first sighted in the morning of August 12th coming from the south with a strong south-westerly wind. Horn weighed anchor, and ran towards Gothland, where he re-formed his fleet. Meanwhile the allied fleet came to anchor off the northern end of Öland and landed men to ravage the neighbourhood. In the afternoon the wind shifted to the north, enabling the Swedes to attack. Trolle therefore got under way and accepted battle, standing in towards the northern end of Kalmar Sound. Darkness put an end to the fighting, and the fleets parted. Next morning the Allies were anchored off the south-east coast of Öland, and at first intended to give battle at anchor, but on a shift of wind in the afternoon promising them some advantage they weighed, and a second running fight began. At nightfall Trolle steered towards Gothland, with the enemy between him and the Swedish coast. During the night three Danish ships were captured. The *Svenske Jomfru*, together with the three ships which had been in action with the *Hvita Falk* a month before, coming to rejoin the Danish main body, ran into the Swedish fleet instead through mistaking a signal of three shots made by Horn to his own ships for the corresponding Danish signal. The *Svenske Jomfru* managed to escape, but the other three, the *Byens Loffue* 56, *Morian* 47, and *David* 42 were captured. Next morning the Swedes, with their prizes, went into Kalmar Sound, where the *Elefant* 65 ran aground and, though refloated, sank on the 16th while under repair. The Allies remained at sea until the end of September, when the Danish fleet returned to Copenhagen, but the Swedes did not leave Kalmar Sound until September 27th, when Horn sailed for Stockholm, leaving a few ships at Kalmar under Fleming.

A few other naval events had taken place in 1564. A Swedish squadron of fourteen ships had been stationed in the Gulf of

* Tornquist says the action took place on the 12th and 13th. Garde, basing his account on Trolle's report, says the 14th. Zettersten appears to indicate that it began on the 12th, but calls the second day the 14th. At any rate, it seems that the Danish version relates only to the second day's fighting.

Finland, and, besides taking a large number of merchantmen, had captured two Danish warships, the *Flygande Serpent* 8 and the *Skotske Pink* 56. On the other hand, three Danish ships, the *Due*, *Svan*, and *Engel*, under Admiral Erik Munk, had assisted at the recapture of Stenveholm near Trondhjem at the end of May.

The first blow in 1565 was struck by the Swedes. Horn, who had left Stockholm on May 3rd and Dalarö on the 15th, arrived off the New Deep, the eastern end of the strait between Rügen and the mainland, on May 21st. His fleet consisted of 48 ships, with 1,688 guns and 4,034 men. In the New Deep he found four Danish ships,* under Peder Huitfeldt, blockading the eastern approach to Stralsund, and sent in eight or nine of his ships next day to attack them. Huitfeldt saw there was no chance of escape, so ran his ships ashore, removed as much as possible of their armament and equipment, and set them on fire. The question of neutrality was solved by the Swedes' abstaining from attacking on condition that he gave all the guns into the charge of the Duke of Pomerania to be kept until the end of the war. In the same waters were the Danish small craft *Enkhusiske Jungfrau* and *Danske Falk*, with three Lübeckers, the *Syrig*, *Lybsche Trotz*, and the pink *Fuchs*. The four first-named ships were handed over to the Duke of Pomerania, but the *Fuchs* was captured and carried off by the Swedes in defiance of all neutral rights.

Following on this, Horn proceeded northwards. Off Falsterbo he found the Lübeck contingent waiting for the Danes, but on his approach they fled to Copenhagen.† Lack of knowledge of the channel prevented him following further than Dragør, where he arrived on May 27th and remained three days, during which period he took several merchantmen.‡ Hearing that a very large ship was completing at Travemünde, the mouth of the Lübeck river, he took his whole fleet thither, but the Lübeckers managed to lighten her enough to haul her inshore out of effective range. Meanwhile the Danes had been putting the finishing touches to their preparations. On June 1st Trolle left Copenhagen with twenty-eight Danish and Lübeck ships. Five more Lübeckers joined off Femern,§ and on June 4th the Swedish fleet was sighted off Buchow, on the coast of Mecklenburg, north of Wismar.

* *Arck*, *Naetergal*, *Bjørn*, *Hamborger Jeger* (Garde Eft. i. 57).

† Their flagship the *Engel* had been accidentally burnt since their sailing from Travemünde on May 18th. (Tornquist i. 44. Westling 99.)

‡ He is said to have taken four large Danish merchantmen and one from Danzig, besides levying toll on no less than 250 Dutch ships homeward bound from Danzig. (Tornquist i. 45. Zettersten i. 418). Garde, however (Hist. i. 71), shows the improbability of these figures.

§ Westling's figures (99) are: Danes, 13; Lübeckers, 12.

The Allies were to windward, and ran down to attack, while the Swedes hauled to the wind to meet them; the action began soon after midday. Trolle, in his flagship, the new vessel *Jegermesther* 90, attacked the *Finska Svan* 82 and drove her away to leeward, while Jørgen Brahe, in the *Merkurius*, was engaged with the Swedish flagship *St. Erik* 90, and Erik Rud in the *Svenske Jomfru* with Per Bagge in the *Svenska Hektor* 87. The *Jegermesther* attacked in turn the *Herkules* 81, *Engel* 49, and *Pelikan*, but the booms which all the Swedish ships had rigged out all round prevented boarding. Finally she came to the quarter of the *Troilus* 44, and managed to get a grapnel fast in the enemy's mizzen rigging, but here again a boom prevented the ships getting to close quarters. Still the *Jegermesther* was so much bigger than the *Troilus* that her weight acting on the end of this boom and on the grapnel, gave the smaller ship such a list that the lower deck ports came under water. Nevertheless, Shenk, her captain, refused to think of surrender, and after a short time, by cutting away the mizzen rigging the *Troilus* got free, though with the loss of her mizzen mast. In this part of the action Trolle was wounded severely in the arm and the leg. As the afternoon went on the wind dropped, and at last, when night stopped the action, there was a flat calm, so that the Swedes had to tow their ships clear of the enemy to be safe from boarding. All through the next day the calm continued, but on the 6th a breeze sprang up. The Swedes went to Bornholm, and Trolle took his fleet back to Kjöge Bay. Here he landed on June 8th, but though his wounds, if treated at once would not have been dangerous, the exertions of the last four days had aggravated them, and now it was too late to rest. He died on June 25th, at the early age of forty-nine, and three days later Jørgen Brahe, his second in command, died also from an attack of fever.

The fleet was now put under the orders of Otto Rud, who made every effort to get it fit for sea once more. Meanwhile the Swedish fleet, now forty-eight ships strong, had appeared off Falsterbo on June 17th, carried out a landing in Møen on the 25th, and sailed to Rügen, where several ships from Finland joined on July 3rd. Leaving Rügen, Horn sailed northwards, and on July 7th, between Bornholm and Rügen, he met the allied fleet, which had sailed from Copenhagen on the 2nd. Apparently the Allies had thirty-six ships, including fourteen Lübeckers, and the Swedes forty-nine.* As before, the Allies came down with the wind, and began the action at 12.30 p.m. Otto Rud, in the *Jegermesther* 90, laid himself alongside the

* Several versions give the Allies as 22 Danes and 14 Lübeckers (Munthe iv. 68. Westling 100 n.). Garde (Hist. i. 75) says the Swedes were the stronger by thirteen ships.

Swedish flagship *St. Erik* 90, the *Danske Christopher*, under Nils Trolle, and the *Svenske Jomfru*, under Erik Rud, attacked Horn's next astern the *Finska Svan* 82, while the Lübeck flagship *Josua* attacked the *David* 42, which, with the *Troilus* 44, was supporting the *Svenska Hektor* 87. The *Grip* came to assist the *David*, whereupon a third Lübecker, much larger than she, sailed into her and sank her, but sustained such injuries that she also sank while in action with the *Troilus*. This left the *Troilus* free, and she therefore took up a position on the disengaged side of the *Danske Christopher*. The position was now as follows: the *Danske Christopher* lay between two Swedes, the *Troilus* and the *Finska Svan*; while on the bow of the last-named was the Danish flagship *Jegermesther* engaged on her other side with the *St. Erik*, and with the *Böse Lejon** 56, raking her from aft. Finally the *Danske Christopher* sank, but before this both the *St. Erik* and *Finska Svan* were badly damaged, and in the latter Sten Sture the Swedish Vice-Admiral and his captain, Baner, were killed. Nils Trolle, in the *Danske Christopher*, had been wounded and was lost with the ship, but a good many of her crew saved themselves by boarding the small Swedish ship *St. Göran*, capturing her, and thus escaping. Fire broke out in the Swedish *Gyllende Lejon*,† and before she was completely burnt she scattered the two fleets in such a way that the *Jegermesther* was left unsupported. Surrounded by enemies, she fought on, but at length, with all save 100 of a crew of 1,100 killed or wounded, and with his ship badly damaged in hull and rigging, Otto Rud, himself slightly wounded, was forced to surrender at 9.30 p.m.

Swedish accounts say that the Danish ship *Svan* was sunk and two others captured, but probably the Danish version is correct here.‡ In the same way, the Danes claim to have sunk two more Swedish vessels, which were, as a matter of fact, in commission next year.§ Taking the admitted losses, the Allies had two ships sunk, the *Danske Christopher* and a Lübeck ship, and one captured, the *Jegermesther* 90. The Swedes also lost three ships, the *Grip*, sunk; the *Gyllende Lejon*, burnt; and the *St. Göran*, taken; but these were smaller and less important than those lost by the Allies. The loss in men was heavy; on the Swedish side the figures given are 362 killed and 523 severely wounded, but besides this the three ships lost had a combined complement of 485, and most of these must have been killed, drowned, or taken prisoner. The loss of the Allies was

* Ex Danish *Byens Løffue*.

† Or *Forgylda Lejon*.

‡ All captured Danish ships were returned at the end of the war, and there is no trace of these two (Garde Hist. i. 91). The *Svan* is in the list for 1566 (Garde Hist. i. 60).

§ *Svenska Hektor* 87 and *Calmar Bark* 48.

probably greater. According to their own account 1,100 men were killed or captured in the *Jegermesther*, while the two ships sunk must have represented a loss of at least 1,000 between them. Furthermore, the Swedes had taken the Danish flagship and sunk the second in command, so that there is no doubt of their right to consider the battle as a victory, though by no means decisive. As usual, both sides withdrew to their respective bases. The Allies went to Copenhagen and the Swedes sailed for Dalarö, arriving there on July 14th. They were received with great rejoicing, and a "triumph" was organised in which the Danish prisoners had to take part. Otto Rud died in October from the plague then raging in Sweden.

On August 8th Horn was ordered to put to sea again with the whole fleet. He left Dalarö on the 20th, but head winds kept him at Elfsnabben till September 5th. He then sailed to Bornholm and drove ten or twelve sail of the Allies into the Sound on the 12th, but was forced by stress of weather to anchor off Bornholm. He made an unsuccessful attempt to land in the island, and then, hearing that the Allies were laying up their ships, he withdrew to Kalmar, leaving a few ships at Bornholm. He remained at Kalmar from September 19th to October 25th, when he sailed for Stockholm, and arrived there on November 1st. Meanwhile the allied fleet was apparently at sea under Erik Rud, but did nothing of interest. As before, there had been a Swedish fleet in the Gulf of Finland, consisting this year of thirteen ships, under Lars Larsson in the *Enhörning* 41. Their chief prizes were Dutch ships carrying salt. Per Larsson was sent late in the year to the German coast with a few ships, and finally wintered at Kalmar.

Again, in 1566 the Swedish fleet was ready first. No less than sixty-seven or sixty-eight ships were commissioned,* but it is doubtful if all these went to sea. Horn left Stockholm on April 28th, but waited nearly a month at Elfsnabben, where he is said to have had forty-one ships. He put to sea on May

* List of the Swedish Fleet, 1566.—*St. Erik* 90, *Herkules* 81, *Stockholms Hjort* 53, *Danska Morian* 44, *Kalmar Bark* 48, *Forgylta Dufva* 48, *St. Christopher* 58, *Rosa* 25, *Troilus* 44, *David* 43, *Enhörning* 41, *Råbock* 39, *Danska Hektor* 38, *Rehn* 38, *Lilla Christopher* 27, *Lotsmans Pincka* 16, *Bla Måne* 24, *Stålnäb* 19, *Misericord* 10, *Sjöhund* 6, *Krejare* 8, *Ugla*, *Finnska Håk*, *Svenska Hektor* 87, *Svan* 82, *Björn* 38, *Hjort* 50, *Röda Hund* 44, *Bramare* 46, *Lilla Svan* 50, *Engelska Pincka* 23, *Lilla* 44, *Lilla Hjort* 40, *Röda Grippa* 37, *Måne* 38, *Westerviks Bark* 32, *Nyköpings Bark* 32, *Neck* 28, *Skotska Pincka* 56, *Lilla Grippa* 21, *Töss* 22, *Nyköping Skepp* 10, *Lilla Neck* 21, *Hamborgare Bojort* 6, *Stora Råbojort*, *Neptunus*, *Jegermesther* 84, *Böse Lejon* 56, *Svenska Morian* 54, *Trancheje* 75, *Engel* 49, *Brana Lejon* 45, *Memnon* 46, *Jonas von Emden* 45, *Hollands Galej* 43, *Röda Lejon* 38, *Prydse* 34, *Elt* 35, *Vendekab* 32, *Elfsborgs Bark* 30, *Lilla Pincka* 25, *Samson* 27, *Lilla Svan* 21, *Flyggande Drake* 14, *Flyggande Sarpent* 8, *Lilla Ko* 12, *Lilla Jonas* 4, *Maria*, and *Snaphane*. (Graah, Ap. A.). A list given by Unger (Ap. 4. p. 288-9) is very similar to this.

23rd, was off the southern end of Öland from June 1st to 5th, and anchored off Bornholm on the 10th. A fortnight later he weighed anchor and arrived off Dräger on June 26th with forty-six ships. As in the previous year, he is said to have taken toll from a large number of merchantmen, but on the 29th he was disturbed. The allied fleet of thirty-six ships,* under Hans Lauritson, took advantage of a fair wind and put to sea. Horn at once withdrew from the narrow waters, but six of his ships went aground.† Lauritson failed to seize the opportunity, and waited while his Vice-Admiral Jens Christenson restowed the ballast of the *Hannibal*, which had shifted enough to endanger the ship. This allowed the Swedish ships to get afloat again, and now the wind backed to S.W., making it impossible for the Allies to weather Falsterbo Point. They therefore anchored, but a large number of merchantmen which had sailed with the fleet from Copenhagen went on and were captured.‡

Horn now thought it best to return to Dalarö with his prizes and dropped anchor there on July 6th. After taking in stores he put to sea again on the 15th and anchored next day off the Jungfru Islands, at the northern end of Kalmar Sound. He remained here till the 25th, when he weighed, and steered past the northern end of Öland. The same day Lauritson, who had been cruising in the Eastern Baltic with the allied fleet, also approached Öland. The wind was S.W., and the Allies to windward, so Horn put back to the mouth of Kalmar Sound and anchored there, while the Allies anchored for the night off Bådevik, on the east coast of Öland. Next morning the wind was more southerly. Lauritson sent some small craft to reconnoitre, and both fleets weighed anchor. At about 9 a.m. a partial action began, but, as usual, it appears to have been more or less a series of isolated ship-to-ship combats. The *Merkurius* was badly damaged by the Swedish flagship *St. Erik* 90, which also engaged the Lübeck flagship *Morian*§ and the Danish flagship *Samson*. The Swedish ship *Herkules* 81 was surrounded by the Allies, but relieved by the *Svan* 82, *Böse Lejon* 56, and *Engel* 49. The Danish ship *Achilles* lost her captain, Christopher Mogensen. Eventually the Allies with-

* All accounts agree that he had thirty-six ships. The list for this year (Garde Eft. i. 59-61) gives thirty-nine ships, so presumably three joined later. Eleven were Lübeckers (Westling 128).

† No Swedish account mentions this. According to Munthe (iv. 89) Horn put to sea on the 27th, two days before the Allies.

‡ Tornquist (i. 54) says 200 salt-ships were taken, but Zettersten says that of several hundred merchantmen taken the majority were released on paying toll, while 50 salt-ships were kept as prizes.

§ Called in the Swedish account (Tornquist i. 56) *Styrskveden*, the ship which had been attacked at Travemünde in 1565.

drew towards Gothland, followed by the Swedes. As night fell the Swedes hauled off from Gothland to keep in deeper water, but the Allies anchored off Visby, where they buried Mogenssen next day. During the 28th the wind shifted to the north and blew a gale, with disastrous results for the allied fleet. The Danes lost eleven ships, including their three largest, while the Lübeckers lost both their flagships and another large vessel.

The following is a list of the ships lost:—

Danish:—*Samson*, 1,100 men; *Hannibal*, 943 men; *Mercurius*, 700 men; *Engel*, 300 men; *Flores*, 200 men; *Solen*, 250 men; *Høyenhald*, 200 men; *Papegøye*, 200 men; *Griffe*, 200 men; *Engelske Fortuna*, and *Hertug Olufs Pincke*. Lübeck:—*Morian*, 1,000 men; *Josua*, 600 men; *Havfru*, 300 men.

The only survivors from these ships were the Vice-Admiral of the Lübeck squadron, Jonas Lamferbeck, two Danish captains, and seventy-nine men. The Swedes who had been under way were more fortunate, for, though many of their ships were damaged, more especially the larger vessels, they all managed to weather the gale in safety and eventually reached Elfsnabben on August 6th.

No further actions took place at sea this year. The smaller and less damaged Swedish ships were sent out again under Per Larsson, but the Allies, who had returned to Copenhagen after the disaster, remained in harbour, and Larsson only managed to take a few merchantmen. King Erik XIV. had intended to commence operations in the North Sea, and with this object had ordered six ships to be detached from the main fleet to sail through the Belt to Varberg,* there to join the local privateers, but this plan fell through, and an order to Larsson later in the year to send three of his ships to Varberg seems to have had no more result. Horn's original instructions contained a clause about sending seven ships to the Gulf of Finland after defeating the enemy. These conditions were not fulfilled, but there was a small squadron in those waters, and three ships wintered in Revel. Klas Horn, the Admiral who had done so much for Sweden in the last three campaigns, died of plague on September 9th, 1566, while serving with the Army.

The last years of the war were not marked by any important naval events. During 1567 the Swedes had their usual squadron in the Gulf of Finland, but the main fleet did little. It was not ready to leave Elfsnabben until July 12th, when Per Bagge, Horn's successor, sailed for Bornholm with forty-seven ships. He arrived on the 25th, and did considerable damage ashore, but was off the northern end of Öland on August 4th. A gale on the 11th drove him into Kalmar Sound for safety, and by the end of August he was back at

* In Halland, forty miles south of Gothenburg. Taken from the Danes in 1565.

Elfsnabben. The King sent him out again at once, but he met no enemy, and returned to Stockholm for the winter on September 26th. As a matter of fact a small fleet of Danes and Lübeckers had been in the Baltic at the same time as Bagge. Twelve ships under Bilde were at sea during August, and though five of these were laid up at the end of the month, the remaining four Danes and three Lübeckers stayed out till October.

Some slight activity was shown in the North Sea and Kattegat. The Swedish army marched on Christiania, but the attack was frustrated by reinforcements brought by the Danish ships in the North Sea. At the same time Peder Huitfeldt blockaded Varberg, and prevented Per Larsson from putting to sea with the three Swedish vessels there. The eight ships in the Gulf of Finland were laid up at Viborg in November, but as late as December four ships were sent out from Stockholm to act against privateers and pirates.

Only small detachments of the Swedish fleet put to sea in 1568. The usual squadron in the Gulf of Finland was raised this year to seventeen ships under Per Larsson, who drove off twelve Danzig corsairs from Revel, and captured several of them. After this he assisted in the capture of Sonneburg in Ösel at the end of July, and returned home in October, leaving seven or eight ships to winter at Viborg. Three Danish ships attacked Varberg in April, captured a small Swedish warship and five merchantmen, and burnt a chartered English warship and several other merchantmen. A considerable fleet of Danish and Lübeck ships was at sea in the Baltic under Peder Munk, but it met no enemy, and was laid up in August suffering from sickness.

Meanwhile affairs in Sweden were coming to a crisis. The cruelty and obstinacy of Erik XIV. had long made him hated, and now he put the finishing touch to his people's resentment by marrying his mistress and having her crowned Queen. A rebellion ensued. Johan Duke of Finland landed in Sweden to depose his brother, and on September 29th Erik XIV. abdicated. Johan III., the new King, at once made offers of peace, but misunderstandings followed, and the war went on for some time yet.

In 1569 ten ships were sent from Stockholm in June to join six small vessels from Kalmar and cruise near Bornholm. They returned to Dalarö in August without having met the enemy, but news of their presence had hurried the Danes to sea. Joined by six Lübeck ships Peder Munk was sent into the Baltic with the Danish fleet in June. He proceeded to Revel, where there were this year thirteen Swedish ships, and here he captured fifty merchantmen besides the

Swedish warship *Skotska Pincka* 56,* and four Polish corsairs, which were foolish enough to open fire on his fleet. He was back again at Copenhagen at the end of August. It was proposed in Sweden in the autumn to combine the two small fleets in commission, and send them to Bornholm, but nothing came of the idea.

Still early in 1570 the eight ships in the Gulf of Finland were recalled to help to make up a large fleet. On July 7th Klas Fleming left Elfsnabben at the head of a fleet of forty-one warships and a few transports, with his flag in the new ship *Röda Drake* of 100 guns. On the 16th he reached Bornholm, and soon met a squadron of fourteen Danish ships under Francke.† The Danes, of course, retreated; but one of their ships, the *Björn*, was captured. The rest got safely to Copenhagen. Fleming remained near Bornholm for ten days and captured several merchantmen. He then intended to attack Gothland, but lack of provisions forced him to return to Dalarö early in August, leaving his smaller ships at Kalmar.

After the withdrawal of the Revel squadron the Russians had begun siege operations against that town, and it became necessary to send relief. Seven ships from Kalmar, which had been cruising on the German coast, were, therefore, sent to Revel in September, and with detachments from the main fleet the force in those waters finally reached the number of nineteen ships under Henrik Arvedsson in the *Finska Memnon* 46. The fleet wintered at Åbo and Viborg. The Danish fleet returned to the Baltic and took a number of merchantmen, but met no other enemy, and on December 13th Peace was concluded at Stettin after a congress lasting nearly six months.

The main conditions of the Treaty of Peace were as follows:—All territorial gains were given up. Sweden paid an indemnity of 300,000 Riksdalers, gave up all claims on Danish territory in the Scandinavian peninsula, and returned the eight Danish warships which had been captured.‡ Denmark also got back the ships and guns interned in Pomerania. In his turn Frederik II. gave back the *Fliegende Geist*, but kept the two ships *Svenske Jomfru* and *Krabatt*, which had been captured at Elfsborg. Both Kings were to be allowed to wear the Three Crowns in their arms, but not to adopt any other part of the arms of their neighbour. The treaty also included Lübeck.

* Ex Danish. Taken in 1564.

† He had left Copenhagen with the following fourteen ships (Garde Eft. i. 62):—*Løffue*, *Mage*, *Galcien i Vestersøen*, *Björn*, *Danske Jomfru*, *Bolle*, *Renholt*, *Bulle*, *Fuz*, *Strudtz*, *Svale*, *Isack*, *Maristor*, *Drossel*. One ship had been lost in the gale, but he had taken the small Swedish warship *Fliegende Geist* (Garde Hist. i. 89).

‡ *Jegermesther* 84, *Herkules* 81, *Byens Løffue* 56, *David* 42, *Hector* 38, *Hjart* 46, *Morian* 47, and *Björn*. As a matter of fact, the *Hector* had been sunk by the Swedes and could not be returned (Zettersten i. 361. Garde Hist. i. 91 n.).

SECTION II.

THE RUSSO-SWEDISH WARS AND THE WARS OF THE VASA SUCCESSION.

1570-1610.

After the Peace of Stettin Denmark and Sweden were not again enemies for forty years. Denmark, in fact, had this period of complete peace, but Sweden was not so fortunate. Even before the end of the first war with Denmark difficulties had arisen with Russia, and the period during which Denmark was resting was for Sweden a time of almost constant warfare.

The first move on the part of the Russians had been to invade Esthonia and besiege Revel, but the arrival of a considerable Swedish fleet with reinforcements and supplies, in the autumn of 1570, had enabled the town to continue its resistance, and in March, 1571, the Russians withdrew. Now the Swedes attacked in their turn, and advanced into Russian territory in conjunction with the Poles, supported by the fleet, whose duty it was to ensure communications with Sweden, and at the same time prevent the trade of Narva from giving help to Russia. In the course of this duty another collision with Lübeck occurred.

In June, 1574, Fleming, commanding the Swedish fleet of nineteen ships, met a fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by Lübeck warships. The commander of the convoying ships opened fire, presumably in defence of his convoy, and an action followed, in which the Swedes took three small warships and fifteen merchantmen,* and drove the rest back to Narva, but apparently no further steps were taken in the matter.

At last, in September, 1581, Narva was taken by the Swedes, and two years later an armistice was arranged. This was at first to last three years, but its term was eventually extended to seven.

During this interval occurred the death of Stephen Batory, King of Poland, and in his place was elected Sigismund, son of Johan III. of Sweden, and nephew, on his mother's side, of Sigismund II. of Poland. This took place in 1587, and the new King, Sigismund III., sailed from Kalmar to Danzig with a considerable fleet to take possession of his throne.

In 1590 the Russians assumed the offensive, and besieged Narva, but with free communication with Sweden by sea,

* Eleven Lübeckers and four others.

the town was able to defy their efforts. The Swedish land forces were supported by flotillas on the large lakes of Ladoga and Peipus. Finally, in 1593, another armistice was arranged for two years, and on its expiration a treaty of Peace was concluded. The whole of Esthonia, the province of Narva, was ceded to Sweden, but Kexholm, on Lake Ladoga, taken by the Swedes in 1580, was given back to Russia.

Meanwhile, both in Denmark and Sweden, new Kings had come to the throne. Frederik II. of Denmark had died in 1588, and been succeeded by his eleven-year-old son, Christian IV., while Johan III., King of Sweden, died in 1592, and Sigismund III. of Poland became, therefore, King of Sweden also. From the first the union with Poland was unpopular in Sweden, especially from a religious standpoint. Sweden was a Protestant country, but Sigismund was an ardent Catholic, and it was feared that he might use his Polish forces in an attempt to reconquer Sweden for Rome. Duke Karl, brother of the late King, did his best to take advantage of this suspicion to become the recognised leader of the Swedish nation, and in such circumstances an appeal to arms was inevitable sooner or later.

Sigismund had to be brought to Sweden, and naturally a Swedish fleet ought to bring him, but at this time the Swedish navy was in a very bad state. Practically all the serviceable ships were in Finland under Fleming, and it was decided to use this squadron for the purpose. Early in 1583 Sigismund wrote to Fleming to bring his fleet to Danzig, but at the same time Duke Karl ordered him first to Dalarö, that he might appear to come from Sweden, and might be joined by the few seaworthy ships there. Fleming was, however, a staunch adherent of Sigismund, and having no intention of putting himself and his ships in the Duke's power, he ignored these latter orders, and sailed direct to Danzig, at the end of July, with twenty-seven vessels. One ship and a galley were sent from Stockholm,* but on Sigismund's arrival at Danzig early in August he found no Swedish ship fit to receive him and his suite, and had to charter twenty Dutch ships for the passage. On September 6th the fleet put to sea, but was at once scattered by heavy weather, and when Sigismund's ship reached Elfsnabben on the 18th, only Fleming's flagship and one other vessel were in company. Sigismund landed at Stockholm on September 30th, and found himself at once involved in difficulties with his new subjects, who, headed by Duke Karl, insisted on his guaranteeing to respect their Pro-

* Tornquist says thirteen ships were sent from Sweden, but Zettersten contradicts this.

testantism as an essential condition of his coronation. He resisted for some months, but finally had to give way, at all events in appearance, and in February, 1594 he was crowned by a Protestant Bishop. In July he returned to Poland with a fleet consisting of the same Dutch ships as in the previous year, together with Fleming's fleet and fifteen vessels from Danzig, which had brought to Sweden a force of 1,000 Polish troops. This fleet left Stockholm on July 14th, but headwinds kept it at Elfsnabben till August 4th, and it was not until August 10th that it reached Danzig. Fleming now took his ships back to Finland to be out of the way of the Duke.

The crisis soon came. In 1595 Duke Karl concluded peace with Russia without consulting Sigismund, and early in 1597 appealing from the nobles to the people, he obtained enough support to proceed to active measures. Aided by a small squadron under Scheel, he took Kalmar from Sigismund's supporters, and was soon undisputed ruler of Sweden. Still, in July there were hopes of agreement, and Scheel was sent with eight ships to fetch Sigismund from Danzig, but the negotiations failed and the fleet returned empty-handed. Meanwhile there had been attempts at revolt in Finland, and in one of these in May Fleming had been shot. This encouraged Duke Karl to attack Sigismund's territories here also, and on the return of Scheel from Danzig preparations were made for an expedition to Finland. On August 16th the Duke left Stockholm with every available ship, on the 28th he was at Kastelholm in the Åland Islands, and on September 6th, on his arrival at Åbo, the town surrendered to him, together with some of the ships of the Finnish squadron. The Duke, however, unwilling to proceed to extremities, took no further steps and returned to Sweden at the end of October.

Next year Sigismund assumed the offensive. Arvid Stålarin, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Finland, had retaken Åbo and sailed thence on July 10th, 1598, with a fleet of fourteen ships and fifty small craft, carrying some three thousand men. Arriving in the Åland Islands, he met a small section of the Swedish fleet from Nyköping under Peder Stolpe, who had been there since June 27th. Stålarin tried to open negotiations, but Stolpe was recalled to join the other Swedish ships at Elfsnabben, and being thus left unwatched he sailed westwards and landed at Gröneborg, near Stockholm, on July 20th. He was, however, repulsed, and had to re-embark and withdraw to Kastelholm, but followed thither by the entire Swedish fleet he was defeated and driven back to Finland, leaving three hundred prisoners in the enemy's hands. At the same time Sigismund himself made an attack; he chartered and equipped about one hundred merchantmen at Danzig, em-

barked an army of 5,000 men, and put to sea on July 20th. On the 30th he landed his troops where the town of Christianopol now stands, and two days later Kalmar surrendered to him. He now moved north, but his fleet was scattered by a gale, and when he landed at Stegeborg, east of Söderköping, on August 22nd, he was accompanied by only four ships, though Sten Baner, his admiral, joined him on the 30th with twenty-four more.* Still even this small portion of his original fleet was quite enough to make him master of the adjacent waters for the moment, but on September 19th the main Swedish fleet arrived. Two days later Stegeborg was retaken by the Swedes, and Sigismund's fleet† surrendered, apparently without a blow, while on the 25th the battle of Stångebro, near Linköping, put an end to his plans on land.

Now, however, an agreement was made between the King and the Duke whereby Sigismund should, on condition of disbanding his forces, be allowed to proceed to Stockholm, which had gone over to his side. For this purpose some or all of the captured ships were restored to him‡ and a detachment of fourteen Swedish vessels§ told off to act as convoy. Sigismund embarked his army, but instead of going to Stockholm as arranged he went to Kalmar, strengthened its garrison, and left again for Danzig on October 25th.|| His intention was to return next year at the head of sufficient forces to reconquer his Northern Kingdom, but this plan was never executed, and as a matter of fact he never set foot in Sweden again. With the aid of the fleet Duke Karl soon recovered Stockholm, and then began operations against Kalmar, Sigismund's last foothold in Sweden. A fleet of seventeen ships¶ was at sea under Scheel, and several of those were sent under Captain Hans Persson to blockade Kalmar and co-operate with the besieging army.

In February, 1599, the town was taken, but the garrison retired to the castle, and held out there for some months more. Persson was killed in the attack, and was succeeded in command of the squadron by Captain Ståle, who in April frustrated an attempt at relief by six ships laden with provisions

* These are Tornquist's figures (i. 73). Zettersten (i. 441) says he had nineteen ships at first, and was joined by several others later.

† Tornquist says it consisted of forty ships. Zettersten gives no number but says it included the two ships *Hvita Orn* and *Engelska Drake*.

‡ Tornquist says sixteen ships were returned, including the *Hvita Orn*. Zettersten merely says "The captured ships were returned."

§ Under Captain Ameling in the *Finska Svan* (Zettersten i. 442).

|| The *Hvita Orn* and another ship were wrecked in Kalmar Sound. The second ship was saved by the Swedes and renamed *Trekronor* (Zettersten i. 454 n.).

¶ Some of these were as follows:—*Finska Engel* (flagship), *Blå Falk*, *Drake Pelikan*, *Svenska Björn*, *Sankt Erik*, *Engelsman*, *Svarta Ryttare*, *Enhörning* (Zettersten i. 443).

and stores, taking one of them and driving the rest back to sea. Expecting a renewal of these efforts Duke Karl sent a small fleet under Gyllenhjelm to Kalmar at the end of April, but King Sigismund's next move came too late. The citadel of Kalmar fell on May 12th, while it was not until June that a fleet left Danzig to relieve it under Admiral Maidel, and he, therefore, finding himself too late, returned to Danzig, though without meeting Gyllenhjelm's fleet, which was then cruising in the neighbourhood of Gothland.

In the meantime all pretence of recognising Sigismund as King of Sweden was abandoned, and Duke Karl was appointed Regent in May, 1599. His first action as such was to organise an expedition against Finland and the Åland Islands, where Kastelholm had been retaken by Sigismund's forces during the winter. Stolpe, the second in command of the main Swedish fleet, was sent thither in May with a flotilla of small craft, but his force was insufficient, and at the end of June Scheel had to be sent with the larger vessels to supersede him. In August Kastelholm was taken, and in September Åbo in Finland shared its fate, while the Duke himself, transported by a detachment of the fleet, landed with an army near Helsingfors and captured that town on September 6th. Here he took some of the King's ships, but four of the best were saved by Arved Vildeman, the senior naval officer of the Finnish fleet, who escaped with them to Revel, in spite of the presence of Duke Karl's own fleet and of the fact that a detachment from Gyllenhjelm's squadron was cruising under Captain Gottberg between these two ports. From Helsingfors the Duke proceeded to Viborg, transported as before by a considerable squadron, which had been reinforced since the fall of Åbo by several ships from Scheel's fleet, and was now under Stolpe. Assisted by this squadron, he captured Viborg at the end of September and then returned to Stockholm, visiting Åbo on the way, while Stolpe with the fleet sailed to Narva, which surrendered on demand, and laid up his ships there for the winter. A small squadron had been sent out from Elfsborg early in the year, and had cruised in the North Sea and Kattegat during May, June, and July, and in the autumn Sigismund sent a fleet to attempt the capture of this important town. Admiral Gyllenstjerna was sent with eight ships from Danzig, but his biggest ship* was wrecked, and he took the rest to Lübeck without accomplishing anything.

In 1600 Duke Karl began to carry the war into the enemy's country. Up to now he had confined his efforts to freeing Swedish territory from Sigismund's rule, but now that

* She had forty-eight guns (Schlegeln ii. 279).

this was accomplished and that Sweden had definitely refused to recognise Sigismund as King the Duke decided to attack him on Polish territory. The various divisions of the fleet were all commissioned early in the year to assist in the execution of this plan and incidentally to frustrate any attempt on the part of Lübeck to assist King Sigismund. In the previous year, when Gottberg had been sent to the Gulf of Finland with part of the Western fleet, Gyllenhjelm had been replaced in the command of the remainder by Captain Bjelkenstjerna. During the early stages of the movement on Finland Bjelkenstjerna had remained with his ships at Elfsnabben, but in September he had been sent to sea on receipt of the news that twelve ships were ready for sea in Danzig. These may very possibly have been Gyllenstjerna's fleet for the attack on Elfsborg, but Bjelkenstjerna met none of them, and returned to Elfsnabben, where he wintered with five ships. In 1600 he was appointed admiral of the fleet to be equipped in Sweden, and was joined by Gottberg, who had wintered at Nyköping with his detachment, and by other ships from Stockholm.* During June Bjelkenstjerna cruised in the Western Baltic, but in July he was ordered to bring five ships to Elfsnabben, leaving Gottberg in Kalmar Sound with the rest. On July 31st, reinforced by ships from Stockholm, Bjelkenstjerna left Elfsnabben with the Duke and his army, and on August 9th landed them at Revel, which had come over to the winning side, together with the rest of Esthonia. A few ships were detached and sent to reconnoitre off Pernau and Riga, while Bjelkenstjerna, with the greater part of the fleet now went to Barösund in Finland. He was joined there by Gottberg, from Kalmar, and remained there for the rest of the year, while Scheel, again in command of the fleet in Finland, left Barösund on his arrival, and replaced him off Revel. The Duke now moved on Pernau, and, assisted by Scheel's fleet, took it after a short siege, whereupon Scheel returned to Finland for the winter, leaving only a few small craft on the enemy's coast.†

After the fall of Pernau Riga became the object of the Swedish attack, and in 1601 the entire fleet was employed in supporting the besieging army. The small craft at Pernau were sent there under Captain Cliton in the *Lybska Forgylda Hjort*, and these were soon followed by four ships from Elfsborg under Admiral Kijl in the *Elfsborgs Hektor*. These ships had reached Kalmar in September, 1600, and after wintering there arrived off Riga at the end of June, 1601. At the same

* Bjelkenstjerna's flagship was the new ship *Vasa* 50. Gottberg was in the *Rutenkrans* (Zettersten i. 446).

† The Narva squadron under Stolpe was reinforced, but did no active work this year.

time Scheel's fleet was equipped, and after a visit to Pernau he came to Riga on August 2nd with a force of twenty ships besides galleys and the small craft, but his vessels were in a bad state, and on the 19th he was ordered to send his galleys back to Finland and take the two larger vessels to Sweden to refit. Bjelkenstjerna's fleet at Barösund was also fitted out, but did not reach Pernau till July, and was sent early in August to Kalmar to transport German mercenaries to Sweden. Still, a force of thirty-five small vessels was left off Riga till October, when Kijl with his ships went to Kalmar and Cliton to Stockholm. The Duke, however, had decided to raise the siege, and after strengthening his garrison in the various captured towns he sailed to Åbo, whence he returned to Stockholm by land.

In spite of the abandoning of the siege of Riga the blockade was kept up from the sea for the next few years. In 1602 Bjelkenstjerna arrived there from Stockholm with seven ships at the end of April, and stayed there three months before returning to Elfsnabben. Cliton arrived from Finland at the same time. These two squadrons together proceeded in August to blockade Libau and Vindau, but soon returned. In September Cliton, who had been to Pernau, relieved Gottberg off Riga, and he returned to Stockholm for a refit, after which he put to sea again to transport provisions and reinforcements to the seat of war, with orders to winter at Kalmar. Kijl had left Kalmar in April for Riga with six ships, but three of these had been wrecked on Gothland, and after his return to Kalmar an illness, which eventually proved fatal, had prevented him from carrying out his orders to sail to Riga with the remaining ships.

Three fleets were at sea in 1603. Bjelkenstjerna, with fifteen large ships, went on three cruises to Danzig and Riga, while Boering Jönsson, with two ships from Elfsborg joined by two small craft from Stockholm, remained off Riga till October, and Gottberg, with three ships from Stockholm, was also off Riga from July to October.

Next year Axel Rynning, Admiral of the Fleet, was appointed to command the main fleet* with orders to cruise between Öland and Danzig, and to capture all ships from Lübeck. At the same time two squadrons were sent to Riga. The first, under Admiral Gyllenstjerna, consisting of twelve ships from Kalmar, was off Riga from April to July, and took nineteen merchantmen during this time. Early in July

* His flagship was the *Trekronor* 39, a Polish ship wrecked in Kalmar Sound in 1600, but salvaged and fitted out by the Swedes. Gottberg, his second in command, was in the new ship *Apple* 50. Other ships were the *Lejon*, *Hannibal*, *Brake*, and *Sankt Erik* (Zettersten i. 454).

Gyllenstjerna was recalled, and reached Stockholm at the end of the month with his prizes, leaving his second in command, Söfring Jönsson, at Elfsnabben with the six smallest ships. The second squadron was composed of five ships from the main fleet detached under Gottberg at the end of June, and sent on Gyllenstjerna's recall to replace him off Riga. Ryning, with the main fleet, did not get to sea till the middle of July, when he was ordered to make an attack on the shipping in the harbour of Lübeck. A month later there seemed a prospect of intervention by the Danes and Dutch on the side of Poland, and therefore both Jönsson's and Gottberg's squadrons were ordered to join Ryning off Bornholm. However, these fears proved groundless; Jönsson was sent to Riga, and at the middle of September Ryning's fleet went into winter quarters at Kalmar. At the end of that month Gottberg was sent to join Jönsson off Riga, and in October twelve ships from Stockholm cruised for three weeks in the Eastern Baltic, but nothing of importance occurred.

This year Duke Karl became King of Sweden as Karl IX. It had been arranged in 1600 that this should be so; but it was not until it was certain that Ladislaus, Sigismund's son, would not be sent to be brought up as a Protestant, and until Johan, Duke of Östergötland, Sigismund's half-brother, had renounced his claims that the Duke agreed to accept the title. Still, when he was once established on the throne he acted with even greater energy than before. Since his withdrawal from the siege of Riga in 1601 the Poles had been steadily gaining ground; they had recovered Livonia and invaded Esthonia, till the Swedish army was practically confined to the coast towns, and it became necessary to take strong measures. He therefore decided to proceed in person to Livonia with a new army; but before this a considerable naval force was concentrated off Riga. Jönsson and Gottberg sailed in April, 1605, from Kalmar and Stockholm respectively, and in May they were followed by Bjelkenstjerna from Stockholm and Gyllenstjerna from Nyköping. At length, on August 4th, the King left Djurhamn, near Stockholm, with a fleet of seventeen warships and twenty-three transports* under Ryning. The army was duly landed in Livonia, but on September 17th King Karl was badly beaten at Kexholm, near Riga, and had to re-embark the remains of his army in the fleet, which, after transporting them to Pernau and visiting Revel, returned to Sweden for the winter.

This same year a change of considerable importance took

* Tornquist says the fleet consisted of forty ships. Zettersten only mentions seventeen warships, and suggests that the rest may have been transports. The new ship *Scepter* 38 was in this fleet.

place in Russia. Though the Tsar Ivan IV., who had died in 1584, had himself killed Dmitri his eldest son, a pretender appeared in 1605 claiming to be this same Dmitri, and on the death in 1605 of Boris Godunov, successor to Ivan's second son Feodor, the so-called Dmitri, backed by Sigismund, was crowned Tsar in Moscow. His alliance would naturally have been of the greatest use to Sigismund, but next year, 1606, a revolt broke out. Dmitri was murdered, and Russia was plunged into confusion, though Vassili Shouisky, leader of the revolt, was nominally recognised as Tsar.

No important naval operations took place in 1606, though a Swedish fleet of sixteen ships cruised off Riga and Danzig, and other squadrons transported stores and reinforcements to the seat of war, and in 1607 the only activity of the Swedish fleet in the Baltic consisted in the support of the new fortress of Salis midway between Pernau and Riga. There was, however, one other incident of note. The small vessel *Lambert** was sent from Elfsborg to cruise off the coast of Lapland, presumably in support of Swedish claims on that territory, but on the way she was forced by heavy weather to put into Bergen. She was at once arrested by the Norwegian authorities, and only released on condition that she should return at once to Elfsborg without attempting to visit Lapland. Still, in 1608, two other small craft, the *Obekant Fortuna* and *Hollandska Hjort*, were sent on a similar errand, though this time they were to act as fishing vessels, and were to hand over half their catch to the Danish crown.

Dünamünde, the fortress at the mouth of the Düna, was taken by the Swedes in June, 1608, but its new garrison was at once besieged by the Poles, and an attempt on the part of the Swedish fleet to ascend the river to attack Riga was frustrated by Polish fireships. All through the summer of 1609 the Swedish fleet tried in vain to relieve Dünamünde; the besieging army was too strong, all attempts at landing were repulsed, and, finally, the fortress was recaptured. Besides this a fleet of Dutch merchantmen succeeded in reaching Riga in spite of the blockade, though some Danish ships were captured in the attempt. A Danish fleet of ten ships† was cruising in the Baltic to protect neutral merchantmen, and this probably helped to secure the release of the Danish ships. The Swedes made an effort to intercept the Dutch vessels on their way home, but two captured Dutch ships were retaken by the Danes, and only one prize was brought to Sweden.

Relations between the two Scandinavian Kingdoms were

* Or *Lampret*.

† *Gedion, S. Anna, Victor, Raphael, Markat, Røde Løffue, Trost, Angelihaudt, Makrel, and Kertz* (Sj. Reg. xv. 234).

very insecure, and the events of 1610 made war almost inevitable. Another fleet of Dutch merchantmen was expected at Riga, and it was important for the Swedes to prevent their reaching the town. Nine ships sailed for Riga in April or May, and at the end of June the main fleet of fourteen ships under the command of Admiral Gyllenstjerna also arrived. In the interval seventeen Danish ships* under Admiral Ulfeld had reached the Düna, but at the time of Gyllenstjerna's arrival this fleet was out at sea. This enabled Gyllenstjerna to join the other Swedish ships, so that on Ulfeld's return to the Düna he was confronted by a superior force. Gyllenstjerna had, however, strict orders not to attack the Danish ships, but to confine himself to watching them. Leaving eight ships off Riga under Admiral Snakenborg, he followed Ulfeld with the remaining fifteen ships as far as Bornholm. Here they arrived on July 23rd, and Gyllenstjerna went to Kalmar for provisions; but, Ulfeld, reinforced on August 3rd by twelve more ships† under Admiral Lindenov, returned at once to the Gulf of Riga, and was off Runö on the 8th or 9th with twenty-eight ships. At once Snakenborg was ordered to return to Kalmar; five ships were sent thither from Stockholm, and Gyllenstjerna was ordered to take the resulting fleet of twenty-eight to Bornholm to wait for the Danes. On their arrival he was to inform Ulfeld that King Karl IX. considered that the Danes were acting contrary to the Peace of Stettin in convoying supplies for Sweden's enemies, but that they were to be allowed to pass this time, though a repetition of the offence would be considered as a "casus belli." However, this plan fell through, since the Danes reached Bornholm for the second time‡ before the Swedish fleet was ready, and the King of Sweden, wishing to avoid seeming anxious for war, thought it best to keep his ships in harbour.

At the same time Russia also became Sweden's enemy. Sigismund had succeeded in dethroning the Tsar Vassili in spite of Swedish support, and in replacing him by his own son Ladislaus, or Vladislav; but, not content with this, he endeavoured to remain in occupation of Moscow. Vladislav's election naturally involved Russia in hostilities with Sweden, but at the same time Sigismund, wishing to make the most

* *Gedion 30, S. Anna, Justitia, Victor, Raphael 22, Crocodil, Jonas 8, Leopard, Markat, Eenhjørning, Penitens, Jupiter, Trost, Røde Løffue 6, Forlaaren Son, Kiedsk, Markat (Makrel?).* They left Copenhagen May 30th (Graah. 94).

† *Argo, Argoroes, Norske Drage, Stjern, Lybskemand, Heiringnes, Lindorm, Byss, Turteldue, Fransk Skib, Spur, and Grønlandske Kat.*

‡ Ulfeld detached Daa with twelve ships on August 17th to convoy the homeward-bound Dutch ships. With the rest of the fleet he reached Copenhagen on September 6th, and Daa presumably soon followed (Graah. 95).

of his present position in Russia, consented to an armistice. Under these circumstances the Swedish army in Esthonia carried everything before it, but the war with Denmark prevented full advantage being taken of this success.

Before proceeding to deal with the "Kalmar War" it will be necessary to give some short account of the development and activity of the Danish fleet during its forty years of peace. In 1572, two years after the conclusion of the Peace of Stettin, King Frederik II. had at his marriage a fleet of no less than thirty-nine warships* at Copenhagen exclusive of auxiliary vessels, besides a few others at sea on various duties, but by 1596, when Christian IV. took up the government, the fleet had dwindled to nineteen ships and three galleys.† In the interval the fleet had had but little to do. In 1587 thirteen ships were sent into the North Sea to prevent the English from trading in Iceland, Lapland, and other northern countries. Next year three ships‡ were sent to the Belt and others to Norway and Lapland. In 1589 a fleet of fourteen large ships and some small craft was equipped to take to Scotland Princess Anna, elder sister of the new King of Denmark, Christian IV., after her marriage by proxy to James VI. of Scotland; but bad weather prevented this, and it was not until next year that the fleet sailed for Scotland, escorting not only the Queen but also James himself, who had come to meet his bride and had spent the winter in Denmark. Nine ships§ took Christian IV. to Christiania in 1591, and in 1595 and 1596 a few ships cruised in the North Sea and Baltic for the protection of trade.

After King Christian IV. took over the actual government in person the fleet was better looked after. New ships were built and old ones condemned, so that though the Danish fleet at the outbreak of war in 1611 consisted of over thirty ships, only six of these are found in the list of 1596. At the same time some important expeditions took place. In 1597 the King sailed to Bornholm, Gothland, and Ösel, his islands

* *Fortuna, Jeger, Morian, Svenske Jomfru, Krabatt, Leopard, Løffue, Hercules, Tvende Achilles, Jonathan, Bjørn, Gabriel, Flyende Geist, Engelske Gabriel, Elefant, Grib, Pelican, Lange Hercules, Danske Hane, Jason, Renholt, Nachtergal, Struätz, Seale, Danske Seale, Rostocher David, Store Hjort, Forgyldte Maage, Meermand, Sancte Peder, Isack, Vilde Mand, Fyerblase, Bulle, Forlorne Son, Rose, Danske Jomfru, Meer-Frue, Flaske.*

† *Fortuna 80; Prindse-Bark 64; Samson 62; Josaphat 52; Josua 48; Drage 40; Gedion 30; Raphael 22; Bark 18; Due 18; Løve 16; Hector 14; Gabriell 18; Michel 12; Jonas 8; Grønlandske Griff 6; Røde Løve 6; Christopher 6; and three galleys: David, Solomon, and Jacob, with 30 guns together (Garde Eft. i. 75).*

‡ *Raphael, Michael, Gabriell.*

§ *Josaphat, Gabriell, Rose; David, Jacob, Solomon, galleys; Due, Raphael, Fulk von Bergen (Garde Eft. i. 73).*

in the Baltic, and in 1599 he took a fleet of twelve ships* to the north of Norway. Five of these then cruised in the North Sea under Erik Urne,† while the King himself took the rest round the North Cape as far as Kola. During the following years three expeditions were sent to Greenland, and in 1606 Christian IV. visited England with the *Victor*, *Argo*, *Gideon*, *Raphael*, *Tre Kroner*, *Penitens*, and *Markat*.‡ In 1608 several ships were sent into the Baltic to assert the "honour of the flag" over the Hanseatic ships which had begun to call themselves the Mecklenburg Fleet, and in 1609, as has been seen, it became necessary to commission a large fleet to protect merchantmen from the Swedes.

* According to Graah (89) the fleet was composed of the following eight ships:—*Josaphat*, *Gideon*, *S. Michael*, *Raphael*, *Victor*, *Due*, *Papegøye*, and *Raabuk*. He, however, puts the journey in 1595.

† Urne's flagship the *Lilie* was lost.

‡ On his return he was fired on by an English ship in the Thames and forced to strike his flag.

SECTION III.

THE KALMAR WAR, THE RUSSO-SWEDISH WARS, THE WARS OF THE VASA SUCCESSION, AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR,

1611-1643.

The second war between Sweden and Denmark was definitely begun by the declaration of war issued by King Christian IV. of Denmark in April, 1611. The old question of the "Three Crowns" had again come to the fore; Karl IX. had assumed the title of "King of Lapland," and was endeavouring to push forward the Swedish boundary in the north; while the assistance given by the Danes to Riga was a fair ground of complaint for Sweden. Still, it was certainly Christian IV. who was responsible for the war. Coming to the throne of Denmark and Norway in 1588 at the age of eleven, he had taken up the active work of government in 1596. Young, warlike, and energetic, he was only waiting until sufficient excuse could be found to induce the Danish people to agree to a war with Sweden. In the meantime, all the necessary preparations were carried out. A new fortress was built at Christianopol in Blekinge, thirty miles south of the Swedish arsenal of Kalmar, others in Norway, Skåne, and Halland were strengthened, the armament and equipment of the fleet were improved, alliances were made with the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, and finally the Dutch were persuaded to agree to an increase in the Sound dues for as long as the war should last.

Directly after declaring war Christian IV. assumed the offensive. He divided his army in Skåne into two parts, marched in person on Kalmar with the one, and sent the other under Behested against Elfsborg and the new Swedish town of Göteborg or Gothenburg.

The fleet was divided in the same way; five ships were sent under Erik Urne to join the two* already off Kalmar, seven under Jorgen Daaf supported the attack on Gothenburg and Elfsborg, while Ulfeld, with the main fleet of twenty-four ships, was told off to look after the Swedish fleet. At Kalmar the Danish plans were successful enough. Urne arrived in Kalmar Sound on May 3rd and anchored off Stensö, a peninsula

* *Markat* and *Penitens*.

† *Häringsnesse*, *Sorte Hundt*, *Makrel*, *Røde Løffue*, *Turteldue*, *Forlohren Son*, *Katt* (8). Reg. xv. 328).

south of the harbour, while nine small armed vessels under Nielsen took up a corresponding position to the north at Kvarnholmen. The Swedes had in all thirteen ships* at Kalmar, but these were all small, since the larger vessels had been sent to Elfsnabben. In conjunction with the attack by land, the Danish ships bombarded, and on May 16th and 17th they damaged two of the Swedes, the *Scepter* and *Obekante*. A fire-ship attack on the 19th was frustrated by the vigilance of the Swedes, but a further bombardment on the 25th did so much damage that the Swedish commander decided to destroy his ships. On May 27th the town was taken by the Danes and the garrison forced to retire to the Castle. It now became necessary for the Swedes to relieve this fortress either by land or sea, but there were many delays and difficulties. King Karl IX. arrived near Kalmar with an army in June, but the Swedish fleet was still unready. Ten Danish ships under Herlof Daa had been at sea north of Öland in May, and on June 25th Lindenov, who had been detached from the main fleet under Ulfeld, arrived in Kalmar Sound and joined Urne, bringing with him the five ships *Victor*, *Josaphat*, *Argorosa*, *Krokodil*, and *Stjern*.

Meanwhile the Swedes were slowly getting ready. At the end of May five ships left Nyköping for Elfsnabben to await the fleet from Stockholm, and a little later the so-called "Little Fleet" of galleys and armed boats began to work south from Stockholm towards Kalmar Sound. Finally, Bjelkenstjerna got to sea from Stockholm with the six ships *Tre Kronor* 38, *Samson* 20, *Concordia* 18, *Mjölkepigä* 18, *Svarta Hund* 18, and *Röda Lejon* 16, and picked up the Nyköping division, consisting of the *Josua* 10, *Drake* 16, *Hollands Engel* 17, *Jägare* 12, and *Leopard* 13. Further reinforcements brought his strength up to seventeen ships, and on July 8th he entered the northern end of Kalmar Sound; here he was joined by the "Little Fleet," which had been repulsed on June 30th by Nielsen's small craft, so that he had now a fleet of twenty-four ships. The Danes had eighteen ships, and were in two divisions. Lindenov was off Stensö and Urne and Nielsen at Kvarnholmen between the Castle and Bjelkenstjerna, so as the wind would not permit Lindenov to bring the bigger ships to them they ran south under fire and joined him at Stensö. Bjelkenstjerna anchored at Kvarnholmen, and his flotilla relieved the Castle and captured the Danish batteries on Grimskär, a small island just opposite the harbour mouth. However, in the morning of July 20th Ulfeld appeared to the north of Bjelkenstjerna with nine large Danish

* *Salvator*, *St. Peter*, *Jonas*, *Smålands Hjort*, *Scepter*, *Hannibal*, *Spegel*, *Orpheus*, *Krannij*, *Lejon*, *Obekante*, *Tigar*, *Lejoninna* (Kalmarkrigen 90).

ships. The Swedish commander at once recalled his four vessels from the Castle and concentrated his fleet at Skäggenäs, about ten miles north of Kalmar and close to the Swedish camp at Ryssby. The same day Lindenov tried to retake Grimskär, but failed, and on the 21st he brought his fleet north between these batteries and the Castle under a heavy fire. The *Stjern* 22 went aground, but was got off safely. That night Bjelkenstjerna also made use of the fresh southerly breeze to escape by cutting his cables and running through Ulfeld's fleet, though the *Mjölkepigä* 18 went aground and was taken, and the Danes also captured two vessels of the flotilla. At the same time the Swedes evacuated Grimskär. On July 24th the Danes took a number of small craft, and the same day Karl IX. retired definitely to his camp at Ryssby.

Bjelkenstjerna had only retreated as far as Jomfru Island, in the northern part of Kalmar Sound, but he was soon ordered to Barösund, half-way between there and Stockholm, to await reinforcements, and on arriving there was superseded by Gottberg, his former second in command. At the same time the "Little Fleet" got to sea again under Nils Engelsman, consisting of the ten ships *Salvator* 8, *Basiliscus*, *Pikale Pinass*, *Pink*, *Jägare* 12, *Nachtergal*, *Ståbi* 8, *Lilia*, *Kather* 10, and *Romulus*. On July 26th Engelsman was at Westervik, and proceeding south from there he met a part of the Danish fleet in the evening of the 30th. He took the *Stjern* 22, nearly did the same to Ulfeld's flagship the *Argo*, and got away safely with his prize. Gottberg was ordered to sail southwards, pick up two divisions of small craft, and attack the Danish fleet, but he was too late to save Kalmar Castle, which surrendered on August 3rd.* The Danes had, however, received a severe blow in the destruction of Christianopol. Gustaf Adolf, the Swedish Crown Prince, who was later to become the most famous general in Europe, had taken it by storm during the night of July 25th-26th and burnt the fortress and town together with all the stores for the Danish army. On the other hand, Christian IV. captured the whole of Öland, the island opposite Kalmar, but after repeated fruitless attacks on the Swedish position at Ryssby he decided, on the appearance of sickness in the fleet, to return home, leaving a strong garrison in Kalmar, and accordingly on September 11th he sailed for Copenhagen with the fleet. In the meantime the Swedish naval forces were disposed as follows. At Mönsterås, twenty-five miles north of Kalmar, was Cordel with some rowing vessels, at Westervik was Engelsman with the "Little Fleet," while Gottberg with the main fleet was at Elfsnabben. These

* The Danes took four or five small craft, including the *Summa Summarum* 6 (Kalmarkrigen 138).

three detachments were ordered to join, but Engelsman could get no support from Cordel, and in his turn gave little help to Gottberg, who appeared in Kalmar Sound at the end of August, but at once returned to Elfsnabben after an unsuccessful action in which he lost the *Röda Lejon*. Both Cordel and Engelsman were condemned to death, but eventually pardoned. Still, in spite of the mistakes of the Swedes, the "Little Fleet," now under Kyle, was quite enough on the withdrawal of the Danish ships to cover a landing in Öland under Gustaf Adolf. Ulfeld returned to Kalmar Sound with the Danish Fleet, but it was too late; the island was easily retaken by the Swedes.*

Up to now little had been accomplished in the western part of the theatre of war. Sehested had to send reinforcements to the King's army and had not been able to accomplish anything on land, while Daa had done little more than keep up a blockade of the Göta River. The Swedes in Elfsborg had six ships, the *Hektor*, *Krabbe*, *Blå Orm*, *Lampret*, *Fransiskus*, and a Scottish ship bought and called *Skotska Lejon*. Karl IX. sent repeated orders to these ships to put to sea and engage the enemy, but no attempt was made to do so. After the concentration of the Danish forces in Kalmar Sound in July Lindenov was sent with three ships† to take over the command in the Kattegat, but was eventually recalled. At last early in November the *Victor* again joined Daa with orders to attack, and on December 12th he carried out an unsuccessful night attack with nine armed boats. The *Hektor* and *Blå Orm* were captured and set on fire, but the Danes had to retreat with a loss of eighteen men and the Swedes managed to save the ships.‡

Meanwhile, on October 30th, King Karl IX. died at Nyköping. After a fruitless challenge to Christian IV. to meet him in single combat, he had abandoned his position at Ryssby and was on his way to Stockholm when taken ill. He was succeeded by his son Gustaf Adolf, and the new King, who had already shown his capacity at Christianopol and in Öland, set to work to try and recover some of the losses of the previous campaign.

He met with no success, and in fact suffered further disasters. The Danes were now able to devote more attention to the western coast, and the result was soon apparent. On March 21st Daa left Copenhagen for the Kattegat with seven

* Four of Kyle's ships wintered in Kalmar Sound, but the rest went to Westervik (Kalmarmkrigen 154).

† *Victor*, *S. Michael*, *Krokodil*.

‡ In many accounts it is said that Daa captured the whole fleet, but this is confusing this attack with the fall of Elfsborg next year, when these ships were certainly still there. (See Kalmarmkrigen, 159 and 206. The account is based on a MS. life of Jens Munk, who commanded the attack.)

ships, the *Raphael* 22, *Leopard*, *Makerill*, *Røde Løffue*, *Sorte Hund*, *Turteldue*, and *Hejringnesse*. The Swedish ships could not be got ready in time to put to sea, and on May 24th, 1612, Elfsborg fell. A week later Guldberg and Gothenburg shared the same fate. The six Swedish ships had all been scuttled before the surrender, but the Danes were able to raise them and add them to their fleet.* After this the Danish squadron was divided, the *Sorte Hund*, *Turteldue*, and *Makrel* (or *Makerill*) were left at Elfsborg, the *Hektor* (ex-Swedish), *Hejringnesse*, and *Røde Løffue* cruised under Daa in the North Sea, while the *Raphael*, *Leopard*, and a late arrival, the *Victor*, were sent to the Baltic.

Operations here had also begun early. Two Danish ships were sent out at the end of March,† four in April,‡ and four early in May,§ while the main fleet, under Ulfeld in the *Argo*, reached Kalmar on May 21st. It was twenty-one ships strong; but whether this included the ten already mentioned is uncertain. Part of this fleet burnt the town of Söderköping, and eight ships and eight small craft under Lindenov covered yet another successful landing in Öland under Rantzau on May 31st. The same day the three ships from Elfsborg arrived. The Swedes had again found great difficulty in equipping their fleet. Eleven or twelve ships left Stockholm early in June under Captain Klerck. They did a certain amount of damage in Gothland, but, meeting the Danish fleet of twenty-six ships, they retreated to Barösund; three ships ran aground and one of these sank, but may have been refloated later. On June 23rd Klerck was back at Elfsnabben, and joined the new Admiral, Gyllenstjerna, who was there with eight ships.|| On June 27th Ulfeld left Kalmar Sound, and on July 1st he was off Danzig. He then proceeded towards Stockholm, but was forced home by sickness, and reached Copenhagen on July 30th with twenty-one ships. In the meantime the Swedish fleet of eighteen ships had been at sea for a few days from July 18th, but had been forced back by heavy weather. At the beginning of August Gyllenstjerna got to sea again, but

* They were ready for sea as follows:—*Hektor*, June 4th; *Krabbe* and *Blå Orm*, June 7th; *Lampret*, June 26th; *Jonas* and *Fransiskus* considerably later (Kalmarmkrigen 206).

† *Penitens*, *St. Michael* 12.

‡ *Eskke David*, *Jupiter*, *Markatt* 16, *St. Peder* (ex-Swedish).

§ *Makkepiige*, *Lindorm*, *S. Anna*, *Justitia* (Kalmarmkrigen 198/9, etc.).

|| There is a good deal of uncertainty about this action. It is not mentioned by Zettersten or in Kalmarmkrigen. Zettersten says they put to sea with eleven ships early in June, went to Gothland, and were back by June 23rd. Garde says they sailed June 18th and were attacked at once. Tornquist says Klerck sailed with twelve ships, so one may have been lost before he joined Gyllenstjerna with eleven.

even then, in the absence of the Danish fleet, he accomplished nothing of any real value. He proceeded to Danzig, took three privateers, and convoyed a few merchantmen to Elfsnabben, where he anchored on August 16th, but did nothing that could influence the issue of the war in any way.

Meanwhile King Christian's great plan for the operations on land had proved unsuccessful. The idea had been that he should advance in person from Elfsborg and Rantzau from Kalmar until they met at Jönköping on the southern end of Lake Vättern, a place which was considered to be the strategic centre of Southern Sweden. However, the constant guerilla tactics of the Swedish peasants, coupled with the impossibility of obtaining supplies, forced both armies to turn back short of the goal, and the great scheme came to nothing. At once Christian hastened to Copenhagen, resolving to attack Stockholm directly from the sea, and on August 13th he put to sea in command of a fleet of thirty-six ships. He looked for the Swedish fleet on the Pomeranian coast, but, failing to find it, he proceeded to Kalmar, embarked his army, and left again on the 21st. He then went to Danzig, returned to Öland, and finally reached the Stockholm skärgård on July 31st. The Swedish fleet, now twenty-one ships strong, retreated, and the Danes advanced, both sides towing their ships with boats. The Danes destroyed a few small craft and took a galley, but the enemy managed to take up a strong position under the guns of the fortress Vaxholm. Christian IV. bombarded, landed guns on the islands, and sent in a challenge to the Swedes, but all in vain, and on September 4th he had to confess himself powerless and withdraw. As the Danish fleet retired the Swedes prepared a fireship attack, but on the 8th the Danes attacked in boats and captured three fireships with the loss of only one boat. On September 10th the Danish King left the skärgård on his way home.

The greater part of the Danish fleet went back to Copenhagen, but Kruse, captain of the *Argorosa*, was transferred to the *Raphael*, and ordered to remain at sea with nine of the smaller ships.* Off Gothland he heard that Lübeck was about to send no less than twenty-four ships to Sweden with supplies. At once he sailed for Travemünde, and on arriving there sent in a ship to investigate. The Lübeckers opened fire and Kruse attacked, but the Lübeckers ran their ships ashore, and the Danes could not get in close enough to do any damage. Kruse sailed for Rügen, but met Lindenov in the *Victor*, who took the fleet back to Travemünde, and concluded an agreement

* Three of these besides the *Raphael* were the *S. Peder*, *David*, and *Lindorm* (Kalmarkrigen 242/3).

with Lübeck by which no ships were to sail for Sweden that year. Soon after this the *Lindorm* was lost off Dräger, and Lindenov went ashore and died; but Kruse stayed at sea all October between Öland and Gothland. In October eleven Swedish ships under Klerck were sent to convoy merchantmen to Danzig, but they met no enemy, and no further hostilities occurred. At the end of November peace negotiations began through the mediation of King James I. of England, and on January 20th, 1613, a definite treaty was signed at Knäred.

Sweden gave up all claims on Lapland and on the fortress of Housenburg in the island of Ösel, another point at issue. Kalmar and Öland were given back, and Sweden was further to buy back Elfsborg and Gothenburg within six years for 2,000,000 riksdalers, but was to evacuate Jemtland and Harjedalen, which had been taken from Norway by Scottish mercenaries. Both Kings were to continue the use of the "Three Crowns" in their arms. As at the Peace of Stettin, Swedish ships were granted freedom from the Sound Dues.

As has been said above, the war between Sweden and Russia went in general in favour of the former country. Under the leadership of Jakob de la Gardie the Swedes occupied the whole of Ingria from Narva to Nöteborg on Lake Ladoga, and even took Novgorod itself, though Pskov, at the southern end of Lake Peipus, some 100 miles south of Narva, held out against all their efforts. For the moment Novgorod was forced to submission, and chose as Tsar Karl Filip, brother of Gustaf Adolf; but in 1612 came the great Russian national revival. The Poles were driven from Moscow, Michail Romanov was chosen Tsar in place of Vladislav, and this example naturally spread to the northern towns of Russia as well. In June, 1613, Karl Filip left Stockholm for Viborg, on his way to Novgorod, only to find himself too late. Novgorod, though still occupied by the Swedes, had refused to recognise any Tsar save Michail; the Russian forces were advancing towards Lake Ladoga, and there was nothing for Karl Filip to do but return to Stockholm.

The war naturally presented little of naval interest. Detachments of the Swedish fleet conveyed men and supplies to Narva and other ports, and a flotilla on Lake Ladoga in 1615 and 1616 helped to check the Russian designs on Finland; but the fleet was only employed as a whole in 1615. In that year hostilities were expected again from Poland, and it was thought that Sigismund might take advantage of the absence of Gustaf Adolf and his forces to make a descent in Sweden. Gyllenstjerna, therefore, after transporting the King and his army to Narva, was sent with a fleet of twenty-seven ships to Danzig to investigate the situation; but arriving there in September

he found no preparations for an expedition, and accordingly went for the winter to Åbo, in Finland.

At last Gustaf Adolf agreed to make terms with Russia. Pskov still held out, though the Russian invasion of Ingria had been checked, and Sweden, no longer sure of the neutrality of Poland, accepted the mediation of the Dutch. On February 27th, 1617, the Treaty of Stolbova was concluded; by it Sweden gave up Novgorod, and recognised Michail Romanov as Tsar, but acquired substantial territorial gains. The whole of the coast of the Gulf of Finland became Swedish; Northern Ingria extended the Swedish possessions from Esthonia to Lake Ladoga, and the territory of Kexholm did the same for Finland, while the two fortresses of Noteborg and Kexholm on the lake secured the new frontier. Besides this Russia paid an indemnity of 20,000 roubles, and abandoned all claims on Esthonia and Livonia.

As soon as this war was over the Swedish King turned on Poland again. The armistice of 1611 had expired, and, after sending a few cruisers to Danzig and other Polish ports to reconnoitre, he mobilised a fleet of eleven ships and embarked his army. On July 22nd, 1617, the troops under Nils Stjernsköld landed at the mouth of the Düna, and at once captured Dünamünde. A further armistice for two years was concluded in 1618.

Now, however, began a struggle which soon involved the whole of Europe. In 1618 the Protestant inhabitants of Bohemia rebelled against the Emperor, and chose Frederick, the Elector Palatine, as their King. From this at once sprang up a contest between the Protestants of Germany on the one hand, and Austria and Spain on the other. At first the Catholics had the better of it. In November, 1620, the battle of Prague overthrew the new King of Bohemia, drove him back to his previous territory of the Palatinate, and delivered the Bohemians to the cruelties of Ferdinand II. Still, the Protestants kept up the unequal struggle, and in 1621 the renewal of hostilities between Spain and the Dutch did something to relieve them.

The same year, on the expiration of the truce the war between Sweden and Poland was resumed. Gustaf Adolf collected an immense fleet of twenty-four large warships, twenty-eight small craft, and 106 transports,* and put to sea with an

* Tornquist gives the following list of the fleet (i. 88/9). Guns from Backstrom Ap. 3. (List for 1621.):—*Scepter* 22; *Andromeda* 32; *Harbo Lejon* 32; *Svärd* 32; *Rikskrona* 32; *Riksnickel* 22; *Wasa* 32; *Perseus* 28; *Tre Kronor* 28; *Ostgöta Lejon* 18; *Svarthund*, 22; *Lilla Krona* —; *Lilla Nyckel* 22; *Hannibal* 22; *Samson* 22; *Orpheus* 28; *Oranienbom* 28; *Jupiter* 22; *Mars* 18; *Drake* 14; *Elefant* 30; *Merkurius* 18; *Jägare* —; *Salvator* —; *Engel* 18; *Blomma* 28; *Sidnäbb* —. Nine smaller ships.

army of 20,000 men on July 24th. Scattered by heavy weather, the fleet reassembled at Pernau, and sailing thence landed the troops at the mouth of the Düna on August 4th. After a month's siege Riga surrendered, and was followed shortly by Mittau, thirty miles to the south-west. The fleet sailed for home in October. Little of interest took place in 1622, but in November another truce was arranged. This was at first only to last till May, 1623, and therefore the Swedish fleet, twenty-one ships strong, was sent to Danzig in June to see what the Poles intended, and to prevent an expected invasion of Sweden. No preparations were found, the armistice was extended to June, 1625, and the fleet returned to Stockholm.

Meanwhile, the Protestant Princes of Northern Germany had been looking round for help. Finally their choice fell on Christian IV. of Denmark, whom they elected Director of the Lower Saxon Circle. This was in 1625, and there were therefore for the next few years two wars on the shores of the Baltic, contemporaneous but distinct: the war between Sweden and Poland and that between Denmark and the Empire. These are best discussed separately, and will be taken in the order in which they have been mentioned.

Gustaf Adolf landed with an army at Dünamünde on the last day of June, 1625, and leaving the fleet there marched inland to strengthen his hold on Livonia. In September the fleet on its way home lost no less than ten ships on Domesnäs, in the Gulf of Riga.* To make up for this the ships at Elfsborg were ordered to Stockholm early in 1626. This year the Swedish objective was Polish Prussia; 14,000 men were embarked, and on June 28th the fleet of thirty-two ships, besides galleys and other small craft, reached Pillau at the entrance to the Frisches Haff, some sixty miles east of Danzig. The greater part of the fleet (twenty-four ships) was now sent to blockade Danzig, but eight ships and all the galleys and transports remained at or near Pillau. The King took his army across the Frisches Haff to Braunberg, which he captured on June 30th. Elbing and Marienburg soon followed, and finally Danzig itself was besieged, while the fleet took Putzig, to the north, in July. During August the seven largest and eight other vessels of the Danzig fleet were sent home, but two were lost on the way.† In October they were followed by the eight ships remaining. Of the ships at Pillau three were lost,‡ two sailed for Stockholm with the King on November 1st, and the

* *Engel* 18; *Hannibal* 22; *Mars* 18; *Orpheus* 28; *Harbo Lejon* 32; *Maria* —; *Hektor* —; *Perseus* 28; *Gustavus* —; *Elefant* 30 (Zettersten i. 486). The fleet was originally about twenty-five ships strong.
† *Ostgöta Lejon* 18; *Tre Kronor* 28.
‡ *Stjerns* 20; *Salvator* —; *Oranienbom* 28.

remaining four wintered at Pillau.* In 1627 the Swedish dispositions were very similar. Gustaf Adolf reached Pillau on May 8th with 6,000 men. Gyllenhjelm was sent to blockade Danzig with fifteen ships; three others were sent to join him, but two of his largest vessels were sent home, and at the end of May his force was reduced to ten or eleven ships. In August he was sent home with two large ships and Fleming put in command. Sickness broke out, and only six small craft were left off Danzig. On November 18th these were attacked by ten Polish ships. Stjernskjöld, the Swedish commander, was killed, and his ship, the *Tiger*, captured. The *Sol* was blown up by her own captain, and the four remaining ships arrived at Elfsnabben badly damaged.

Next year Gustaf Adolf took the first steps towards joining in the Thirty Years' War. Denmark had been involved since 1625, and though beaten in Holstein Christian IV. was able to send help by sea to Stralsund, one of the Hanse towns besieged by Wallenstein. The King of Sweden decided to assist. He had already arranged for war with the Empire, and Stralsund would, he thought, form an excellent base of operations. Stationing the usual fleet off Danzig, he accordingly sent Klas Fleming with eight ships to take troops to Stralsund. Wallenstein pressed the siege hard, but the town, resting on undisturbed lines of communication by sea, held out easily, and the siege was eventually abandoned.†

Sweden was now on the point of exchanging Poland for the Empire as enemy. The assistance given to Stralsund had made a rupture almost inevitable, and in 1629 further complications ensued. A plan had been formed by Wallenstein of taking all the maritime cities on the Baltic and, aided by Spain, of establishing the Empire as supreme Naval Power in those waters. This was, of course, an open threat to both Denmark and Sweden. The former, crushed by four years of unsuccessful war on land was compelled at this moment to come to terms, but Sweden, in the fulness of success, was in no mood to acquiesce. Rynning was given nine ships and sent to cruise off Wismar, where the first fruits of Wallenstein's scheme had been collected in the shape of eleven warships of one kind and another. Though ordered to retire to Kalmar he held his ground, and on September 16th, when the Imperial ships put to sea, he defeated them and drove them back to harbour. Now he returned to Kalmar, but was soon sent back

* One small vessel had been transferred from the Danzig fleet.

† Three large Swedish ships were lost this year. The *Vasa* 32 capsized just outside Elfsnabben on August 10th; the *Kristina* 36 was wrecked in Putzig Bay on September 3rd; and the *Riksnjckel* 22 was wrecked off Landsort on September 6th (Zettersten i. 492/3).

to his station. The Germans had, however, had enough; they laid up their ships and Rynning was recalled, though five Swedish ships were left in Stralsund for the winter.

Meanwhile negotiations had been going on between Sweden and Poland. Largely owing to the efforts of Richelieu, who wanted Sweden's help, Sigismund agreed to conclude a truce for six years. This agreement was signed at Altmark on September 20th, 1629, and by it Sweden gained Livonia and the coast of East Prussia with the exception of Danzig. This left Gustaf Adolf free to plunge into the Thirty Years' War, but before proceeding further the unsuccessful effort of Denmark in the same direction needs considering.

Christian IV., King of Denmark, being also Duke of Holstein, was a member of the Lower Saxon Circle, a confederacy of small Protestant territories in the north-west corner of Germany. He was further employed in pushing the claims of his second son Frederik to various bishoprics in this district, in direct opposition to the nominees of the Emperor. As early as 1623 the Circle had decided to mobilise in self-defence, but as yet it had not actually joined in the war.

Finally, in 1625 Christian of Brunswick-Lüneberg resigned the directorship of the Circle, Christian IV. was elected in his place, and it was decided to assume the offensive. Advancing southwards the Danish King established his headquarters at Nieuburg on the Weser, some fifty miles above Bremen, but he found difficulty in keeping up his army, and could get no further. Tilly came against him from the South, and Wallenstein, raising a new army, also moved against this fresh enemy. Little of naval interest occurred this year; the Empire had as yet no fleet, and the Danish navy had therefore little to do. Still, some thirty vessels were commissioned and small squadrons were stationed at various important points. In the middle of April four ships* were sent to the Elbe, where they remained until the end of June. Suffering from sickness, they were then ordered to land their sick and cruise in the North Sea. At the same time two ships† were stationed in the Weser. In September a fresh squadron of five ships‡ was sent to the Elbe, and the fleet in the Weser was also brought up to five ships.§ Both divisions had to send gunners and supplies to the army. Early in the year two ships, the *Trost* and *Markat* had been in the Belt to prevent any communication between Lübeck and the Spanish Netherlands, but these were recalled later to strengthen the squadrons in the North Sea.

* *Norte Rytter, Raphael, Nelleblad, Postillion.*

† *Hummer, Svan.*

‡ *Hektor, Gabriel, Markat, Postillion, Grib.*

§ *Havhest, Hummer, Trost, Nassou, Lampret.*

Next year the fortune of war went decidedly against the Danes. Christian IV. advanced to Wolfenbüttel in Brunswick and sent Mansfield eastwards into Silesia with 10,000 men. This drew off Wallenstein, but Tilly remained, and was reinforced by 8,000 of Wallenstein's troops. Christian of Brunswick moved south into Hesse-Cassel, only to be driven back to Göttingen and besieged there. Christian IV. advanced, but was too late to save Göttingen, and retired when he heard of Tilly's reinforcements. Tilly pursued, and on August 27th, 1626, defeated the Protestants at Lutter, north of Goslar. Christian now withdrew as far as Stade, on the south bank of the Elbe, twenty miles below Hamburg, while Tilly occupied the territory thus left open. As before, the Danish navy had been employed chiefly in scattered squadrons at various strategic points. Two small craft were stationed in the Belt, and the squadrons in the Elbe and Weser were mobilised. These squadrons were, however, soon reduced to provide ships elsewhere. Ulfeld from the Elbe was sent with eight ships, including his four larger vessels and the *Hummer* from the Weser, to cruise off the Norwegian coast, while the ships in the Weser were also recalled, and only two small craft left in those waters. Ulfeld fought a smart action with a fleet of twelve Dunkirk privateers, sank four of them, burnt two, and damaged the rest severely. At the same time a squadron was sent on convoy duty to Iceland, and later in the year Wind was ordered to the Elbe with five ships to capture any Hamburg ships trying to trade with the Spaniards. Ulfeld had previously captured a number of Lübeckers employed in the same business. Wind's fleet returned to Copenhagen for the winter.

The year 1627 was disastrous for Christian IV. on land. Wallenstein, having defeated the Protestant forces in Silesia, was free to join Tilly in an attack on Holstein. Tilly advanced first and entered Lauenburg at the end of May. Wallenstein followed, and at the end of August they moved together into Holstein. Christian left Stade with a small garrison under Morgan and retired to Rendsburg. He could collect but few troops; the Catholic advance continued; and, finally, in October he abandoned the mainland and crossed into Fyen, leaving Holstein and Jylland to be occupied by the Imperial troops. The retreat of the Danish army was, however, covered to some extent by the fleet. Early in 1627 six ships* under Hendrik Wind arrived in the Weser to join the two small craft that had wintered there. A second squadron under Kruse was sent to the Elbe to act in conjunction with a few English and Dutch ships; but at the end of August it was ordered to

* *Svan*, *Hummer*, *Nelleblad*, *Havhest*, *Flensburg*, *Grib*.

the Baltic. Kruse left two small craft in the Eider, and passing into the Baltic established a blockade of the Mecklenburg coast to prevent supplies reaching the Imperial army by sea.* Finally, at the end of the year, when the defeat of the Danish army was complete, a few small craft were sent to the east coast of Jylland and the southern islands as a precaution against any further advance by the Catholics.

The Danish fleet achieved one good result. Lübeck, which with Hamburg had long been friendly to the Catholic side, was at last compelled by the pressure of the blockade to throw in its lot with the Power that held "command of the sea," and could therefore stop or allow trade at will. This was a check to Wallenstein's great plan for establishing the Empire as a maritime State. To do this the help of the Hanseatic towns was essential; but though Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania were in the power of the Imperial forces by the end of 1627 nothing definite was yet arranged.

The Hanse towns referred Wallenstein to the meeting which they were to hold at Lübeck in February, 1628; but when this took place they were careful to decide nothing, but merely adjourned till July. Meanwhile at Stralsund the final blow to Wallenstein's scheme was struck. At the end of 1627 the Duke of Pomerania had agreed to allow Imperial garrisons in his dominions. Arnim proposed to Stralsund that it should pay a large sum as an alternative to supporting a garrison. The city refused. Arnim decided to compel acquiescence, and on May 13th, 1628, the siege began.

In the meantime the Danish fleet had been active. A squadron of eight ships under Pros Mund† was at sea in February; it cruised off the coast of Mecklenburg, and captured or destroyed many small Imperial ships. Six vessels were sent to the Little Belt, and the King himself left Copenhagen in March with the *Hummer*, *Havhest*,‡ and *Nakskov* and about ten transports. Joined by four ships and two galleys from Nakskov in Lolland he attacked Femern, the most southerly of the Danish islands, and had no difficulty in retaking it, together with over eighty vessels which the Catholics had collected to transport an army to Denmark proper. After this he made a successful attack on Eckernförde, fifteen miles north-west of Kiel, but failed in two attempts on Kiel and the coast east of that town. A considerable part of the fleet

* The *Leopard* and *Penitens* were already blockading Travemünde, the port of Lübeck, and Kruse was reinforced later by the *Justitia*, *Victor*, and *Postillion* (B. Top. xxiii. 390).

† *Havhest*, *Sæthund*, and six other small craft, including "*den Kjøbenhavnske Frigutter*."

‡ Detached from Mund's fleet.

was now sent to the North Sea; but several ships remained to keep the Imperial forces from crossing into the Danish islands and to frustrate Wallenstein's plans of sea power. As early as April 20th a "frigate" and two galleys* had been sent to help the town. Kruse brought three ships,† which joined Mund's squadron and kept open communications by sea. In June eight Swedish ships arrived with 600 soldiers, and though Wallenstein arrived at the end of the month and assembled as many as 25,000 men he could make no impression. In the middle of July more troops, both Danish or Swedish, arrived, as well as the Danish fleet under King Christian himself, consisting of six warships and as many as 150 small craft and transports. On July 24th Wallenstein abandoned the siege and withdrew. Christian IV. then tried to assume the offensive once more. He occupied Usedom, a large island between Stralsund and Stettin, and even took Wolgast on the mainland; but Wallenstein returned, and the King had to re-embark his troops. After this failure the Danish fleet returned to its former duty of blockading the German coast, and continued it without incident until winter. Six ships wintered at Nakskov, the rest at Copenhagen.

The fleet had also shown considerable activity in the North Sea during the year. In the early spring Kruse had been sent thither with ten ships, and on March 16th, after the operations in Femern and Holstein, Wind was sent from the Baltic to blockade the Elbe and Weser. Together with English and Dutch ships he tried to relieve Stade. The Allies had thirteen ships in all,‡ but the batteries of the besieging force were too strong, and the attempt failed, though fourteen transports were taken and brought to Glückstadt. On May 7th Morgan was at last compelled to surrender Stade, but only on condition of being allowed to march out with his garrison, and of being free to participate again in the war after a lapse of six months. Krempe north of Glückstadt held out till November, and then surrendered with a free passage for its garrison to Glückstadt; but the latter town, with communications open by sea, could not be reduced, and remained Danish to the end of the war. Kruse had not remained long in the North Sea, but had proceeded to the Baltic at the end of April with the *Victor*, *Hummer*, and *Flensburg*, and in the middle of September

* *Sælhund*, *Ravn*, *Vildsvine*. They were probably part of Mund's force.

† *Victor*, *Hummer*, *Flensburg*.

‡ Nothing certain is known of the composition of this fleet. Two small Danish ships had wintered in the Elbe and two in the Eider. The *Nelleblad*, *Markat*, and several galleys wintered at Glückstadt, 1628/9. Other ships that are known to have been in the North Sea this year are the *Hummer*, *Spes*, *Lindorm*, *Patientia*, *St. Anna*, and several small craft, but these may have belonged to Kruse's squadron (Garde Hist. i. 157/9. Eft. i. 127/8).

Wind was also sent east. He and Kruse were then put in command of two squadrons to act alternately as Commander-in-chief, but they attempted nothing more than the usual blockade.*

At the end of January, 1629, negotiations for peace began at Lübeck. To ensure favourable terms Christian IV. made a final effort. He had, as before, a squadron in the North Sea, and a second under Wind, consisting of nine ships and three galleys,† blockaded Wismar, where seven Polish ships had arrived to form the nucleus of the Imperial navy. The remaining ships were used to cover a landing in Slesvig. Morgan, supported by the ships in the North Sea, landed on the west coast, while the King, with no less than 150 warships and transports, attacked from the east. Ten thousand Danish troops were thrown into Slesvig, the Germans in Jylland were cut off, and Wallenstein had to grant favourable terms. Peace was signed on May 12th, 1629. Jylland, Holstein, and Slesvig were restored to Christian IV., and no indemnity was required, but all the episcopal sees in Germany possessed or claimed by his sons had to be abandoned, and besides this he had to resign his directorship of the Lower Saxon Circle, and engage not to take any further action against the Empire.‡

Hardly had Denmark withdrawn from the Thirty Years War when Sweden took her place as the champion of Protestantism. The assistance given to Stralsund, of course, led to war, and Gustaf Adolf, as usual, attacked instead of waiting to be attacked. After consulting the Riksråd in December, 1628, he proceeded to occupy the island of Rügen, opposite Stralsund, while, as has been said already, a Swedish fleet blockaded Wismar and defeated the Imperial squadron there. As a counter move Wallenstein sent fifteen thousand men to the assistance of Poland, but even with this reinforcement Sigis-

* Some of their ships were as follows:—*Victor*, *Raphael*, *Flensburg*, *Mynd*, *Postillion* (Sj. Reg. xviii. 354/5). The following wintered at Nakskov:—*Hummer*, *Hare*, *Vindhund*, *Flyvende Fisk*, *Grib*, *Trost* (Ibid. 355/6).

† He had the *Hummer*, *Mynd*, *Flyvende Fisk*, *Sælhund*, *Hare*, *Hjort*, and six others.

‡ The following list of the Danish Navy at this period is of interest. It is said to be the list for 1629, but is more probably that of the previous year. It is an autograph list of Christian IV.'s. (Garde. Hist. i. 169/70.):—1, *Argo* (Kruse); 2, *St. Sophia*; 3, *Recompens*; 4, *Patientia*; 5, *Rude Love*; 6, *St. Anna*; 7, *Justitia*; 8, *Raphael*. The Elbe:—9, *Lindorm* (Wind); 10, *Lutnant*; 11, *Spes*; 12, *Gabriel*; 13, *Svan*; 14, *Nelleblad*; 15, *Markat*. Norway:—16, *Hector*; 17, *Fides*; 18, *Trost*. Iceland:—19, *Victor*, 20, *Flensburg*; 21, *Hæhest*; 22, *Charittas*. Coast of Holstein:—23, *Nassau*; 24, *Sælhund*; 25, *Fisk*; 26, *Hare*; 27, *Mynd* (galley); 28, *Oslo* (galley); 29, *Marstrand* (galley). Middlefart and Coast of Jylland:—30, *Hummer*; 31, *Postillion*; 32, galley; 33, galley; 34, the Norwegian galley; 35, the galley at Samsö; 36, *Skildpad*. The twenty-eight which are at sea, or shortly to be so, are noted separately. (This separate list has not been found.)

mund could not stand against Sweden, and had to agree to the truce for six years, signed at Altmark in September, 1629. Gustaf Adolf now returned to Stockholm, where he held another meeting of the Riksdag and the Råd and decided finally on the invasion of Germany. Attempts were made by Christian IV. to bring about a settlement by a congress held at Danzig, but nothing came of it.

The Swedish fleet was collected at Elfsnabben. It consisted of twenty-seven warships and thirteen merchantmen under Gyllenhjelm, and had on board 13,000 soldiers. Putting to sea on June 17th, 1630, it touched at Öland, and was off Rügen on the 24th. Two days later the landing began at the northern end of the island of Usedom, and by the 29th it was completed. There is no need to follow the fortunes of Gustaf Adolf in any detail. For two years he carried everything before him; he conquered the whole of Northern Germany, and penetrated as far south as Munich. However, Wallenstein, again in command of the Imperial troops, turned on Saxony and occupied Leipzig; this forced the Swedish King to come to the help of his allies, and on November 16th, 1632, was fought the great battle of Lutzen. Here, though the battle went in favour of the Swedes, the great leader lost his life. Only thirty-eight years old, his death was a great loss to Sweden, and but for the ability of his Chancellor, Axel Oxenstjerna, it would have been greater. He was succeeded by his daughter Kristina, but as she was a child of six the operations in Germany and the policy of Sweden were directed, practically speaking, by Oxenstjerna alone for some years.

Meanwhile, the Swedish successes on land had had some slight parallel at sea. During 1630 little had occurred, the Swedish fleet had blockaded the German coast, but save for some small actions off Wismar, in which ships from Stralsund drove back the Imperial vessels into harbour, nothing of importance took place. In 1631, however, no less than fourteen vessels of the new Imperial navy were captured at the fall of Wismar. These were the following:—*Salvator* 26, *Maria Rekompens* 26, *Hans von Wissmar* 18, *Wissmars Meerman* 18, *St. Mikael* 18, *Tiger* 12,* *Meerweib* 12, *Delfin* 12, *St. Jakob* 10, *Forlångare* 10, *Hvita Hund* 8, *Muskijl* —, *Fenix* 7, *Noahs Ark* 6.

For a few years the Swedish navy had little to do, but in 1634, in view of the fact that the truce with Poland was about to expire it was thought as well to send a fleet to Danzig. Admiral Erik Rynning therefore took a large fleet thither and remained off the harbour for the greater part of the summer.

This move was followed next year by the despatch of an

* This was probably the *Tiger*, captured from the Swedes at Danzig in 1627. Danish accounts state that seven Polish ships came to Wismar in 1628 or 1629.

army of 20,000 men, transported by a fleet of twenty-nine ships. The army landed at Pillau at the end of June and Rynning then took the fleet to Danzig with orders to attack if the town proved hostile, but to allow trade to pass unhindered if Danzig remained neutral. The arrival of this new army hastened the negotiations which had been under way for some time. The Swedes on their side were anxious to come to terms so as to be able to act more freely in Germany, and on September 2nd, 1635, a peace for twenty-six years was concluded at Stuhmsdorf. Sweden kept Esthonia and Livonia, but gave up West Prussia, a loss not only in territory, but in the lucrative customs dues attaching thereto. Rynning, whose fleet had been suffering severely from sickness, was ordered home, and reached Stockholm a fortnight after the conclusion of peace. From this time until the outbreak of war with Denmark in 1643 the only activity of the Swedish fleet lay in the transport of troops to Germany, where, from 1635 onwards Sweden was supported by France.

In 1638 these troop-transporting operations were on a somewhat large scale. Vice-Admiral Stewart was sent with eleven small ships to Helsingfors, while Rynning took charge of the main fleet which left Dalarö eleven ships strong in the middle of June. Both squadrons proceeded to Usedom, where they disembarked their troops, and then forming a single fleet were back at Stockholm at the end of July.

Next year Stewart took fifteen ships to Pomeranian waters, and in 1641 six small vessels acted as transports from Finland, while Rynning, who left Stockholm in July, had a fleet of twelve large ships.

The Danish navy, on the other hand, had found plenty to do, though Denmark was no longer involved in the great struggle. The first difficulty came with Hamburg. Christian IV. claimed to be master of the Elbe, and from his fortress of Glückstadt levied toll on passing ships. Naturally, this was unacceptable to Hamburg, and after trying diplomacy the citizens of the great Hanseatic town resorted to force. They fitted out a fleet, attacked Glückstadt, captured four small Danish warships, and established a blockade of the fortress by land and water. At once Christian mobilised in his turn, and on August 6th, 1630, he left Copenhagen at the head of the following powerful fleet:—

First Squadron.—*St. Sophia*, *Spes*, *Hummer*, *Store Lykkepot*, *Trost*, *Crocodil*, 1 galley, 1 fireship, 2 small craft.

Second Squadron.—*Oldenborg*, *Raphael*, *Gabriel*, *Svan*, *Flyvende Fisk*, 2 galleys, 1 fireship, 2 small craft.

Third Squadron.—*Lindorm*, *Nelleblad*, *Havhest*, *Mynd*, *Grib*, 1 galley, 1 fireship, 2 small craft.

Fourth Squadron.—*Justitia*, *Victor*, *Markat*, *Hare*, *Lille Lykkepot*, *Flyvende Hjort*, 1 galley, 1 fireship, 2 small craft.

His flagship, the *St. Sophia*, was damaged in a gale, and had to be sent back to Copenhagen, but he shifted his flag to the *Hummer*, collected his fleet at Flekkerø, took several vessels from Norway and the North Sea under his command, and reached the Elbe on September 4th with forty-two sail in all. The fleet of Hamburg consisted of twenty-two warships, two fireships, and some twenty merchantmen.

After an action of five hours on the first day both fleets anchored at extreme range, but during the next three days the Hamburgers gradually retreated, still fighting, until they reached a point above Stade where the deeper-draught Danish ships could not reach them. Hamburg now fell back once more on diplomacy. The payment of toll was accepted as a necessary evil, but Christian's claim to the sovereignty of the Elbe was repudiated. However, the negotiations were kept going on one pretext and another until 1643, when Christian IV., seeing that further delay was useless, resolved to use force again. He therefore sent a fleet of thirty ships to the Elbe and blockaded Hamburg until the town was at last brought to submission, and besides acknowledging his rights of sovereignty over the Elbe, agreed to pay a sum of 280,000 dollars as indemnity.

These were the only real hostilities in which the Danish fleet was engaged during this period, but in view of the war still raging in Germany a number of ships had been kept in commission in the Baltic and North Sea. This was to some extent necessitated by Christian's claim to the sovereignty of the Baltic, which he tried to uphold by levying toll on all merchantmen passing Rügen. This claim naturally led to difficulties, and was only maintained by a considerable show of force. Poland, in particular, attempted to dispute it, and also tried to levy tolls in the Baltic, but Danish warships were sent on convoy duty, and the capture of two Polish warships brought about the recognition of Denmark's claims in exchange for their return. Another source of trouble lay in the Sound dues, since their increase imposed a very heavy burden on all commerce entering or leaving the Baltic, and in 1640 a considerable mobilisation was necessary to meet a threatened attempt on the part of the United Provinces to convoy their merchantmen through the Sound without paying toll, but for the moment nothing came of the idea.

SECTION IV.

THE WAR BETWEEN SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

1643-1645.

The second of the five seventeenth-century wars between Sweden and Denmark began in 1643. It was more or less evident that there was not room for both countries, and that one or other must go to the wall to some extent, and there was therefore little need for excuses, though in the troubled state of Germany these were easy enough to find. Orders to attack Denmark were sent to Torstensson, the Swedish commander-in-chief in Germany, at the end of May, 1643, but they did not reach him till September, and as he was then in Moravia he was for the moment unable to put them into effect. However, on December 12th, 1643, he crossed the border into Holstein, received the submission of the Duke of Gottorp, and proceeded into Slesvig and Jylland. Two months later another Swedish army entered Skåne and occupied that province with the exception of the town of Malmö, which held out bravely.

The war now became naval in character. Jylland and the greater part of Skåne were in Swedish hands, but as long as the Danish fleet was unbeaten the Swedes could advance no further. Besides this, the position of the Swedish army in Germany would become by no means easy if it were severed from all communication with Sweden. As a matter of fact, the Swedish navy was at this time no match for the Danish, either in numbers or efficiency. Recognising this fact, a Dutch merchant, Louis de Geer, resident in Sweden, went to Amsterdam to charter and equip ships for the Swedish cause, his object being, of course, the removal of the Danish Sound dues. Ships and men were obtained easily enough and a fleet of over thirty ships was equipped.*

Early in April, 1644, the first part of the fleet, comprising eighteen ships under Gierdtson, the second in command, left the Vlie for the Elbe. On April 15th Gierdtson was off Cuxhaven at the mouth of the river, and next day he moved up stream, bombarding Brunsbüttel on the way. He stopped off Freiburg, some ten miles below Glückstadt, carried on a desultory action with various Danish batteries, and levied toll

* Eleven of these which were in the Vlie on April 11th were armed as follows:—1 of 30, 1 of 23, 1 unknown, 6 of 20, 2 fireships of 6 each (Kernkamp 68 n.).

on passing ships; but the Swedish land forces were not ready to support him, and on the 21st he dropped down the river again under a heavy fire from Brunsbüttel and anchored off Cuxhaven. Northerly gales kept him there for a few days, but at the beginning of May he reached the island of Sylt, on the Holstein coast, and anchored in List Deep and the King's Haven just inside the northern end of the island. Here he was joined on May 7th by fifteen ships under Maarten Thijsen, commander of the squadron, which was thus raised to a strength of thirty-three ships. Thijsen at once went to consult the Swedish general Torstensson, and arranged to take his fleet to the east of Holstein to cover a landing in Fyen. Torstensson sent him seven hundred soldiers, and on May 12th all was ready for sailing.

In the meantime the Danes had been active in commissioning their fleet. On April 1st King Christian IV. had left Copenhagen with ten ships to blockade Gothenburg. These were the following:—*Trefoldighed* 48, *Sorte Rytter* 24, *Postillion* 14, *Tre Løver* 46, *Pelican* 36, "*Fregat*" (*Hollandske Fregat* ?) 12, *Lindorm* 38, *Graa Ulv* 30, *Norske Love* 30, *Neptunus* 28.* Off Elfsborg on the 5th he was joined by the *Phenix* 20 and *Højenhald* 8, and here he remained, until May 1st; when hearing of Thijsen's approach he sailed to meet him. From May 1st to 5th the Danish fleet was off Vinga, outside Gothenburg, but on the 8th it reached Flekkerø in Norway, just south of Christiansand. At Vinga it had been joined by the *Forloren Son* 12, *Stumpet Dorothea*, and *Haab*, bringing it up to fifteen ships; but of these the *Pelican* and *Graa Ulv* were left at Vinga, the *Stumpet Dorothea* was sent to Copenhagen, the *Forloren Son* and *Haab* sailed for Samsø, north of the Belts, and the *Højenhald*, with Admiral of the Fleet Jørgen Wind, was despatched to join the ships fitting out in Denmark. With the remaining nine ships the King sailed southwards to meet the Dutch. On May 11th he was off Fohr, the island south of Sylt, and next day he heard that Thijsen was in List Deep.

The same day the Dutch were ready to sail, but northerly winds kept both fleets back, and when Christian IV. arrived outside List Deep on May 15th the bulk of Thijsen's ships were still inside, though seven under Marcus, his rear-admiral, were at sea looking for the enemy. On the 16th an action took place, but its details are very obscure, though apparently what happened was somewhat as follows. At dawn Thijsen signalled to his fleet to put to sea and proceeded, helped by the ebb, to tow his ships out of the harbour. He had in all twenty-six ships, but

* Bruun i. 264. Guns from various sources.

apparently half of these, under Gierdtson, were in the inner harbour, the King's Haven, and were somewhat behindhand, since Thijsen speaks of putting to sea with thirteen ships, while Danish accounts say the Dutch had twenty-six. The Danes, as had been seen, had the following nine ships:—*Trefoldighed* 48, *Tre Løver* 46, *Lindorm* 38, *Norske Love* 30, *Sorte Rytter* 24, *Neptunus* 28, *Postillion* 14, *Hollandske Fregat* 12, *Phenix* (or *Feniks*) 20. They had, therefore, 260 guns, while the Dutch must have had about 500, if the ten whose guns are known give a fair average. Still, the Danish ships were of course individually bigger and stronger, besides being more heavily built, so that the advantage of the Dutch in material was not so large as appears at first sight.

At eight o'clock both fleets were under sail with a very light breeze, and about ten o'clock firing began. The Danes at first retired slightly to get into deeper water, and for some time the *Trefoldighed* was unsupported. However, by noon she was relieved, and Thijsen in his turn, advancing ahead of his fleet in the *Gulde Swaen*, suffered severely. At last he was relieved by the *Lange Bark* and the *Grooten Dolphien*, Gierdtson's flagship, and managed to withdraw towards the rest of his fleet. The Danes, with their deep-draught ships, could not follow far, and at four o'clock the action was over.* Accounts of the losses are conflicting. One written from List says that the Dutch had over 800 killed, another Danish account puts the Dutch loss at 700 killed and 300 wounded. Thijsen, in his report, says his flagship had fifty-six killed and wounded and Gierdtson's forty-eight; and a German account says "the heaviest loss on the Swedish side was that Colonel Löhausen, one captain, two ensigns, thirty privates, and forty sailors fell." This seems to be merely another version of the loss in Thijsen's ship since he gives the same figures as far as the officers are concerned. Of course, an average loss of fifty men per ship would give a total of over 1000, but it is certain that only a few ships were really heavily engaged. The only mention of the Danish losses puts them definitely as "in the whole fleet dead and wounded eleven men," but it seems probable that this must have really been the loss in the *Trefoldighed* alone. At any rate, it is certain that on May 16th the Swedish-Dutch fleet or some part of it came out of List Deep, and was defeated by a force of nine Danish ships under the King himself and driven back into the harbour.

The day after the action, May 17th, Marcus again appeared, this time with his full strength of seven ships. The Danish

* Four of Marcus's ships appeared in the offing during the action, but did not join in it.

fleet at once pursued him, but the Dutch ships were the better sailers, and easily got away. This took the Danes away from List, and on the 18th the King decided to go direct to Flekkerö for provisions. By so doing he not only allowed Marcus to join Thijsen on the 19th, but also failed to meet a second Danish fleet which arrived off the harbour a few hours after Marcus had entered. This fleet consisted of ten ships and three fireships. Four ships were Norwegians, which Øve Gedde had brought to Copenhagen early in May; the remaining six were Danes under Pros Mund.* On May 7th they had left Copenhagen, and on the 13th they had sailed southwards from Flekkerö. On May 24th they entered the mouth of List Deep and Thijsen decided to attack. Next day he did so, and a second action took place. The Dutch had apparently thirty-three vessels in all, including fireships and small craft; the Danes had ten warships and three fireships. As the Dutch came out Mund weighed anchor and stood out to sea, but his three fireships went aground at the entrance to the harbour and were of no further use to him. The action was a long range affair, with the wind and sea getting up steadily, until by evening all thoughts of fighting had to be abandoned. The Dutch ship *Campen* lost her mainmast in a squall early in the day, and at once steered for home. In the morning of May 26th Thijsen had only seventeen ships with him, and decided, in view of their damaged state and the discontent of his crews, to return to the Vlie. Several of the missing ships were already on their way thither, and eventually the whole fleet arrived there with the exception of two fireships lost on the Danish coast. The crews were in a state of mutiny, the populace of Amsterdam sympathised with them, and for some time Louis de Geer could not show himself in the streets with safety.

The Danish fleet returned to Flekkerö, and was there by June 3rd, since on that day several of its captains were court-martialled for having neglected their duty in the fight of May 25th. The King now reorganised his fleet with a view to a third attack on the Dutch at List. Two squadrons of six ships each were formed as follows:—*Lindorm* 38, *Norske Løve* 30, *Rytter* 24, *Pelikan* 36, *Nelleblad* 24, *Postillion* 14. *St. Sophia* 40, *Tre Kroner* 30, *Delmenhorst* 28, *Graa Ulv* 30, *Neptunus* 28, *Markat* 16. These were put under two admirals (presumably Mund and Gedde), who were to draw lots to decide which squadron should lead the fleet, while the King himself intended to sail between the two squadrons with the five vessels *Trefoldighed* 48, *Tre Løve* 46, *Fregat* 12, *Dybendal* 9, and

* Five of these were as follows:—*Sophia* 40; *Nelleblad* 24; *Delmenhorst* 28; *Markat* 16; *Graa Ulv* 30. (Bruun i. 275.) Probably the sixth ship was the *Pelican* 36.

Samson (galley) 9. He had thus a fleet of seventeen ships with 402 guns, and would undoubtedly have made short work of Thijsen's damaged ships, but on arriving at List he found no enemy left to fight. He was off List on June 12th, but soon returned, and after a visit to Flekkerö reached Copenhagen on June 22nd, bringing with him the entire fleet in expectation of an attack by the Swedes.

He was none too soon. The Swedish fleet had left Dalarö on June 1st forty-three ships strong, under the command of Admiral Klas Fleming. It had passed Öland on June 2nd, and reached the German coast west of Danzig on the 4th. Fleming then sent two ships to Danzig* to look for Danish merchantmen, two to Neustadt, in Holstein,† to communicate with Torstensson, and three to Ystad‡ with a letter to Horn, the commander of the Swedish army in Skane. On the 6th he was off Bornholm, and anchored on the 8th near Dornbusch, in Rügen. Two of his ships, the *Drake* 40 and *Smålands Lejon* 32, sent out on June 11th to reconnoitre towards Copenhagen, were engaged next day off Møen by three Danish ships, but managed to put them to flight, and returned on the 13th to their fleet at Dornbusch. The same evening Fleming weighed anchor and steered for the Sound. On the 15th he was off Amager, and could see that there were only thirteen or fourteen Danish ships in the harbour, but he was unwilling to risk the passage of the Drogden channel, and after an unsuccessful landing on the shore of Kjøge Bay he left again on the 16th for Kiel Fjord to communicate with Torstensson in person. In the evening of June 18th the fleet reached Kiel Fjord, on the 20th it moved in as far as Kristianspris or Friedrichsort, six miles north of Kiel, and on the 23rd Torstensson arrived to consult Fleming. The move decided on was the capture of the Danish island of Femern on the Mecklenburg coast. With this object on June 25th the *Jägare* 26 and *Gamla Fortuna* 18 were sent to Stralsund to fetch any available small craft, and the *Grip* 12, *Lam* 12, and *Fenix* 10 to Femern to reconnoitre. Troops were embarked, and on June 28th the fleet put to sea; Torstensson himself accompanied it in the *Postperd* 2. Next day the troops were landed, and soon occupied the whole island. The Swedish fleet lay during the 30th at anchor north of Femern. On the previous day the Danish fleet had left Copenhagen forty ships strong. Off Møen on the 30th it was sighted by the *Jägare* and *Gamla Fortuna* on their way back from

* *Katta* 22 and *Måne* 16.

† *Svan* 22, and a "bojort" (a small storeship).

‡ *Jägare* 26, *Fortuna* 18, and the "galiot" *Hane* 2 (also a storeship). The *Hane* does not appear in the list of the fleet as it left Stockholm.

Stralsund. At dawn on July 1st these two vessels rejoined Fleming with the news of the Danes' approach, and at 9 a.m. the two fleets were in sight of one another.*

They were well enough matched. As far as can be ascertained their composition was according to the two following lists:—

Swedish Fleet.†—Van Squadron under Admiral Fleming:—*Scepter* 58, *Drake* 40, *Göteborg* 36, *Rafael* 36, *Regina* 34, *Leopard* 36, *Jupiter* 34, *Smålands Lejon* 32, *Katta* 22, *Tiger* 18, *Mane* 16, two fireships.

Centre Squadron under Admiral Ulfsparré:—*Krona* 68, *Nyckel* 34, *Stockholm* 34, *Samson* 32, *Vestervik* 26, *Vestgöta Lejon* 26, *Salvator* 26, *Merkurius* 26, *Apollo* 26, *Rekompens* 22, *Svan* 22, *St. Jakob* 12, two fireships.

Rear Squadron under Admiral-Lieutenant Bjelkenstjerna:—*Göta Ark* 72, *Svärd* 32, *Mars* 30, *Andromeda* 26, *Jägare* 26, *Vesterviks Fortuna* 24, *Akilles* 22, *Enhorn* 18, *Gamla Fortuna* 18, *Falk* 18, *Papegoja* 12, three fireships.

The *Grip* 12, *Lam* 12, and *Fenix* 10, were to the south of the island, and took no part in the action.

The Swedish fleet thus consisted of thirty-four ships and seven fireships,‡ and carried 1,018 guns.

Danish Fleet.§—First Squadron under General-Admiral Wind:—*Patientia* 48,† *Oldenborg* 42,† *Stormar* 32,† *Fides* 28,† *Svan* 26,† *Lam* 16,† *Havhest* 14,† *Jomfrusvend* 6,† *Orn* 4,† *Prinds Christian* (M).

Second Squadron under General Vice-Admiral Grabov:—*Lindorm* 38,† *Tre Løve* 46,† *Kronet Fisk* 20,† *Sorte Bjørn* 14,† *Hvide Bjørn* 14,† *Postilion* 14,† *Emanuel* (M), *Forgyldte Stokfisk* (M), *S. Peter* (M), *S. Jacob* (M).

Third Squadron under King Christian IV.:—*Trefoldighed* 48, *Tvende Løve* 22,† *Norske Løve* 30,† *Sorte Rytter* 24,† *Pelikan* 36,† *Graa Ulv* 30,† *Neptunus* 28,† *Hollandske Fregat* 12, *Hojenhald* 8,† *Josua* (M).

Fourth Squadron under Fourth Admiral Mund:—*S. Sophia* 40,†, *Tre Kroner* 30,†, *Delmenhorst* 28,†, *Nelleblad* 24,†, *Markat*

* Torstensson returned to Kristianspris in the *Postpferd* as the Danes approached.

† From Zettersten i. 360, or Munthe "Danska Kriget," i. 301.

‡ Four of these fireships had been used as horse-transporters and were probably not yet ready for service.

§ List from Bruun ii. 34/5. Guns marked † from Bruun, *ibid.*, taken from Tornquist i. III. (Mund's squadron later in the year) or from Garde Eft. i. 142, taken from Graah 146, the two lists being the same save that Tornquist gives the *Patientia* 48 and Graah 40. Those marked ‡ from Lind (Frederik III.'s Somagt) 3/4. *Trefoldighed* from Brunn ii. 72/3 (a Swedish account). Lind gives her 44. *Hollandske Fregat* from Garde. Hist. i. 172 (list for 1647). *Samsons Gallej* from Zettersten ii. 581 (she was taken by the Swedes in 1645).

10,†, *Gak Med* 12,†, *Samsons Gallej* 9, *Flyvende Hjort* 8,†, *Rote Gans* (M), *Unge Ulv* (M).

Total, forty ships, with about 927 guns (assuming the eight merchantmen to have had on an average 20 each).

These two lists are given as the best available, and are probably substantially correct. There is, however, considerable doubt as to the guns carried by the various ships. Zettersten, in giving his list of the Swedish fleet, acknowledges this, and Bruun's list of the Danish fleet is to a great extent lacking altogether in figures as to its armament. Still, the probability is that the estimate given is roughly accurate, and that the Swedes with thirty-four ships to forty had about a ten per cent. superiority in guns.

There is a similar uncertainty as to some points in the battle that followed. Bruun|| on the Danish side and Munthe¶ on the Swedish have taken great pains to sift and weigh the mass of conflicting evidence, and the following description of the action is based mainly on their accounts. The Danish fleet passed Gjedser thirty miles east of the Swedish anchorage at 6 a.m., and, as has been said, they were sighted at nine o'clock. The wind was then about E.S.E., having veered since dawn from N.E. and fallen slightly in strength. Fleming at once signalled to his fleet to weigh anchor, and steered southwards close to the coast of Femern between it and a large shoal lying west of Petersdorf. As he did so the wind gradually became more southerly, so that as the Danes followed round the north-west coast of Femern they found themselves to leeward. Not only that, but in the haste of their approach their ships had lost station and become "strung out" with the leading vessels unsupported.

Fleming saw his chance and took it. At about one o'clock or a little earlier he ordered his ships to bear away together, wear to the starboard tack, and open fire on the head of the Danish fleet. The wind was then about south-east, and still veering. The Swedish fleet passed the head of the Danish line at long range, wore again together, and came to close quarters. The leading Danish ship was the *Patientia* 48, flagship of the First Squadron under Jørgen Wind. It was on her that the brunt of the attack fell. As the Swedes wore for the second time she was attacked at close quarters by the *Scepter* 58, Fleming's flagship. A few lucky shots compelled Fleming to haul to the wind for repairs, but for some time the *Patientia* was hard pressed by other Swedish ships. However, she was relieved by Pros Mund in the *S. Sophia* 40, flag-

|| Blagot paa Kolberger Heide. 1879.

¶ Danska Kriget, 1643/5. (Svenska Sjöhjärtar V.) 1905.

ship of the Fourth Squadron and by Henrik Mund in the *Stormar* 32 from her own division, and was able to go out of action to refit. At the same time the King in the *Trefoldighed* 48, coming to help his hard-pressed van, had been the object of a fierce attack by four Swedish ships. He was wounded in the head, but stayed on deck and continued to direct operations. A little later Fleming came back into line, sent verbal orders for a general attack at close quarters, and bore away for the Danish rear. He was not over well supported by his fleet, and was beaten off by the *Trefoldighed*, *S. Sophia*, *Norske Løve*, 30, and *Oldenborg* 42. The Swedish ship *Katta* 22 tried to board the *Nelleblad* 24, but was repulsed with the help of the *Pelikan* 36. The wind by now was north of west, and as the two fleets altered course to starboard in consequence of the gradual change the Danish fleet moving on the smaller circle had naturally drawn ahead. Fleming again got his ship into fighting condition and intended another attack, but night came on and made this impossible. The Danish fleet anchored near Femern, while Fleming, finding himself near Lolland, hauled to the wind on the starboard tack at 9.30 p.m. and stood back towards the German coast.

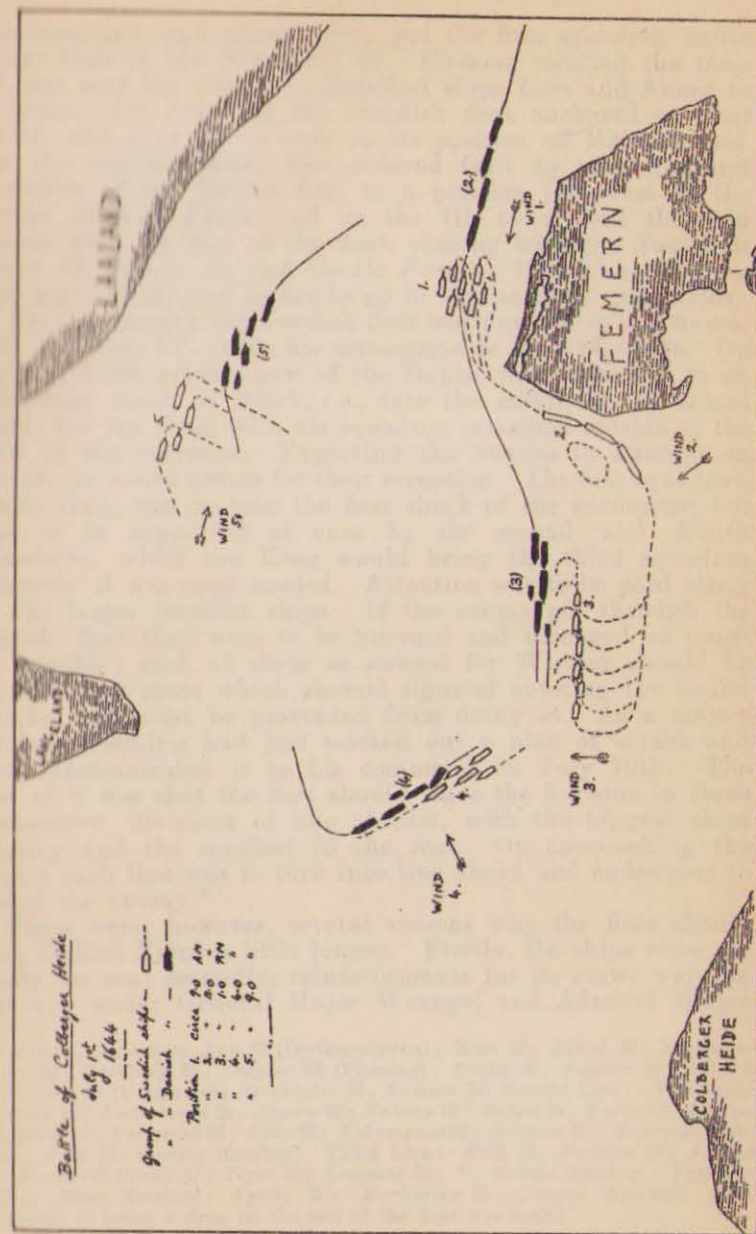
Neither side had lost a ship,* but several were badly damaged. The Danes had lost 37 men killed and 170 wounded,† the Swedes 32 killed and 69 wounded‡, including a few casualties at the landing in Femern. On the Danish side Jørgen Wind was severely wounded, and died at Copenhagen on July 17th, while King Christian lost the sight of one eye, but was not otherwise badly wounded. No Swedish flag officer was hurt. Both Christian IV. and Fleming complained bitterly of their captains, but both claimed to have won a victory. There is little to be said for either claim, though on the whole the Danish is perhaps the more reasonable since the Swedes returned to Kiel Fjord to refit while the Danes repaired damages at sea and were soon able to establish a blockade. The action is usually called the battle of Colberger Heide or Colberg Heath, a curious name for a sea-fight, but one arising from the name of the bleak stretch of coast between Femern and Kiel Fjord.

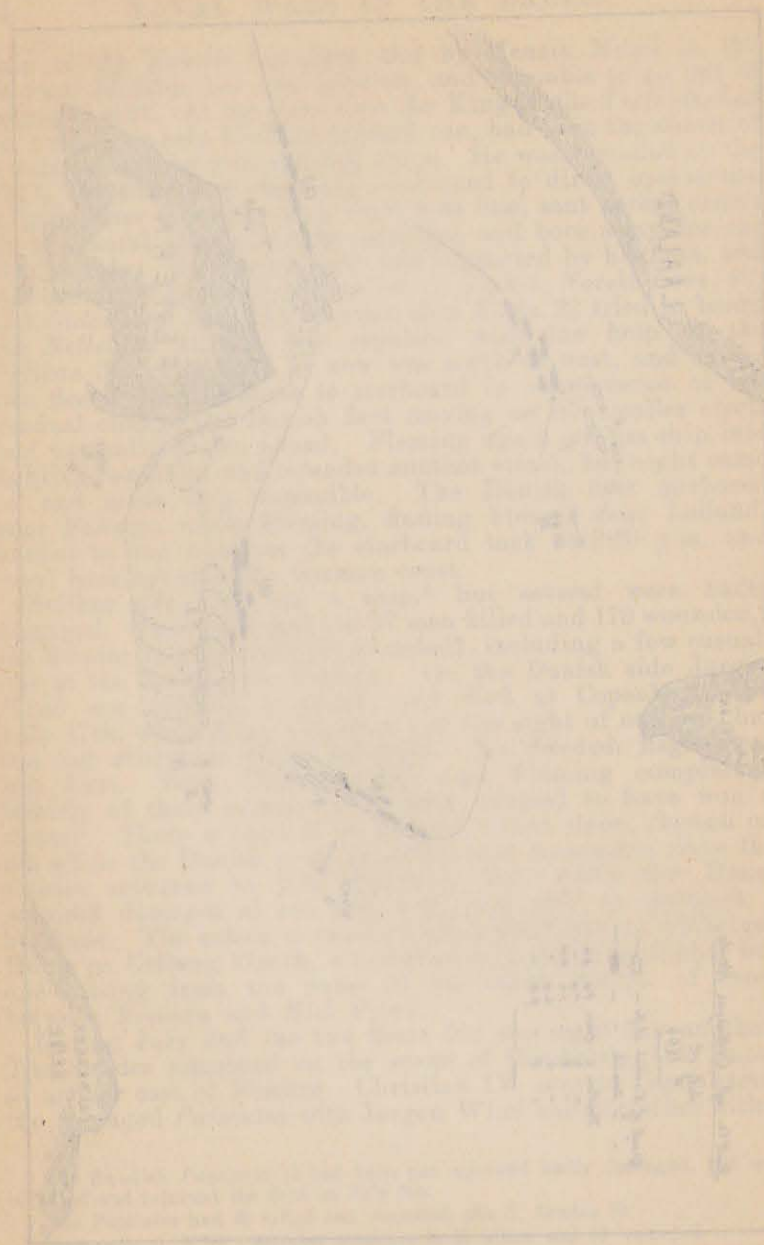
During July 2nd the two fleets did not sight one another. The Swedes remained on the scene of the battle, the Danes at anchor east of Femern. Christian IV. sent to Copenhagen the damaged *Patientia* with Jørgen Wind and the other killed

* The Swedish *Papegoja* 12 had been run aground badly damaged, but was refloated and rejoined the fleet on July 5th.

† The *Patientia* had 42 killed and wounded, the *S. Sophia* 70.

‡ Zettersten ii. 363/4. Another estimate is 30 killed and 50 wounded.





and wounded, and consequently put the first squadron under Peder Galt in the *Oldenborg* 42. Fleming recalled the *Grip* 12, but sent the other two detached ships *Lam* and *Fenix* to Wismar. On July 3rd the Swedish fleet anchored in Kiel Fjord, and next day it took up its position off Kristianspris. On the 5th the King had ordered Galt to take the first squadron of the Danish fleet to a position just west of the mouth of Kiel Fjord, and on the 7th he arrived there in person with the rest of the fleet, chasing back the *Smålands Lejon* 32, *Jägare* 26, and *Gamla Fortuna* 18, which Fleming had sent out the day before to go to Stralsund for provisions.

For the moment the Swedish fleet was unready to put to sea, and Christian IV. made his arrangements for a blockade. On July 12th the greater part of the Danish fleet moved in to an anchorage south of Bülek, i.e., into the mouth of the actual fjord, but the King with his squadron remained outside to the west of the entrance. Expecting the Swedes to attempt an escape, he issued orders for their reception. The first squadron, under Galt, was to take the first shock of the encounter, but was to be supported at once by the second and fourth squadrons, while the King would bring the third squadron wherever it was most needed. Attention was to be paid solely to the larger Swedish ships. If the enemy got through the Danish fleet they were to be pursued and damaged as much as possible; such of them as steered for Wismar should be ignored, but those which showed signs of entering the Sound or the Belt must be prevented from doing so. As a matter of fact, Fleming had just worked out a plan of attack and had communicated it to his command on July 10th. The gist of it was that the fleet should leave the harbour in three consecutive divisions of line abreast, with the biggest ships leading and the smallest in the rear. On approaching the Danes each line was to turn into line ahead and endeavour to board the enemy.*

There were, however, several reasons why the fleet should stay in Kiel Fjord a little longer. Firstly, the ships were not ready for sea; secondly, reinforcements for its crews were on the way under General Major Wrangel and Admiral Blume

* First Line:—*Göta Ark* 72 (*Bjelenstjerna*); *Mars* 30; *Svärd* 34; *Smålands Lejon* 32; *Göteborg* 36; *Scepter* 58 (Fleming); *Drake* 40; *Jupiter* 34; *Nyckel* 34; *Krona* 68 (*Ulfsparre*); *Stockholm* 34; *Samson* 32. Second Line:—*Vesterviks Fortuna* 24; *Andromeda* 26; *Jägare* 26; *Enhorn* 18; *Rafael* 36; *Katta* 33; *Regina* 34; *Måne* 16; *Vestervik* 26; *Svan* 22; *Rekompens* 22; *Salvator* 26; *Meerman* (fireship); *Grip* 12; *Caritas* (fireship). Third Line:—*Falk* 18; *Fortuna* 18; *Akilles* 22; *Meerweib* (fireship); *Tiger* 18; *Leopard* 36; *St. Mikael* (fireship); *Vestgöta Lejon*; *Bona* (fireship); *Apollo* 26; *Merkurius* 26; *Jungru* (fireship). (The *Papegoja* 12 being a drag on the rest of the fleet was sunk.)

Thijsen
v list
isen

from Aalborg in Jylland;* and, thirdly, news was expected every moment of the approach of Thijsen's fleet on a second attempt to enter the Baltic. On July 16th news reached Fleming that Thijsen was again at List. The Swedish fleet lacked provisions, and Fleming personally was in favour of putting to sea at once; but Torstensson advocated delay, and at a council of war it was decided to wait another week if necessary. Next day, the 17th, the Danish fleet, with the exception of the King's squadron, moved in still further, and anchored in a line across the narrow part of the fjord, about a mile north of Kristianspris. On the 19th Wrangel arrived, but without the fresh men to take the place of the many sick. Meanwhile a second danger was threatening the Swedish position in the shape of an Imperial army under Gallas which was advancing on Holstein. To meet it Torstensson called in his scattered divisions from Slesvig and Jylland, but this took time, and Gallas was close enough to send a small detachment into Kiel on a flying raid on the night of July 23rd-24th. The following day the Danes landed men and guns east of the fjord opposite Kristianspris. It was obviously time for the Swedish fleet to move, but a north-east wind prevented this. Fleming expected the Danes to use this wind to attack him, and rearranged his fleet to be ready for them. The new order was a deep and narrow crescent, with its two ends pointing towards the eastern shore of the fjord.† In the evening of July 25th the new Danish battery opened fire. Early next morning the *Smålands Lejon* had to move, and at six o'clock a shot struck the *Scepter* and took off Fleming's right leg. He died in two hours, but before doing so he appointed Wrangel to command the fleet in spite of the fact that his instructions made Ulfsparré his successor. Several councils of war had to be held to decide this point, and at first Torstensson's influence seemed likely to secure Wrangel in the command, but eventually it was settled on the 28th that "the commanders should be Wrangel in the *Scepter*, Hansson (Ulfsparré) in the *Krona*, and Bjelkenstjerna in the *Ark*; nothing should be said of any precedence amongst them, this being Hansson's suggestion."

* Blume was sent to Aalborg early in the year to equip and arm any suitable captured vessels to co-operate with Thijsen's fleet on its arrival. Later he was ordered to join the fleet at Kiel; but on July 7th, when he brought his flotilla to the mouth of Lim Fjord he was repulsed by a Danish division of four ships and six small craft. After this Wrangel received orders to disarm the ships and bring their crews to Kiel, and this was done.

† *Smålands Lejon*, *Scepter* (Fleming), *Drake*, *Jupiter*, *Svärd*, *Regina*, *Leopard*, *Katta*, *Rafael*, *Rekompens*, *Andromeda*, *Apollo*, *Måne*, *Merkurius*, *Gamla Fortuna*, *Akilles*, *Falk*, *Enhorn*, *Salvator*, *Tiger*, *Vestervik*, *Vesterviks Fortuna*, *Samson*, *Mars*, *Ark* (Bjelkenstjerna), *Stockholm*, *Nyckel*, *Krona* (Ulfsparré), *Göteborg*, *Svan*, *Jägare*. Behind the line:—*Meerweib*, *St. Mikael*, *Bona*, *Jungfru*, *St. Jacob*, *Grip*.

In the meantime it was decided on the 27th that the fleet should warp out of the harbour that night, going two and two and reforming in the outer part of the fjord. To ensure their safe passage Torstensson engaged to take the Danish battery from the land side. The same day Blume arrived from Aalborg, and his men were divided among the ships. Early on the 28th there was a westerly wind, and the Swedish fleet got under way. The battery was, however, not yet captured, and several ships were injured. At last the *Akilles* had her mainmast so much damaged that she had to anchor for repairs, and the rest of the fleet therefore did the same. At the same time the Swedish troops stormed the battery just too late. The three Danish squadrons in the fjord had weighed anchor on the approach of the Swedes, and were beating up towards Bülck to get the weather gauge, while the Swedish fleet anchored roughly in the position the enemy had left. Torstensson came on board the *Scepter*, and another council was held. On the 29th the wind went again to the eastward and freshened, making it impossible to put to sea.

King Christian now resolved to attack, and ordered Galt to take his squadron in and open fire on the Swedes "first with one broadside, then with the other." With this object the Danish fleet, or rather part of it, worked to windward towards the eastern shore, but the wind fell again, and nothing else could be done. Next morning, July 30th, at about six o'clock, the Swedish fleet put to sea with a light south-westerly breeze. The Danish fleet was at the moment somewhat scattered. Galt with the first squadron was at the east side of the entrance to Kiel Bay, the King with the third squadron at his old anchorage to the west, and the other two squadrons somewhere near him. The Swedes were thus to windward of Galt and to leeward of the rest of the Danish fleet. Galt at once steered out to sea, and the Swedes set their course for Femern. The wind, however, dropped, and then about noon sprang up from the south-east. This altered the position, and put Galt in the weathermost position and the main part of the Danish fleet to leeward. Now perhaps was the time for Galt to act on his orders of the 29th and attack the enemy, or even on those of the 13th and "receive the enemy's attack," but he did neither. Presumably he considered that the rest of his fleet was too far to leeward, and that his squadron would be overwhelmed to no purpose, and there is much to be said for this view. At any rate, as the Swedes worked to windward towards him he did the same, and thus kept ahead of them. At last, towards evening, the wind went back to the south-west and the Swedish fleet turned on Galt, but again he declined action, steering northward, and eventually he rejoined the other Danish

order
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Galt
cf. 30

squadrons. In the morning of July 31st the wind was still south-west and the Swedes therefore to windward. They steered for the Danes, but the wind dropped and soon went round to east. It was now decided by the Swedish commanders that in view of the slowness of their progress and the shortness of supplies they must return to Kristianspris to get the provisions which were being prepared for them there. They therefore steered for Kiel Fjord, followed by the Danes. At the mouth of the fjord they turned on their pursuers, and the Danes at once steered out to sea again. At eight o'clock in the evening of July 31st the Swedish fleet anchored north of Kristianspris.

The same day Erik Ottesen, formerly flag captain to Jørgen Wind, rejoined the fleet in the *Patientia* 48, and was immediately appointed to command the first squadron in the place of Galt, though the latter retained his original post as Vice-Admiral of that squadron. The Swedish fleet took in all the available provisions on August 1st, and then after another council of war weighed anchor at 10 p.m. with gun-ports closed and all lights out, formed a single line ahead, and got safely to sea unobserved by the Danes. Next day it was off Femern, on the 3rd it passed Bornholm, and on August 5th it anchored at Dalarö. The Danes knew nothing of the escape of the Swedish fleet until daylight on August 2nd, when they saw that the harbour was empty. The King at once sent Ottesen with the first squadron to Femern to find the whereabouts of the enemy, and followed him later in the day with the other squadrons. At the same time he dismissed Galt from the fleet and ordered him to Copenhagen. Later on his own return to Copenhagen, he had Galt court-martialled, and eventually on September 10th the unfortunate Admiral was executed.

It is hard to see the justification for this. Galt certainly had not attacked on July 30th, but he had been far from the rest of his fleet, and in no position to do any good. Further, it is certain that on the 31st there had been a much better opportunity for the Danish fleet to engage the enemy, but it had not been taken. Why, then, did not the King accuse Ottesen for not attacking on the 31st? The only answer can be that Christian IV. was really in command of the fleet himself. True, he was only commander of the third squadron, while Ottesen was General-Admiral, but it was the King who issued all orders, and it was the King who was responsible for the mistake. Had the Swedes not escaped on August 1st nothing more would have been heard of Galt's mistake, but when the enemy gave him the slip Christian IV. had to find some scapegoat, and Galt was the easiest victim.

On August 2nd King Christian, with the greater part of the Danish fleet, rejoined his advanced squadron under Ottesen off Femern. The Swedes had a long start, and it was useless to pursue, but it was possible that they might propose to return to the Sound or the Belt to meet Thijsen's fleet, which was known to be approaching. The King therefore divided his fleet, always a risky proceeding, and one attended on this occasion with the usual consequences. First he reorganised it in three squadrons, as follows:—

First Squadron.—*Patientia* 48, *Norske Love* 30, *Fides* 28, *Svan* 26, *Lam* 16, *To Løver* 22, *Delmenhorst* 28, *Gak Med* 12, *Markat* 16, *Havhest* 14, *Jomfrusvend* 6, *Ørn* 4, *Prinds Christian* (M), *Flyvende Hjort* 8.

Second Squadron.—*S. Sophia* 40, *Tre Løver* 46, *Oldenborg* 42, *Hvide Bjørn* 14, *Sorte Bjørn* 14, *Postilion* 14, *Snarensvend* 16, *Forgyldte Stokfisk* (M), *S. Peder* (M), *S. Jacob* (M), *Neptunus* 28, *Josua* (M), *Rote Gans* (M).

Third squadron:—*Trefoldighed* 48, *Lindorm* 38, *Tre Kroner* 30, *Stormar* 32, *Kronede Fisk* 20, *Sorte Rytter* 24, *Pelikan* 36, *Graa Ulv* 30, *Nelleblad* 24, *Hollandske Fregat* 12, *Højenhald* 8, *Samson* 9.

The first squadron was commanded by Ottesen as General-Admiral, the second by Mund as General-Vice-Admiral, while the King himself as Admiral took charge of the third. The first two were sent to cruise separately between Sweden, Gothland, and Bornholm, with orders to combine into one fleet if there was any sign of the Swedes returning to the Western Baltic. The third squadron remained for a few days near Femern.

Meanwhile Thijsen, with a second Dutch fleet, was approaching the theatre of operations. He had left the Vlie at the beginning of July with twenty-one ships, and had reached List Deep on the 7th of that month. After communicating with Torstensson and Fleming he put to sea again on the 20th. Rounding Skagen (the Skaw) he appeared at the mouth of Lim Fjord, captured a Danish ship of twenty-four guns, and drove off some smaller craft, but finding no ships here to co-operate with him, and probably hearing that the Swedish fleet had left Kiel Fjord, he proceeded to Gothenburg. Here he drove off the Norwegian squadron of five ships under Gedde and captured a small ship of twelve guns and several store ships. On August 9th he entered the Sound without suffering any damage from the guns of Kronborg, and anchored off Landskrona.

The Dutch fleet was in the Sound, but the Danes were not ready to meet it. Christian IV. had been divided in mind as to whether Thijsen would come through the Sound or the Belt,

and had in the end made a wrong decision. On August 6th, 7th, and 8th he had written to Ottesen to bring his two squadrons to Stevns, twenty-five miles south of Copenhagen, to provision, sending meanwhile six ships to destroy the Swedish small craft at Ystad.* The last of these orders was written "off Møen," some twenty miles south of Stevns, so that the whole Danish force was for the moment just south of the Sound, but next day the King reversed his policy. In instructions of August 9th he ordered Ottesen to send the armed merchantment in his fleet to Copenhagen, and to take the rest of the two squadrons to the southern coast of Lolland to look for the Dutch. If he found that they were coming through the Belt he was to attack them off Lolland, but if not he was to cruise in the Baltic, using Gothland as a base.

The very day that these orders were issued Thijsen anchored off Landskrona, and early on August 10th, with a fresh northerly breeze, he passed the Drogden channel close to Copenhagen, in spite of the fire of two "prams" of twenty-four guns each, and entered Kjöge Bay. Here he met the squadron under Christian IV. and a running fight followed, but the King's force was not enough to effect much, the Dutch ships were of lighter draught and handier than the Danes, and Thijsen had little difficulty in making his way into the Baltic. Both the King and Ottesen, who had got no further than Møen, pursued him as far as Bornholm, but without result. On August 13th Christian IV. returned to Copenhagen. Thijsen looked in vain for the Swedish fleet; he sent a ship to Kalmar and another to Stockholm for instructions, cruised between Öland and Gothland, and finally anchored off Kalmar on August 24th.† He and his second-in-command, Gierdtson, were at once given commissions as Admiral and Vice-Admiral respectively in the Swedish fleet, and on September 16th Thijsen was raised to the nobility under the name of Anckarhjelm.

While these events had been taking place in the Baltic the Dutch Government had been preparing to resist the increase in the Sound dues imposed by Christian IV. to meet the cost

* These consisted of six store ships, with sixty-two small craft and armed boats. They had left Dalarö with the main fleet, and had reached Kalmar on June 11th and Ystad on July 8th. Their object was to transport troops to Sjaelland. They had been attacked unsuccessfully on July 28th by two small Danish ships and nine boats. Ottesen's attack took place on August 8th, but only resulted in the capture of three boats. On August 15th Hansson, the Swedish commander, set sail to return to Kalmar. He left at Ystad sixteen serviceable boats and four condemned and disabled. On the 16th he was attacked by Danish ships and lost six boats and two transports, and the following night seven boats were wrecked, but on August 22nd he reached Kalmar with the rest of his command.

† Off Bornholm he took the Danish galley *Prinds 6*.

of the war. With this object, on June 27th a fleet of forty-one warships under Vice-Admiral de With left the Vlie, convoying over 900 merchantmen, and at the same time ambassadors were sent to both Sweden and Denmark to endeavour to reach some agreement about trade through the Sound. On July 3rd the fleet reached the Lap, a shoal just north-west of Kronborg. It was now thirty-two warships strong.* The Danish fleet was then off Femern, and the merchantmen were allowed to pass the Sound on paying the usual toll, no attempt being made to impose the higher duties or to prevent them from sailing to any port in the Baltic not actually in Sweden. Negotiations were then opened with the Danish King, but they progressed slowly. Christian IV. insisted that not more than ten ships should remain at the Lap, and de With therefore cruised with the rest between Skagen and Gothenburg. Finally, on the return of the merchantmen from the Baltic the fleet sailed back to the Netherlands.

The Danish fleets returned to Copenhagen at the beginning of September, and Christian IV. landed at Malmö to take command of the army in Skåne. From an intercepted letter to Horn, the Swedish General, he gathered that there was no chance of the Swedish fleet leaving Stockholm again before next spring. Thinking therefore that he had only the Dutch auxiliary fleet to deal with, he sent out on September 17th a squadron of only seventeen ships, under Mund, with orders to take up a position between Femern and Lolland to prevent Thijsen (Anckarhjelm) from any operations in Holstein or the Danish islands. The Swedes, however, had decided on another attempt to get the "command of the sea" with the aid of Anckarhjelm's fleet. Ulfsparre, at Dalarö, was ordered to equip a small fleet under Vice-Admiral Blume, while Wrangel was to be commander-in-chief over this and the Dutch squadron. On September 16th Wrangel was ready to leave Dalarö, but head winds kept him there till the 28th. The following day he anchored off Kalmar and joined Anckarhjelm. The Swedish fleet consisted of twelve ships, two fireships, and two "galiots," the Dutch of twenty ships and one galiot. On October 5th the combined fleet left Kalmar Sound. On the 7th they anchored off Møen and heard that Mund had been off Wismar with the Danish fleet. They therefore proceeded in that direction, arrived off Wismar in the evening of October 8th, and were joined next day by the ships there, the *Trekronor 32*, a fireship, and two small craft. At this moment

* One had been sent back to the coast of Flanders, eight had gone as convoy to the north-bound merchantmen, two had been sent with the ambassadors to Sweden; but the two ships sent in advance to Kronborg had rejoined. (Kernkamp 75 n.)

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a Lübeck merchantman reported that the Danes were between Lolland and Langeland, sixteen or seventeen ships strong. A strong north-westerly wind kept Wrangel at anchor during the 10th, but on the 11th it backed to south-west, and he was able to put to sea. In the afternoon he sighted the Danish fleet at anchor to the north-west of Femern, but as night was coming on and the wind steadily rising he decided to postpone his attack and anchored north of the island. At a council of war it was resolved that as soon as the wind fell the fleet should attack in two columns, one consisting of the Swedish ships and the other of the Dutch. All through the 12th it was impossible to move, but in the morning of October 13th the wind had fallen and there was merely a fresh W.S.W. breeze. Mund was slightly to windward, but some of his ships had fallen to leeward in the gale, and by bearing away to join them he lost the weather-gauge. Seeing that he could not escape, he formed line on the starboard tack and stood towards the enemy. Wrangel, as arranged, put his fleet in two parallel lines, with the Swedish ships to windward, and steered to meet him.

The opposing forces were very unequal; in fact, either division of the Swedish fleet would have been roughly equal to Mund's squadron. The composition of the two fleets was as follows:—

Danish Fleet.—*Patientia* (f) 48, *Tre Løver* 46, *Oldenborg* 42, *Lindorm* 38, *Pelikan* 36, *Stormar* 32, *Fides* 28, *Delmenhorst* 28, *Neptunus* 28, *Nelleblad* 24, *To Løver* 28, *Kronfisk* 20, *Markat* 16, *Lam* 16, *Havhest* 14, *Højenhald* (galley) 8, — (galley) 2. Seventeen ships, 448 guns.

Swedish Fleet.—*Drake* 40, *Göteborg* 36, *Leopard* 36, *Smålands Lejon* (f) 32, *Regina** 34, *Trekronor* 32, *Jägare* 26, *Hafsfru* 24, *Vesterviks Fortuna* 24, *Katta* 22, *Akilles* 22, *Svan* 22, *Gamla Fortuna* 18, *Lam* (galley) 12, *Fenix* (pinnace) 10, *Postpferd* (galley) 2, two fireships, one storeship. Sixteen ships, 392 guns.

Delphin 38, *Jupiter* (f) 34, *Engel* 34, *Gekroende Liefde* 31, *Coninch van Sweden* 28, *Campen* 26, *Swarten Raven* 26, *Vlissingen* 24, *Nieuw Vlissingen* 24, *St. Matthuis* 24, *Patientia* 24, *Arent* (or *Adelaar*) 22, *Nieuw Gottenburg* 22, *Liefde van Hoorn* 20, *Prins* 20, *Wapen van Medenblik* 20, *Posthorn* 20, *Brouwer* 20, *St. Marten* 20, *Harderinne* 8, — (galiot) 2. Twenty-one ships, 483 guns.

Thijssen may have had with him his three prizes, carrying twenty-four, twelve, and six guns. The list given was sent by him to Wrangel from Kalmar, so probably gives the force which he took into action.

Mund intended to fight in a single line-ahead and Wrangel

* Commanded by Major Du Quesne, who was later the famous French Admiral.

proposed to attack this line on both sides, but these arrangements were not strictly followed. Mund stood towards the enemy on the starboard tack, but was only followed by two ships, the *Lindorm* and *Oldenborg*. The rest of his fleet, headed by Vice-Admiral Ulfeld in the *Tre Løver*, bore up and tried to pass to leeward of Anckarhjelm's column. The latter at once bore up as well and intercepted them. As a result the battle became two separate actions, one to windward of the other. In the weathermost action firing began at about ten o'clock. Wrangel, in the *Smålands Lejon* 32, tried to board the *Patientia* 48, Mund's flagship, but his rigging and tackle was injured, he missed his mark, and had to go out of action for repairs. The *Patientia* was, however, boarded by the *Göteborg* 36 and *Regina* 34, Mund was killed, and the ship was captured. The *Lindorm* 38, flagship of Vice-Admiral Grabov, was fired by the Swedish fireship *Meerman* and burnt. Grabov was picked up by the Swedes. The *Oldenborg* 42 was taken by the *Vesterviks Fortuna* 24, with the aid of the *Leopard* 36, *Tre Kronor* 32, and *Svan* 22, and Vice-Admiral Von Jasmund was taken prisoner. Wrangel then sent the *Regina*, *Jägare*, *Vesterviks Fortuna*, and *Katta* to help in the pursuit of the Danish ships to leeward, and proceeded to see about securing his prizes and repairing such slight damages as his ships had suffered.

The action to leeward was not so creditable to the Danes as that to windward. In fact, the *Tre Løver* 46, under Ulfeld, was the only ship to attempt anything like a stand. She was boarded by Anckarhjelm in the *Jupiter* and by another Dutch ship. The *Jupiter* had her rudder injured and let go of her prey; but a third Dutch ship came up, and the *Tre Løver* was soon taken. Ulfeld lost a leg and died three days later. Anckarhjelm at once steered with the rest of his fleet after the escaping Danes. The *Fides* 28, *To Løver* 22, and *Havhest* 14 surrendered; the *Stormar* 32, *Delmenhorst* 28, *Neptunus* 28, *Nelleblad* 24, *Kronfisk* 20, *Markat* 16, *Højenhald* 8, and the galiot ran aground off Lolland. The crews of the five bigger ships took to the boats and the Dutch took possession, but the three smaller vessels ran in so close to land that they could be covered by artillery and musket fire from the shore, and had to be left. The *Delmenhorst* could not be got off, and was burnt by a second Swedish fireship, but the other four ships were easily refloated by the Allies. Two ships, the *Pelikan* 36 and *Lam* 16, managed to escape from the Swedish ships detached by Wrangel, and reached Copenhagen in safety; the *Markat* also was refloated later by the Danes and returned to Copenhagen, but the *Højenhald* and the galiot could not be moved. The Danes thus lost fourteen ships out of a fleet of

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seventeen. Ten were captured, the *Patientia* 48, *Tre Löver* 46, *Oldenborg* 42, *Stormar* 32, *Fides* 28, *Neptunus* 28, *Nelleblad* 24, *To Löver* 22, *Kronfisk* 20, and *Havhest* 14; two burnt, the *Lindorm* 38 and *Delmenhorst* 28; and two wrecked, the *Højenhald* 8, and the galiot 2. The Swedes only lost one ship, the Dutch *Arent* or *Adelaar* 22, sunk by the *Tre Löver*.* About 1,000 Danish prisoners were taken, but nothing is known of their loss in killed and wounded. Wrangel gives his total loss as sixty men. Of the Danish flag-officers Mund was killed, and Ulfeld, Grabov, and Von Jasmund captured, but Ulfeld soon died of his wound. No officer of high rank was hurt on the Swedish side.

Next day the Swedish fleet went to Kristianspris for repairs. Several ships went aground on entering the Fjord, and it was not until October 30th that the fleet was able to put to sea again.† That morning Wrangel weighed anchor to return to Sweden. Anckarhjelm was at once detached with the Dutch ships and the captured *Neptunus* to make his way home through the Belt; Wrangel proceeded eastward and landed a small force in Femern. The Danish garrison had evacuated the island, and the Swedes took formal possession. On November 3rd Wrangel was off Wismar, and entered the harbour two days later. Here he laid up for the winter most of his prizes and a few of his own ships, but prepared to send the *Patientia* and *Oldenborg* to Sweden with the galiot *Postferd*. On November 13th he put to sea with these ships and the rest of his fleet, consisting of nine ships and a fireship,‡ sent the *Katta* 22 and *Svan* 22 towards Copenhagen, sent off the homeward-bound ships, and anchored on the 14th off Møen. From here he again sent the same two cruisers, with the *Jägare* 26, to Dräger, just south of Copenhagen, and shortly followed them into Kjöge Bay. On the 16th he sent the *Fenix* to investigate, and next day went towards Copenhagen himself with one other ship. The Danish fleet could be seen unriggered in the harbour. The same day the *Regina* 34 joined from Wismar. That night Wrangel left Kjöge Bay, but head winds kept him off Stevns all the 18th; on the 20th he was off Møen and intended a landing, but was prevented by heavy weather. He anchored off Dornbusch, in Rugen, and on the 23rd entered the harbour of Wismar for the winter. Anckarhjelm reached Gothenburg on November 4th, after driving off Gedde's ships once more. He intended to leave eight ships there, but could only persuade the crews of three to remain. At the end of the month

* Two fireships had been expended, the *Meerman* and *Lilla Delfin*.

† The *Gamla Fortuna* 18 had sailed for Stockholm on the 20th with despatches.

‡ *Smålands Lejon*, *Drake*, *Jägare*, *Svan*, *Katta*, *Vesterviks Fortuna*, *Akilles*, *Leopard*, *Fenix*, and fireship *Caritas*.

he put to sea, and on December 2nd, off Skagen, his fleet was scattered by a gale. On the 10th he was back at Gothenburg with four ships, and others came in by degrees; three were so much damaged that they had to be left there with the other three, but the rest sailed for home, several ships having done so already.

This ended the operations of 1644 at sea.* The Danish fleet had fought five actions: two against the first Dutch fleet, one against the Swedes, one against the second Dutch fleet, and one against a combined Swedish-Dutch force. The first two were victories, the third indecisive, the fourth a mere skirmish, and the fifth and last an overwhelming defeat. Starting the year with every chance of a successful naval campaign, King Christian ended by losing everything, largely owing to his own mismanagement and his failure to see that success against an enemy strong but divided can only be attained by employing every available ship against one of his divisions before it can be supported by the other.

There had been some hope that the Swedish forces in Holstein, Slesvig, and Jylland might be cut off and destroyed, but Gallas, the Imperial general, failed utterly in his object. At the end of July he was joined at Neumünster by a Danish army from Glückstadt, consisting of 5,000 men under Baner. His force was then 12,000 men, but Torstensson managed to collect 18,000 to oppose him. On August 3rd Gallas occupied Kiel, but this was his only success. Torstensson moved south and entered Mecklenburg; Gallas followed as far as the border, but crossed the Elbe instead of turning east after the Swedes. Baner then returned to Glückstadt and Gallas went to Magdeburg. Later in the year Torstensson followed him, and Gallas was twice defeated. The Danish operations in Skåne were no more successful. Early in August all available troops were landed at Malmö, the only remaining Danish town in the province, and on September 6th the King took command in person. For over a month he and Horn watched each other without fighting, and at last, on October 20th, Christian IV. heard of the disaster to Mund's fleet. At once he decided to send his army back to Fyen to guard against a Swedish attack on the islands. The Danish troops were reshipped from Malmö to Sjaelland, and Horn left in control as before. In November he went into winter quarters at Ystad.

* At Glückstadt at the beginning of the year were two Danish ships and a number of galleys and prams under Whittle, an Englishman. Ordered to the islands west of Holstein with eight galleys and two prams, he at once surrendered his ships to the Swedes and entered Swedish service. He was, however, attacked in March by another Danish force; his ships were retaken, and he himself was hanged.

Soon after leaving Holstein Torstensson sent Helmuth Wrangel back thither with 4,000 men to do what he could. Already the Danes had retaken Aarhus,* in Jylland, and Ribe and Hederslev, in Slesvig, and were besieging Pinneberg and Breitenburg, in Holstein. They had also built and occupied a small fortification, Snogshøj, just opposite Middelfart, in Fyen, at the narrowest part of the Little Belt. In September Wrangel relieved Pinneberg, but failed in a similar attempt at Breitenburg, which soon surrendered. A little later he retook Kiel. The Danish plan was that Bille, from Fyen, should co-operate with Prince Frederik, from Glückstadt, in an expedition into Jylland, but this also failed. Wrangel moved first, retook Ribe and Hederslev, and was in Jylland before Prince Frederik had joined Bille. Even when the junction did take place in December the Prince insisted on wasting time in besieging Ribe instead of following Wrangel. The latter meanwhile retook Aarhus, occupied other towns in Jylland, and finally began to move south again. At once Frederik withdrew to Kolding, and was then ordered by the King to return to Glückstadt. In January, 1645, he was back there with nothing accomplished. Bille now evacuated Snogshøj, and Wrangel was left supreme in the Peninsula.

While these various events had been taking place at sea or in the coast districts there had been a good deal of fighting in the interior of Norway and Sweden. In March, 1644, Swedish troops had occupied Jemtland, a Norwegian province in what is now the west of Sweden, but for some time little else occurred. At last, in June, the Norwegians advanced at the extreme southern end of the boundary, took Wenersborg at the south end of Lake Wener, and blockaded Gothenburg from the land in conjunction with Gedde's ships. In August they also re-took Jemtland. No great progress was made near Gothenburg, but Sehested took a Norwegian army into Vermland, north-west of Lake Wener, and won a considerable victory in December.

Peace negotiations had already been begun at Malmö through French mediation, but for some time they made little progress. In the meantime both sides prepared for further efforts in 1645. The Danes attempted an attack on Gothenburg. Gedde, now Admiral of the Fleet (Rigs-admiral), left Copenhagen in the middle of May with a fleet of sixteen ships. The Swedes were, however, ready for him, and had a force of fourteen ships in the harbour. These consisted of the following:—

Nya Göteborg 36, *Salvator* 26, *Tiger* 18, sent from Wismar at

* They took two ships and about thirty small-craft left there by Blume.

the end of 1644*; *Nättelblad* 24†, *Hafsfru* 24, *Akilles* 22, *Hafshäst* 18‡, sent from Wismar March 30th, 1645; *Neptunus* 24, came to Gothenburg with Thijsen November, 1644; *Harde-
rinna* 8, taken over from Thijsen's fleet§; *Naktergal* 10, *Gamla Göteborg* 8, *Kalmarnyckel* —, || *Fama* 16, || brought by Anckarh-
jelm from the Netherlands May 3rd, 1645.

Anckarhjelm had arrived from the Netherlands on May 3rd and taken charge of all the ships in the harbour. On the 19th the Danish fleet reached Varberg, and the galley *Rose* 10, sent to reconnoitre off Gothenburg, was captured by the Swedish *Fama* 16. Next day the Danish ships were off Gothenburg, but on the 24th Gedde's flagship, the *S. Sophia* 40, ¶ was wrecked, though without serious loss of life, and he thereupon left Gothenburg on May 29th, escorted his convoy to Norway, went to Marstrand for repairs, and was back at Copenhagen at the beginning of June.

In the Baltic the Swedes prepared a large fleet. On May 20th the Stockholm fleet was ready to put to sea. It was composed of twenty-three ships, three fireships, and one galiot, and was under the command of Admiral Ryning. On the 21st Ryning sent the *Rekompens* 22 and *Vestervik* 26 to Wismar to tell Wrangel to meet him off Dornbusch, and the following day he set sail with the fleet. An extraordinary series of head winds and gales followed, and it was not until June 20th that he got to sea. Next day the fleet was caught by a gale, in which the *Göta Ark* 72, flagship of Bjelkenstjerna, the third in command, and the *Andromeda* 24 were so much damaged that they had to be sent home with the *Rapphöna* 2. On the 26th the fleet was off Öland and on July 6th it met Wrangel's ships south of that island. Wrangel had had at the beginning of the year twenty ships, one fireship, and one pinnace. He had sent four ships to Gothenburg, but had been sent the *Apollo* 28 and *Enhorn* 18, with 300 fresh men, so that the arrival of the *Rekompens* and *Vestervik* brought his fleet up to its full numbers. Early in June he put to sea and captured the island of Bornholm, and on June 29th three of his ships were wrecked, the *Vestervik* 26 and *Gamla Fortuna* 18 on Bornholm and the *Stormar* 28 on the German coast. At the same time Ryning had had to send home the *Mars* 30.

* Sent in November, 1644, to Wismar with stores.

† ex-Danish *Nelleblad*.

‡ ex-Danish *Havest*.

§ Nothing is heard of any other Dutch ships, so it would seem that they had gone home. Gierdtson, who had been left in command of them, was at Stockholm this year.

¶ These were both Swedish ships, and must have accompanied Anckarhjelm when he returned to the Netherlands in 1644.

|| Some accounts give her 54 guns.

The list of the combined fleet follows:—

First Squadron.—*Scepter* 56 (Ryning), *Apple* 66, *Patientia* 44, *Svärd* 34, *Samson* 34, *Oldenborg* 30, *Rekompens* 22, *Apollo* 28, *Kalmarnyckel**, *Måne* 18, *Hök* 14, *Meerweib* 8, one fireship, one "bojort."

Second Squadron.—*Tre Lejon* 48 (Wrangel), *Drake* 40, *Örn* 38, *Smålands Lejon* 32, *Trekronor* 32, *Regina* 34, *Leopard* 30, *Fides* 28, *Jägare* 26, *Tu Lejon* 22, *Svan* 22, *Kronfisk* 16, one fireship, one pinnace.

Third Squadron.—*Krona* 68 (Ulfspärre), *Jupiter* 38, *Stockholm* 34, *Nyckel* 32, *Vestgöta Lejon* 26, *Merkurius* 26, *Vesterviks Fortuna* 24, *Katta* 20, *Enhorn* 18, *Grip* 12, one fireship, one galiot.

The evening following the junction saw this fleet off Bornholm, where it stayed till July 11th. Two ships, the *Kalmarnyckel* and *Katta* 20, were sent towards Copenhagen to investigate. On the 14th the fleet was off Rügen, and the same day the *Katta* rejoined with a Danish prize, the *Samsons Gallej* 9, taken off Dragør, just south of Copenhagen. On July 23rd Ryning moved to Møen, and next day to Stevns; on the 25th he entered Kjöge Bay. At a conference between him and Horn it was arranged that an attack should be made on the Danish islands, and that for this purpose Anckarhjelm should bring his fleet from Gothenburg to Kristianspris, but before anything could be done came the news of the conclusion of peace on August 13th. The only work of this great fleet had been the capture, on August 8th, of the Danish armed merchantman *S. Peter* 22.

As in the previous year, the Dutch had sent a large fleet to convoy their merchantmen, intending this time to take them right through the Sound under the protection of the warships without paying any toll whatever. On May 30th Admiral de With put to sea with a fleet of forty-eight warships and about 300 merchantmen. The list of his fleet is given here, since it is of interest as showing the sort of force the Dutch could send out a few years before their first war with England.

Maze.—*Brederode* 51, *Gecroonde Licffde* 33, *Prins Hendrick* 23.

Admiralty Ships of Amsterdam.—*'t Huys van Nassau* 36, *De Goude Maan* 34, *De Goude Son* 33, *'t Wapen der Goes* 32, *Gelderlant* 32, *Zutphen* 32, *'t Jaertsveld* 30, *Prins Hendrick* 30, *Bommel* 30.

Old Directory of Amsterdam.—*De Burght* 24, *Prinses Royale* 28, *Hollandia* 26, *De Valck* 23, *De Jonge Prins* 28, *De Wakende Boey* 26, *De Drommedaris* 24, *'t Wapen Medemblick* 25.

* She must have joined from Gothenburg during June.

New Directory of Amsterdam.—*Sint Andries* 30, *De Grooten Jupiter* 30, *De Fortuyne* 28, *Den Godt Mars* 26, *Sint Jacob* 26, *Patientia* 26, *'t Wapen Genua* 36, *Den Cleynen Jupiter* 22, *Venetia* 32, *Abrahams Offerhand* —, *Coninck van Sweden* 26, *Den Swarten Raven* 30, *De Rechte Lyeffde* 26, *De Goude Leeu* 24.

Admiralty ships of 't Noorder-quartier.—*De Hoope* 26, *'t Wapen Alcmaer* 24, *'t Wapen Hoorn* 24, *Medenblick* 26, *Sampson* 28, — 26.

Old and New Directory of Enckhuysen.—*Getrouwen Harder* 34, *Den Haen* 34, *Den Dolphyn* 34, *Coninck Davith* 30.

Medenblick.—*De Coninck Davidt* 28.

Harlingen.—*Prins Willem* 28.

Forty-nine ships, with 1,410 guns.*

De With detached two ships† to the Flemish coast at once, but went on with the rest, and passed into the Sound on June 5th. Four days later he passed the Drogden channel and entered the Baltic without firing a shot save as a salute. Gedde's fleet of fifteen ships lay in the harbour of Copenhagen, but made no move, and the Danish batteries were also silent. De With then sent off his merchantmen in two fleets, with three ships as convoy to each, sent two ships to the northern entrance to the Sound, took twenty-eight to a position just off Copenhagen, and left the remaining eleven in Kjöge Bay. Thus he remained, sending his ships home with convoys a few at a time, until the conclusion of peace between Sweden and Denmark, when he moved with his whole fleet to an anchorage off Kronborg.

Neither side had made much progress on land in 1645. Malmö was still Danish and Gothenburg still Swedish, while the position in the interior was much the same as before. In the southern part of the theatre of war the Swedish forces had occupied Bremen, Prince Frederick's archbishopric, but had since been employed in a vain siege of Rendsburg, in Holstein, and had made no progress towards an attack on the Danish islands.

The terms of the Peace of Bromsebro were naturally very favourable to Sweden. Christian IV. would, as a matter of fact, have continued the war, but his nobles refused to support him, and he had to give in. Denmark ceded Jemtland and the neighbouring province of Harjeadalen, besides the islands of Gothland and Osel. Swedish ships were made free of the Sound dues, and as security for this Sweden was given the province of Halland, between Helsingborg and Gothenburg, for thirty years. At the same time an agreement was signed

* Assuming that the *Abrahams Offerhand* carried 30.

† *Prinses Royale* and *Den Godt Mars*.

at Christianopol, whereby the Dutch obtained great concessions as to the Sound dues and the manner of their collection.

After the conclusion of these two treaties the Dutch and Swedish fleets had no further object in staying in Danish waters. On August 20th Rynning set sail, and on the 28th he reached Dalarö. Wrangel, with three ships, went to Wismar. In September seven small ships were sent to Kalmar under Blume. Here Ulfsparre took charge and sailed for Gothland and Osel to take over these islands from the Danish authorities. Some of the ships in Gothenburg* were sent to Stockholm, but no further operations took place. De With, however, was not recalled until October 29th, though he had by then only thirteen ships. On November 22nd he reached Hellevoetsluis.

The Thirty Years' War went on for another three years, but the disappearance of Denmark put an end to all naval events of any interest. The only expeditions were the Swedish convoys to Germany and a trading voyage to Portugal by six warships from Gothenburg in the winter of 1646-7. At last, in 1648, the Peace of Westphalia put an end to the struggle and gave to Sweden Bremen, Verden, the greater part of Pomerania, the island of Rügen, and the town of Wismar.

* *Nya Göteborg, Harderinna, Naktergal, Nättelblad, Hafshäst, Salvator.*

SECTION V.

THE WARS OF THE DANES AND DUTCH AGAINST THE SWEDES AND ENGLISH.

1652-1667.

After the Peace of Bromsebro, Denmark, in spite of the conduct of the Dutch during the war with Sweden, began to lean more and more towards the nation which had shown itself so ready and so able to interfere in the quarrels of the Baltic peoples. In 1649 Frederik III. of Denmark, who had succeeded Christian IV. in 1648, concluded a defensive alliance with the Netherlands, and on the outbreak of war between the English and the Dutch Denmark was soon involved.

Early in August, 1652, twenty-one or twenty-two English merchantmen* collected at Helsingør to wait for convoy home to England. The King of Denmark invited them to seek safety at Copenhagen, and eighteen took advantage of this offer; but two of the others were taken by a Dutch man-of-war, though one of these was recovered by a third English ship which had been lying under the Castle of Kronborg. The Dutchman tried to press his attack home, but the guns of the fortress opened fire, and compelled him to withdraw. The eighteen ships were now allowed to enter the harbour of Copenhagen, and a Danish warship, the *Hannibal* 44, was sent to Helsingør to protect the two there. This was on August 11th, but on the 27th nine Dutch men-of-war arriving with a convoy were allowed to enter the Sound, while on September 9th the *Søblad* 12 was sent to forbid any English ships to enter, and several large ships† were sent to join the *Hannibal*, and, if necessary, to keep the English back by force.

The same day an English squadron of eighteen ships‡ under Captain Ball left Yarmouth for the Sound to convoy the merchantmen home. On September 20th Ball arrived outside the Sound and found eleven Dutch warships inside Helsingør. The Danish Government at once complained that no notice had been given of the squadron's approach, and using this

* Most of these ships were armed. One had 20 guns, ten had 18-10, and six had 8-6. The rest were unarmed. (Lind 52.)

† *Trefoldighed* 48, *Spes* 40, *Viktoria* 44, &c. (Lind 53.)

‡ The following were amongst Ball's ships:—*Antelope* 56 (f), *Tiger* 36, *Recovery* 26, *Star* 22, *Greyhound* 20, *Elizabeth* (M) 40, *Prosperous* (M) 40. (I.D.W. Various.)

as a pretext refused to allow the merchantmen to sail. Further, they forbade the English to pass the Sound, saying that if they did so the Danish ships would join the Dutch against them, though in the event of the Dutch going out to fight the Danes would take no part. The crews of the merchantmen now left their ships and embarked in Ball's fleet. On September 27th he set sail to return, and, though delayed by the loss of his flagship the *Antelope* 56 on the Jylland coast, he reached Bridlington Bay on October 14th after some slight skirmishes with the Dutch. Meanwhile, on October 1st, eleven Dutch men-of-war had left the Vlie for Denmark. On the 4th, Balck in the *Vrijheijt*, the senior officer, with only two ships in company, came in contact with the leading ships of Ball's fleet near Skagen, and managed to injure the *Elizabeth* 40. He met the Dutch convoy from the Sound, collected his scattered fleet, and was back at the Vlie on the 13th. This was not the only Dutch fleet sent to Danish waters this year; on October 30th, when there were already thirteen Dutch men-of-war near Copenhagen, seven more arrived, with a convoy of 100 merchantmen from the Vlie. The Danish fleet had returned to Copenhagen on the departure of the English, but it was again in the Sound from October 7th to 19th, and left some ships there until November. England was too busy with the Dutch to act effectively against Denmark, and merely seized such Danish ships as could be found in English ports.

Next year, 1653, Frederik III. made an agreement with the Dutch whereby he undertook to close the Sound and the Belts to English ships, and in return for a subsidy to commission a fleet of twenty ships to enforce this. As a matter of fact, he fitted out twenty-two or twenty-three ships ranging from 86 guns to 12.* The arrangement was that the Danish squadron should be in commission from April 1st to November 1st, but

DANISH SHIPS IN COMMISSION, 1653.

* <i>Frederik</i>	86	86	<i>Hvide Bjørn</i>	34	34
<i>Sofia Amalia</i>	86	86	<i>Graa Uls</i>	30	30
<i>Prinds Kristian</i>	78	74	<i>Pelikan</i>	32	34
<i>Trefoldighed</i>	48	48	<i>Phenix</i>	32	30
<i>Norske Løve</i>	44	44	<i>Sorte Bjørn</i>	38	30
<i>Viktoria</i>	48	44	<i>Forgylde Bjørn</i>	30	30
<i>Hannibal</i>	44	44	<i>Snarensvend</i>	30	30
<i>Tre Kroner</i>	42	42	<i>Lykkepot</i>	32	30
<i>Justitia</i>	—	36	<i>Gribbe</i>	12	—
<i>Sorte Rytter</i>	40	40	<i>Søblad</i>	12	—
<i>Spes</i>	30	40	<i>Arke Noa</i>	12	—
<i>Delmenhorst</i>	34	34			

List from Lind (p. 60) and from a Dutch list in the Archives at The Hague. Guns in first column from a list in *Garde Eft.* i. 146-9, and in second column from the Dutch list. These agree very closely. The guns given in Lind (48/9) are very different, and have therefore been ignored. Lind (60) does not mention the *Justitia*, and the Dutch list does not mention the three small craft.

that it should be kept in home waters. The Dutch, however, tried to get the use of it in the North Sea, and in June there was a possibility of the Danes' lending their larger ships in exchange for smaller Dutch vessels, but the Dutch defeats soon convinced Frederik III. of the folly of this idea. In August Bjelke was sent with ten ships to prevent the Dutch from searching neutrals in Danish waters; but on September 3rd he received orders to convoy the Dutch homeward-bound merchantmen with fourteen ships till he met the squadron sent to receive them, and then to act for a few days in conjunction with that fleet, joining in any action against the English, but not fighting them alone unless forced to do so. These orders were executed without incident, and early in November the Danish fleet was laid up. Its only other activity had been the despatch of four ships to cruise during May and June on the coast of Norway. Meanwhile some fifteen of the English merchantmen had been sold.

No further operations occurred. Early in 1654 it became probable that peace would soon be concluded, and on April 5th this took place. Denmark was, by special insistence of the Dutch envoys, included in the Treaty on the terms that the Dutch should guarantee the return of the English merchantmen, and should pay £140,000 for damages done by Denmark. A special Treaty of Peace was, however, concluded between England and Denmark on September 15th, 1654.*

Peace in the Baltic did not last long. Karl Gustaf became King of Sweden in June, 1654, on the abdication of Queen Kristina, and in very little over a year he was engaged in warfare on foreign soil. Having decided that Swedish territory beyond the Baltic must be increased at all costs, the only decision still necessary was the choice of an enemy. It was on Poland that the blow fell, since in this case there was an excuse available in the fact that John Casimir, Sigismund's second son, now King of Poland, still claimed the Swedish throne.

Karl Gustaf fitted out a large fleet of 31 ships† at Dalarö,

* Sweden kept out of the conflict, but found it necessary to send out a few ships on convoy duty in 1653 and 1654. (Zettersten ii. 388/9.)

† 1st Squadron.—*Scepter* 66 (King Karl Gustaf and Admiral Bjelkenstjerna), *Cesar* 54, *Nyckel* 32, *Maria* 54, *Apollo* 46, *Vestervik* 44, *Orn* 38, *Svärd* 34, *Fides* 30, *Phenix* 30, *Svan* 28.

2nd Squadron.—*Tre Lejon* 50 (Vice-Admiral of the Fleet K. G. Wrangel), *Carolina* 54, *Oldenburg* 48, *Merkurius* 46, *Måne* 46, *Falk* 40, *Samson* 34, *Rafael* 30, *Salvator* 26, *Kronfisk* 16.

3rd Squadron.—*Herkules* 58 (Admiral Ulfsparre), *Mars* 44, *Andromeda* 44 (?), *Wismar* 44, *Leopard* 36, *Rekompens* 26, *Fortuna* 24, *Hafsru* 24, *Neptunus* 24, *Fama* 16.

Joined later by the *Gröna Jägare* 26 and *Hök* 16. (Zettersten ii. 392.)

embarked his army, and sailed on July 9th, 1655, to invade Poland. The army was landed on the 15th and 16th near Wolgast, in Pomerania, some fifty miles north-west of Stettin, and here the fleet stayed for some time, sending out cruisers to see if any interference was to be expected from the Danes or Dutch.*

At last, on August 23rd, Wrangel received orders from the King to take the fleet to Putzig Bay, outside Danzig, and to establish a blockade, or rather to levy toll on all ships entering or leaving Danzig, until such time as the town should capitulate to the Swedish army. He entered Putzig Bay on August 27th, and sent five ships† in to the entrance to Danzig to carry out the collection of the toll. On September 14th some of the older ships‡ were sent home, and a second detachment§ followed a month later. On October 4th the new ship *Amarant* 46 arrived, and Wrangel shifted his flag to her. Little of interest occurred save a few attempts on the town of Putzig, and on November 9th Wrangel moved in close to Danzig previously to taking the rest of the fleet home. Leaving Strussflycht with the *Apollo*, *Fenix*, *Svan*, and *Hök*, he put to sea with the remaining ships on the 11th. Two days later he returned, driven back by head winds and fog, but on November 22nd he sent off Gustaf Wrangel with all the fleet save the *Amarant* and Strussflycht's four ships. These sailed on the 25th, and anchored three days later at Greifswalder Island, south of Rügen. Wrangel went ashore, the three smaller vessels went to Stralsund for the winter, and the *Amarant* and *Apollo* sailed for Dalarö. Here they arrived early in December, a few days after the bulk of the fleet under Gustaf Wrangel, who had had a rough passage and had lost the *Andromeda* on the way.

In one way the system of toll collecting had been a success. It had killed Danzig's trade, but it had therefore failed to bring in much money for the simple reason that the merchants of Danzig preferred losing their trade to paying the toll necessary to keep it. Next year, therefore, the idea of tolls was given up and a complete blockade substituted. After bringing the Queen from Kalmar to Pillau in April, Strussflycht took the *Amarant* 46, *Merkurius* 46, *Hjort* 32, and *Fenix* 30 to

* These cruisers reported that Cornelius Tromp was in the Sound with six Dutch ships. There is no mention of this in the "Leven van C. Tromp," but very probably the ships were there under some other commander.

† *Mars*, *Rafael*, *Leopard*, *Fortuna*, *Salvator*.

‡ *Scepter*, *The Lejon*, *Nyckel*, *Svärð*, *Rekompens*, *Neptunus*, *Kronfisk*. (The last-named was lost on the way home.)

§ *Herkules*, *Cesar*, *Carolus*, *Mars*, *Samson*, *Maria*, *Rafael*, *Leopard*, *Fides*, *Oldenburg*, *Vestervik*, *Salvator*, *Pama*.

Danzig at the beginning of May. He maintained the blockade till the end of July, when the arrival of a fleet of 42 Dutch warships forced him to withdraw.*

This fleet, sent expressly to raise the blockade of Danzig, had collected in the Sound. Twenty-five ships under Ruyter had left the Dutch coast on May 21st and anchored outside the Sound on the 29th. Entering the Sound, this squadron was joined at intervals by other ships, and on June 17th Wassenaer arrived to take over the command. No movement was made for a month, but on the arrival of de With with the last of the fleet Wassenaer proceeded to Copenhagen on July 19th, and leaving next day, reached Danzig on the 26th. Like the fleets of 1644 and 1645, the Dutch fleet had been sent purely in the interests of trade. It was essential to the Dutch that their merchantmen should have free access to Danzig, so a fleet was sent to secure this, but without any intention of an unprovoked attack on Sweden. This, however, was not understood in Sweden, and in expectation of a Dutch attack a fleet of nineteen ships† was commissioned and stationed at Elfsnabben. The alarm proved groundless, but altogether the position of Sweden was far from enviable. Karl Gustaf was already at war with Poland and with Alexis of Russia, who had begun hostilities in June and was besieging Riga; the Dutch were obviously more inclined to be foes than friends; and finally Frederik III. of Denmark had not only given Wassenaer's fleet every possible assistance and attention at Copenhagen, but actually sent a small squadron,‡ which joined the Dutch off Danzig on September 1st, though it was recalled after a fortnight. Still, this year no further complications ensued. Two ships, the *Fenix* 30 and *Hök* 16, were sent to relieve Revel, but returned with the news that the Russians had

* Ships of Rotterdam.—*Eendracht* 68, *Utrecht* 42, *Prins Maurits* 42, *Brederode* 54, *Prins Hendrik* 42, *Prins Willem* 42, *Hollandia* 42.

Of Amsterdam.—*Huis Tijdverdriff* 50, *Marseveen* 42, *Dom van Utrecht* 42, *Tromp* 42, *Zuiderhuis* 42, *Gelderland* 44, *Westvriesland* 20, *Windhond* 22, *Koevoorden* 54, *Gouda* 46, *Doesburg* 42, *Burg van Leiden* 42, *Zeelandia* 30, *Maagd van Enkhuisen* 32, *Star* 30, *Brak* 22, *Staveren* 42, *Landman* 42, *Jaarsveld* 42, *Maan* 38, *Duivenvoorae* 42, *Utrecht* 30, *Leiden* 28, *Zutphen* 34.

From Noord, Holland.—*Josua* 45, *Eendracht* 48, *Burg van Alkmaar* 36, *Goude Leeuw* 48, *Wapen van Hoorn* 30, *Kasteel van Medenblik* 42, *Hollandsche Tuin* 36.

From Zeeland.—*Ter Veere* 40, *Utrecht* 35.

From Vriesland.—*Vriesland* 42, *Prinsen Wapen* 36.

42 ships, 1,676 guns.

† *Drake* 64, *Bjelkenstjerna*, *Herkules* 58, *Cesar* 54, *Carolus* 54, *Samson* 34, *Maria* 54, *Mars* 44, *Wismar* 44, *Måne* 46, *Apollo* 46, *Svärð* 34, *Leopard* 36, *Rafael* 30, *Fides* 30, *Vestervik* 44, *Örn* 38, *Falk* 40, *Svan* 28, *Salvator* 26.

‡ *Trefoldighed* 66, *Lindenov*, *Norske Love* 48, *Lindorm* 46, *Hannibal* 44, *Pelikan* 36, *Sorte Rytter* 48, *Feniks* 32, *Graa Ulv* 36, *Falk* 16.

retired. Wassenaer stayed at Danzig till September 26th, when he sailed for home with his thirty largest ships, leaving Tromp there till October 20th with the twelve remaining vessels.

Early in 1657 Frederik III. decided to attack Sweden in the hope of regaining some of the territory which had changed hands in 1645 and 1648. With this object he made every effort to increase his fleet by taking over several merchantmen and chartering six warships* in the Netherlands. The first attack was to be made on the new Swedish territory of Bremen, and in support of this a squadron† was sent into the Elbe, while Captain Niels Juel was stationed in the Sound with five ships.‡ On May 20th orders were sent to these two fleets to capture all Swedish ships, and the war was thus definitely begun. On the 25th Captain Nielsen was sent towards Gothenburg with the *Sorte Rytter* 48 and *Snarenspeend* 30 with orders to take over one of the three Dutch ships under Koningk, but to leave him the other two ships to cruise nearer Copenhagen. On May 29th the three Dutch ships returned to Copenhagen, and were followed on June 10th by Nielsen, who had been joined by the *Hvide Björn* 40, but on June 21st Nielsen was ordered back to Gothenburg with all six ships, and there Rodthsten shortly joined him with the other three Dutch ships, after having been sent to the Weser on June 3rd to support the military operations. In Gothenburg was a squadron of nine ships, the *Delfin* 14, and eight armed merchantmen, but it gave no sign of activity. The main Danish fleet, consisting of nineteen ships, equipped with great difficulty, sailed from Dräger, just south of Copenhagen, on June 24th, with the King himself on board. On July 2nd it reached Danzig, but hearing that the Swedish King was marching westwards towards Holstein, Frederik III. ordered an immediate return. He himself went to Copenhagen in the *Trefoldighed*, but the rest of the fleet parted from him at Bornholm and steered for Rügen.

The Swedes, however, made no attack by sea at present; their fleet was not yet ready, and save for two ships, the *Merkurius* 46 and *Falk* 40, which cruised outside the Stockholm skargard, they had no ships at sea. Bjelke, therefore, with the Danish fleet was unmolested, and after being reinforced from Copenhagen he was able to blockade Wismar and make several descents in Rügen and the surrounding country. At last, on September 1st, the Swedish fleet left Elfsnabben under Admiral Bjelkenstjerna forty ships strong. Off Öland on the 10th Bjelkenstjerna heard that the Danes were near Rügen.

* *Sunder Roer*, *Raadhuis van Haarlem*, *Beurs van Amsterdam*, Captain Koningk; *Haabet*, *Forgyldte Falk*, *Fama*, Captain Rodthsten.

† Including the *København* 32, *Søblad* 12, and *Prinsens Jagt* 10.

‡ *Norske Løve* 48, *Graa Ulv* 36, *Pelikan* 36, *Føniks* 32, *Falk* 16.

He weighed anchor at once, and was off Bornholm in the afternoon of the 11th. Meanwhile the Danish fleet, hearing of the approach of the Swedes, had left Rügen for the north, and soon after mid-day on September 12th the two fleets met east or north-east of Møen. The fleets, as far as is known, were as shown in the footnote.*

Details of the fighting which followed are very scanty, and such accounts as there are contradict one another freely, but probably what happened is roughly as follows.

Bjelke tried to avoid action and steered towards Kjöge Bay, but the Swedes, being to windward, prevented his escape. However, many of the Swedish ships behaved badly, so that Bjelkenstjerna's flagship, the *Drake* 66, was not properly supported and suffered considerable damage. The action began about 4 p.m. and lasted till nightfall, but it was never more than partial. According to some accounts Bjelke was joined that evening by Niels Juel from Copenhagen with eleven ships, but this is very doubtful. At any rate, next day the Danes were quite ready to give battle. As before, the Swedes were to windward; there was a strong easterly wind and a heavy sea, and this, coupled with the disinclination of many of the Swedes to come to close quarters, prevented a decisive action, though fighting went on from about 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Both flagships were much knocked about, and a good deal of damage done to hulls and spars on either side, though the losses in men were comparatively small. The Danes are said to have lost 60 killed and 100 wounded; the Swedes 40 killed. Next morning the weather was too bad to renew the action; the Danish fleet withdrew to Copenhagen, and the Swedes, leaving four ships to watch them, anchored off Dornbusch, on the north-west of Rügen. On the 16th the Swedish scouts returned, and were replaced by five others. Next day, finding his anchorage insecure, Bjelkenstjerna moved to Jasmund, on the east coast

* Swedes from Zettersten ii. 402. Danish list approximate only; compiled from Lind 108, 113, etc., and Bricka 2.22. Guns from Lind 43 and 242 and Garde Eft., i. 147. Some Swedish accounts give the Danes twenty-eight ships.

Swedes:—*Drake* 66 (f), *Krona* 68, *Herkules* 58, *Carolus* 54, *Cesar* 54, *Amarant* 46, *Maria* 46, *Apollo* 46, *Måne* 46, *Merkurius* 46, *Seödr* 44, *Mars* 44, *Wismar* 44, *Vestervik* 44, *Falk* 40, *Örn* 38, *Rafael* 36, *Leopard* 36, *Fides* 36, *Hjort* 36, *Samson* 32, *Fenix* 30, *Svan* 36, *Salvator* 30, *Fortuna* 24, *Morgonstjerna* (M) 48, *Småland* (M) 46, *Nordstjerna* (M) 40, *Samson* (M) 36, *Fenix* (M) 30, *Halvmåne* (M) 28, *Vesterviksoxe* (M) 22, *Leopard* (M) 16, two fireships, five small-craft (42). Thirty-eight ships, two fireships, 1,388 guns.

Danes:—*Trefoldighed* 66, *Spes* 66, *Tre Løve* 60, *Norske Løve* 48, *Viktoria* 48, *Nelleblad* 46, *Lindorm* 46, *Hannibal* 44, *Delmenhorst* 43, *Tre Kroner* 40, *Justitia* 36, *Sorte Björn* 36, *Pelikan* 36, *Graa Ulv* 36, *Sunder Roer* —, *Raadhuis van Haarlem* 40, *Beurs van Amsterdam* —, *Svenske Løve* —, *Svenske Griß* —, *Svenske Lam* —, *Føniks* 32, *Samson* —, —, *Karitas* —, one galiot, two fireships. Twenty-four ships, two fireships, circa 920 guns.

of Rügen, and on the 23rd, after picking up his five cruisers, he anchored at Wismar.

The Danish fleet, repaired and increased,* left Kjöge Bay on September 28th, and appeared off Wismar on October 4th, intending to blockade the Swedes there, but three days later a northerly gale forced them to withdraw, leaving only four ships off the port. These four ships were recalled on October 15th and rejoined the fleet which anchored off Gjedser, the southern point of the island of Falster, on the 17th. Here Bjelke found orders to stay off Wismar, but heavy weather prevented him from obeying. In fact, the resulting damage and the lack of provisions completely paralysed the Danish fleet, so that the Swedes were able to send out cruisers, and on November 3rd to send the *Drake*, *Herkules*, and *Måne* to Stockholm to fetch the Queen to Wismar. Still Clerck, who took over the command on Bjelkenstjerna's departure in the *Drake*, made no move during the whole of November, and the Danes, though starting to cruise again on the 10th, suffered so much from continual gales that they gave up the struggle and returned home through the Belt. On December 3rd the fleet anchored at Copenhagen. On the 4th Clerck was ordered to take the Swedish fleet home; he was to fight the Danes if he met them, but not to go out of his way to look for them. Detaching five ships to Sønderborg, in the island of Als, to help the army, he put to sea, and reached Dalarö on December 21st.

In the Kattegat nothing of importance had occurred. Nielsen remained on the blockade, and the Swedish ships were unable to move. Sjöhjelm,† the Swedish commander, was ordered in July to sail to the Elbe, and in August to Aarhus, in Jylland, but the presence of the blockading squadron kept him in port. In September the three Dutch ships under Koningk were sent to Copenhagen to join the main Danish fleet, but the six remaining ships, with a few privateers and Norwegian vessels, kept up the blockade till ordered home on November 14th.‡

* Its strength was now as follows:—1st squadron—*Trefoldighed* 68, *Hannibal* 44, *Justitia* 36, *Tre Løver* 60, *Sunder Roer* —, *Svenske Løve* —, *Emanuel* —, two fireships; 2nd squadron—*Sofia Amalia* 86, *Viktoria* 48, *Raadhuus van Haarlem* 40, *Lindorm* 46, *Delmenhorst* 43, *Forgyldte Fisk* —, *Sælhund* —; 3rd squadron—*Frederik* 86, *Tre Kroner* 40, *Nelleblad* 46, *Spes* 66, *Pelikan* 36, *Svenske Lam* —, *Svenske Grib* —, one fireship; 4th squadron—*Norske Løve* 48, *Graa Ulv* 36, *Fønix* 32, *Beurs van Amsterdam* —, *Samson* —, *Sorte Bjørn* —, *Karitas* —, one fireship. Also five unattached small craft (*Lind* 119/120, *Bricka* 2).

† Formerly Gierdtson, second in command of Thijsen's fleet in 1644.

‡ The *Flyvende Hjort* 6, a privateer, was wrecked on November 11th. At the end of this year's campaign three of the Dutch ships, the *Haabet*, *Forgyldte Falk*, and *Fama*, returned to the Netherlands (*Lind* 126/7).

Meanwhile, Karl Gustaf had carried everything before him on land. After a tremendous march from Poland he had entered Holstein in July. The Danes were beaten everywhere, and at the end of August Bille, the Danish commander, was forced to ship the remains of his army in the small squadron in the Elbe, and proceed by sea to Frederiksdøde, on the Little Belt, the last Danish position on the mainland. On October 24th Frederiksdøde fell by storm, and about the same time the Danish *Grib* 12 was taken by the *Samson* 32. Bjelke sent Bredal to the Little Belt on November 8th with the *Tre Løver* 60, *Svenske Lam**, *Emmanuel*, a fireship, and a galiot, and ten days later reinforced him with the *Svenske Løve**, *Samson*, and *Forgyldte Fisk*. A few small Swedish ships escaped into Frederiksdøde, but two were taken by the Danes. Finally, Bredal was ordered to winter at Nyborg with the *Svenske Løve*, *Samson*, *Emmanuel*, and *Svenske Lam*. At the same time Speck, detached from the main Swedish fleet, arrived in the Little Belt with the *Carolus* 54, *Amarant* 46, *Vestervik* 44, *Hjort* 36, and *Fenix* 30, and remained off Als or Frederiksdøde until January, when winter forced him back to Wismar.

Winter gave the King of Sweden his opportunity. As long as the sea was open the Danish ships were able to prevent his advancing further than Jylland, but when the ice became thick the conditions changed. On January 30th, by a movement of extraordinary boldness, he marched his army over the Little Belt into Fyen, and occupied the island. After this he went on by the same means, and, passing in turn to Langeland, Lolland, and Falster, he reached Sjaelland (or Zealand), the chief island of Denmark, on February 12th. At Nyborg, in Fyen, were Bredal's four ships, frozen in. The town surrendered, but Bredal managed to cut his way to the middle of the harbour, and there successfully resisted all attacks for three days, until the Swedes had to leave him unsubdued to continue their march towards Copenhagen. Still, the Swedish army took one naval trophy, in the shape of the *Delmenhorst* 44, which was captured at Korsør, in Sjaelland, where she was repairing the damage sustained in the gale of the previous autumn.

The Swedish attack on Sjaelland found Copenhagen defenceless, and there was no alternative but to sue for peace. Naturally Karl Gustaf drove a hard bargain. At the Peace of Roeskilde, signed on February 26th, 1658, he took Skåne, Halland, Båhus, Bleking, Trondhjem, and Bornholm. The first four of these comprised all the Danish or Norwegian territory in what is now the south of Sweden, Trondhjem opened

* Captured Swedish merchantmen.

a way from central Sweden to the North Sea, and Bornholm was the last of the outlying Danish islands. Besides these territorial gains he forced Frederik III. into an alliance with him whereby all foreign fleets should be excluded from the Baltic, and, with one side of the Sound in his own hands, naturally kept the previously-granted freedom from the Sound dues for Swedish ships.

After the conclusion of peace the Swedish forces were transported to their own territory by Danish ships as soon as the sea was open, and Karl Gustaf prepared to renew his attack on Poland and Russia. Three Swedish merchantmen,* which had been taken by the Danes and used as warships, were now returned, and at the same time the Danish fleet was weakened in other ways. The *Saelhund* was wrecked, the *Sunder Roer*, *Raadhuis van Haarlem*, and *Beurs van Amsterdam* sent back to Holland, the other chartered merchantmen returned to their owners, and the *Feniks* 32, *Hvide Bjørn* 40, and *Sorte Bjørn* 36 sent on a trading voyage to Portugal.

Naturally, little of naval interest arose from the Swedish war with Russia and Poland, but still one or two small expeditions took place. On May 8th Major Sperling was sent with stores from Stockholm to Malmö with the six ships *Mercurius* 46, *Apollo* 46, *Leopard* 36, *Wismar* 44, *Rafael* 36, and *Fortuna* 30. Arriving there on the 18th, he was joined from Gothenburg by the five merchantmen *Göteborgsfalk* 24, *Kalmarkastell* 32, *Johannes* 36, *Hopp* 24, and *Lilla Johannes*, with a few troops on board. The resulting fleet left Malmö on June 3rd for Danzig, and remained there till ordered to Wismar at the end of the month. At the same time three ships† had been sent to Kiel with the Queen's baggage, and on June 6th the King and Queen embarked at Gothenburg in the *Amarant* 46, landing at Flensburg, in Holstein, on the 14th.

Suddenly Karl Gustaf decided to attack Denmark again. His reason was that Frederik III. was being urged by the Dutch to refuse to ratify the clause in the Treaty of Roeskilde, which called upon him to assist in keeping foreign fleets from the Baltic. This was a matter of the highest importance to Sweden, and the King considered that his only course was to fight. At Kiel he had 10,000 men, and thither he summoned Sperling from Wismar and Strussflycht with various small craft from Stralsund. Sending Sperling's eleven ships direct to Copenhagen to establish a blockade, he embarked his troops,

* *Svenske Love*, *Svenske Lam*, and *Svenske Grib*. Lind mentions the capture of three Swedish merchantmen, including the two first-named, and records the return of three. He only mentions the return of the last-named; probably she was the third of those mentioned as taken.

† *Drake* 66, *Måne* 46, *Svan* 36.

conveyed by the *Drake* 66, *Måne* 46, and *Svan* 36, and landed on July 8th at Korsør, on the west of Sjaelland. Two days later Sperling anchored off Copenhagen, on August 14th Admiral Sjöhhjelm joined from Gothenburg with the *Delfin* 14, *Svan* (M) 38, *Konung David* (M) 40, and *Måse* (M) 30, and on August 26th Bjelkenstjerna arrived from Stockholm with the thirteen ships *Viktoria* 74, *Herkules* 58, *Cesar* 54, *Mars* 44, *Svärd* 44, *Maria* 46, *Samson* 36, *Örn* 38, *Fides* 36, *Hök* 28, *Jägare* 26, *Stralsunds Johannes* 24, and *Fogel Struts* 14.

The Danish fleet, besides having been weakened, was unready and without men and gear, but several floating batteries were fitted out and did a good deal to keep the Swedes at a distance. Three sea-going ships, the *Tre Løver* 60, *Trefoldighed* 66, and *Hannibal* 44, were moored at the mouth of the harbour, but none of them had more than sixty men on board, and the ships inside the harbour were even more weakly manned. In the night of August 23rd-24th Bredal took 180 men in a number of small boats, and managed to capture and burn two small ships of the blockading fleet, the *Wrangels Jacht* 10 and another of four guns. On September 14th the Swedes attempted a bombardment, but the fire of the prams and the Danish warships prevented their doing much damage. Later, on October 27th, the *Jonas* (M) came in purposely too close, and was captured by the Danes through the treachery of her captain, a Dutchman; two days later the Swedish *Fortuna* 8 was wrecked. On the other hand, several Danish ships at sea or in outlying ports were lost. The *Snarensvend* 30 was taken by the Swedes under the guns of Kronborg (or Helsingør) and sunk by the fort before she could be removed, and the *Pelikan* 36, *Falk* 16, *Soblad* 12, and four smaller craft were captured. At the same time Copenhagen was very hard pressed both by sea and land, but at this crisis the Dutch intervened. The proviso in the Treaty of Roeskilde whereby foreign fleets were to be excluded from the Baltic was certainly directed mainly against them, in order to prevent any repetition of their assistance to Danzig in 1656. As long as the two sides of the Sound were in different hands, and as long as Denmark was strong enough for an independent policy, access to the Baltic would be free; but if, as seemed probable, Sweden were to obtain a footing west of the Sound and at the same time crush Denmark into a position of dependence, Karl Gustaf would be able to achieve his object, and Dutch trade in the Baltic would be at his mercy.

The United Provinces decided, therefore, to support Denmark, and with this object a large fleet was equipped and sent out under Lieutenant-Admiral Wassenaer. Leaving the Vlie on October 7th, Wassenaer dropped anchor outside the Sound

on the 23rd. Kronborg had fallen on September 6th, and both sides of the Sound were thus in Swedish hands. The Swedish fleet, after the bombardment of September 14th, had sailed to Helsingør on the 20th. It had returned to its position off Copenhagen on October 7th, and supported the army in an unsuccessful action on the 10th, but had anchored again at Helsingør on the 12th. It was reinforced by six ships* on October 11th and by three† on the 15th, and on the 21st Karl Gustaf Wrangel, Admiral of the Fleet, took command. The fourth squadron, under Gustaf Wrangel, paid a visit to the neighbourhood of Copenhagen on October 19th-20th, and again on the 27th-28th, but the rest of the fleet remained at Helsingør. Head-winds kept Wassenaer at his anchorage till October 29th, but that morning he got under way with a strong northerly wind and steered for the Sound.

The following lists give the strength of the opposing fleets. A few ships were commissioned in Copenhagen, and their names are given, though they took no part in the action, since the wind that allowed the Dutch to pass the Sound kept the Danes in harbour.

The Dutch fleet was divided into three squadrons, the van under Vice-Admiral de With, the centre under Lieutenant-Admiral Wassenaer, and the rear under Vice-Admiral Floriszoon. The Swedes were in four squadrons commanded by Vice-Admiral Sjöhjelm, Admiral of the Fleet K. G. Wrangel, Admiral Bjelkenstjerna, and Vice-Admiral G. Wrangel. The second in command of the second squadron was Vice-Admiral Strussflycht. The Danish division was under Admiral Bjelke and Vice-Admiral Helt.

Dutch Fleet‡:—

Van Squadron.—*Brederode* 59, *Landman* 40, *Zeeridder* 22, *Princesse Louyse* 31, *Boges* 40, *Windhont* 23, *Prins Willem* 28, *Wapen van Medenblich* 36, *Wapen van Enckhuysen* 27, *Castel van Medenblich* 28, *Groeninge* 36.

Centre Squadron.—*Eendracht* 72, *Rotterdam* 52, *Son* 40, *Wapen van Rotterdam*¶ 40, *Dordrecht*** 40, *Halve Maen* 40, *Duyvenvoorde* 40, *Staveren* 40, *Deutecum* 24, *Wagh* 40, *Goude Leeuw* 38, *Hoorn* 28, *Princesse Albertina* 36.

Rear Squadron.—*Josua* 50, *Breda* 28, *Jupiter* 32, *Alckmaer*

* *Fortuna* 30, *Salvator* 30, *Småland* (M) 46, *Rose* (M) 40, *Göteborgsfalk* (M) 24, *Fama* fireship.

† *Krona* 74, *Hjort* 36, *Konung David* (M) 40.

‡ From Grove, "Journalen van Wassenaer en Ruyter," Ap. A. This corrects in many details the list in *Tidskrift i Sjöväsendet* 1900, pp. 125/6.

§ Or *Cogge*.

¶ Or *Maagd van Enckhuysen*.

¶ Or *Rotterdam*.

** Or *Wapen van Dordrecht*.

36, *Westfriesland* 28, *Hollandia** 38, *Eendracht* 38, *Caleb* 40, *Jonge Prins* 30, *Wapen van Monnickendam*† 26, *Munnickendam* 32.

Transports.—*Judith* 24, *Vergulden Haen* 16, *Liefde* 24, *Medea* 24, *Perel* 23, *Fruytboom* 23.

Four fireships, six galiots. Total strength, including the transports:—Forty-one ships, 1,413 guns.

Danish Fleet‡:—*Trefoldighed* 66, *Hannibal* 44, *Tre Lover* 60, *Norske Love* 48, *Graa Ulv* 36, *Johannes* 20, *Højenhald* 8.

Seven ships, about 280 guns.

Swedish Fleet§:—

First Squadron.—1st Division—*Cesar* 54, *Apollo* 46, (*Hjort* 36), *Vestervik* 44; 2nd Division—*Amarant* 46, *Svan* (M) 38, (*Halfmåne* (M) 28), *Fides* 36; 3rd Division—*Wismar* 44, *Södermanland* (M) 38, *Östergötland* (M) 36.

Second Squadron.—1st Division—*Victoria* 74, *Morgonstjerna* (M) 48, (*Göteborgsfalk* (M) 24), *Svärd* 44; 2nd Division—*Krona* 74, *Merkurius* 46, *Pelikan* 40, *Mars* 44; 3rd Division—*Måne* 46, *Samson* (M) 32, *Örn* 38.

Third Squadron.—1st Division—*Drake* 66, *Nordstjerna* (M) 40, (*Jägare* 26), *Samson* 36; 2nd Division—*Carolus* 54, *St. Johannes* (M) 36, *Konung David* (M) 42, (*Leopard* 36); 3rd Division—*Falk* 40, *Delmenhorst* 36, *Kalmarkastell* (M) 32, *Rafael* 36.

Fourth Squadron.—1st Division—*Herkules* 58, (*Rose* (M) 40), *Hök* 22, *Småland* (M) 46; 2nd Division—*Maria* 46, *Fenix* 30, (*Ängermanland* (M) 20), *Svan* 36; 3rd Division—*Svenska Lejon* 40, *Salvator* 30, *Fortuna* 30.

Forty-five ships, 1,838 guns.

The Swedes got under way about the same time as the Dutch,

* Or *Wapen van Holland*.

† Or *Munnick*.

‡ From Lind. 149. Guns as before. *Garde Eft. i. i.*, 157, gives the first three ships as of fifty-four guns each. The account in *Tidskrift i Sjöväsendet* agrees with this, and says they carried fifty guns each in the previous year.

§ From a list in *Tidskrift i Sjöväsendet* 1900, pp. 122/4. Spelling and guns from the list in *Zettersten ii.*, 414/5. *Zettersten* gives the squadrons in the order 2, 3, 1, 4. This list shows the organisation of each squadron into divisions. Each division consisted in theory of one large ship and two smaller. Extra ships were detailed as "scouts." These are shown in brackets in the list. In the 2nd Squadron, 2nd Division, there are apparently four ships. The *Krona* was a late arrival, and took the place of the *Merkurius* as second flagship of this squadron, and apparently she came in as a supernumerary. In the 3rd Squadron, 2nd Division, the list gives the *Konung David* also as a "scout," but appends a query. In most other cases the second small ship is the "scout," so possibly the brackets should really be given to the *Konung David*. The only other case where the second small ship is not the scout is in the 4th Squadron, 1st Division, where the first ship is thus indicated. As the first ship, the *Rose*, is a ship of forty guns, and the *Hök* only twenty-two, there may well be a mistake here.

and formed line on the port tack. According to the Swedish account the wind was north-west, according to the Dutch it was north, but the question is not important. Wassenaer passed Helsingborg and Kronborg unharmed in spite of a heavy fire, and at about 9 a.m.* the two fleets met. Wrangel had at first steered towards Helsingborg, but had gone about shortly before the moment of contact and received the charge on the starboard tack. The Dutch came on without much order, and in the strong wind and current a mêlée was the natural result. De With, in the *Brederode* 59, attacked the Swedish commander-in-chief, in the *Victoria* 74, but on the arrival of Wassenaer, in the *Eendracht* 72, de With relinquished the place of honour and engaged the *Drake* 66, Bjelkenstjerna's flagship, and the *Leopard* 36. He drove off the *Leopard* so much damaged that she had to be put ashore on Hven and burnt, but soon after the *Drake* and *Brederode* went ashore together on the Danish side of the Sound. The *Drake* got off, but the *Brederode* remained fast and was now attacked by the *Wismar* 44. After two hours' raking fire the Swedes boarded. De With was killed and the *Brederode* taken, but almost directly afterwards she slipped into deeper water and sank. Meanwhile the *Drake* had gone to relieve the *Victoria*, which was hard pressed by the *Eendracht* and other Dutch ships. She was, in fact, so much damaged that when at last she was freed Wrangel had to take her out of action to Helsingør and anchor for repairs. He was followed by the *Drake*, also badly damaged. Now Wassenaer was surrounded in his turn by several Swedish ships, including the *Cesar* 50, *Pelikan* 40, *Morgonstjerna* (M) 48, and *Johannes* (M) 36; the *Cesar* had previously beaten off the *Josua* 50 and killed Vice-Admiral Floriszoon, commander of the Dutch rear squadron. The *Morgonstjerna* and *Pelikan* attacked Wassenaer to starboard, the *Cesar* aft, and other ships to port, but he was well seconded by his captains. The *Wapen van Rotterdam* 40, *Dordrecht* 40, and *Halve Maen* 40, under Captains Van Nes, de Liefde, and Van Campen, came to his rescue and succeeded in relieving him. Sjöhjelm, in the *Cesar*, was wounded, and took his ship out of action, the *Pelikan* was taken† by the *Wapen van Rot-*

* Wassenaer, in his Journal (Journalen 23), says he passed Kronborg about nine o'clock. The Swedish account in the Journal of the *Victoria* (Tid. i Sjö. 117) says the action began about eight, but Tornquist (i. 216) says 9.30.

† Journalen 26 says she was sunk, but on page 28 she is said to have been captured. Zettersten (ii. 417) gives her as captured, de Jonge (i. 567) says she was sunk, the Journal of the *Victoria* (Tid. i Sjö. 119) captured, but Tornquist (i. 129) apparently gives the explanation. He says she was run into by a Dutch ship and began to sink, and after mentioning the *Rafael* as suffering the same fate, says: "These wrecks were later towed by the Dutch into Copenhagen and 450 men saved." Still, she seems to have been of no further use to her captors.

terdam, the *Morgonstjerna* taken by the *Eendracht* just before sinking, and Wassenaer at last got clear. Two other Swedish ships were captured—the *Delmenhorst* 36, taken by the *Hollandia* 38 and *Castel van Medenblick* 28, and the *Rose* (M) 40, by the *Landman* 40; but, on the other hand, the Dutch ship *Breda* 28 was captured, though the Swedes abandoned her on an outbreak of fire, and she was afterwards recovered by the Dutch. At last, as the wind freshened, the Dutch fleet got clear of the Swedes at about 2 p.m., and ran down to Copenhagen, while very few of the enemy were in a condition to follow. The Swedes, indeed, claimed a victory on the score of the Dutch retreat, but since the first object of the Dutch fleet was to reach Copenhagen it is hard to see any justification for this claim.

The losses on both sides were, as far as is known, as follows:—

Dutch.—*Brederode* 59 captured and sunk, one galiot sunk, four fireships expended. Total loss in fighting ships: one ship with fifty-nine guns.

Swedish*.—*Morgonstjerna* (M) 48 captured and sunk, *Delmenhorst* 36 captured, *Pelikan* 40 captured, *Leopard* 36 run ashore and burnt, *Rose* (M) 40 captured. Total loss in fighting ships: five ships with 180 guns.

The losses in men are not known with any certainty. The Swedes are said to have had about 500 killed and wounded, but this is probably exclusive of those in the ships lost. The Dutch landed 450 men for burial, but the number of their wounded is not given.

Off Hven, in the evening, six Danish ships† joined Wassenaer, but for the time being the Dutch fleet was too fully occupied with repairs to be able to take any further steps against the Swedes. The latter were ordered by the King to proceed to Landskrona to refit, and in spite of the lack of wind on the 30th they proceeded in that direction by kedging and towing. The Allies made no move against them that day, but on the 31st the Danish ships and ten or twelve of the least damaged Dutch vessels‡ sailed for Landskrona to attack such Swedes as had not yet entered the harbour. They arrived off Landskrona early in the afternoon, and found there six Swedish ships; four escaped to Kronborg, and one, the *Samson* (M) 32,

* The following list from *Hollandsche Mercurius*, November, 1658, gives the Dutch claims:—Captured—*Konung David* 70, *Oldenburgh* 42, *Wapen van Schagen* 32, *Scepter van Wismar* 30; sunk—*Morgenster* 28, *Pelicaen* 28, *Roose*, *Admirant* 32, *Drievuldigheid*, *Engel*; burnt or wrecked—*Karolus V.* 50, *Sampson* 30, two others.

† The *Huizenhald* apparently joined later (Tid. i Sjö. 127).

‡ Wassenaer left the *Eendracht* and hoisted his flag in the *Duyvenvoorde* 40 (Journalen 29).

was so close under the fort that she could not be touched; but the sixth, the *Amarant* 46, commanded by Major Speck, engaged the enemy for some time before retiring close inshore. Both she and the *Samson* entered the harbour safely that night, but the day had not been without loss for the Swedes, since the *Svård* 44 went ashore in the harbour itself and sank, though most of her men were saved.

The Allies now returned to Copenhagen, but on November 5th twenty-three Dutch and Danish ships took up their position off Landskrona and established a blockade. Wassenaer himself remained at Copenhagen, and apparently the Dutch in general took little interest in the subsequent operations, but, at any rate, they supplied by far the greater portion of the fleet. Certainly two more Danish ships were commissioned, the *Sorte Rytter* 48, taken over by the Dutch Captain Coulerye and the crew of the badly damaged *Staveren* 40, and the *Tre Kroner* 40, also under a Dutch captain, though in this case one who entered the Danish service in the ordinary way; but, on the other hand, three of the original squadron were told off under Bredal to proceed to Holstein in company with two Dutch ships.* This only left five Danish ships off Landskrona, so that there must have been eighteen Dutch ships there. The Danes prepared ships laden with stones to sink in the entrance to Landskrona, but this scheme failed. The first attempt was made on November 18th, in the presence of both Frederik III. and Karl Gustaf. A fireship was sent in, but was towed to one side by the Swedish boats, and of the two ships that followed one was sunk too far out and the other, the old *Justitia* 24, ran aground and had to be burnt. Another attempt was made on the 21st, but with no more success. Wassenaer had left Copenhagen on the 20th, in the *Josua*, with four other ships, for Landskrona, but, delayed by fog, he got no further than Hven, and returned the same day. Thirteen of the blockading fleet, probably Dutch ships, withdrew to Hven on the 22nd, and on the 26th the remainder also withdrew, coming into Copenhagen for the winter on December 3rd.

One result of the Dutch victory had been the retreat of the Swedish army from before Copenhagen to Brøndshøj, and now Frederik III. began to think of attacking in his turn. The idea was to bring over from Holstein to Sjaelland part of the army under Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, who in conjunction with Imperial and Polish troops had invaded Holstein and occupied both it and the greater part of Slesvig and Jylland. It was with this object that Bredal had been ordered to take a small squadron to Holstein, but as soon as

* *Tre Løver*, *Graa Ulv*, *Johannes*, Danish. *Boge* or *Cogge*, *Wagh*, Dutch.

the requisite number of transports had been collected the Elector thought better of the idea, and on November 17th it was definitely abandoned. Instead, the Elector decided to attack Als, a small island on the east coast of Holstein, and Bredal was sent with four ships to co-operate. The Swedes, of course, took steps to interfere with this project, and soon had a considerable fleet in the Belt. In spite of the so-called blockade seven ships* had left Landskrona on November 15th for Knudshoved, at the northern end of the Great Belt, and on the 29th these were joined by five others.† Major Ugglä took this squadron to Kiel, but on December 4th, the day of his arrival, the Elector had crossed to Als and attacked Sönderborg. In this attack Bredal was mortally wounded, but his successor, Koningk, withdrew the squadron safely to Flensburg, on the mainland, so that all Ugglä could do was to take off the garrison of Sönderborg on December 8th and land them in Fyen.

Meanwhile, on finding that the Dutch intended to side with Denmark, the English Government decided to send a fleet to help Sweden. It was almost as disadvantageous for England as for the Netherlands that the Baltic should become a Swedish lake, but it would be even worse for it to pass into the power of the Dutch and Danes. Steps were therefore taken to give some assistance to Sweden, and with this object Sir George Ayscue was authorised to accept a commission as a Swedish admiral. He was sent, accompanied by a fleet of twenty-one sail, and Goodsonn, in charge of the fleet, seems to have had instructions to act under Ayscue's orders even after he had joined the Swedish service.‡ The fleet was, however, of little use. It was not ordered to start till the middle of November, and then, delayed by head-winds and bad weather, it did not reach the Sound until the beginning of winter made it necessary to go home again, leaving Ayscue in Sweden.

Still, the King of Sweden saw in the arrival of the English fleet a chance to get back the "command of the sea." He therefore ordered Ugglä to take five of his ships, the *Amarant*, *Måne*, *Wismar*, *Rafael*, and *Svan*, back to the Sound to join the English, leaving the others under Henriksson at Korsør, on the west of Sjaelland. Ugglä was unable to leave Sönderborg before December 21st, and four days later he had to put into Nyborg, in Fyen. Here the *Svan* had to be left to repair serious leaks, but the other four ships sailed again on January

* *Rafael* 36, *Wismar* 44, *Svan* 36, *Salvator* 30, *Hök* 23, *Jägare* 22, *Svarta Hund* 8.

† *Amarant* 46, *Måne* 46, *Falk* 40, *Hjort* 36, *Sjöblad* (transport).

‡ The older English naval historians, Campbell, Lediard, etc., put this in 1657, but Thurloe's Papers prove this wrong.

6th, and after a terrible voyage three of them reached Brännösund, near Gothenburg, on January 19th, with 106 dead and 148 sick out of a total complement of 328. The fourth ship, the *Måne*, reached Landskrona on January 25th. Another small Swedish squadron of five ships had been sent under Speck to Frederiksdde, in Jutland, on December 5th, but by the end of the year he returned, leaving two ships there.* About this time Trondhjem, in Norway, ceded to Sweden by the Peace of Roeskilde, was recovered by the Norwegians. The Norwegian ship *Samson*, with the chartered Dutch ship *Adam en Eva* and eight small craft, took a considerable share in the attack, and on December 11th the Swedish garrison capitulated; the Swedish armed merchantman *Gotland* (or *Lam*) was captured.

The arrival of the Dutch squadron and the consequent transfer of the command of the sea from Karl Gustaf to his enemies had put him in an awkward position. The reduction of Copenhagen by siege was rendered impossible, and the situation of the Swedish army in Sjaelland became very insecure. In these circumstances the Swedish King decided to make an attempt to take Copenhagen by storm, and on the night of February 10th-11th the attack took place. It was unsuccessful; the Swedes were repulsed with heavy loss, and retired to their lines at Brøndshøj, leaving Copenhagen for good.

The naval operations of 1659 began with a success by the Dutch. One of their ships, the *Zeeridder* 22, Captain Banckaert, was carried by the ice from her position off Copenhagen on February 28th, and was eventually driven ashore on the island of Hven. On March 14th the Swedes sent the *Mercurius* 46, *Fides* 30, a fireship, and four boats to attack him, but he sank the fireship, repulsed all attacks by the Swedish ships and the men they had landed in Hven, and finally damaged them enough to force them to withdraw with twelve men killed. After this he got his ship afloat again, and brought her to Copenhagen on March 18th, with a loss of only three killed and seven wounded. In the meantime other Swedish ships had got to sea. The *Herkules* 58 and *Mercurius* 46 had been sent from Landskrona on February 3rd to join Henriksson and attack the Danish and Dutch ships at Flensburg, but they had been driven ashore by the ice, and had returned damaged on February 20th. In their place the *Maria* 46, *Vestervik* 44, and *Halvmåne* (M) 28 left Landskrona on March 13th. These ships joined Henriksson, who had the *Falk* 40, *Svan* 36, *Jägare* 26, and *Danska Falk* 16, and only head winds pre-

* *Svenska Lejon* 40, *Mercurius* 46, *Maria* 46, *Angermanland* (M) 20, and *Göteborgsfalk* (M) 24 (the two last-named being left at Frederiksdde).

vented him from reaching Flensburg Fjord on March 26th. The next day two Danish and ten Dutch ships left Copenhagen under the Danish Vice-Admiral Helt to join the ships in Flensburg. He might, as far as the ice was concerned, have got to sea on the 18th, but he had been detained by contradictory orders, and when at last he did sail, on March 27th, three of his ships, the *Spes* 66, his flagship, and the two Dutch ships *Duyvenvoorde* 40 and *Jonge Prins* 30, ran aground near Drager. Helt, however, shifted his flag to the Dutch ship *Son* 40 and went on, leaving the grounded ships to follow as soon as possible. Henriksson, finding that he could not get into Flensburg, had proceeded to the southern end of Langeland, and there Helt's fleet met him on March 30th. The Swedes retreated, but about 9 a.m. their rearmost ships were brought to action. The *Vestervik* 44 and *Svan* 36, both damaged, ran ashore on Aero, an island west of Langeland, but the other ships escaped through the Little Belt; the *Svan* surrendered and was got off by her captors, but the *Vestervik* drove off all attacks and had to be left.* Helt took his fleet into Flensburg and joined the ships there.

Meanwhile the following Swedish fleet had left Landskrona on March 29th under Bjelkenstjerna:—*Viktoria* 74, *Drake* 66, *Carolus* 54, *Herkules* 58, *Cesar* 54, *Måne* 46, *Apollo* 46, *Mercurius* 46, *Mars* 44, *Örn* 38, *Svenska Lejon* 40, *Fides* 36, *Fortuna* 30, *Danska Svan* 10, *Småland* (M) 46, *Johannes* (M) 36, *Sol* (M) 20, *Nordstjerna* (M) 40, *Östergötland* (M) 36, *Södermanland* (M) 38, 3 galiots, and two fireships. Sailing north of Sjaelland, Bjelkenstjerna had to anchor for four days at the northern end of the Great Belt, but on April 5th he was off Aero. Here K. G. Wrangel, Admiral of the Fleet, took over the command, and moved with the fleet to the mouth of Flensburg Fjord, where he was joined by Henriksson's five remaining ships,† and by two under Uggla.‡ In the face of this fleet it was impossible for reinforcements to reach Helt. The two Dutch ships which had gone aground had got off next day, but probably neither of them had joined him, and his original flagship, the *Spes* 66, had certainly not done so. She was, indeed, afloat on March 30th, but it was not until April 5th that she sailed for the Belt, and consequently neither she nor the six Dutch ships§ which followed her on the 10th got

* She was refloated by the Swedes on April 7th and sent to Faaborg in Fyen for repairs.

† *Maria* 46, *Falk* 40, *Jägare* 26, *Danska Falk* 16, *Halvmåne* (M) 28.

‡ *Amarant* 46, *Wismar* 44. The *Göteborgsfalk* (M) 24 had joined previously.

§ *Landman* 40, *Duyvenvoorde* 40, *Wapen van Medenblich* 36, *Groeningen* 36, *Caleb* 40, *Hollandia* 38. The *Duyvenvoorde* was one of the two Dutch ships which had been aground. The other, the *Jonge Prins* 30, may have joined Helt, but was more probably under repair.

further than Møen. For the moment, therefore, the Swedish fleet, superior to Helt's squadron and the reinforcements even if these were combined, was completely master of the waters near Fyen. An unsuccessful attempt was made on Sönderborg, in Als, and the fleet then moved to a position south of Langeland, where it remained from April 16th to 27th, sending out various small detachments. King Karl Gustaf naturally took advantage of this opportunity. He sailed from Korsør, in Sjaelland, to Nyborg, in Fyen, picked up five ships and a number of small craft, went to Vordingborg, in the south of Sjaelland, embarked a considerable army, landed it on April 27th at Guldborg, in Lolland, and soon took both that island and Falster. The same day Bjelkenstjerna, again in command of the Swedish fleet, left his anchorage south of Langeland and worked eastwards, anchoring on the 29th between Lolland and Femern. Here he was found next day by a new Dutch and Danish fleet.

Wassenaer had up to now been as inactive as possible, but at last the critical position of a large portion of his fleet in Flensburg Fjord roused him to action. Two Danish ships under Bjelke left Copenhagen on April 26th, and Wassenaer followed next day with all his remaining ships, some seventeen in number. The two Danish ships were the *Trefoldighed* 66 and the *Svan* 44 (formerly the *Hannibal*); Bjelke hoisted his flag in the *Trefoldighed*, while the *Svan* was under Niels Juel.* Off Møen on April 28th the fleet picked up the *Spes* and the six Dutch ships, and on the 30th, entering the strait between Lolland and Femern, it sighted the Swedes. The exact composition of the allied fleet is unknown; the three Danish ships were the *Trefoldighed* 66, *Spes* 66, and *Svan* 44, and there were apparently twenty-three Dutch ships, since the total strength of the fleet is said to have been twenty-six ships. The Swedes had twenty-four ships—Bjelkenstjerna's original squadron, and the *Maria* 46, *Amarant* 46, *Halfmåne* (M) 28, and *Göteborgsfalk* (M) 24. The other vessels which had joined had been again detached on various duties.†

As the allied fleet came down before a stiff breeze from E.N.E. the Swedes formed line to receive them, and about noon the action began. It was impossible to use the lower-deck guns because of the heavy sea and strong wind, and for the same reason boarding was out of the question. The battle

* Garde (Hist. i. 234) speaks of Juel as being "in the recently captured *Svan*." That ship was of course in Flensburg with Helt. Garde overlooked the fact that the name of the *Hannibal* had been changed to *Svan*. (Lind 153.)

† Zettersten (ii. 426) says the Swedes had only 20 ships, but the particulars which he gives of arrivals and departures lead to the result that they had 24, and this agrees with Wassenaer's statement (Journalen 77).

was therefore little more than a running fight, in which the opponents passed one another twice on opposite tacks.

Bjelkenstjerna was badly wounded at the beginning of the action, and Gustaf Wrangel took command. In the second encounter the *Trefoldighed*, Bjelke's flagship, lost her fore top-sail, and was thus temporarily disabled. Wassenaer, with the Dutch ships, hove to to support her, and this, coupled with a shift of wind to E.S.E. enabled the Swedes to get to windward. However, the wind now freshened so much that fighting became impossible, and the fleets parted. The Swedes anchored for the night between Lolland and Langeland, and the Allies somewhat further west, between Langeland and the coast of Holstein. The affair had been little more than a skirmish. No ships had been lost or even badly damaged, and the loss on the Swedish side was only thirty-six killed and wounded; that of the Allies is not known, but was certainly very slight.* On the following day the Allies went to the mouth of Flensburg Fjord to join the thirteen ships there. Gustaf Wrangel, now in command of the Swedish fleet, retired northwards through the Great Belt. On May 5th, when off the north coast of Sjaelland, he was joined by the *Rafael* 36 and *Fenix* 30. His progress was slow, and it was not until the 17th that he passed Kronborg. On the 20th he entered Landskrona, but sent Uggla with five ships† to blockade Copenhagen.

In the Sound was a powerful English fleet of sixty ships under Admiral Montagu, sent with the idea of mediating if possible, but, at any rate, of putting some check on the Dutch. This fleet had arrived in the Sound on April 6th. A list follows:—

Naseby 70 (f), *George* 54, *Unicorn* 52, *Lyme* 50, *Langport* 50, *Tredagh* 50, *Essex* 46, *Bristol* 40, *Kentish* 38, *Phoenix* 34, *Dover* 38, *Jersey* 36, *Maidstone* 36, *Nantwich* 36, *Tiger* 34, *Amity* 30, *Mermaid* 22, *Basing* 26, *Cheriton* 22, *Merlyn* 12, *Resolution* 80, *Andrew* 54, *Rainbow* 52, *Speaker* 50, *Plymouth* 50, *Worcester* 46, *Colchester* 54, *Newcastle* 40, *Centurion* 38, *Portland* 36, *Reserve* 36, *Taunton* 36, *Ruby* 36, *Hampshire* 34, *Elizabeth* 34, *Providence* 28, *Pembroke* 22, *Portsmouth* 22, *Sparrow* 14, *Truelove* 12, *Swiftsure* 54, *James* 56, *Fairfax* 50, *Newbury* 50, *Bridgewater* 50, *Entrance* 42, *Torrington* 54, *Winsby* 40, *Dragon* 34, *Laurel* 38, *Advice* 36, *Foresight* 36, *Diamond* 36, *Portsmouth* 34, *Assurance* 30, *Guinea* 28, *Pearl* 22, *Oxford* 22, *Norwich* 22, *Nonsuch* 8. Sixty ships, 2290 guns. (Thurloe's State Papers, VII., 637. Another list on the previous page gives 45 ships, many of them not appearing in the longer list.)

* The *Duyvenvoorde* 40, had seven wounded, her captain mortally.

† *Amarant* 46, *Maria* 46, *Måne* 46, *Mars* 44, *Halfmåne* (M) 28.

As a reply the Dutch sent out Ruyter with a second fleet consisting of the following thirty-nine ships:—

Ships belonging to the Admiralty of Amsterdam:—*'t Huis te Zwielen* (f) 64, *Amsterdam* 54, *Stad en Landen* 50, *Gouda* 40, *de Tromp* 40, *Kampen* 40, *de Burgt van Leiden* 40, *Haarlem* 40, *Osterwijk* 60, *Tijdverdrijf* 50, *Prins te Paard* 52, *de Vreede* 40, *'t Raadhuis van Haarlem* 40, *Marsseveen* 40, *'t Zuiderhuis* 40, *Gelderland* 40, *Kruiningen* 54, *Koelvorden* 50, *Hilversum* 52, *de Dom van Utrecht* 40, *de Provinciën* 40, *Hollandia* 44, *Doesburg* 40, *Leeuwarden* 36.

Ships from the Maas.—*Prins Maurits* 44, *Klein Hollandia* 48, *Utrecht* 44, *Gelderland* 40.

From Noord Holland.—*d'Oranjeboom* 36.

From Zeeland.—*'t Schip van Zeelandia* 54, *Middelburg* 42, *Zierazee* 40, *Vlissingen* 42, *Veere* 42, *Utrecht* 44, *Dordrecht* 40.

From Vriesland.—*Oostergo* 54, *Westergo* 45, *de Steeden* 42.

Thirty-nine ships, 1,743 guns.

(*Tromp* 198/9, *de Ruiter* 159/60.)

Both Powers, however, in conjunction with France agreed to try to force the combatants to come to terms on the basis of the Treaty of Roeskilde, and to give opportunity for negotiations they arranged that their fleets should remain neutral for three weeks from May 21st to June 7th. As a matter of fact, Ruyter's fleet was not at first in a position to effect much. It did not round Skagen till May 22nd, and then stayed at anchor for several days in the Kattegat between Laeso and Anholt, so that it was not until May 31st that it anchored between Hiølm and Væø at the northern end of the Great Belt.

Nothing of any great importance had happened at sea in the meantime. The Swedes kept a small squadron off Copenhagen, but the blockade was by no means effective, and small Danish vessels came and went more or less as they liked. On the other hand, though several ships* were fitted out in the harbour and put into position for defence, nothing was done to drive off the Swedish blockaders for fear of the support they might get from Landskrona. In the Belts and thereabouts little more was done. The Swedes in Lolland besieged the town of Næskov from the end of April onwards, but owing to Wassenaer's sluggishness and the contradictory orders from Copenhagen no steps were taken to relieve it. The combined fleet left Flensburg Fjord on May 6th and anchored on the 18th

* *Sorte Rytter* 48, *Lindorm* 46, two small craft. Danish. *Rotterdam* 40, *Breda* 28. Dutch. At the end of June the *Trekroner* 40 replaced the two Dutch ships. (Lind 171/2.)

off Nyborg on the eastern side of Fyen, where they remained till the end of the month.

Still, on the mainland the Elector was more active. On May 17th he took the last Swedish position, Frederiksdde, and at once prepared to attack Fyen, supported by three Danish and three Dutch ships. To prevent this Karl Gustaf sent a fleet from Landskrona under Gustaf Wrangel.* He sailed on May 27th with ten ships northwards, but as soon as he was clear of the Sound the wind went to west, and he had to anchor. Finally, as the wind kept in the same quarter, he went south again on the 29th past Copenhagen, intending to reach the Little Belt that way. On June 3rd he was off Femern, where he was joined by three ships from Wismar.† The wind was still foul, and knowing that the Dutch neutrality was due to come to an end on June 7th he returned to Møen, and sent for orders. The King at once ordered him angrily to go on, and sent the information that the armistice was extended to the 18th. Wrangel could not get away till the 11th, when he went through the Sound again, and landed his troops on the north-east of Fyen on the 13th. After this he moved to Ebelø, north of Fyen, and finally into the northern entrance of the Little Belt.

The Elector had meanwhile occupied Faemø, a small island in the narrowest part of the Little Belt; but for the moment he was without sufficient naval support. On the day of the capture of Faemø Wassenaer recalled his ships from the Little Belt and began to move north to join Ruyter, who had, as has been seen, arrived on the previous day at the northern end of the Great Belt. Bjelke seems to have remained with the Danish ships off Nyborg, but was not strong enough to accomplish anything unaided. On June 3rd Wassenaer anchored just south of the little island of Romsø, near the north-east corner of Fyen. Four days later Ruyter brought his fleet to a position just north of the island, and on the 13th the two fleets joined off Nyborg.‡ Wassenaer at once took the combined fleet to the north of Fyen, between that island and Samsø, to cut off the retreat of the Swedish squadron under Wrangel. In the interval Wrangel had chased away two Dutch ships, the *Jonge Prins* 30 and *Deutecum* 24. The former escaped into Horsens on the Jylland coast, but the latter ran aground in Veile Fjord, and had to be burnt.

Wrangel was now in an awkward position. To the south

* Wrangel sailed with:—*Herkules* 58, *Göteborg* 48, *Amarant* 46, *Merkurius* 46, *Måne* 46, *Maria* 46, *Falk* 40, one fireship, one bojort.

† He was joined by:—*Wismar* 44, *Hjort* 36, *Svan* (M) 38. (Uggla had all these except the *Herkules* and *Svan*.)

‡ The fleet was then organised in four squadrons under Wassenaer, Ruyter, Evertsen, and Moppel.

of him was a very narrow passage with both sides in hostile hands, while to the north was a fleet which, though for the moment neutral, would almost certainly be able to overwhelm him before he could reach any friendly port. At this juncture K. G. Wrangel, the Admiral of the fleet, ordered him definitely to go home northwards. The English fleet saved him. As the Dutch turned westward towards Ebelø on the 16th they had sighted the English north of Rosnaes, the westernmost point of Sjaelland. Next day Montagu wrote to Wassenaer and Ruyter proposing joint action in the interests of peace, and the Dutch admirals replied accepting the suggestion in theory; but on the English moving in towards the Belt Wassenaer also weighed, and proceeded in the same direction to prevent being cut off from the Danish ships which, with a few Dutch, lay off Nyborg. Montagu anchored off Kallundborg, in Sjaelland, and Wassenaer to the north of Romsø. This cleared the way for Wrangel, and he reached Landskrona in safety on June 20th. Here he was deprived of his command and dismissed the service for disobedience to orders, though it is hard to see what more he could have done under the circumstances.

The same day Bjelke joined Wassenaer with four Danish ships and two Dutch, the *Trefoldighed* 66, *Spes* 66, *Tre Løver* 60, *Svan* 44, *Landman* 40, and *Duyvenvoorde* 40. After a great deal of parleying and discussion Montagu sailed for the Sound on the 26th, and the Allies moved southwards. They were off Femern on the 28th, and Wassenaer suggested an attempt to relieve Nakskov, but this time Bjelke said it was useless, and the idea was finally dropped. Ruyter was left off Femern, but Wassenaer and Bjelke sailed for Copenhagen on the 30th with thirty-seven ships. On the way part of their fleet (twenty-three ships) was sighted by Uggla, who had left Landskrona on July 23rd in command of what had been Wrangel's squadron with orders to go to the Little Belt and frustrate the Elector's designs on Fyen. Uggla, however, with only ten ships and two small craft,* thought it useless to try to move eastward in the face of the allied fleet. He therefore kept on into the Baltic, and did even less than Wrangel towards helping the garrison of Fyen. Wassenaer and Bjelke went on northwards, raised the blockade of Copenhagen, and anchored off Dragør on July 3rd.† The agreement had been that neither Montagu's nor Ruyter's fleet should approach Copenhagen, but Wassenaer found that Montagu was at anchor south of

* See notes to page 93.

† With them came the Danish ships *Fønix* 32 and *Sorte Bjørn* 36, which had been on a trading voyage to Portugal. The *Hvide Bjørn* 40 had been lost on the way. (Lind 176.)

Hven not more than ten miles off. Further, the Swedish squadron in Landskrona had been reinforced by three ships* from Stockholm, and Ayscue was able to take twelve large ships† to join Montagu besides leaving three‡ to defend the harbour. Still, on July 6th Ruyter's fleet arrived in Kjöge Bay and joined Wassenaer, and this brought the Dutch and Danes once more into a position of superiority. Uggla with his small Swedish squadron went to Bornholm§ and thence to Bödekull, near Karlskrona. He stayed there from July 5th to 12th, and then sailed towards Falsterbo; but in Kjöge Bay he sighted thirty-three ships of the combined fleet, and at once returned to Bödekull and remained there for another week from July 15th to 22nd. He took in provisions at Ystad on the 23rd, sailed to Rügen, cruised in those waters for some days, and reached the southern end of the Great Belt on August 1st. After sending a report of his lack of provisions and large number of sick he received orders to send the *Måne* 46, *Maria* 46, and *Rafael* 36 to Kronborg for repairs and to take the other vessels to Grønsund, between Møen and Falster. Here he was superseded by Henriksson.

Meanwhile a second squadron sent out under Major Coxe to reach the Little Belt from the north had sailed from Landskrona on July 6th. In spite of continued westerly winds Coxe reached Ebelø on the 20th. Wrangel now sent him to Ebeltoft, on the Jylland coast, about 40 miles north of Fyen, to attack a small Danish-Dutch squadron under Koningk. This squadron had been sent there to see about transporting troops for a second attack on Fyen, since an attempted landing on June 26th had been repulsed with considerable loss and a good deal of damage to the Dutch flagship. Coxe reached Ebeltoft in the morning of July 23rd, and at once attacked. The Danes and Dutch fought well, but were overmatched. The *Wapen van Enckhuysen* 27 blew up, and the other four vessels surrendered. All the transports were burnt and 1,000 soldiers captured. The fleets were as follows:—

Swedes.—*Mars* 44, *Apollo* 46, *Vestervik* 44, *Fides* 36, *Nordstjerna* (M) 40, *Fortuna* (M) 30, *Engel* (M) 24, one fire-ship, one bojort.

Danes.—*Graa Ulv* 36, *Johannes* 20.

Dutch.—*Wapen van Enckhuysen* 27, *Prins Willem* 28, *Munnickendam* 32.

* *Scepter* 58, *Oldenburg* 48, *Engel* (M) 24.

† *Viktoria* 74, *Drake* 66, *Scepter* 58, *Cesar* 54, *Herkules* 54, *Carolus* 54, *Mars* 44, *Apollo* 46, *Vestervik* 44, *Fides* 36, *Engel* (M) 24, *Nordstjerna* (M) 40.

‡ *Oldenburg* 48, *Örn* 40, *Salvator* 22.

§ Here he lost his fireship.

Following up his success Coxe burnt thirty more transports at Aarhus and then returned to the Sound. He arrived there on the 29th, and was promoted to Vice-Admiral next day.

As before, the Danes and Dutch had been wasting time. Preparations were at last made for an expedition to relieve Nakskov; but it was not until July 23rd that the fleet put to sea. Eighteen ships had been sent on the previous day to convoy merchantmen to Danzig and Königsberg. The expedition consisted of about sixty warships, three being Danish, and totalled, with merchantmen, transports, &c., about 300 sail. As a matter of fact, Nakskov had capitulated on the 15th, and even when the fleet did sail Wassenaer received orders the next day to consider his fleet neutral again; he therefore lay idly at anchor north of Møen, and the Danish ships remained with him. On August 9th the ships that had been sent to Danzig under Meppel returned with a Swedish prize, the *Konung David* (M) 19. On the 13th the fleet set sail, leaving Meppel's squadron at anchor. On the 15th he rejoined, and the fleet anchored off Femern on the 18th. Two days later came a letter from the Dutch ambassadors at Copenhagen with orders for Ruyter and Evertsen to bring their squadrons to Copenhagen, and for Wassenaer to convoy merchantmen through the Belt as far as Anholt or Skagen. Twelve ships were transferred from the other two squadrons, and Ruyter and Evertsen got under way on August 23rd. They reached Copenhagen on the 26th, and the same day two other important events took place. Firstly, the King of Sweden refused definitely all offers of mediation, and, secondly, the English fleet left for home. Montagu advanced the familiar excuse of lack of provisions; but there is no doubt that his real reason was the wish to participate in Booth's Royalist rising.

These two events completely changed the aspect of affairs, since Ruyter at once received orders to take active measures, and there was now no English fleet to interfere. Ayscue's squadron had, of course, returned to Landskrona on the change of circumstances, and there were now twenty-two ships there. Ruyter went from Copenhagen to the entrance of the Sound, where he blockaded Kronborg and Helsingborg, and, at the same time, detached Banckaert with six ships to watch off Landskrona. A fireship attack on Landskrona in the night of September 4/5th was unsuccessful, and a projected bombardment of Kronborg and Helsingborg on September 13th had to be abandoned because of heavy weather. On the 23rd Ruyter returned to Copenhagen. Wassenaer had meanwhile remained near Femern with his own and the Danish ships until August 27th; Juël, in the Danish *Svan* 44, went aground off Wismar, but was refloated by the help of some Dutch ships.

On the 27th Wassenaer sent off Commodore Cornelis Evertsen with four ships to join Ruyter, and started to take his convoy northwards through the Belt. Arriving on September 2nd between Hielmen and the town of Grenaa on the Jylland coast, he sent off his merchantmen with a few ships to convoy them home, and detached Meppel to escort this convoy for a short distance. He then continued his way north as far as Lim Fjord, where he stayed from September 6th to 14th. After this he began to return, but head winds and heavy weather made his progress very slow, and on September 24th he had only just reached the northern end of the Great Belt.

The Allies now decided to make another attempt to retake Fyen. For this purpose troops were to be taken from Kiel and conveyed by the entire Dutch and Danish fleet. However, the preparations took a long time, and in the interval the Swedes were free to move their ships as they liked. As has been said, Henriksson, in Grønsund, had seven vessels* from Uggla's squadron which he had repaired and refitted. Three more ships† joined him on August 22nd and two early in September.‡ Orders arrived on September 4th for him to take his squadron to the southern end of Langeland, leaving the new arrivals to take his place in Grønsund. He was to meet Major Bar with three ships from Gothenburg, and then go to Kiel to destroy the transports which were waiting to carry troops to Fyen. On September 13th Bar joined him,§ but instead of going to Kiel they were ordered back to Grønsund. Here they were overtaken by a severe storm, which dismasted the *Halfmåne* and damaged some of the other ships. Henriks-son now split up his forces; he sent the *Hopp* (M) 24 to Middelfartssund, the narrowest part of the Little Belt, and, leaving the *Fenix*, *Falk*, and *Engel* in Grønsund, put to sea with five ships. He was immediately sighted by six Dutch ships out cruising, and promptly retreated to Wismar, where he arrived on September 27th.

A few days later, on October 1st, the Danes and Dutch left Dräger for Kiel. The whole expedition consisted of 116 sail, forty being Dutch warships under Ruyter, there being also three Danish warships, the *Spes* 66, *Sorte Bjørn* 36, and *Feniks* 30, with several small Danish privateers. On October 6th off Femern they met Wassenaer and Bjelke. The Danish Admiral thereupon joined Ruyter and took charge of the van of the

* Göteborg 48, Amarant 46, Mercurius 46, Wismar 44, Falk 40, Svenska Lejon 40, Fenix 30.

† Håk 28, Jägare 25, and Johannes (M) 36 (detached to Riga Sept. 2nd).

‡ Vestervik 44, Engel (M) 24.

§ With the *Halfmåne* (M) 28 and *Hopp* (M) 24. The Göteborgsfalk (M) 24 was damaged and left at Gothenburg.

combined fleet; but Wassenaer went with his fleet to Copenhagen, and anchored there on the 10th. Twelve days later he sailed for home with twenty-one warships escorting a number of merchantmen, and on November 3rd he anchored at Hellevoetsluis. The Allies reached Kiel on October 12th, and began at once to embark the troops, though it was not till the 27th that they got to sea again. A surprise attack on Nyborg proposed for the night of the 29th-30th failed because the boats, with 2,000 men embarked, could not find their way ashore in the dark. The soldiers were landed on the 31st. Some Dutch ships were left in the Belt, but the bulk of the fleet went back to Kiel to fetch more troops. Another landing was arranged to take place at Middelfart. Eberstein was waiting with 5,000 men to get across, but his passage was opposed by the Swedish *Hopp* (M) 24, *Sorte Hund* 10, and *Vaegtere* 4. Rodthsten was sent to help him with the *Spes* 66, *Raadhuis van Haarlem* 40, and four privateers. He captured the three Swedes on November 3rd and took their place in Middelfart-sund, so that Eberstein was able to cross next day. On the other hand, Henriksson managed to leave Wismar on November 4th; he captured the Danish *Feniks* 30, and reached Kronborg safely on the 10th. Still, the landings in Fyen were successful. The Swedes were defeated and driven back to Nyborg, which surrendered on November 15th with 5,000 men after a brisk bombardment by fourteen of Ruyter's smaller ships. Three days later the greater part of the fleet had to go to Travemünde, the port of Lübeck, to provision; on December 1st they set sail again, and on the 5th they anchored off Copenhagen. As before, in the absence of Ruyter, the Swedes had occupied the Sound in force. Ayscue put out from Landskrona, and was joined by several ships from Gothenburg and by Henriksson's squadron from Wismar.* The intention was to attack a convoy of provisions from the Netherlands for Copenhagen; but the convoying fleet was strong, and the expectation of Ruyter's return prevented anything being done. Ayscue took the whole fleet into Landskrona for good on November 18th. By the middle of December the harbours on both sides of the Sound were frozen up.

Before any action could be taken on either side in 1660 Karl Gustaf died. This was on February 13th. The whole

* His full force seems to have been as follows:—

Drake 66, *Cesar* 54, *Carolus* 54, *Krona* 68, *Hollandska Prins* 28 (ex Dutch *Prins Willem*) (from Landskrona); *Herkules* 54, *Måne* 46, *Maria* 46, *Apollo* 46, *Andromeda* 46, *Fides* 36 (from Gothenburg); *Göteborg* 48, *Merkurius* 46, *Wismar* 44, *Svenske Lejon* 40, *Jägare* 26, *Danska Fenix* (Prize) 30 (from Wismar). Besides these the *Amarant* 46 and *Halfmåne* (M) 28 were cruising north of Sjaelland, and the *Vestervik* 44, *Fenix* 30, *Falk* 40, and *Engel* (M) 24 off Møen.

aspect of affairs was altered by his death. Ruyter had received orders from home to assume a vigorous offensive, and had taken up his position outside Landskrona on February 23rd, having sent Cortenaer home on the previous day with twelve warships and a number of merchantmen. He had twenty-nine Dutch ships and six Danes; but on March 8th he received orders to take no further part in the war. On the 10th he returned to Copenhagen, and two days later a Swedish squadron* under Sperling left Landskrona for the Belt, but on reaching Kronborg Sperling was sent back to blockade Copenhagen. On the 23rd six more ships† joined him, and Copenhagen was closely blockaded north and south. However, on April 9th Ruyter informed Sperling that any further movements on the part of the Swedes would compel him to attack them. Accordingly Sperling withdrew to Landskrona, only leaving the *Göteborg* 48, and *Svenska Lejon* 40, at Dragør, and the *Amarant* 46, and *Andromeda* 46 at Kronborg. A fortnight later six Swedish ships‡ left Landskrona for Stockholm; but Ruyter, thinking peace in no way certain, decided to stop them. He therefore took part of his fleet to Dragør, and sent Evertsen with another squadron to the mouth of the Sound to prevent their going northwards. He also stationed twelve ships off Landskrona to intercept any attempted reinforcement. Of course, in the face of such odds the Swedes made no attempt to continue their voyage. They anchored off Saltholm, and stayed there until the conclusion of peace.

The treaty was signed at Copenhagen on May 27th. Its terms were the same as those of the Treaty of Roeskilde, except that Sweden gave back Bornholm and the Norwegian territory of Trondhjem, which the Norwegians had already retaken. The question of preventing foreign fleets from entering the Baltic was dropped. Sweden had also concluded peace with Poland, the Empire, and Brandenburg by the Treaty of Oliva, signed on April 23rd, whereby Sweden gained Livonia, but gave up Curland. Directly after the conclusion of peace the Swedish ships were allowed to pass. Three others joined them, and the rest of the fleet went back to Stockholm a fortnight later. Some of the Dutch ships sailed for home at the beginning of June; but Ruyter with the rest stayed until August 3rd to see that the terms of the treaty were carried out. He then left Copenhagen, and arrived in the Vlie on August 24th.

* *Herkules* 54, *Carolus* 54, *Göteborg* 48, *Amarant* 46, *Merkurius* 46, *Monikendam* (ex Dutch) 32. The last two were sent to blockade Rostock on March 29th.

† *Scepter* 58, *Cesar* 54, *Maria* 46, *Andromeda* 46, *Apollo* 46, *Svenska Lejon* 40.

‡ *Måne* 46, *Oldenburg* 40, *Fides* 36, *Salvator* 30, *Småland* (M) 46, *Södermanland* (M) 38.

The Treaty of Copenhagen only gave Denmark peace for a few years, for on the outbreak of the second war between England and the United Provinces in 1665 Denmark soon had to take a part. At first the tendency of Frederik III. had been to side with England, but an untoward event soon threw him into the arms of the Dutch. It had been arranged that a British fleet should enter the port of Bergen and attack the Dutch fleet of some sixty merchantmen, which were waiting there for convoy home after coming round by the north of Scotland. Bergen was, of course, a neutral port; but the King of Denmark agreed, in return for half the proceeds, to do nothing to oppose the attack. The scheme failed utterly; the English detached Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Tyddiman from the North Sea fleet with a force of fourteen small battleships, three fireships, and four ketches for the purpose; but either by accident or by design on one side or the other, the attack was made before the Governor of Bergen had received orders to allow it. As a result, when the English ships arrived on August 3rd, 1665, they were met by a heavy fire, not only from the Dutch vessels, but also from the shore forts, so that after about four hours' fighting they had to retreat with heavy losses.* This made a breach between Denmark and England almost inevitable, and on February 1st, 1666, an agreement was signed between Frederik III. and the United Provinces, whereby they undertook to pay a subsidy of 600,000 dollars a year towards the expenses of the Danish fleet, provided that the Danes kept forty ships in commission from April to December to prevent any English vessels, whether warships or merchantmen, entering Danish waters. It was also arranged that the Danish fleet should be strengthened by chartering eight ships from Dutch owners. However, England was far too busy with the French and Dutch to be able to attack Denmark, and though the English representative left Copenhagen in March, 1666, no further steps were taken save the seizure of all Danish ships in English ports, and it was not until October that Charles II. declared war on this third enemy.

Meanwhile, directly on the conclusion of the agreement with the United Provinces, the Danish General-Admiral Kort Adelaer was sent to fetch the chartered Dutch ships. After a great deal of difficulty and disputing† he reached Copenhagen on July 8th with eight hired ships, besides one ship bought for 10,200 dollars, and 200 guns hired for the duration of the war.

* A few days later Ruyter reached Bergen with the Dutch fleet and convoyed the merchantmen home, but lost several of them and some of his warships in heavy weather on the Dutch coast.

† The Dutch wanted to use the ships in their own waters instead of sending them to Denmark.

The total force in commission in Danish waters was then as follows* :—

Danish Ships :—*Norske Løve* 86, *Tre Kroner* 74, *Trefoldighed* 66, *Tre Løve* 60, *Viktoria* 56, *Nældeblad* 56 (ex *Tré Kroner*), *Swan* 56 (ex *Hannibal*), *Kurprinds* 52 (ex *Slesvig*), *Prins Jorgen* 52, *Oldenborg* 47, *Delmenhorst* 46, *Norske Løve* 46 (old), *Spes* 46, *Sorte Rytter* 46, *Lindorm* 46, *Gyldenløve* 36, † *Kjobenhavn* 36, † *Hummer* 32, *Sorte Bjorn* 30, *Forgyldte Fisk* 28, *St. Mikael* 26, *Havfru* 24, *Vildmand* 14, *Flyende Hjort* 14, *Egern* 14, *Blaa Mynde* —.

Chartered Dutch Ships :—*Doesburgh* 48, *Groeningen* 48 or 40, *Middelburgh* 46, *Harderinne* 38, *Faisant* 38, *Leeuwarden* 36, *Damiaten* 32, *Burg van Leyden* 42, *Agatha* 32.‡

At the end of July the States General wrote to Frederik asking for sixteen or eighteen of his best ships to be sent to join the Dutch fleet, but Frederik replied that this required further consideration, and, as Lind puts it, "It was not till November 13th that an agreement was reached as to the Danish fleet's joining the Dutch—*next year*."

Still, the Danes were not altogether idle; in the middle of August they had a small squadron in the Kattegat consisting of the *Middelburgh* 46, *Damiaten* 32, *Flyende Hjort* 14, with the *Unge Lam* and *Gamle Lam*, armed merchantmen; and shortly afterwards they began to send various ships on convoy duty. On September 10th the *Middelburgh* 46, *Faisant* 38, and *Damiaten* 32 left Copenhagen to convoy Dutch merchantmen to the Vlie, and on the 24th the *Groeningen* 40, and *Leeuwarden* 36 followed on a similar duty. The first detachment, under Captain Hakro of the *Middelburgh*, was convoyed as far as Skagen by the *Kjobenhavn* 36, *Hummer* 32, *Havfru* 24, and *Flyende Hjort* 14; and from October 11th onwards Vice-Admiral Helt cruised in the North Sea with the following squadron :—

Norske Løve 86, *Oldenborg* 48, *Hummer* 32, *St. Mikael* 26, *Havfru* 24, *Doesburgh* 48, *Harderinne* 38, *Faisant* 38 (detached from Hakro's division), *Leeuwarden* 36.

At the end of October a tremendous gale raged in the Kattegat and North Sea. Helt's flagship, the *Norske Løve* 86, was wrecked in Egersund, south of Stavanger, but without loss of life, while the *St. Mikael* 26 drifted across to the Scottish coast and sank at anchor there. The rest of the squadron reached Copenhagen in December much damaged and with a

* Lind. 254, 255. Guns from Lind. 241/2. Spelling of Dutch ships and number of guns from De Jonge i. Ap. XXVIIIa, Lev. C. Tromp, 214 and 420, and Grove Ap. D.

† Both these ships carried later upwards of 50 guns.

‡ A Dutch ship bought and renamed *Faers*; she afterwards carried 42 guns.

large proportion of sick, and the Dutch vessels returning from their convoy work were little better. Hakro was sent with these latter to winter in Norway, leaving two of them at Christiansand and taking the rest to Bergen, where the *Oldenburg* and *Havfru* also wintered.

The first move next year was to concentrate these ships from Norway at Copenhagen. The *Groeningen* and *Leeuwarden* arrived on April 16th, the *Oldenburg*, *Havfru*, *Burg Van Leyden*, *Faisant*, and *Harderinne* on May 20th and 21st, and the *Middelburgh* and *Doesburgh* on June 1st. The *Damiaten* seems to have wintered at Copenhagen. Two of the Dutch ships, the *Faisant* and *Harderinne*, had fought on May 17th a brisk action with the English ship *Princess 52*, near Marstrand on the Swedish coast; both sides had suffered considerable losses both in men and gear, and they had parted by mutual consent after about three hours' fighting. Dawes, captain of the *Princess*, and Van Dort, captain of the *Faisant*, were among those killed. During May and June three Danish frigates* cruised in the North Sea under Captain Madsen, but though they took an English privateer, the *Espion* (*Spy?*), they were unable to prevent the loss of a convoy of eighty merchantmen, and a Dutch warship taken or forced ashore by five English ships off Skagen. On June 4th Hakro was sent on convoy duty with the following seven ships:—

Middelburgh 46, *Doesburgh* 48, *Burg van Leyden* 42, *Damiaten* 32, *Leeuwarden* 36, *Hummer* 32, and *Vilmand* 14.

His duty was to escort as far as the Texel the two new battleships, *Frederik* 84, and *Sofia* 84, built at Copenhagen for France, to join them in any action against the English on the way, and at the same time give convoy to a number of merchantmen bound for Dutch ports. On reaching the Texel he was to send the *Hummer* and *Vilmand* to Gluckstadt, on the Elbe, and bring the other ships back to Copenhagen. Early in July several other Danish ships put to sea. The *Oldenburg* 48, and *Faerø†* 42, originally intended to sail to the Faero Islands and Iceland, were kept back and joined to the three frigates and the prize already in the Skaggerack, and at the same time Helt was ordered to take another convoy to the Texel with the four ships, *Tre Løve* 60, *Delmenhorst* 46, *Harderinne* 38, and *Kjøbenhavn* 32, and, on meeting Hakro, to take his ships also under his orders. Helt's squadron got no further than the Sound; sickness broke out, and, finally, Helt himself died on August 7th. Hakro was then ordered to take command of the squadron on his return from the Texel, but these arrangements were rendered unnecessary by the news of the

* *Forgyldte Fisk* 28, *Havfru* 24, *Flyende Hjort* 14.

† Formerly the Dutch *Agatha*.

conclusion of the Peace of Breda on July 21st. The chartered Dutch ships were therefore sent home under the escort of the three Danish vessels of Helt's former squadron. On the return journey Hakro's new flagship, the *Tre Løve* 60 was damaged in a gale and forced to put in on the Norwegian coast, where an epidemic broke out on board and finally killed Hakro himself. All other Danish ships at sea were also recalled on the news of the conclusion of Peace.

SECTION VI.

THE SKANE WAR AND ITS ANTECEDENTS.

1668-1679.

Almost immediately after the end of the second Anglo-Dutch war these two countries became allies. Mutually suspicious of the designs of Louis XIV., and anxious to prevent his further acquisitions in the Spanish Netherlands the United Provinces and England formed with Sweden in January, 1668, a Triple Alliance specially designed to check the French King. However, the rapid conquest of Franche Comté in February gave Louis XIV. something to offer in exchange for the recognition of his conquests in the Netherlands, and accordingly in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in May, 1668, by giving up Franche Comté he obtained a considerable accession of territory to the north of his kingdom. Angered by the opposition of the Dutch he set to work to plan their destruction. Charles II. of England was personally inclined to his side, but the greater part of the English people were opposed to the idea of an alliance with France, and Charles could only be persuaded to attack the United Provinces by the promise of a large subsidy and a slice of Dutch territory.

Early in 1671 the Dutch, seeing their danger, began to mobilise. The English thereupon attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet. On March 17th, 1672, the United Provinces declared war on England, and on the 27th Louis XIV. declared war on them.* After two years of war, in which the English received little help from the French squadron sent to join them, they concluded a separate treaty of peace with the Dutch, who almost simultaneously became allied with Spain, the Emperor, and most of the German States, in addition to Brandenburg, previously their only supporter. Meanwhile Louis XIV., though losing the Emperor's support, had managed to get Sweden to his side, so that in May, 1675, Karl XI. of Sweden declared war on Brandenburg and the United Provinces. The Emperor at once joined the other States against this new enemy, as well as against France, and finally Denmark, in pursuance of treaty obligations with Brandenburg, was added to the list of Sweden's enemies.

As soon as Sweden declared war on Brandenburg the United

* Denmark commissioned eight warships in 1672 to prevent any violation of neutrality by the English.

Provinces had decided to send a fleet to the Baltic, but for the moment, exhausted by two years' defensive warfare by land and sea, and with the necessity of helping Spain in the Mediterranean they were only able to send a small squadron. This consisted of nine ships and some small craft under Commodore Jacob Binckes, and reached Copenhagen in June, but Christian V. of Denmark had not yet definitely committed himself to the war, and it was therefore not until August 13th that a Danish fleet of fourteen ships (soon raised to sixteen) left Copenhagen for the Baltic in company with seven of the Dutch ships.* The combined fleet was under the orders of the Danish General-Admiral Adelaer, who had his flag in the *Prinds Georg* 80. It was, as usual, divided into three divisions, under the command of Admiral Niels Juel in the *Charlotta Amalia* 54, Adelaer himself, and the Dutch commodore in the *Calandsoog* 70.

About the same time Admiral Markuor Rodstehn was ordered to take the *Tre Løver* 60, *Delmenhorst* 46, *Kjøbenhavn* 50, the two remaining Dutch battleships, and the frigates *Anthonette* 34, and *Hvide Falk* 28, to the Kattegat, while his brother, Admiral Jens Rodstehn, was stationed in the Sound with the *Anna Sophia* 60, 3 frigates and a galley.†

War was at last declared on September 2nd, 1675, and four days later M. Rodstehn sailed for his station. Adelaer had meanwhile been cruising in the Southern Baltic without seeing anything of the Swedes. They, as a matter of fact, did not get to sea until October 9th when Admiral of the Fleet Count Stenbock left Elfsnabben with no less than sixty-six ships of all sizes, carrying 2,222 guns,‡ but this great force accom-

* List of the fleet given in Holl. Merc. Sept. 1675 p. 197. Danes:—*Prinds Georg* 80; *Charlotta Amalia* 54; *Christianus V.* 86; *Lindorm* 50; *Gyldenløve* 56; *Havfru* 24; *Falk* 32. Dutch:—*Calandsoog* 70; *Waesdorp* 70; *Gideon* 60; *Amsterdam* 60; *Drie Helden Davids* 44; *Waakende Kraan* 44; *Caleb* 40. 2 fireships, 1 despatch vessel, 5 galiots. Guns of the Dutch ships from "Resolutions of the Admiralty of Amsterdam." May 11/21st, 1675, and from Binckes' letter of July 6/16th. The other two large Dutch ships carried 70 and 60 guns. (Secret Resolutions of the States General).

† *Jaegere* 24; *Loss* 26; *Vindhund* 14; *Concordia* galley.

‡ 1st Squadron:—*Krona* 128 (Ad. of the Fleet Count Stenbock); *Sol* 70; *Drake* 66; *Venus* 68; *Herkules* 54; *Neptunus* 44; *Sundsvall* 32; *Nordstjerna* 22; *Postiljon* 20; *Enhorn* 20; *Jernvåg* (M) 24; *Perla* 18; 4 storeships (40); 2 fireships. 2nd Squadron:—*Svärd* 90 (Ad. Brahe); *Viktoria* 74; *Jupiter* 70; *Hieronymus* 70; *Vestervik* 40; *Hjort* 32; *Utter* 30; *Hanö* 12; *Sol* (M) 40; *St. Maria* (M) 40; *Caritas* (M) 30; 4 storeships (38); 2 fireships. 3rd Squadron:—*Nyckel* (84) (Ad. Stjernsköld); *Äpple* 90; *Wrangel* 64; *Spes* 48; *Wismar* 58; *Svenska Lejon* 48; *Jägare* 22; *Flygande Varg* (M) 36; *Trumslagare* (M) 32; *Konung David* (M) 30; *Leopard* (M) 20; 3 storeships (18); 2 fireships. 4th Squadron:—*Merkurius* 68 (Ad. Ugglä); *Mars* 70; *Saturnus* 66; *Cesar* 54; *Carolus* 54; *Örn* 40; *Fredrika Amalia* 34; *Abraham* 30; *Salvator* (M) 30; *Constantia* (M) 30; 3 storeships (24); 2 fireships. 44 ships; 14 storeships; 8 fireships. 2,222 guns. (Zettersten ii. 461/3).

plished nothing whatever, and the record of its cruise is simply a chronicle of mishaps. Some indication of the state of inefficiency in the fleet is given by the fact that it took the *Krona* 128 and *Svärd* 90 (both flagships) as much as eight hours to weigh anchor. Naturally, accidents happened. The very next day the *Jupiter* 70 collided with the *Postiljon* 20, and the smaller ship had to go to Visby in Gothland for repairs. On October 10th Stenbock had to anchor at the Karl's Islands off the south-west coast of Gothland to collect his scattered fleet. Next morning, on trying again to weigh anchor the *Krona* carried away a cathead and lost anchor and cable. Stenbock at once let go the other anchor preparatory to trying to pick up the one he had lost, but apparently never thought of cancelling the order to sail. As a result the other ships put to sea and stayed there till the evening when they returned to look for their commander-in-chief, with the exception of the fourth squadron under Uggle, which went for a short cruise on its own account and did not return until nightfall on the 12th. On the 16th it blew a northerly gale. The *Elefant* 20 (storeship) dragged her anchors, collided first with the *Merkurius* 68, Uggle's flagship, and then with the *Drake* 66, dismasting both of them, and finally went ashore and broke up. The *Saltsack* 12 (storeship) was also wrecked. The *Jupiter* 70, which for some reason had set sail to go home, tried to anchor, but could get no hold and drifted out to sea. Next morning a council of war was held, and it was unanimously decided to go home. The fleet sailed on the 20th and reached Elfsnabben next day. It is interesting to note that three ships were left "to fish up the anchors the fleet had lost."*

The Allies also suffered from bad weather and sickness, but kept at sea until recalled on November 1st. They had been cruising off Warnemünde, the port of Rostock, to support the Danish army in Mecklenburg.† Adelaer himself was taken ill, and in fact went ashore on November 2nd and died on the 5th. There is no doubt that his death was a great loss. Not only was he a very able man, with great and varied experience of sea-fighting, but he was also in all probability one of the few men qualified to ensure the proper co-operation of Danes and Dutch. Born in 1622 in Norway, he went to the Netherlands at the age of fifteen and served for two years as a cadet in the Dutch Navy, being probably present at the Battle of the Downs in 1639. After this he sailed in Dutch merchantmen to the Mediterranean, and in 1648 entered the Venetian service with his ship the *St. Jørgen* 38, leaving it in 1661 after more or less continuous fighting against the Turks. He then returned to

* Zettersten ii. 467. The foregoing is condensed from his account.

† The Swedish *Falk* 40 was taken at the fall of Wismar in December.

the Netherlands, but two years later King Frederik II. of Denmark offered him the post of General-Admiral. He was thus a man calculated to satisfy both Danes and Dutch as a leader, and had he lived there would probably have been little if any of the disputes and unpleasantness that arose during the next few years.

Shortly after his death Binckes sailed for home, convoying Dutch merchantmen, and the Danish fleet was laid up about the same time. Meanwhile the Elector of Brandenburg had done something towards taking a share in the naval operations. For the last few years Raule, a merchant of the Dutch town of Middelburg, had had ten ships sailing under letters of marque from the State of Brandenburg,* but Frederik's allies had complained of the harm these privateers did to their trade, and accordingly in 1675 a new arrangement was made with Raule whereby the letters of marque were cancelled, but he was instead to supply three "frigates" of 16, 12, and 6 guns and one pinnace and these ships were to be considered as the Navy of Brandenburg. This was done, but that year, though joined by three Dutch ships, the new fleet did little save for an unsuccessful attack on Karlstad, a Swedish fortress at the mouth of the Weser.

On March 30th, 1676, Niels Juel, who had taken Adelaer's place as General-Admiral, left Copenhagen with the following ships:—

Battleships.—*Churprinds* 76 (f), *Christianus IV.* 56, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Nelleblad* 54, *Christiania* 54, *Lindorm* 50, *Delmenhorst* 46, *Svenske Falk* 40.

Frigates.—*Havmand* 34, *Hummer* 34, *Havfru* 24, *Loss* 28, *Spraglede Falk* 16, two fireships, five small craft.

He first sailed to Rügen, where he took some cattle, but was shortly driven by stress of weather to Bornholm. On April 23rd the two Swedish vessels *Constantia* (M) 48 and *Caritas* (M) 32 were sighted off the coast of Blekinge and chased into the harbour of Steenshamn. Here the *Havmand* 34, *Hummer* 34, and *Spraglede Falk* 16 were sent in to attack them, and did it with such effect that the Swedes set fire to their ships and abandoned them. The Danes instantly boarded and managed to save the *Caritas* and add her to their fleet, but the *Constantia* was too well alight, and had to be left, though some of her guns were taken. After this the fleet anchored at the Karl's Islands on the 28th, and landed 2,000 men in Gothland next morning. The Swedish garrison of 600 men retired to the citadel of Visby, and the town opened its gates without re-

* Some of these privateers were:—*Churprinz*, *Berlin*, *Potsdam*, 16-20; *Bielefeld*, *Bulle*, 6-10; (Jordan. Geschichte der brandenburgisch-preussischen Kriegs Marine).

sistance. During the night of April 30th the *Gyldenløve* 56, *Delmenhorst* 46, and *Hummer* 34 took up their positions and opened fire on the citadel at daybreak on May 1st, with the result that the Governor, Count Oxenstjerna, was forced to capitulate. Juel at once made arrangements for occupying the island; he left a garrison of 529 men, and intended to put to sea again, but bad weather kept him at Karl's Islands till May 16th, when he left to cruise between Bornholm and Rügen.

About this time he received considerable reinforcements. The Dutch had agreed to send fifteen battleships this year, but had had to send on nine of these under Schoutbynacht (Rear-Admiral) Almonde without waiting for the others. Three of these joined Juel on May 14th under Almonde himself with the *Havfru* 34, which had been detached, and the rest, under Admiral Jens Rodstehn, arrived on the 19th with the four Danish battleships *Tre Løver* 60, *Fredericus III.* 60, *Enighed* 62, and *Kjøbenhavn* 50. Two days later Juel received the unpleasant news that Cornelis Tromp, the famous Dutch Admiral, had been appointed General-Admiral of the Danish Navy, and that he himself would therefore have to take second place. This was no doubt a severe blow. Thirteen years before he had been superseded by Adelaer, and now that he had regained his former position, he found himself put aside again to make room for another man, and in this case one who had not even been born a Danish subject. Probably Christian V. had been largely influenced by the advice of his allies, and certainly Tromp's reputation was enough to make him an acquisition to any navy; but, still, there is no denying that his appointment was a great injustice to Juel. Still, he took it very well. True, he wrote on May 22nd to Bjelke, the Danish Admiral of the fleet, complaining of his treatment; but even so, he ended his letter with assurances of faithful service, and there is nothing to show that he ever failed in the least degree to co-operate faithfully with Tromp.

Meanwhile the Swedish fleet, under Admiral Lorens Creutz, had left Dalarö on May 4th, and finally got away from Elfsnabben on the 19th. The two fleets met between Bornholm and Rügen on May 25th.

Swedish Fleet.*—Battleships†:—*Krona* 124 (Ad. Creutz),

* From Zettersten (ii. 472). He gives the original organisation in four squadrons. Bergenstjerna commanding the fourth squadron died on May 20th, and his ships were distributed among the others. The fleet is therefore given here without squadronal arrangement.

† The Swedish Navy had as yet no distinction of battleships and frigates, but it is possible to draw a fairly clear line for purposes of comparison with other fleets.

Svärd 94 (Ad. Uggla), *Apple* 86, *Nyckel* 84 (Ad. Bar), *Viktoria* 80, *Sol* 74, *Mars* 72, *Jupiter* 70, *Drake* 66, *Merkurius* 64, *Hieronymus* 64, *Saturnus* 64, *Venus* 64, *Carolus* 60, *Cesar* 60, *Wrangel* 60, *Herkules* 56, *Wismar* 54, *Riga* 54, *Sol* (M) 54, *Svenska Lejon* 48, *Göteborg* 48, *Spes* 48, *Abraham* 44, *Nep-tunus* 44, *Maria* 44, *Flygande Varg* (M) 44.

Frigates.—*Fenix* 36, *Hjort* 36, *Fredrika Amalia* 34, *Trums-lagare* (M) 34, *Sundsvall* 32, *Konung David* (M) 32, *Salvator* (M) 30, *Nordstjerna* 28, *Perla* (M) 28, *Utter* 24, *Jernvåg* (M) 24; two small craft, eleven storeships, eight fireships.

Twenty-seven battleships, eleven frigates, two small craft, eleven storeships, eight fireships, 2,194 guns.

Allied Fleet:—

Danes.—Battleships:—*Churprinds* 76 (Gen.-Ad. Juel), *Enighed* 62, *Tre Løver* 60 (Ad. Rodstehn), *Fredericus III.* 60, *Christianus IV.* 56, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Nelleblad* 54, *Christiania* 54, *Lindorm* 50, *Kjøbenhavn* 50, *Delmenhorst* 46, *Svenske Falk* 40.

Frigates:—*Havmand* 34, *Hummer* 34, *Charitas* 32 (ex-Swede), *Loss* 28, *Havfru* 24, *Spraglede Falk* 16; six small craft, two fireships.

Dutch.*—Battleships:—*Waesdorp* 68 (J), *Justina* 64 (S.b.N. Almonde), *Delft* 62 (J.), *Ostergo* 60 (F), *Gideon* 60 (J.), *Ackerboom* 60, *Northolland* 44 (F), *Caleb* 40.

Frigate:—*Utrecht* 38.

Twenty battleships, seven frigates, six small craft, two fireships, 1,328 guns.

The Allies were about ten miles north of Jasmund, the north-east corner of Rügen, when the Swedish fleet was sighted at 6 a.m. on May 25th coming down before a light north-easterly breeze. In the face of such superiority it was obviously Juel's duty to avoid action if possible, more especially since he knew that reinforcements would shortly be leaving Copenhagen. Nevertheless, wanting to avoid any appearance of flight, and also probably with the hope of getting in a blow on his own account before Tromp's arrival, he formed line, not on the starboard, but on the port tack, thus heading away from Copenhagen.

* No list gives the names of the nine Dutch ships which came on in advance. We know (de Jonge ii. 519) that they were the ships of Amsterdam, the Maze and Vriesland. Garde (Eft. i. 190) gives a list of the fleet with captains in the next action. Working from this we know by mention of these captains in de Jonge (524) that those ships marked (J) were present. The two ships marked (F) are mentioned in a Dutch account reproduced by Bruun (Niels Juel 19). The only other information we have is that the *Dordrecht* 46 was not present, since her captain was a Rotterdam man (de Jonge ii. 524). The other four ships were in Almonde's squadron a week later; while two others were under Tromp. Probably as little alteration as possible would have been made.

He kept close-hauled on the port tack, but meanwhile the wind gradually veered, so that when Creutz got level and bore away to attack, the allied fleet was four miles east of Jasmund, heading S.S.E. The Swedes were in some disorder, partly through the fault of Creutz, who had never commanded a fleet before, and partly through lack of skill in the handling of individual ships. Juel took the opportunity given him. He tacked his fleet in succession, stood N.N.E. with a freshening breeze, and managed at about 9 p.m. to cut off the last five Swedish ships, apparently small-craft, but it was too dark to do much. A little later Creutz tacked also, and the action ended. During the night both fleets kept on the starboard tack, and next morning the action was renewed. Details of the fighting are very uncertain. Each of the three nations concerned has an entirely different account of it; but it is possible by the selection of portions of each story to piece together a fairly plausible narrative. In the following account mention is made of the sources from which the various details are drawn. The wind was S.S.E. (Tornquist, Garde). The Swedes were in a general way to windward, but very much scattered (Tornquist). Juel began to beat to windward to cut off the most leewardly of the Swedes, who did the same in order to re-unite (Bruun, Juel's report). The Dutch squadron formed the van of the Allies and sailed in general better than the Swedes, who were in turn better than the Danes (de Jonge). As a result, when Almonde got up to the Swedish line at 7 a.m. he was supported by only three of the Danish ships in addition to his own squadron (de Jonge). On the other hand, only a part of Creutz's fleet was in position to receive him (Tornquist). The fleets passed twice on opposite tacks. The first time Almonde was only just within range, but the second time he ran along the whole Swedish line as close as possible. His ships suffered severely. According to a Swedish eyewitness his flagship, the *Delft* 62, had a hole made in her "big enough to drive a horse and cart through" (Zettersten). At any rate, she was evidently very much damaged, since Almonde had to shift his flag to the *Gideon* 60, and in addition to the flagship the *Waesdorp* 68 was driven out of action (de Jonge) and the *Ostergo* 60 and *Northolland* 44 considerably knocked about (Bruun, Foppe's account). Meanwhile, some of the Danes had got to windward of the Swedish lee ships and cut them off from the main body (Tornquist). Juel, however, thought he had done enough for appearance's sake, and seeing that Creutz showed signs of coming down to their relief (Tornquist) he bore up at 2 p.m. and retired, covering his retreat by sending in a fireship. This, of course, compelled Almonde to withdraw also, and the allied fleet proceeded in good order

with the Dutch astern (de Jonge) to Falsterbo, East of Kjöge Bay, where they anchored. Creutz started to pursue, but seeing the *Merkurius* 64, commanded by his son Major Creutz, in danger from the Danish fireship, he backed his foretopsail with the idea of helping her. This threw the fleet into even worse confusion than before, and it was not until Uggla came on board the flagship (Tornquist) that any sort of order was restored. The pursuit was then begun again, but it was too late, and the Swedes were too scattered to do any good. As night fell Creutz took his fleet to Trelleborg and anchored about ten miles east of the Allies.

The Swedes lost two ships. The *Konung David* 10 (store-ship) was cut off from the fleet on the 25th and captured and burnt by a Dutch ship next day. The *Leopard* fireship* was taken by the Brandenburg squadron of three frigates, two galiots†, and six "sloops" (very small craft), which was on its way from Copenhagen under Raule to join the Allies. The Allies had a loss of fifty men killed and fifteen wounded.‡ That of the Swedes is not known. It can hardly be said that either side had won a victory, though the Swedes had, of course, every reason to feel dissatisfied. With a superiority in force of more than three to two, with the advantage of the single nationality, and with the weather position, they had failed to capture a single ship or to prevent Juel from reaching a position where he could get reinforcements unhindered. Probably much of their want of success was due to Creutz's inexperience, but there is no doubt that he was not properly supported by his subordinates.§ On the other hand, though the result of the fight was in a way as creditable to the Allies as it was discreditable to the Swedes, the natural jealousy and distrust of the two different nationalities showed themselves very clearly. Almonde reported that he had not been properly backed up by the Danes on the 26th, and accused Rodstehn in particular of lack of support, while the Danes stated that the Dutch had deliberately kept out of action for some time during the first day's fighting. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that, in spite of the fact that the Swedes held thanksgiving services for their "victory," the advantage of the two days, such as it was, rested with the Allies.

* She was a merchantman able to carry 20-30 guns, but was now used as a fireship. German accounts give her 22 guns (Wislicenus, Jordan), but probably mean "ports."

† *Churprinz von Brandenburg* 26; *König von Spanien* 18; *Berlin* 15; *Potsdam* galiot; *Cleve* galiot (Jordan).

‡ Holl. Merc. 1676, June, p. 116.

§ Vice-Admiral Böye of the *Apple* was dismissed his ship for failing to do his best.

Two days after Juel's arrival at Falsterbo Tromp joined with six Danish and three Dutch ships* from Copenhagen. At the same time the King of Sweden, acting on the advice of Uggla and Gustaf Horn, ordered his fleet to retire towards Stockholm so as to be more favourably placed in the event of a second battle. Both fleets weighed anchor early on the 30th with a good south-westerly wind, sailing first east and then north-east. During the night the Swedes kept rather more to the east again, so that next morning they were not to be seen. Tromp, however, soon regained contact by means of his frigates, and by noon the two fleets were again in sight of one another. At eight o'clock in the morning of June 1st the Swedish fleet sighted the southern point of Öland, and kept on a course N.N.E. as close in shore as was considered safe; but the Allies kept even closer, and as the wind backed to west at the same time, they came up on the weather side of the Swedish line.

The Swedish fleet, save for the loss of the *Konung David* and *Leopard*, was the same as in the previous action. It had, therefore, 26 battleships, 12 frigates, 10 storeships, and 7 fire-ships, with 2184 guns. The Allies were organised according to the following list, and had 25 battleships, 10 frigates, 7 small craft, and 5 fireships, with 1727 guns.

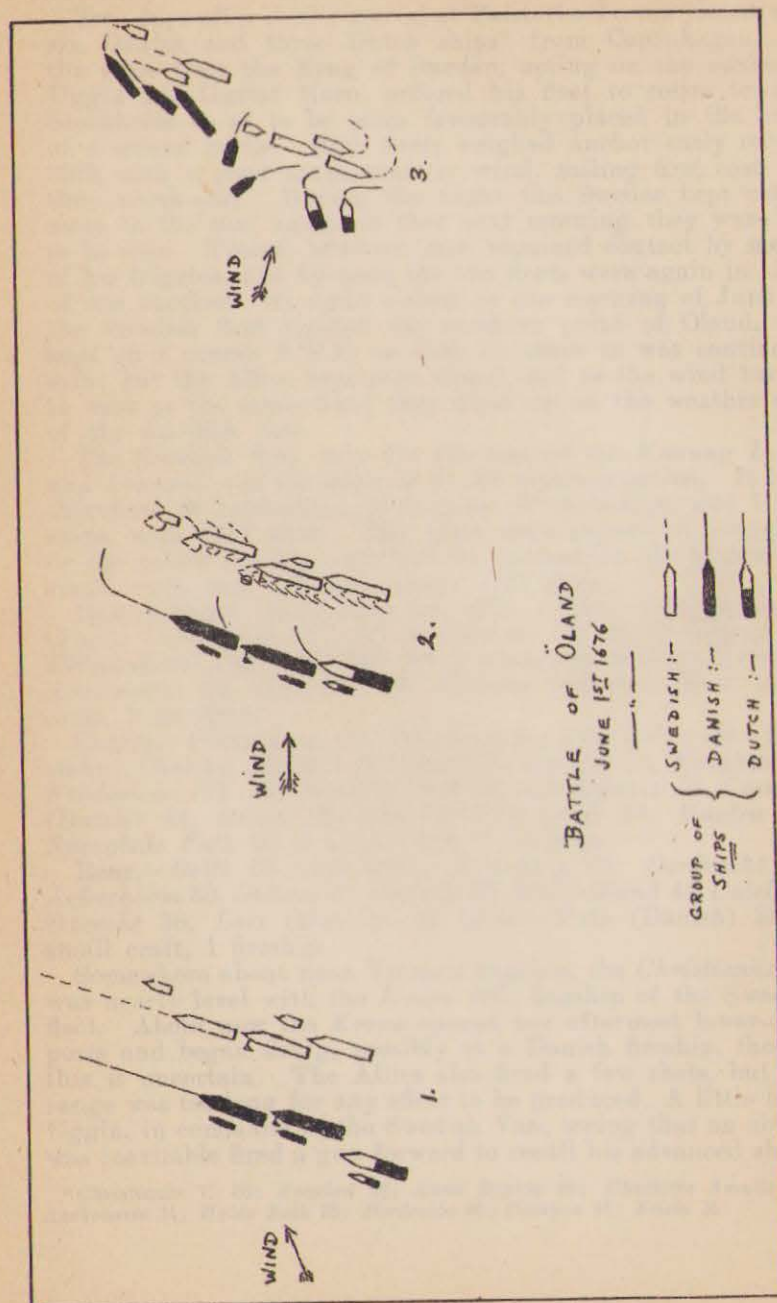
Danish-Dutch Fleet, June 1st, 1676:—Van.—*Churprinds* 76 (Juel), *Christianus IV.* 56, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Anna Sophia* 56, *Delmenhorst* 46, *Nelleblad* 54, *Kjøbenhavn* 50, *Lindorm* 50, *Antholette* 34, *Hummer* 34, *Svenske Charitas* 32, 2 small craft, 2 fireships.

Centre.—*Christianus V.* 86 (Tromp), *Tre Løver* 60 (Rodstehn), *Ostergo* (Dutch) 60, *Charlotte Amalia* 54, *Enighed* 62, *Fredericus III.* 60, *Svenske Falk* 40, *Christiania* 54, *Campen* (Dutch) 44, *Frisia* (Dutch) 36, *Havmand* 34, *Havfru* 24, *Spraglede Falk* 16, 3 small craft, 2 fireships.

Rear.—*Delft* 62 (Almonde), *Waesdorp* 68, *Dordrecht* 46, *Ackerboom* 60, *Gideon* 60, *Justina* 64, *Northolland* 44, *Caleb* 40, *Utrecht* 38, *Loss* (Danish) 28, *Hvide Falk* (Danish) 28, 2 small craft, 1 fireship.

Somewhere about noon Tromp's flagship, the *Christianus V.*, was nearly level with the *Krona* 126, flagship of the Swedish fleet. About now the *Krona* opened her aftermost lower-deck ports and began firing, possibly at a Danish fireship, though this is uncertain. The Allies also fired a few shots, but the range was too long for any effect to be produced. A little later Uggla, in command of the Swedish Van, seeing that an action was inevitable fired a gun forward to recall his advanced ships,

* *Christianus V.* 86; *Enighed* 62; *Anna Sophia* 56; *Charlotte Amalie* 54; *Antholette* 34; *Hvide Falk* 28; *Dordrecht* 46; *Campen* 44; *Frisia* 36.



[To face page 113.]

Creutz took this to mean that Uggla was going about, mistaking the signal for that giving the order to tack, which was a gun fired *aft*. Exclaiming, "Where the deuce is Uggla going?" he ordered the rest of the fleet to tack as well. However, not being a seaman, he failed to make allowances for the circumstances. His fleet had previously been sailing with the wind abaft the beam, whereas on the starboard tack he would be close-hauled. Further, the after lower-deck ports, which were still open, would on the other tack be on the lee side. The Swedes had been carrying all the sail that the masts would stand, and it was of course imperative in the strong wind then blowing to shorten sail and close what would be the leeward lower-deck ports before attempting to sail close-hauled. Creutz did neither. He luffed up, and with the way the ship had on she was off on the starboard tack even before the guns on the port side could be run in. The *Krona* heeled to such an angle that the port-sills went under water, and it became impossible to move the leeward guns up the sloping decks. Gyllenspåk, the Master of Ordnance, who was on board and had gone below to see about running in the guns, rushed up on deck to beg Creutz to shorten sail. Getting no answer, he started to let go the main halliards himself, but he was too late; a squall struck the ship, she went right on to her beam ends, and the water rushed in everywhere. A few moments later fire, probably from the matches for the guns or from a broken lamp, reached the magazine, the entire starboard side of the ship was blown into the air, and she sank at once. Out of 842 officers and men on board, only 3 officers and 38 men were saved.

Uggla, in the *Van*, signalled to his squadron to tack as soon as he saw Creutz's intention, but as he came to the wind the catastrophe of the *Krona* occurred, and to avoid running into the wreckage he had to bear away and wear again to his original course. Meanwhile the other two squadrons had tacked, and the fleet was thus partly on the one tack, partly on the other; and the confusion was increased by the fact that the *Svärd*, Uggla's ship, lost her mainmast in wearing, and was therefore more or less disabled. Tromp saw his opportunity, and before Uggla could do anything to straighten things out he bore away and attacked. He himself got close alongside the *Svärd*, and was followed by Rodstehn in the *Tre Løver* 60 and by Juel in the *Churprinds* 76. Uggla was at first supported by the *Sol* 74 and *Saturnus* 64 until Admiral Clerck, in the *Sol*, was wounded, and his ship left the line with the loss of her main topmast; but now the *Hieronymus* 64, *Neptunus* 44, and *Jernvåg* (M) 24 tried to relieve the *Svärd* and joined in the action round the two flagships. At the same

time, the rest of the allied fleet had come up, and the action became general. The Swedish *Venus* 64 lost her main topmast, the *Mercurius* 64 was badly hit between wind and water, and the *Mars* 72 and other ships also had to retire. Uggla, in the *Svärd*, held out for about two hours, and twice set the *Christianus V.* on fire, but at last had to strike. Just as Tromp was sending a boat on board, a Dutch fireship came up, and in spite of signals and hails her captain laid her alongside the Swedish flagship and fired her. In a very short time the *Svärd* blew up, and of her crew of 670, all but 51 were killed or drowned, including Uggla himself.

This second disaster was too much for the Swedes. Several ships, including the *Herkules* 56, *Wismar* 54, *Fenix* 36, and *Utter* 24, had fled after the loss of the *Krona*, but now the panic was complete. Every ship that could get away did so without any thought for those most hotly engaged. The three ships that had come to Uggla's help all had to surrender after a long resistance. The *Hieronymus*, however, escaped in the dark before she could be taken possession of. The *Neptunus* struck to Juel in the *Churprinds*, but his ship was so much damaged that he could not take possession of his prize, and accordingly the Dutch *Gideon* 60 did so. The *Jernvåg* was captured by the *Anna Sophia* 56, and the *Ekhorre* 8 was also taken. Such of the Danes and Dutch as were in a condition to do so pursued the retreating enemy right into Dalarö. On the way the *Dordrecht* 46 took the *Enhorn* 16. Both the *Drake* 66 and the *Trumslagare* (M) 34 had to be beached on the coast of Öland to prevent their sinking, but they got off again after repairs, and reached Kalmar on the 3rd. The *Sol* (M) 54 fled to Vestervik, where she also went aground, but was refloated later. The *Rödkrita* fireship had to be burnt to save her from capture by the Brandenburgers. Finally, on June 5th, the *Apple* 86 dragged her anchors at Dalarö, struck on a reef, and sank, though without much loss of life.

The Swedish Navy thus lost on June 1st and the following days its three largest ships, four smaller vessels, and a fireship.* The loss in men is not known on either side, though Tromp reported that the *Christianus V.* lost about 100 killed and wounded. Of course the Swedes lost far more than the Allies, since over 1,400 perished in the *Krona* and *Svärd* alone.

As the result of the battle of Öland the command of the sea now rested with the Allies. This being the case, they were, of course, able to move troops by water as they pleased, and a landing in Skåne was therefore arranged. The fleet had

* *Krona* 126; *Svärd* 94; *Apple* 86; *Neptunus* 44; *Jernvåg* (M) 24; *Enhorn* 16; *Ekhorre* 8; *Rödkrita* (fireship).

reassembled in Kjöge Bay by June 19th, and a small squadron was detached under the orders of the two Rodstehn brothers to escort the main landing force, while Tromp with the rest of the fleet was sent to draw off the Swedes' attention by the capture of Ystad. Leaving Kjöge Bay on June 21st, he was off the town on the 26th. The Swedish garrison refused to surrender, and he therefore sent in four frigates and three galiots to bombard. A little later he sent in four more frigates and landed over 2,000 men. On June 27th the town and fortress capitulated. Two days after this the Danish army was landed at Raa, just south of Helsingborg. It was about 9,000 men strong, and was convoyed from Copenhagen by Rodstehn's twelve warships.* On July 4th Helsingborg surrendered, and Landskrona soon followed. Markuor Rodstehn was sent on July 11th to blockade Gothenburg with part of this squadron. Up to now the Swedish ships there had been able to do as they liked, and had, in fact, been at sea for the whole of May and the beginning of June on an unsuccessful expedition to the Elbe to relieve Stade. Rodstehn had only six ships, while Sjöblad, the Swedish commander, had eleven, but the Swedes made no move. Hearing that the enemy was expecting reinforcements from England, Rodstehn left his post to return to Copenhagen. On getting under way the *Kjöbenhavn* 50 ran aground, and as the Swedish vessels were approaching she had to be burnt. On his return to the Sound Rodstehn was put under arrest, and the squadron sent back to Gothenburg under Commodore Wibe, a Dutchman. On August 17th it was again off the harbour.† The Swedes were too much undermanned to do anything, and the only activity on the Danish side was an unsuccessful fireship attack on October 1st. After this they withdrew for the winter.

In the Baltic Tromp had taken his fleet to Rügen,‡ but the Elector could not spare enough men to effect a landing in the face of the Swedish garrison, and the idea had to be abandoned. Tromp returned to Ystad, picked up four frigates which he had left there, and cruised in the Baltic looking for the Swedes.

* *Tre Kroner* 70 (Ad. M. Rodstehn); *Christianus IV.* 56; *Klein Vrieslant* (or *Frisia*) 36 (Dutch); *Charlotta Amalia* (M) 34; *Wandhund* 12; *Store Praam* —; *Tre Løver* 60 (Ad. J. Rodstehn); *Caleb* 40 (Dutch); *Kjöbenhavn* 50; *Tiger* (M) 34 (†); *Kjöbenhavns Waaben* (M) 34; *Hummer* 34.

† Rodstehn's squadron had been as follows:—*Tre Kroner* 70; *Caleb* 40; *Kjöbenhavn* 50; *Frisia* 36; 3 "Defensions Skibe" (armed merchantmen). He lost the *Kjöbenhavn*, but under Wibe the squadron was reinforced by the *Kjöbenhavns Waaben* (M) 34, and *Charlotta Amalia* (M) 34. The Swedes had:—*Andromeda* 52; *Amarant* 46; *Wrangels Pallats* 44; *Kalmarkastell* (M) 72; *Gustavus* (M) 48; *Rosa* (M) 46; *Hafsfru* (M) 46; *Engel Gabriel* (M) 32; *Helsingfors* (M) 40; *St. Johannes* (M) 24; *St. Peter* (fireship).

‡ Evertsen arrived in July with three more Dutch ships.

He then went to Kjöge Bay early in September and sent out two small squadrons under Bjelke and Jens Rodstehn. The former cruised in the Baltic, but the latter first retook on September 25th Christianopol, which had been captured by the Swedes, and then, proceeding to Bödekull or Karlshamn, landed his troops on October 4th, and captured that town on the 7th. The Dutch fleet had gone home, but Tromp landed with 3,000 men from the fleet to reinforce the King's army in Skåne, and finally took part in the battle of Lund on December 4th. The Danes were by no means decisively beaten, but King Christian thought it best to retire and confine his attention to holding the towns he had taken already. He therefore withdrew his army to Sjaelland, save for garrisons in the coast towns.

During the winter Denmark and France, which had, of course, been fighting on opposite sides for over a year though still nominally at peace with one another, abandoned this pretence and mutually declared war. In consequence of this, with the possibility of Louis XIV. giving active aid to Sweden at sea, it appeared more than ever necessary that Denmark and Brandenburg* should be supported in the Baltic by a Dutch fleet. Tromp was therefore sent to the Netherlands in January, 1677, to do what he could to persuade William of Orange to send a fleet to help against Sweden. For some time there was little response to his request. The Dutch, who were fighting France in the Mediterranean, and bound to keep a fleet at home, could not easily spare ships to join in a struggle which was apparently of little direct importance to them, and besides this they realised that it would do them no good to make Denmark too strong or Sweden too weak. What they wanted was a situation in which the two countries were about evenly matched, so that whichever side they supported would always be able to overpower the other. Still, at last they recognised that supporting Denmark would help Brandenburg and thus indirectly weaken France. A fleet was therefore equipped,† and sailed from the Texel on June 18th under Lieutenant-Admiral Bastienze Schepers. Tromp sailed as a passenger in the flagship.

Before this fleet arrived the Danes had done much to make its coming unnecessary. Sjöblad, the Swedish commander in Gothenburg, was ordered to take his ships into the Baltic to join those at Stockholm, doing what harm he could to Danish

* In the latter part of 1676 a Brandenburg squadron of 2 frigates, 2 galiots, 1 yacht (*Bracke*), and two ships had blockaded Stralsund, while 1 frigate and 1 galiot cruised in the Baltic.

† 1 of 76, 1 of 70, 4 of 60-68, 1 of 50, 3 of 40-46, 2 snows, 3 fireships, 1 galiot.

trade and territory on the way. He left Gothenburg on May 20th, and anchored three days later off Knudshoved in the Great Belt. The same day a Danish squadron under Juel left Copenhagen. For some days a calm prevented Sjöblad from moving, and he accordingly landed men and did all possible damage ashore. News of his presence soon reached Copenhagen, and a galley was sent off to tell Juel. She found him on May 28th at anchor off Gjedser, the southernmost point of Falster in a flat calm. Juel got under way next day, but had to anchor again, though the same day Sjöblad managed to pass Langeland, Lolland, and Femern. On the 30th he had to anchor between Femern and Warnemünde in sight of the Danish fleet.

List of the two fleets follows:—

Swedes.—*Amarant* 46 (Ad. Sjöblad), *Andromeda* 52, *Wrangels Pallats* 44, *Kalmarkastell* (M) 72, *Gustavus* (M) 48, *Rosa* (M) 46, *Hafsfru* (M) 46, *Engel Gabriel* (M) 32, *Grip* (bojort) 8, *Diana* 6, *Venus* 4, 1 fireship, 8 ships, 3 small-craft, 1 fireship, 404 guns.

Danes.—*Christianus V.* 86 (Ad. Juel), *Churprinds* 74, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Enighed* 62, *Christianus IV.* 54, *Christiania* 54, *Nelleblad* 52, *Lindorm* 50, *Neptunus* 42, *Christiansand* 40, *Hummer* 37, *Havmand* 34, *Havfru* 30, 1 galiot, 1 galley, 2 fireships, 13 ships, 2 small craft, 2 fireships, 671 guns.

Besides the apparent superiority in ships and number of guns, the Danes carried by far the heavier artillery. None of Sjöblad's ships had anything heavier than a twelve-pounder, whereas several of the Danish vessels carried twenty-four and eighteen-pounders. The Danish superiority in ships was 62 per cent., in guns 70 per cent., while in weight of broadside it was probably quite 100 per cent.

At noon on May 31st a light breeze sprang up from the south-west. Juel at once got under way, and Sjöblad retreated north-east. The breeze became very light, so that both sides lowered their boats to tow. As almost invariably happens in a chase, the fastest of the pursuing vessels gained upon the slowest of the pursued. At about 7 p.m. firing began, and went on till midnight, when the *Wrangels Pallats* 44 struck to the *Enighed* 62. At 2.30 a.m. on June 1st the fight began again. The wind was now stronger, and from the south-east. The three leading Danes were Juel's flagship, the *Christianus V.* 86, the *Lindorm* 50, and the *Nelleblad* 52, while the sternmost of the Swedes were the *Gustavus* (M) 48, *Rosa* (M) 46, and *Havfru* (M) 46. At first the *Christianus V.* was unsupported, but soon the *Lindorm* got alongside the *Havfru*. The *Nelleblad* made no effort whatever to come into action, but the *Gyldenløve* 56 came up later to help the *Lindorm*, and after

some hours' fighting the *Hafsfra* surrendered.* The *Churprinds* 76 attacked the largest Swede, the *Kalmarkastell* (M) 72, and was backed up in succession by the *Christianus IV.* 54, *Christiania* 54, and *Havfru* 30; the *Kalmarkastell* was overpowered and forced to strike, but she was so much injured by her captain's device of firing guns down the main hatch that she had to be put ashore and was of no further use to her captors.

Meanwhile Juel, in the *Christianus V.* 86, had gone on after the Swedish flagship and her immediate neighbours. At about four o'clock he came up with the *Amarant* 46, *Sjöblad's* ship, and in about two hours took not only her, but also the *Engel Gabriel* (M) 32, which came to her help. The rest of the Swedes escaped, in spite of Juel's repeated signals to his ships to chase. The *Rosa* (M) 46 and *Grip* 8 went through the Sound under the English flag, while the *Andromeda* 52 and *Gustavus* (M) 48 went on into the Baltic and anchored south of Öland. The *Diana* 6 and *Venus* 4 also tried to go through the Sound, but were taken by the Danish ship *Svenske Falk* 40.† The Danish fleet, with its prizes, reached Kjöge Bay the same evening, and came up to Dragør on the 7th. Juel accused several of his captains of cowardice and disobedience, and eventually the chiefs of the *Gyldenløve*, *Nelleblad*,‡ *Neptunus*,‡ *Christiansand*, and *Hummer* were all found guilty and punished. Still, the Danes had won a very decided victory, and though it was of course against a very inferior foe, the result encouraged them to try and repeat it against the main Swedish fleet from Stockholm. With this object Juel was reinforced with every available ship, and on June 24th he put to sea again with 24 battleships and frigates with the knowledge that the Swedes had left Elfsnabben on the 11th. Lack of wind forced him to anchor off Stevns, and at daybreak on June 29th, while at anchor between Stevns and Falsterbo, he sighted the Swedish fleet, also at anchor off Møen.

This fleet had left Dalarö on June 9th. Its original composition was according to the following list.

First Squadron.—*Viktoria* 84 (Ad. Gen. Horn), *Wrangel* 60, *Saturnus* 64, *Mars* 72, *Carolus* 56, *Wismar* 58, *Riga* 45, *Hjort* 34, *Fredrika Amalia* 34, *Flygande Varg* (M) 56, *Trumslagare* (M) 18, *Elisabet* (M) 18, 4 storeships (30), 2 fireships.

Second Squadron.—*Sol* 72 (Ad. Clerck), *Venus* 64, *Mer-*

* Swedes say 7 a.m. Danes 5 a.m.

† The Swedes thus lost:—*Amarant* 46; *Kalmarkastell* (M) 72 (run ashore after capture); *Hafsfra* (M) 46; *Diana* 6; *Wrangels Pallats* 44; *Engel Gabriel* (M) 32; *Venus* 4.

‡ Dutchmen.

kurius 66, *Herkules* 54, *Svenska Lejon* 52, *Lax* 50, *Spes* 46, *Fenix* 34, *Grip* (M) 60, *Konung David* (M) 32, *Perla* (M) 18, 4 storeships (30).

Third Squadron.—*Nyckel* 84 (Ad. Wachtmeister), *Jupiter* 68, *Drake* 64, *Cesar* 60, *Hieronymus* 72, *Göteborg* 52, *Maria* 50, *Abraham* 44, *Nordstjerna* 32, *Sol* (M) 32, *Salvator* (M) 32, *Forgylda Falk* (M) 10, 3 storeships, 2 fireships.

This is not, however, quite the fleet that went into action. For some reason the *Lax* 50, *Abraham* 44, *Nordstjerna* 32, and *Grip* (M) 60 were left at Dalarö. On June 13th, off Öland, Horn was joined by the new ship *Kalmar* 62 from the town of the same name, and also by the *Andromeda* 52 and *Gustavus* (M) 48, the survivors of *Sjöblad's* squadron. After cruising off the Blekinge coast, he anchored off Møen on the 24th. Thence he went to Bornholm, and returned to Møen. The *Carolus* 56, *Maria* 50, and *Göteborg* 52 were out cruising, and did not rejoin the fleet in time for the battle. The Swedish fleet therefore went into action with a strength of 31 ships, exclusive of 11 storeships, and a total of 1,701 guns.

Against this the Danes could put the following fleet:—

First Squadron.—*Lindorm* 50, *Norske Love* 86, *Fredericus III.* 52, *Anna Sophia* 58 (Ad. M. Rodstehn), *Christianus IV.* 54, *Hummer* 37, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Havmand* 30, 2 galiots, 1 fireship.

Second Squadron.—*Christiansand* 40, *Churprinds* 74, *Enighed* 62, *Christianus V.* 84 (Ad. Juel), *Neptunus* 42, *Maria* 30, *Tre Løve* 58, *Postillion* 18, 1 galiot, 1 "scout," 1 fireship.

Third Squadron.—*Svan* 58, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Loss* 30, *Christiana* 54, *Tre Kroner* 68 (Ad. J. Rodstehn), *Nelleblad* 52, *Charlotte Amalie* 44, *Hvide Falk* 26, *Svenske Falk* 40, 3 galiots, 1 "scout."

They had therefore 25 ships and eight small craft, with 1,267 guns, so that in material, at any rate, they were considerably inferior to the Swedes. Still, this was probably more than made up for by the fact of their victory in the last action and the consequent confidence on the Danish and distrust on the Swedish side. Besides this, Horn, the Swedish commander-in-chief, though possibly an excellent soldier (he was a Field-Marshal), had had no previous experience at sea, and was therefore quite unfitted to handle a fleet against an enemy with any knowledge of tactics. This Juel certainly had. Garde, in his history of the Danish navy, specially mentions that "he practised tactical evolutions for the first time in our Navy both with boats and with his ships," a fact that partly accounts for the result of the action which followed.

Apparently both sides were anxious to fight. Horn wanted to avenge *Sjöblad's* defeat before the arrival of the Dutch

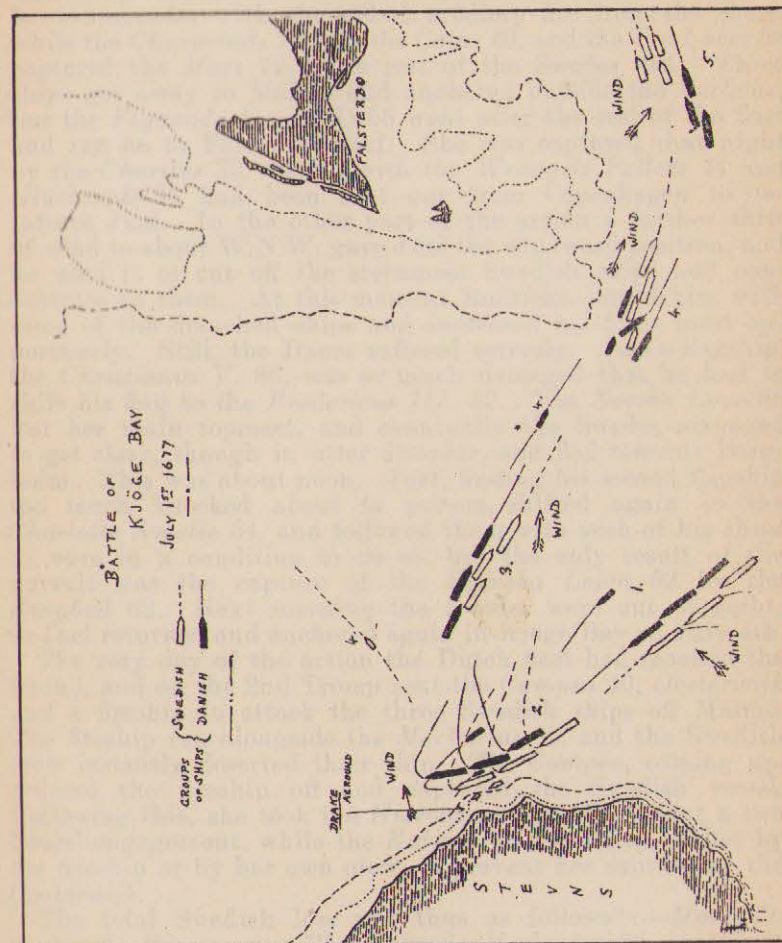
fleet, while Juel was of course willing to fight if there was a chance of winning a victory before Tromp superseded him. There is some doubt exactly what his orders were, but apparently he had been told not to fight if it could be avoided until the Dutch could join him, though, naturally enough, he did little to prevent Horn from attacking him, and in fact gave him every chance to do so.* About eight o'clock in the morning of June 30th, the wind being S.S.W. and the Swedes therefore to windward, Horn left his anchorage and approached the enemy. He sent two ships to try and draw Juel, who in his turn sent two ships to attack them. The Swedish fleet kept off and formed line, whereupon Juel weighed and did the same. All night the Danes tried in vain to get the weather-gauge; at daybreak on July 1st the Swedes were still to windward. Both fleets were then on the port tack a little off the wind, heading north-west towards the coast of Sjaelland. Several Danish ships had dropped to leeward during the night, but Juel decided to accept battle at once without waiting for them to rejoin, and therefore hauled to the wind. At the same time the Swedish fleet bore up to attack, and about 5 a.m. the action began. Horn sent in his fireships, but they were towed aside harmlessly.

As the two lines approached the shore Juel bore away a little so as to run along the coast close in, seeing that if Horn wanted to keep to windward he must stay on the port side of the Danes, especially since the wind was slowly veering, and might therefore probably run aground. The plan succeeded well; the *Drake* 64 went hard aground off Stevns. Horn at once ordered the *Mars* 72, *Cesar* 60, *Merkurius* 66, *Kalmar* 62, *Hieronymus* 72, and *Flygande Varg* (M) 56 to help her, and with the rest of his fleet wore and stood to the eastward to get into more open water.

Juel had to make a quick decision. If he took the whole of his fleet against the ships round the *Drake* he would be more or less certain of taking or destroying seven ships, but the rest of the Swedes would escape untouched, while if he took a sufficient force to attack the main body of the Swedish fleet with any hope of success he would not be able to spare enough ships to make certain of those seven vessels. He decided to take the more risky course. Leaving the detached Swedes to his ships to leeward and sending Markuor Rodstehn in the *Anna Sophia* 58 with the *Norske Love* 86 to help, he wore his

* Garde (Hist. i. 283) says that Juel sent to the King asking for leave to fight, and that his brother Jens Juel arrived on the 28th with this permission. Bruun, however (Niels Juel — 63), shows that this is apparently wrong. At any rate, Jens Juel did not reach the fleet till the 30th, and then probably without any such leave.

PLATE III.



fleet also and kept on in action, though now to port of the Swedes.

In the action round the *Drake* the Danes did well. The *Anna Sophia* and *Norske Løve* attacked the *Drake* and forced her to surrender with the aid of artillery fire from the shore, while the *Churprinds* 74 took the *Cesar* 60, and the *Tre Løver* 58 captured the *Mars* 72. The rest of the Swedes fled. Three ships got away to Malmö and anchored outside the harbour, but the *Flygande Varg* (M) 56 went after the rest of the fleet and ran on to Falsterbo Reef. She was captured that night by the *Charitas* 32, which, with the *Wrangels Pallats* 44 and *Glückstadt* 36 had been sent out from Copenhagen to reinforce Juel. In the other part of the action a further shift of wind to about W.N.W. gave Juel the windward position, and he used it to cut off the sternmost Swedish ships and concentrate on them. At this moment Rodstehn joined him with some of the detached ships and increased his force most opportunely. Still, the Danes suffered severely. Juel's flagship, the *Christianus V.* 86, was so much damaged that he had to shift his flag to the *Fredericus III.* 52. The *Norske Løve* 86 lost her main topmast, and eventually the Swedes managed to get clear, though in utter disorder, and fled towards Bornholm. This was about noon. Juel, finding his second flagship too much knocked about to pursue, shifted again to the *Charlotte Amalie* 54, and followed them with such of his ships as were in a condition to do so, but the only result of the pursuit was the capture of the *Svenska Lejon* 52 by the *Enighed* 62. Next morning the Swedes were out of sight, so Juel returned and anchored again in Kjöge Bay on July 4th.

The very day of the action the Dutch fleet had reached the Sound, and on the 2nd Tromp sent the *Campen* 40, *Oosterwijk* and a fireship to attack the three Swedish ships off Malmö. The fireship ran alongside the *Merkurius* 66, and the Swedish crew instantly deserted their ship. The *Campen*, coming up, ordered the fireship off and captured the Swedish vessel. Following this, she took the *Hieronymus* 72 after about a two hours' engagement, while the *Kalmar* 62 was burnt, either by the fireship or by her own crew, to prevent her capture by the *Oosterwijk*.

The total Swedish loss was thus as follows*:—*Mars* 72, captured; *Hieronymus* 72, captured; *Merkurius* 66, captured; *Drake* 64, captured; *Kalmar* 62, burnt; *Cesar* 60, captured; *Svenska Lejon* 52, captured; *Flygande Varg* (M) 56, captured; *Gröna Drake* 8, captured; *Grip* 8, burnt.

*Several accounts, both Danish and Swedish, say that the *Saturnus* 64 blew up and the *Jupiter* 68 was sunk or wrecked. As a matter of fact, both were in commission next year. The Swedes may have lost one or two more small craft.

On the whole, Juel had gained little by his boldness. As a result of the second phase of the action, only one Swede was taken, while three of those near the *Drake* managed to escape. True, they were dealt with next day by the Dutch, but they might very well have escaped altogether. Had Juel confined his attentions to the seven Swedish ships and let the rest go he would in all probability have captured them all, and would certainly have suffered far less severely himself. Still, the moral effect of his pursuit of the Swedish main body must have been great, and he undoubtedly won a great victory. For a fleet of 25 ships to defeat an enemy of 31 and inflict such a severe loss must be considered a very noteworthy performance, and the battle of Kjöge Bay, 1677, properly takes its place as one of the most glorious episodes in Danish Naval history.

Juel sent in a detailed report of his losses, giving them as 76 killed and 211 wounded,* but this did not include the figures for the *Norske Løve* 86, *Churprinds* 74, *Tre Kroner* 68, and *Postillion* 18. These three battleships had to be sent with the *Christianus V.* to Copenhagen for repairs, and had presumably suffered severely. Probably an estimate of 400 for the total Danish loss will not be far out. No figures were published on the Swedish side, but the *Cesar* had 110 and the *Mars* 214 killed and wounded before surrendering, and the whole loss in killed, wounded, drowned, and captured has been reckoned at about 4,000.

Some argument as to the relative positions of Schepers and Juel in the combined fleet resulted in the latter's keeping his place as next after Tromp. A fleet of 21 Danish battleships and frigates was sent under his orders on July 18th to attack the Swedish ships in Kalmar. These were 13 ships and four small craft, mainly from the third squadron of the Swedish fleet, and had reached Kalmar on July 2nd under Wachtmeister. The rest of the fleet had gone on northwards, and arrived at Dalarö on the 11th. Juel was joined off Bornholm on July 22nd by Schepers with his ten battleships and seven small craft, and on August 1st the combined fleet anchored in Kalmar Sound a little north of the harbour. Two days

* *Christiania*, 5 killed, 7 wounded; *Gyldentøve*, 3 killed, 16 wounded; *Delmenhorst*, 3 killed, 12 wounded; *Christianus IV.*, 7 killed, 10 wounded; *Enighed*, 4 killed, 32 wounded; *Anna Sophia*, 6 killed, 17 wounded; *Nelleblad*, 5 killed, 10 wounded; *Tre Løve*, 3 killed, 5 wounded; *Lindorm*, 9 killed, 2 wounded; *Neptunus*, 0 killed, 0 wounded; *Svan*, 9 killed, 13 wounded; *Maria*, 2 killed, 4 wounded; *Christiansand*, 0 killed, 3 wounded; *Svenske Falk*, 2 killed, 8 wounded; *Hummer*, 2 killed, 8 wounded; *Charlotta Amalie*, 4 killed, 13 wounded; *Fredericus III.*, 3 killed, 13 wounded; *Havmand*, 0 killed, 0 wounded; *Hvide Falk*, 1 killed, 0 wounded; *Loss*, 1 killed, 1 wounded; *Christianus V.*, 8 killed, 36 wounded.

later Tromp arrived in the *Prins Georg* 80, with the *Churprinds* 74 and *Svenske Charitas* 32, and took over the command. He left the Danish fleet north of Kalmar and stationed the Dutch to the south, but after several reconnaissances it was found that the entrance to the harbour was too well protected to make an attack possible. Disappointed in this, Tromp and Juel landed men in Öland and on the coast near Kalmar, and did a considerable amount of damage, but on August 26th Tromp returned to Copenhagen with all the Dutch ships and six of the larger Danes under Markuor Rodstehn.

On land the Danes had not been so successful. Helsingborg had been recaptured by the Swedes on December 30th, 1676, and Karlshamn on March 8th, 1677. Kristianstad, twenty-five miles west of Karlshamn, was then besieged by the Swedish army. The Danes laid siege to Malmö on June 9th, but had to abandon it again on the 27th, and on July 14th was fought the battle of Landskrona. Like the battle of Lund in 1676, it was indecisive, but resulted in the retreat of the Danes. Christian V. decided that he could do more good in Skåne, and merely left garrisons in Landskrona and Kristianstad. The plan now was to effect a landing in Rügen in conjunction with the Brandenburgers. Tromp, with his 16 battleships, left Copenhagen on September 6th, convoying 40 transports with Danish and German troops. Christian V. sailed with him. The troops were duly landed on September 8th and the island easily captured. The fleet was back at Copenhagen by the middle of October.

Juel had returned on October 6th. He had continued the descents on the Swedish coast, and a detachment of six of his frigates had taken Vestervik on September 1st after a brisk bombardment. Two Swedish warships were destroyed in the harbour. After this he had sailed to Gothland and regarrisoned that island. The Dutch left for home on October 27th, escorting some merchantmen, and at the same time the Danish ships were laid up for the winter with the exception of two small squadrons which were left at sea as long as the ice allowed. The Swedes had made no attempt to do anything more at sea. Their fleet had been lying at Dalarö in the expectation of an attack on Stockholm. After Juel left the neighbourhood of Kalmar all save three* of the ships there were sent to Stockholm for the winter.

This year the Brandenburg fleet had acted separately. The Elector's operations centred in the sieges of Stettin, Stralsund, and Griefswald, and the little fleet was wanted to help here. Raule supplied six ships; three frigates of 24, 20 and 18 guns,

* *Andromeda* 52; *Spes* 46; *Nordstjerna* 32.

2 galiots of 6 each, and 1 scout of 2 guns.* He also fitted out privately seven small craft with 26 guns, while the Elector sent from Kolberg a few ships with 57 guns. A Dutchman, Claes van Beveren, was engaged as Admiral, and under his orders a very successful blockade of Stettin was maintained. Two ships, the *Berlin* 18 and *Prinz Ludwig* 10 cruised in the Baltic and took the Swedish *Ekorre* 12. On August 4th eight Swedish ships from Stettin attacked three of the smaller Brandenburgers and took one of them of six guns. At the end of the month Van Beveren was sent with the *Churprinz* 24, *Maria* 6, and *Eichhorn* 12 (ex *Ekorre*) to the mouth of the Elbe, with orders to capture any French ships and take them to Copenhagen or Karlstadt, now a Brandenburg fortress. On December 16th Stettin was taken.

The Dutch were now beginning to treat with France and took no further part against Sweden. Christian V. therefore, seeing that Tromp's presence was a source of friction, dismissed him and made Juel Commander-in-Chief for 1678. Most extensive preparations were made, and a number of small squadrons stationed at various important points†, while the main fleet of 31 battleships, 9 frigates, 10 small craft, and 3 fireships‡ with 2,006.

Juel landed at Ystad on June 4th, but found that the stores which he hoped to capture had been removed. He then sailed northwards to look for the Swedish fleet, and found it just south of Kalmar. This year for the first time it was commanded by a seaman. Admiral Hans Wachtmeister had left Dalarö on June 6th and Elfsnabben on the 9th. He had anchored off the south of Öland on the 12th, and taken up

* Probably the same six ships as in 1676.

† A. Rügen and neighbourhood:—*Jaegers* 23; *Spragleda Falk* 16; *Tre Søstre*, *Fire Kronede Lillier* 4; *Crocodil* 4; *Tensberger Floit* (M) 10; *St. Johannes*, *Diana* 4; *Venus* 4. B. Blockading Malmö:—*Wismarske Ref* 6; *St. Peter* (M), *Soehst* (M). C. Landskrona to support the army:—*Pram* 22, a merchantman. D. Between Landskrona and Copenhagen:—*Krone* 4; *Søhund* 4; *Hvide Due*, *Adrians Jagt* (Maage) 4. E. The Belt:—*Wildmand* 16. F. The Sound:—*Faerøe* 40; *Hvide Falk* 26; *Loss* 30 (Garde Eft. i. 229).

‡ Garde Hist. i. 298. The ships of the fleet are not given. Still a list of the whole navy for this year is given in Garde Eft. i. 200/5, and this with the omission of the ships detached gives almost exactly the figures above. The larger ships of the fleet are thus given conjecturally as follows:—*Norske Løve* 84; *Christianus V.* 84; *Tre Kroner* 68; *Prinds Georg* 80; *Churprinds* 74; *Mars* *72; *Charlotta Amalia* 54; *Tre Løve* 68; *Drage* *64; *Enighed* 62; *Merkurius* *60; *Hieronymus* *56; *Anna Sophia* 58; *Julius Cæsar* *58; *Svan* 58; *Gyldenlove* 56; *Christiania* 56; *Christianus IV.* 56; *Fredericus III.* 53; *Lindorm* 52; *Amirante* *54; *Nelleblad* 52; *Flyvende Ulf* *52; *Delmenhorst* 46; *Wrangels Palais* *46; *Engel* *46; *Svenske Haffru* *44; *Svenske Løve* *44; *Victoria* 44; *Svenske Falk* *44; *Neptunus* *42; *Christiansand* 40; *Hummer* 36; *Gluckstadt* 36; *Hafmand* 34; *Charitas* *34; *Antholette* 30; *Haffru* 30; *Sjs Ridder* 20; *Sorte Rytter* 16. (* Ex Swede.)

his position in Kalmar Sound next day. With the vessels which joined him from Kalmar he had a fleet of 28 ships, 13 small craft, and 6 fireships with 1,491 guns.* The Danish fleet, with a superiority of about four to three, would probably have made short work of the Swedes in the open sea, but Wachtmeister had anchored in a strongly fortified position and Juel could not get at him. Seeing that this was so, he withdrew, and cruised between Bornholm and Rügen, hoping to lure the Swedes out to sea, but Wachtmeister merely sent out detachments of five ships or so for a week at a time during June and July. The Danish fleet effected a few more landings on the Swedish coast, and appeared again in Kalmar Sound on August 9th. By this time the Swedes had retired right into Kalmar Harbour, and Juel therefore took his fleet to Rügen to help in the great attack that had been arranged. This had been rendered necessary by the fact that in January the Swedes from Stralsund had landed in the island and recognised it, taking 4,000 prisoners. In the summer they achieved another success on land by the taking of Kristianstad.

Tromp, now in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg, was in charge of the combined fleets off Rügen. Raule, the originator of the navy of Brandenburg, had collected as many as 350 vessels of all sizes to act as transports, and these, convoyed by nine Brandenburg warships† and two Danish frigates, took troops from Peenemünde on the Pomeranian coast. The Danes landed at Wittow on the northern side of the island, and the Brandenburgers at Putbus, to the south, on August 12th; the Swedish garrison was forced to retire to Stralsund, and the island passed into the power of the Allies. Stralsund was then besieged and blockaded by the Brandenburg fleet and the Danish ships in those waters, while Juel, with the main Danish fleet returned to Copenhagen on September 30th and laid up all save a few small ships.

Meanwhile peace had been concluded between France and the United Provinces at Nimeguen on July 31st and between France and Spain on September 7th. During the winter the Emperor followed the example of his allies on January 26th, 1679, and the Bishop of Munster on March 19th. The Dutch, too, though still formally at war with Sweden, had obviously no intention of taking any further part in operations in the

* *Nyckel* 84; *Viktoria* 84; *Wrangel* 60; *Sol* 72; *Venus* 64; *Saturnus* 64; *Carolus* 56; *Herkules* 54; *Jupiter* 68; *Wismar* 58; *Göteborg* 52; *Lax* 50; *Maria* 50; *Spes* 46; *Måne* 46; *Andromeda* 46; *Riga* 45; *Abraham* 44; *Fredrika Amalia* 36; *Hjort* 34; *Fenix* 32; *Utter* 28; *Delfin* 24; *Grip* (M) 60; *Gustavus* (M) 48; *Sol* (M) 32; *Salvator* (M) 32; *Trumslagare* (M) 18; 13 small craft (104); 6 fireships.

† Seven were supplied by Raule and carried 107 guns. Two belonged to the Elector.

Baltic. Denmark and Brandenburg were thus left alone, and would have been prepared to come to terms had not Louis XIV. persuaded Karl XI. of Sweden to insist on all their territorial gains being relinquished, and promised to support him in this with a fleet and an army of 10,000 men.

Christian V. and the Elector of course refused to consider such terms. The Elector went on with his conquest of Pomerania, and the Danish fleet of thirty-two battleships and frigates, with twenty-six smaller vessels, was stationed in the Sound from April onwards to intercept the expected French fleet. Two ships from this fleet, the *Delmenhorst* 50 and *Flyvende Hjort* 44, were sent to Bornholm at the end of April to bring Swedish prisoners to Copenhagen. They were attacked on May 3rd by five Swedish ships from Kalmar, the *Fredrika Amalia* 36, *Fenix* 34, *Delfin* 24, *Fama* 16, and *Kastor* (jagt), but after an action lasting to nightfall Barfod, the Danish commander, got away and returned to Copenhagen.

The Elector, now hard pressed by France from the west and the Swedes from the east, had to give in and agree to the condition of giving up his conquests. This was on June 19th, but the Danish King still refused to accede to any such terms and prepared to continue the war alone.* Seeing that the French fleet was evidently not coming he ordered Juel into the Baltic. The Danish Admiral was off Bornholm on June 20th with thirty-five battleships and frigates, carrying 1,836 guns. Keeping his fleet to the southward, he sent seven ships towards Kalmar as a bait for Wachtmeister. The latter had been reinforced by the *Carolus XI.* 82 and *Stenbock* 32 from Stockholm, and put to sea on the 24th to attack the Danes. He chased them from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., but a shift of wind saved them. In the night a squall scattered the Swedes, and some of them came into contact with Juel's fleet; he pursued them vigorously, and on their rejoining their fleet on the 26th he chased the entire Swedish force right into Kalmar. Some fighting took place, and the Swedish *Lax* 50 was taken by the *Norske Løve* 86. Juel tried to get at the enemy on June 28th with his small craft and fireships, but the weather was too bad to achieve any result. A little desultory fighting went on for the next few days, and on July 2nd, under cover of a second fireship attack Captain Dreyer managed to sink the old battleship *Enighed*, which had been specially prepared for the purpose, in the southern entrance to the harbour.* On July 8th

* At the conclusion of peace the Brandenburg Navy was distributed as follows:—The *Leopard* 28; *Röther Löwe* 20; and 5 galiots took prisoners back to Sweden. The *Prinz Ludwig* 10, and *Maria* 6, were sent to Königsberg. The *Churprinz* 26, *Berlin* 15, and *König von Spanien* 18, cruised in the Baltic (Jordan).

* He was promoted to Schout-by-nacht on Juel's special recommendation.

Juel went to Gothland for water and provisions, and on returning on the 20th he found six Swedish ships † and a fireship at the northern end of Kalmar Sound. He at once sent Vice-Admiral Span in the *Victoria* 46, with ten moderate-sized ships and three fireships, to attack. The Swedes retreated, but the *Nyckel* 84 ran aground just outside the harbour. She was attacked by the *Victoria* 46, *Christianus IV.* 54, *Neptunus* 44, and *Flyvende Hjort* 44; the Danish fireships failed in their attack and Span had to shift his flag to the *Christianus IV.*, but at last, after three hours' fighting the *Nyckel* caught fire and blew up. The Danes lost 114 men killed and wounded.

This was the last action of the war. Now that Brandenburg had come to terms Louis XIV. was in a position to threaten Denmark with direct attack on land in Oldenburg, and the only course possible was to agree to the French proposals. Two treaties of peace were accordingly signed, the first at Fontainebleau on August 13th, and the second at Lund on September 6th, and in these Christian V. had to agree to go back to the "*status quo ante bellum.*" Curiously enough, the Danish fleet, which suffered so little, relatively speaking, during the war, lost two ships at the moment of the conclusion of peace. Starting for home on August 16th, from the north end of Öland, it lost the *Norske Løve* 84 off Bornholm, and soon after reaching Copenhagen suffered a further loss in the burning of the *Loss* 36.

Even so, the losses of the Danes during the four years of war were in no way comparable to those of Sweden. From the beginning of hostilities Denmark, whether in conjunction with the Dutch or alone, had been more or less uniformly successful. So much so, in fact, that starting the war with twenty-one ships of forty guns or over, as opposed to thirty-six, Denmark emerged from the struggle with thirty, having lost two, condemned two, and sunk one on purpose, but having during the same period built one and captured thirteen, while Sweden, though building six ships, lost no less than twenty, and ended the war with twenty-two.

† *Nyckel* 84; *Saturnus* 64; *Venus* 64; *Jupiter* 68; *Göteborg* 52; *Fama* 16.

SECTION VII.

THE ANTECEDENTS AND FIRST STAGE OF THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR.

1680-1709.

Directly after concluding peace with France and Sweden on June 29th, 1679, the Elector of Brandenburg looked for some further use for his new navy. He had successfully sent a few ships earlier in the year to blockade Hamburg and enforce the payment of a subsidy of 100,000 thalers which was owing to him, and he now proceeded to try the same methods against a much more formidable enemy, Spain. Here he was owed no less than 1,800,000 thalers as subsidy in the late war, and as there seemed little chance of getting the money he decided to recoup himself by sending ships to cruise against Spanish trade. Accordingly, on August 14th, 1680, seven ships, carrying in all 166 guns,* left Pillau under Claes van Beveren. A month later, on September 18th, this squadron met and took the Spanish frigate *Carolus II.* in the Channel. Van Beveren brought his prize back to Pillau, but sent his second in command, Cornelis Raes, to the West Indies with three ships to look for the Spanish silver ships.

Next year another squadron of six ships and 102 guns† was assembled in the Channel. Adlers the commander of the fleet, sailed to Cape St. Vincent and cruised there in the hope of intercepting the Spanish treasure fleet, but met instead a squadron of twelve warships and three fireships which had been commissioned in Spain to drive him off. Adlers, thinking that this was the fleet for which he was looking, attacked them on September 30th, but after two hours' fighting he had to retreat to the Portuguese harbour of Lagos with a loss of forty killed and wounded. This victory enabled the silver ships to get into Cadiz safely, and though Adlers' ships made a few prizes later in the year, it was found on their return home that they had barely covered expenses, while Raes returned from the West Indies after a year's absence with only one prize. This was the last important action of the navy of Brandenburg. The Elector now turned his attention

* *Friedrich Wilhelm* 40; *Churprinz* 32; *Dorothea* 32; *Röther Löwe* 20; *Fuchs* 20; *Berlin* 16; *Salamander* (fireship) 6.

† *Markgraf von Brandenburg* 28 (ex *Carolus II.*); *Röther Löwe* 20; *Fuchs* 20; *Eichhorn* (ex Swede) 12; *Prinzess Maria* 12; *Wasserhund* 10.

to founding colonies in Africa and elsewhere, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch, but after his death in 1688 both the colonies and the Navy were starved, and soon disappeared altogether.*

Apart from the doings of Brandenburg, twenty years of very precarious peace ensued in the Baltic. There were, as a matter of fact, two considerations that were liable to bring about war at any time. The first was the ambition and activity of Louis XIV., the second the everlasting question of Slesvig-Holstein. These two Duchies were under one ruler, but were respectively fiefs of the Empire and of Denmark. For years there had been an intention in Denmark of annexing Holstein if possible, while Sweden opposed this and hoped to be able to make use of the Duke of Holstein in any further war against Denmark. In preparation for the war that was more or less inevitable both Sweden and Denmark set to work to build and organise. The Swedes, also having found the inconvenience of trying to carry on operations against Denmark from a base at Stockholm, decided to establish a new naval port nearer the probable sphere of action. Accordingly, in 1680, a new town was founded at Karlskrona, on the coast of Blekinge, forty miles S.S.W. of Kalmar, and great efforts were made to equip a satisfactory arsenal and base there.

In 1683 hostilities very nearly began. Louis XIV. had succeeded in setting nearly the whole of Europe against him, and among his more active opponents were Sweden and the United Provinces. As some slight counterpoise to this he managed to bring about an alliance with Frederik IV. of Denmark, and the Danish King commissioned a force of 26 battleships, 4 frigates, and 4 fireships to support the French if necessary. The Dutch fitted out 20 battleships and frigates as a reply, and on hearing in August that a French squadron of 13 battleships, 2 frigates, and 4 fireships had sailed to join the Danes they added nine more ships to their fleet.

Lists of these fleets follow:—

French Fleet.†—*Glorieux* 62, *Illustre* 74, *Entreprenant* 62,

* The following list of ships of the Navy of Brandenburg is mainly taken from that in the German "Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten":—*Berlin* 16, *Clevesche Lindenbaum* 10; *Churfürstliche Leibjagd* 10; *Churprinz* 40; *Eichhorn* (ex Swede) 12; *Falke* 6; *Friede* 10; *Friedrich Wilhelm zu Pferde* 50; *König von Spanien* 18; *Littauer Bauer* 6; *Maria* 6; *Mohrian* 12; *Prinz Ludwig* 10; *Prinzess Maria* 12; *Rummelpot* 8; *Spandow* 6; *St. Jean Baptiste* 4; *Wappen von Brandenburg* 44; *Cleve* 6; *Churfürst von Brandenburg* 14; *Churprinz von Brandenburg* 26; *Dorothea* 40; *Einhorn* (ex Swede) 12; *Fortuna* 20; *Friedrich Wilhelm* 40; *Güldener Löwe* 32; *Leopard* (ex Swede) 28; *Maria* 4; *Markgraf von Brandenburg* (ex Spanish) 28; *Potsdam* 6; *Prinz Philipp* —; *Röther Löwe* 20; *Salamander* 6; *St. Joseph* 10; *St. Peter* 6; *Wasserhund* 10; *Fuchs* 20.

† *Jal. Du Quesne* ii. 477/8. Guns from *Troude* i. 198/9 (1690).

Content 68, *Courageux* 56, *Fendant* 56, *Apollon* 60, *Fort* 62, *Téméraire* 60, *Prince* 62, *Bon* 58, *Precieux* 60, *Arrogant* 62, 2 frigates, 4 fireships.

Danish Fleet.*—*Christianus V.* 84, *Churprinds* 74, *Norske Love* 84, *Svan* 64, *Prinds Georg* 80, *Mercurius* 78, *Mars* 74, *Anna Sophia* 64, *Charlotta Amalia* 64, *Drage* 66, *Christianus IV.* 56, *Fredericus III.* 54, *Lindorm* 50, *Gyldenløve* 50, *Nelleblad* 52, *Neptunus* 42, *Engel* 42, *Victoria* 36, *Svenske Falk* 44, *Delmenhorst* 44, *Flyvende Ulf* 40, *Wrangels Palais* 36, *Haffru* 30, *Dragoner* 30, *Spada* (?) 30, *Delfin* 30, 5 smaller (70), 3 fireships (14).

Dutch Fleet—List of August 1st.—*Vriheijd* 80, *Westfrisia* 80, *Hollandia* 76, *Woerden* 70, *Delft* 60, *Noordholland* 60, *Gideon* 60, *Tijdverdrif* 52, *Prins te Paard* 52, *Leeuwen* 50, *Zeelandt* 46, *Jupiter* 46, *Gorcum* 44, *Rotterdam* 44, *Dom van Utrecht* 42, *Jaarsvelt* 42, *Gouda* 42, *Delft* 36, *Tergoes* 36, *Harderwijk* 32, *Mercurius* 32. There were also, according to de Jonge's figures (iii. 10-11), 3 ships of 72 guns, 2 of 62, and 3 of 44-46. Two of these were the *Wapen van Monnikendam* 72 and *Zeven Provinciën* 72; another was the *Enckhuysen*.

The French fleet, under the Marquis de Preuilly, reached Copenhagen on July 1st. The Dutch put to sea early in August, and cruised till the end of the month between Newcastle and the South of Norway; the Danes and French left Copenhagen under Niels Juel on August 2nd, but cruised only in the Baltic, so that no meeting took place. After returning to the Dutch coast, Schepers was sent with the Dutch fleet to Gothenburg, and arrived there on October 12th. The French left Copenhagen on October 3rd, and reached Brest on the 15th, and the two fleets must therefore have passed one another somewhere in the North Sea. The idea of the Dutch fleet's visit to Gothenburg had been to transport a Swedish army to Germany, but Schepers found no preparations made for this, and therefore left again for home almost at once. After a long struggle with head winds he at last reached the Dutch coast, only to lose no less than eight of his ships† there in a succession of gales at the beginning of November. The Swedes do not seem to have mobilised any fleet to help their Dutch allies.

Next year Denmark again made preparations for war with Sweden. Thirty thousand troops were assembled in Denmark and 20,000 in Norway, while a fleet of 22 battleships and frigates were put in commission from April to September.

* List from Holl. Merc. 1683 p. 149 (T). Names corrected where possible. The list is not a very probable one, but is given as the best obtainable.

† See appendix.

Sweden also mobilised, but nothing of interest took place. Trouble occurred this year in Heligoland, but the island was easily subdued by a Danish squadron from the Elbe. In 1686 a defensive alliance was signed at Augsburg by Spain, the Empire, Sweden, and various German States to check Louis XIV. Denmark thereupon commissioned 21 battleships and frigates as a precaution.

Meanwhile, in 1685, James II. had succeeded to the English throne. His unpopularity encouraged William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, in the idea of deposing James in favour of his wife Mary, James's daughter. The Dutch, however, hesitated to agree to this plan from fear of Louis XIV., but were soon brought to favour it by Louis's mistakes. First, in November 1687, he withdrew the commercial concessions made to the Dutch at the Peace of Nimeguen, and then, instead of attacking them by land and sea and using his fleet to prevent William's crossing to England, he left William unimpeded and turned on the Empire, declaring war in September, 1688. The Dutch at once gave William a large fleet, and on November 5th he landed in Torbay without any opposition from the English Navy. On December 12th James II. abdicated, and left the country without attempting to use either his own fleet or that of Louis XIV., who had declared war on the United Provinces directly William's expedition started.

Nothing happened in the Baltic this year, though the Danes had thirteen battleships in commission, but in 1689, fearing that William now King of England might support the Duke of Holstein Gottorp against them, they equipped their entire available force of 24 battleships* and 20 smaller vessels and stationed this fleet under Juel in Kjöge Bay. Sweden as a reply commissioned a fleet of 30 battleships† under Wachtmeister, but these two fleets did not meet and the Treaty of Altona guaranteed by England, the Netherlands, and the Empire settled the Holstein question for the moment by securing the two Duchies to the house of Holstein-Gottorp.

* *Christianus V.* 100; *Elephant* 84; *Prinds Frederik* 84; *Tre Kroner* 84; *Mercurius* 74; *Norske Love* 82; *Mars* 74; *Churprinds* 74; *Prinds Georg* 80; *Drage* 66; *Anna Sophia* 62; *Svan* 62; *Christianus IV.* 56; *Fredericus III.* 56; *Gyldenløve* 56; *Nelleblad* 54; *Svaerdfisk* 52; *Tomler* 52; *Lindorm* 50; *Slesvig* 50; *Engel* 50; *Delmenhorst* 46; *Svenske Falk* 44; *Neptunus* 44.

† *Drottning Hedvig Eleonora* 90; *Carolus XI.* 82; *Sverige* 82; *Drottning Ulrika* 80; *Prinsessa Ulrika* 80; *Prins Carl* 76; *Göta* 76; *Båhus* 74; *Sol* 72; *Småland* 70; *Karlskrona* 70; *Victoria* 70; *Bleking* 70; *Wrangel* 70; *Upland* 70; *Stockholm* 68; *Finland* 64; *Hercules* 62; *Oland* 56; *Halland* 56; *Estland* 56; *Gotland* 56; *Lifland* 56; *Osle* 56; *Wachtmeister* 56; *Carolus IX.* 56; *Göteborg* 48; *Andromeda* 48; *Spes* 46; *Måne* 42. Only an approximate list, compiled from lists for 1675 and 1697, but probably fairly exact.

Meanwhile England had joined the enemies of Louis XIV. and the French King found himself again opposed to practically the whole of Europe. Both the Scandinavian kingdoms were more or less directly affected by this war. Sweden was called upon by the Dutch in 1689 to help against the common enemy, but nothing was done till next year. In the meantime Sweden and Denmark laid aside their differences for the moment and signed a defensive alliance by which either country was bound if called upon to send the other a squadron of six ships, two of 60 guns, and four of 30-50. In May, 1690, a Swedish squadron of 12 ships* left Karlskrona to help the Dutch, but got no further than Marstrand, north of Gothenburg, and was back at Karlskrona in August. Besides this, Denmark, in spite of leanings already shown towards France, lent William some 7,000 soldiers under the Duke of Wurtemberg and convoyed them from List to Hull in November, 1689, with seven warships.†

To protect their trade during the war Sweden and Denmark agreed in 1691 to send joint convoys through the Channel. As usual this arrangement led to friction with England. On August 12th, 1694, the Danish battleship *Gyldenløve* 56, lying in the Downs, failed to strike to the flag of Sir Clowdisley Shovel, and was attacked by the English *Stirling Castle* 70. Barfod, the Danish captain, resisted until the arrival of a second English ship, when he surrendered with a loss of 20 killed and wounded. The ship was sent to Sheerness, but released in November. In May, 1685, the Danish *Lindorm* 50, returning through the Channel with a convoy, together with a Swedish frigate, was attacked by English warships for the same reason, but managed to beat them off. After 1695 the joint convoys ceased.

The most important event of 1694 was the death of Christian, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. He was succeeded by his son Frederik, who was far more Swedish in inclinations than his father. As a result, difficulties arose as to the interpretation of various clauses in the Treaty of Altona, and a conference therefore assembled at Pinneberg in 1696 to discuss and settle the points at issue. All might have gone well had it not been for the changes which followed on the thrones of Sweden and Denmark. In 1697 Carl XI. of Sweden was succeeded by his son Carl XII., a boy of fifteen, who soon showed himself to be possessed of a fiery and uncontrollable spirit, so that though the Peace of Ryswick in the same year ended the War of the League of Augsburg and left the southern Powers free

* *Wrangel* 70; *Bleking* 68; *Finland* 64; *Båhus* 72; *Lifland* 56; *Estland* 56; *Öland* 56; *Halland* 56; *Wachtmeister* 56; *Stenbock* 36; *Riga* 32; *Delphin* 30.

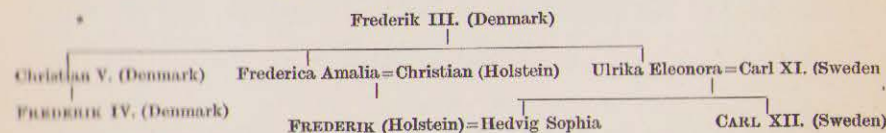
† *Christianus IV.* 56; *Engel* 50; *Svenske Falk* 44; *Neptunus* 44; *Loss* 26; *Heyre* 24; *Örn* 20.

to intervene, it became obvious that war must come sooner or later. Another factor tending towards war was the accession of Frederik IV. to the throne of Denmark in 1699. The three rulers in question were first cousins, and, besides this, Frederik of Holstein had married the sister of Carl XII.*

It was not long before hostilities began. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, relying on Swedish support and on the unwillingness of Christian V. to fight, had begun to rebuild certain fortifications on the frontier between his dominions and Denmark. Frederik IV., however, on coming to the Danish throne, demanded the immediate cessation of the work and the destruction of what had been done already. At the same time, he strengthened his position by renewing the alliance against Sweden made by his father with Peter I. of Russia and Augustus II. of Poland and Saxony. Carl XII. at once promised to help Duke Frederik. He sent troops into Holstein from Pomerania and commissioned a squadron of 12 battleships and 6 frigates. These ships left Karlskrona in October, and took up a position off Rügen. Denmark also fitted out a fleet of 12 battleships and 4 frigates, but heavy weather prevented the two fleets from meeting. Early in November the Danish ships were laid up at Copenhagen, and a little later the Swedes returned to Karlskrona.

Great efforts were made during the winter by England, the Netherlands, and other countries to restore tranquillity, but in vain. Frederik IV. threatened both in Denmark, and Norway decided to strike the first blow. On March 17th, 1700,† a Danish army crossed the border into Holstein, and a month later laid siege to Tönning, a town on the Eider garrisoned by 4,000 Swedes. At the same time the fleet was mobilised, and left Copenhagen on May 24th, under the command of General-Admiral Lieutenant Count Gyldenløve (or Guldenlew), a natural son of Christian V. He had under his orders twenty-one battleships, and intended to blockade the Swedes in Karlskrona, but on the receipt of news of the approach of a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet he was recalled. On June 12th he returned to Copenhagen, and was at once reinforced by eight more battleships.

England and the Netherlands, acting in conjunction, had decided to send a fleet to enforce the stipulations of the Treaty



† Dates are henceforth in "New Style."

of Altona by compelling the Danes to withdraw from Holstein. This fleet had assembled off the Dutch coast, and reached Gothenburg on June 19th. Admiral Sir George Rooke was in supreme command with Lieutenant Admiral Almonde, the senior Dutch officer, as his second in command. At the same time the Swedish fleet was preparing to leave Karlskrona. Details follow of the three fleets:—

English Fleet*:—*Shrewsbury* 80, *Nassau* 70, *Eagle* 70, *Portland* 50, *Crown* 50, *Salisbury* 50, *Hampshire* 50, *Carlisle* 50, *Worcester* 50, *Severn* 50.

10 battleships (570 guns), 2 frigates, 4 small craft.

Dutch Fleet‡:—*Unie* 94, *Eerste Edele* 72, *Dordrecht* 72, *Katwijk* 72, *Wappen van Alkmaar* 72, *Aemelia* 66, *Wapen van Aernhem* 66, *Gouda* 64, *Veluwe* 64, *Wapen van Utrecht* 64, *Vlissingen* 50, *Batavier* 50, *Provincie van Utrecht* 50.

13 battleships (856 guns), 3 frigates, 7 small craft. Combined fleet: 23 battleships (1,426 guns).

Danish Fleet†:—*Christianus V.* 100, *Dannebrog* 94, *Tre Kroner* 84, *Prinds Frederik* 84, *Elephant* 84, *Norske Løve* 82, *Mars* 80, *Tre Løve* 78, *Prinds Christian* 76, *Sophia Hedevig* 76, *Churprinds* 74, *Mercurius* 74, *Dronning Louisa* 70, *Prinds Georg* 70, *Anna Sophia* 60, *Charlotte Amalie* 60, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Christianus IV.* 56, *Fredericus III.* 56, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Prinds Vilhelm* 54, *Oldenborg* 52, *Nelleblad* 52, *Svaerdfisk* 52, *Tomler* 52, *Engel* 50, *Slesvig* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Neptunus* 44.

29 battleships (1,922 guns), 4 frigates, 19 small craft.

Swedish Fleet‡:—*Carolus* 110, *Enighet* 94, *Drottning Hedvig* 90, *Sverige* 82, *Prinsessa Ulrika* 80, *Prins Carl* 80, *Drottning Ulrika* 80, *Prinsessa Hedvig* 80, *Götha* 76, *Båhus* 74, *Wenden* 72, *Småland* 70, *Carlskrona* 70, *Wrangel* 70, *Upland* 70, *Bleking* 70, *Stockholm* 68, *Finland* 64, *Skåne* 64, *Herkules* 62, *Westmanland* 62, *Fredrika Amalia* 62, *Halland* 56, *Estland* 56, *Pomern* 56, *Ösel* 56, *Wachtmeister* 56, *Gottland* 56, *Lifland* 56, *Södermanland* 56, *Norrköping* 52, *Wrede* 52, *Öland* 50, *Göteborg* 50, *Wismar* 46, *Calmar* 46, *Stettin* 46.

38 battleships (2,510 guns), 10 frigates.

The Anglo-Dutch fleet stayed at Gothenburg until June 25th, when it weighed and proceeded towards the Sound, anchoring on July 2nd twelve miles from Kronborg. Gyldenløve was now at anchor between Kronborg and the island of Hven, while the Swedes had left Karlskrona under Wachtmeister, and reached

* "The Journal of Sir George Rooke." N.R.S. 24.

† Garde Eft. ii. 47.

‡ Tornquist ii. Ap B.

§ From de Jonge iii. App. xx. (Evertsen's Journal). Rooke gives "*Utrecht Amst*" instead of *Gouda*, and calls the *Unie* a 74. Tornquist gives "*Utrecht Amalia*" instead of *Gouda*.

Ystad on June 29th. Sailing thence on July 1st, they arrived off Drager on the 7th. The Allies had passed the Sound and anchored two miles south of Kronborg on the previous day. Now, however, a difficulty arose. The easier channel, the Drogden between Amager and Saltholm, was protected not only by the removal of all navigation marks and by batteries on the two islands, but also by the Danish fleet, which had left its anchorage at the same time as the Allies passed the Sound and had taken up a new position north-east of Copenhagen, ready to attack the Swedes as they came through. This made the Flinterenden channel between Saltholm and Malmö the only available passage, but here there was certainly too little water for the largest of the Swedish ships, while the channel was intricate and little known.

Finally, after a good deal of hesitation, much letter-writing, and some consultation with Rooke and Almonde, Wachtmeister decided to send his biggest ships home and try to pass with the others. Four ships were sent back to Karlskrona, and on July 13th the rest of the Swedes passed Flinterenden and anchored off Malmö, but four ships went ashore, and, though easily refloated, were sent back to Karlskrona for inspection and repairs. Next day Rooke weighed anchor, passed between Hven and the Swedish shore, and anchored two miles south of Hven. Here Wachtmeister joined him on the 16th.* On the following day both fleets began to beat up towards the Danes, but Gyldenløve saw the hopelessness of trying to fight an enemy of nearly twice his own strength, and retired into the harbour of Copenhagen. On July 19th the Allies moved in close to the harbour, with the Swedes to the south. They sent in four bomb ketches, but without much success, and accordingly, at a council of war on the 20th it was decided that the best way to bring Denmark to terms would be to land Swedish troops and attack Copenhagen. Twelve battleships and three frigates† were therefore sent on the 24th to Gothenburg to convoy troops, but while waiting for their return the bomb vessels, supported by twelve battleships and frigates,‡ carried out another more or less resultless bombardment on the 25th.

The landing took place on August 4th at Humlebek, six miles

* The following ships had been detached:—*Carolus* 110; *Enighet* 94; *Drottning Hedvig* 90; *Prins Carl* 80; *Drottning Ulrika* 80; *Upland* 70; *Öland* 50; *Stettin* 46. The *Wismar* 46 was transferred to the frigate line. Wachtmeister therefore had in line 29 battleships with 1828 guns. (Rooke's Journal 73. Line of Battle received from Wachtmeister. Some ships are given gun totals slightly different from the previous list).

† *Carlisle* 50; *Provincie van Utrecht* 50; *Vlissingen* 50; *Briel* 34; *Lowestoft* 30; 9 Swedish battleships, and 1 frigate.

‡ *Portland* 50; *Salisbury* 50; *Batavier* 50; *Beschutter* 38; *Aurore* 28; *Queenborough* 24; 6 Swedish battleships and frigates.

south of Kronborg. It was covered by ten battleships and frigates* of the allied fleets, and went off without difficulty. Twelve of the smaller Danish ships from Copenhagen got under way to disturb the landing, but put back into the harbour on the approach of the *Hampshire* 50. Nothing more took place. Frederik IV. saw that he must give way and finally the Peace of Travendal was signed on August 18th. The English and Dutch thereupon declared their co-operation with the Swedes at an end, but decided to help in the transporting of the Swedish troops back to Skåne. On August 29th the Danish fleet came out of harbour again, and formed line between the Allies and Copenhagen. It was then arranged that the Anglo-Dutch fleet should stay until all the Swedes were out of Sjaelland, but that the Swedish fleet should pass the Drogden Channel at the first opportunity. If the Danes attacked it the English and Dutch were to join in and afterwards to be reinforced by enough Swedish ships to secure their retreat through the Sound. If, however, the Danes made no attack, Rooke and Almonde were to go towards Kronborg to cover the transport of the Swedish army. On September 8th the Swedish fleet sailed southwards unmolested, and on the same day the Allies beat up towards Hven. Next day they anchored north of the Sound, and on the 10th and 11th they went home separately.

The interest now shifts to the eastern end of the Baltic and centres in the rise of a new naval power. Peter I. of Russia, in accordance with his alliance with Denmark and Poland, had invaded the Swedish province of Ingria, and was besieging Narva with 50,000 men. Directly after the Peace of Travendal Carl XII. decided to relieve this town, and left Karlskrona on Oct. 11th, 1700, with 8,000 soldiers and a fleet of nine battleships and two frigates.† Landing on the 16th at Pernau, he marched on Narva, and in spite of the enormous disparity in strength, not only defeated, but routed the besiegers on Nov. 30th. Next year he turned on Poland. Troops were landed at Revel, and in May Carl XII. invaded at the head of 60,000 men. He was uniformly successful. Cracow fell in 1702, and in 1704 Augustus fled to Saxony; Stanislaus, Palatine of Posen, was made King in his stead by order of the Swedish conqueror. Even now Augustus was not safe. He was followed into Saxony, defeated again and again, and forced in 1706 to sign the treaty of Altränstadt whereby he gave up the Polish throne and agreed to take no further action against Sweden.

* *Frederica Amalia* 64; *Skåne* 64; *Westmanland* 64; *Estland* 52; *Norrköping* 52; *Lifland* 50; *Wachtmeister* 50; *Fama* 16; 1 Dutch ship; 1 English ship.

† *Westmanland* 62; *Wachtmeister* 48; *Gottland* 50; *Osel* 50; *Norrköping* 50; *Wrede* 50; *Calmar* 46; *Wismar* 46; *Stenbock* 36; *Fama* 16; *Neptunus* 16.

In 1701 a Swedish expedition was sent to attack Archangel, at that time Russia's only port. On June 7th Commodore Lewe left Gothenburg with seven ships, the *Warberg* 42, *Elfsborg* 42, *Marstrand* 26, *Falk* 6, *Töfva-lite* 4, and *Mjöhund* 6. Arriving off Archangel under English and Dutch flags Lewe sent his three smallest vessels up the Dvina on July 6th to attack. The Russian prisoners who were acting as pilots ran the ships aground under the guns of a fort at the mouth of the river, and here they were attacked by two Russian boats full of soldiers. After an action lasting most of the night the Swedes abandoned the *Mjöhund* and *Falk* and escaped in the *Töfva-lite* with the loss of one officer killed and two men wounded. The rest of the Swedish squadron remained in or near the White Sea capturing fishing boats and burning villages until July 21st, when they sailed for home. On August 25th they were back at Gothenburg.

Except for this expedition the Swedish fleet could do little against Russia, though the army might have done much. Carl XII., however, was foolish enough to despise Peter, and the latter, undismayed by his failure at Narva, was left undisturbed to set about the conquest of the Swedish territory between Russia and the Baltic. In pursuit of this object he built numbers of small craft on every river and lake in his hands, so that it was not long before naval operations of a sort began in the Baltic provinces. Two actions took place in 1702 on Lake Ladoga. The first was on June 26th at the southern end of the lake, and took the form of an attack by 400 Russian soldiers in 18 small unarmed boats on a Swedish squadron of three brigantines, three galleys, and two boats. Part of the Swedish crews were ashore pillaging. The flagship *Gjöa* 12 and one of the boats were damaged, and Nummers, the Swedish commander, had to retreat. On Sept. 7th the same Swedish squadron was attacked near Kexholm by 30 Russian boats with a similar result. Finding his position untenable, Nummers decided to evacuate Ladoga and took his ships to Viborg. Meanwhile, on May 31st four small Swedish vessels* on Lake Peipus in Ingria, were attacked by nearly 100 Russian boats. They beat them off and sank three of them besides capturing a battery of six guns ashore, but had to withdraw from the narrow strait which divides the lake into two parts and thus allowed the Russians to reach the northern half. On June 20th the *Flundra* 4 was sent for ammunition to Dorpt or Dorpat, a Swedish town on the river Embach, which flows into the northern part of the lake on the western side. As soon as she was separated from her consorts the Russians attacked;

* *Carolus* 12; *Vivat* 12; *Wachtmeister* 14; *Flundra* 4.

there was not enough wind for her to escape or for the other Swedes to help her, and eventually after her guns had been thrown overboard, she was run ashore and abandoned. Loschern, commanding the Swedish squadron, now took his ships to the mouth of the Embach to be sure of his communications with Derpt. From here on July 21st he sent the *Vivat* 12 to reconnoitre. As before the wind failed. The *Vivat* anchored in an inlet and was attacked by about 100 Russian boats. After a desperate fight the Russians boarded and Hökeflycht blew up his ship. After this the Swedes went up the Embach to Derpt and the Russians to Pskov at the southern end of the lake.

Next year Loschern with 13 small vessels defeated the Russians on Aug. 7th with the loss of 20 of their boats. They thereupon retired to Pskov, and left the Swedes masters of the lake. In 1704 the position was reversed. The Russians moved first, landed 9,000 troops at the mouth of the Embach, made a boom across commanded by batteries, and waited with 200 boats for the Swedes to come down. On May 17th Loschern arrived with his 13 ships. He knew that the Russians were waiting for him, but seems to have taken no steps to find out their force or position. Coming down with a strong stream the Swedish ships drifted up against the boom and the Russian batteries opened fire. The soldiers on board landed and took one of the batteries, but were driven out again and finally cut their way through the Russians back to Derpt. One by one the Swedish ships were taken or destroyed. The flagship, the *Carolus* 12, was blown up by Loschern in imitation of the *Vivat*. This extinguished the Swedish force on the lake, and as a natural result both Derpt and Narva were taken by the Russians later in the year.*

During these years the Russians had also been building small craft on Lake Ladoga, but here the Swedes had no longer a naval force to dispute the command of the lake. Early in 1702 Nyenskans, the Swedish fortress at the mouth of the Neva, was taken, and Russia thus regained access to the Baltic. In May a Swedish fleet under Von Nummers, appeared off the mouth of the Neva, and sent the brigantine *Astrild* 8 and the galley *Gädda* 10 up the river to investigate. Peter at once collected all his available forces at the mouth of the river, attacked the Swedes on their return, and took them after a stubborn defence. This was on May 17th.

Peter now had the position in the Baltic that he wanted. At once he decided to build his capital at the mouth of the Neva and to begin the construction of seagoing ships. On

* The Swedish fleet was as follows:—*Carolus* 12; *Wachtmeister* 14; *Ulrika* 10; *Dorpat* 10; *Victoria* *Vatblat* 10; *Vivat* 10; *Elephant* 8; *Narva* 6; *Horn* 4; *Nummers* 4; *Slipenbach* 4; *Strofeld* 2; *Shutte* 2.

May 27th, 1703, he founded Petersburg, and in the following winter he began to fortify the island of Kotlin (Kronstadt), building a fortification called Kronsnot. In February, 1703, a dockyard had been founded at Olonyets on Lake Ladoga, and sea-going ships were built there, but just a year later ship-building began at Petersburg as well, and the newer yard soon superseded the old, though in the summer of 1704 the Olonyets yard was in a position to fit out no less than six frigates, four snows, one galliot, one transport, four galleys, and 24 half galleys.

The Swedes attacked the new Russian positions in 1704, both by land and sea. An army of 8,000 men reached the north bank of the Neva, but could not cross, and an attack on Kronsnot about the middle of June by a battleship, five frigates and six small craft was easily repulsed.* About the same time the Russians sent supplies by water to their army besieging Narva. Swedish small craft attacked but were driven off. Two small Swedes were taken on June 11th, and on the fall of Narva on August 20th ten galliots fell into Russian hands. In 1705 the Swedes renewed their attacks. An attempted surprise attack in January failed, but a considerable fleet was sent in the summer to endeavour to reduce the Russian fortifications and annihilate the new Russian fleet. Admiral Baron Anckarstjerna was put in charge of a fleet of seven battleships,† five frigates, and ten smaller vessels, and arrived off Kotlin on June 15th. The Russians had made all possible preparations for defence. Eight frigates were moored as a first line of defence between Kronsnot and another new battery on Kotlin, and in two lines behind them came the snows and smaller craft. A boom was placed in front of the line.‡ The combined defences were under the general command of Kruys, a Dutch officer in the Russian service. Two attacks were made on June 15th, the first by six frigates, and the second by four battleships. Both were repulsed. Next day the whole Swedish fleet bombarded, but without result. This was repeated on the 21st. The Swedes withdrew on July 2nd. They returned on the 21st and tried to land in Kotlin on the 25th; the attempt failed, and they lost 560 men killed or drowned, and 114 wounded. The Russians had only 29 killed and 50 wounded. After this the Swedish fleet confined itself to blockading the mouth of the

* The Swedish Vice-Admiral de Prou had 5 battleships and 8 frigates in the Gulf of Finland.

† *Holland* 50; *Wrede* 50; *Osel* 50; *Götheborg* 50; *Wachtmeister* 48; *Revel* 36; *Norrköping* 50.

‡ The bigger ships of the Russian fleet at this time were as follows:—*Shtandart* 28; *Michail Archangel* 28; *Shlisselburg* 28; *Kronsnot* 28; *Triumph* 30; *Derpt* 28; *Narva* 28; *Fligel-Fam* 28; *Peterburg* 28; *Munker* 14; *Sant Yakim* 14; *Legas* 14; *Kopore* 14; *Yamburg* 14.

Neva. On August 28th the *Revel* 36 was attacked in a calm by seven Russian galleys. The action lasted three hours, but finally the wind rose and the Swedish ship retired. One Russian galley was badly damaged. In October the Russian fleet went up to Petersburg, and the Swedes returned to Karlskrona.

The next few years saw but little activity in the Gulf of Finland. Seven to nine battleships and some frigates were sent each year from Karlskrona under Anckarstjerna, but accomplished nothing. In 1706 the Russian fleet lay at Kotlin and sent a few ships out on short cruises. This year an unsuccessful attempt was made to take Viborg from the Swedes, and during the siege operations the Swedish *Esper* 4 was captured by five Russian boats on October 23rd. In 1707 the Russians had a force of eleven frigates, seven snaws, and many smaller vessels at Kotlin. Nine of the captured Swedes and 40 new boats reached Kronsloot from Narva, and two detachments of rowing vessels went as far west as the island of Hogland. The following year the Russians got to sea early and did a certain amount of damage on the coast of Finland, while the Swedes were kept in Revel by head winds. However, at the beginning of September 22 Swedish vessels appeared off Kronsloot simultaneously with the arrival of an army of 13,000 men near Petersburg. Nothing came of this great assembly. Leuvenhaupt, the Swedish general, marched into Ingria, and finally embarked on October 23rd in Anckarstjerna's fleet. Apraksin came up with the Russian army in time to cut off the retreat of the last of the Swedes, and killed or captured 1,100 of them. On the way home the Swedish battleship *Norrköping* 50 was wrecked.

This same year Carl XII. again moved against Russia. Collecting 43,000 men he crossed the boundary, carried everything before him, and defeated Peter at Smolensk in September. Now he made a mistake. Instead of going on to Moscow he went south to join Mazeppa chief of the Don Cossacks. This new ally promised to bring 30,000 men, but only produced 4,000, and after Leuvenhaupt's failure Carl XII. had to stay in the Ukraine for the winter. Next spring he marched on Moscow, but was checked by the town of Poltava, where on July 8th, 1709, he was utterly defeated by Peter, and only just managed to escape with a few followers into Turkish territory.

This period of the war coincided roughly with the war of the Spanish succession in western and southern Europe. Louis XIV. and the Emperor began hostilities in 1701, and next year England and the Netherlands joined the coalition against France and Spain. One feature of the preliminary diplomatic manœuvres was the recognition by the Emperor of the Elector

of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, a concession made to induce him to support the coalition. The only other way in which the Baltic Powers were directly concerned in this war was the question of protecting neutral trade at sea. As usual, it had suffered, and as usual the convoy system led to actual fighting. On August 6th, 1704, the Swedish battleship *Öland* 50 met off Orfordness an English squadron of eight 50-gun battleships and a frigate under Commodore Sir William Whetstone. Pailander, the Swedish captain, refused to strike his flag or lower his topsails to the English fleet, and an action began at once. The *Öland* held out bravely against tremendous odds, but at last surrendered after 4½ hours' fighting, dismasted, leaking freely, and with 53 killed and wounded. She was eventually released and sent back to Sweden, but was lost on Skagen reef on her way home during the night of January 14th-15th, 1705.

SECTION VIII.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR, 1709-1714.

The defeat of Carl XII. at Poltava gave Peter's allies a fresh chance. Augustus II. was at once replaced on the Polish throne, whereupon he repudiated the Treaty of Altränstadt and prepared for war again, while Frederik IV. of Denmark decided to join in also and declared war on October 28th, 1709. At the same time the free town of Danzig volunteered to do its best to help Russia and Poland against the common enemy. Sweden was now in a very difficult position; not only was she at war with Russia, Denmark, Poland, Saxony, and Prussia without an ally to help her, but she was also, owing to Carl XII.'s absence, without any definite ruler.

As far as naval power went the Swedes were not so badly off. They had 41 battleships, the same number as Denmark, while none of the other allies had as yet any navy worth considering. Probably with the available force much might have been done, but the first necessity was a firm decided ruler, and this was just what was lacking. It was of course necessary to take steps to oppose the Danish fleet, and this prevented the squadron in the Gulf of Finland being kept strong enough to be much good, though it in its turn took valuable strength from the main fleet.

The first move on the Danish side was the landing of 16,000 men at Raa, between Helsingborg and Landskrona on November 11th and 12th, 1709. At the same time a small squadron of four battleships and two snows* blockaded Gothenburg. Winter was, however, beginning, and while the army wintered in Skåne the fleet was laid up save for one battleship, four frigates, and two snows† which were stationed at Christiansø, a small island north-east of Bornholm.

At the beginning of 1710 the Danish army finding no opposition marched into Blekinge and attacked Karlskrona, but Stenbock, the Swedish Governor, managed to collect 20,000 men more or less equipped, drove the Danes back to Helsingborg, and defeated them there on March 10th with a loss of 8,000 men, and all their guns and stores. The rest got back to Sjaelland. In April four frigates and two snows‡ were sent into

* *Dronning Louisa* 70; *Gyldenløve* 56; *Fredericus III.* 56; *Slesvig* 50; *Svermer* 16; *Mynd* 12.

† *Delmenhorst* 50; *Højenhald* 30; *Loss* 26; *Heyre* 24; *Ørn* 20; *Flyvende Abe* 12; *Snarensvend* 12.

‡ The same four frigates, with the *Andriekt* 12, and *Makreel* 8.

the Baltic in place of the fleet from Christiansø, which had returned to Copenhagen. They were soon reinforced by another frigate and two snows.*

On April 9th Vice-Admiral Raben sailed into the Baltic with the following fleet:—*Mercurius* 74, *Gyldenløve* 56, *Fredericus III.* 56, *Prinds Carl* 54 (f), *Svaerdfisk* 52, *Tomler* 52, *Slesvig* 50, *Svermer* 16, *Packa* 16. He chased a few small Swedes back to port, returned to Copenhagen, and left again on the 16th for the Kattegat and North Sea. On April 18th the *Delmenhorst* 50, *Loss* 26, and *Andriekt* 12 were sent to join him. During May a Swedish fleet of 16 battleships and four frigates cruised in the Baltic near Møen, but did nothing beyond capturing a few merchantmen, some of which were retaken by the Danish frigates.

Meanwhile the Danish fleet was being equipped. *Gyldenløve* left Copenhagen with the first detachment on June 14th, and was joined by Raben's battleships next day. He then waited for the rest of his fleet, and eventually commanded a force of 35 battleships.† It was, however, soon found that Raben's withdrawal from the Kattegat left the Swedish squadron in Gothenburg free to interrupt communications between Denmark and Norway, and it became necessary to send another fleet to prevent this. About the middle of July Vice-Admiral Barfod was detached from the main fleet with six battleships‡ and sent to take Raben's place. Meanwhile *Gyldenløve* cruised between Kjöge Bay and Bornholm without seeing anything of the Swedes. On September 14th he sailed in pursuance of orders, but against his own judgment, for Danzig, to give convoy to 6,000 Russian troops to help in another attack on Skåne. Almost at once it blew a gale. Many of his ships were damaged, and he had to return to his base.§ The *Mercurius* 74 had already been sent home as unseaworthy, and now four more battleships|| had to be sent to Copenhagen completely dis-

* *Hvide Falk* 26; *Snarensvend* 12; *Flyvende Fisk* 8. During May the *Loss* and *Andriekt* were detached, and in June the *Højenhald* was replaced by the *Raac* 30.

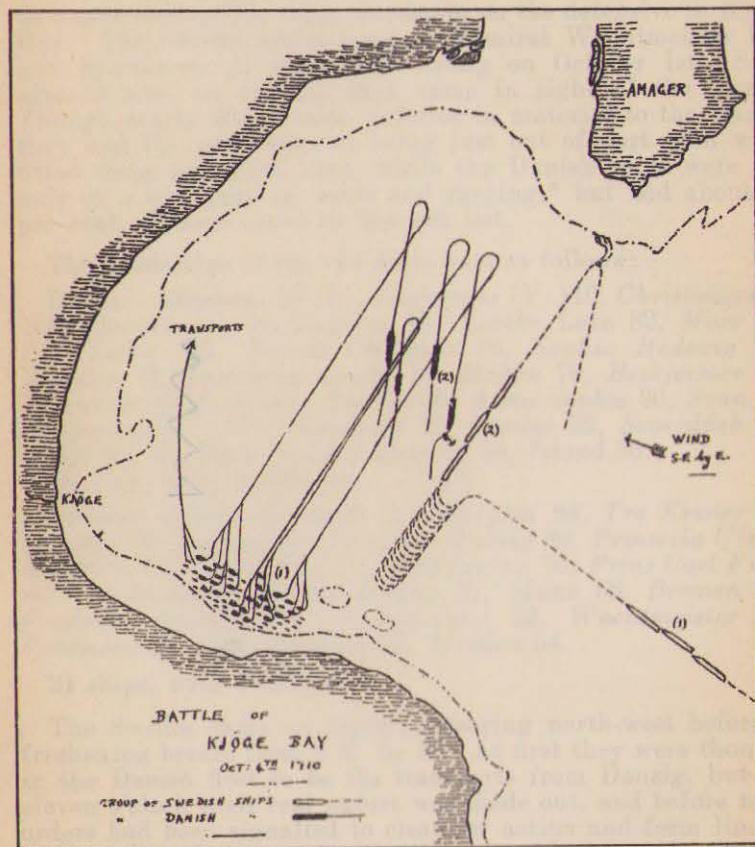
† *Elephant* 90; (f); *Fredericus IV.* 110; *Christianus V.* 100; *Dannebrog* 94; *Justitia* 90; *Prinds Frederik* 84; *Norske Love* 82; *Mars* 80; *Tre Løver* 78; *Prinds Christian* 76; *Sophia Hedevig* 76; *Mercurius* 74; *Wenden* 72; *Dronning Louisa* 70; *Haffru* 70; *Jylland* 70; *Beskjermer* 64; *Ebenetzer* 64; *Charlotta Amalia* 60; *Anna Sophia* 60; *Svan* 60; *Fredericus III.* 56; *Gyldenløve* 56; *Prinds Carl* 54; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Oldenborg* 52; *Nelleblad* 52; *Tomler* 52; *Svaerdfisk* 52; *Island* 50; *Fyen* 50; *Delmenhorst* 50; *Slesvig* 50; *Engel* 50; *Neptunus* 44.

‡ *Fyen* 50 (f); *Gyldenløve* 56; *Slesvig* 50; *Neptunus* 44; *Svaerdfisk* 52; *Engel* 50.

§ A frigate was sent to Danzig to tell the merchantmen there to come on without waiting for convoy.

|| *Prinds Frederik* 84; *Prinds Carl* 54; *Jylland* 70; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54.

PLATE IV.



[To face page 145.

S.W., but shortly wore together,* and stood N.E. by E., close hauled on the starboard tack. At the same time the leading Danish ships had been ordered to tack, and were now steering S.S.W.† The weathermost of the Danes were the *Dannebrog* 94, *Mars* 80, *Beskjerner* 64, *Christianus V.* 100, and *Oldenborg* 52, in that order. Between 2 and 2.30 p.m. Wachtmeister, in the *Götha Lejon* 90, at the centre of the Swedish line, opened fire, followed by the ships astern of him, and the Danish vessels replied. Hardly had the *Dannebrog* begun firing when she caught fire, probably from the discharge of her own guns to windward. Iver Hvitfeldt, her captain, seeing that any attempt to run for the shore would inevitably involve some of the Danish warships or transports in the same fate, resolved to stay where he was, so anchored, and kept up the action until at about 3.30 the *Dannebrog* blew up. Only three men were saved.

This was the only fighting. The Swedes tacked in succession on reaching the shoal water off Amager, but two ships, the *Tre Kroner* 86 and *Prinsessa Ulrika* 80 missed stays, tried to wear, and went hard aground. The rest of the fleet steered S.S.W., while the Danes slowly got into line on the same tack, but a lot to leeward. Finally, since the weather had become much too bad for fighting, Wachtmeister anchored, as he was in line between Amager and Stevns soon after five o'clock. An hour later the Danes anchored about two and a half miles to leeward. All next day it blew hard from the south-east. Finding it impossible to move his two grounded ships, Wachtmeister took off their men and burnt them. On the 6th a large fleet of merchantmen and empty transports from Danzig ran right into the Swedish fleet. Twenty-four were captured, one burnt, and fourteen forced ashore. Of those taken some were Dutch, some Lübeckers, and some Danes. The last-named were burnt and the rest let go. The same night Wachtmeister sent in his fireships, but without success. When the wind moderated a little on the 7th, the Swedes weighed and beat up towards Falsterbo, followed by the Danes. Next day they put into Ystad, whereupon the Danish fleet, which had not been able to weather the point of Falsterbo, went back to Copenhagen. A few days later Wachtmeister left Ystad, and on October 19th he reached Karlskrona.

This ended the operations at sea for this year, but simultaneously with these events others of the greatest importance had been taking place at the other end of the Baltic. Here Peter had been quietly taking one town after another. Before

* The *Prins Carl* 76 lost her maintopmast in the manœuvre.

† The wind was rapidly freshening, and many of the Danish ships with damaged rigging had to wear instead of tacking.

the arrival of the Swedish squadron of seven battleships and three frigates, under Vice-Admiral Wattrang, the Russian fleet had taken guns and stores in April and May to the army besieging Viborg, and had even carried out a bombardment. On May 25th the Russians put to sea again, and on the 27th the Swedish fleet arrived. Still, on July 24th Viborg surrendered. At the same time the Russians had been besieging Riga. The entire Swedish fleet assembled off the mouth of the Düna, but could do nothing, and on July 15th the town capitulated. Revel fell on October 10th, but the greater part of its garrison was taken off by the *Öland* 50 and two brigs from Wattrang's squadron. Dünamünde, Pernau, the island of Ösel, and Kexholm on Lake Ladoga were also taken by the Russians during the year. Altogether 1710 marks an important date in the history of the Russian Navy. In the face of a considerable Swedish fleet it had been able to undertake operations at a considerable distance from its base, and was meanwhile growing rapidly. By the end of the year the galley fleet at Viborg consisted of 45 vessels, and at the same time work was proceeding steadily at Olonyets and Petersburg. Besides this, three new ships at Archangel were able to put to sea at the end of July. The *Sv. Pavel* 32 had to put back, but the *Sv. Petr* 32 and *Sv. Ilya* 28 (or *Prorok Ilya*) reached Copenhagen, and cruised from there against Swedish trade in the Kattegat.

In 1711 the first Russian battleships appeared in the Baltic. The following fleet sailed from Kronslot to Viborg with a convoy of storeships in May, and returned without meeting the Swedes:—

Vyborg 50, *Riga* 50, *Dumkrat* 32, *Shtandart* 28, *Hobet* 16,* *Lizeta* 16, *Munker* 14.†

The Swedes arrived off Viborg on June 30th with five battleships, and remained in the Gulf of Finland till December. In spite of this a number of merchantmen reached various Russian ports, and early in July there arrived the first foreign-built Russian warship, the *Samson* 32, from Holland. The Russians were not, however, as active as usual this year. A war with Turkey, brought about by Carl XII., had begun, and Peter, embarking on his well-known campaign on the Pruth, was soon surrounded with his whole army. He wrote to the Senate to

* This ship appears in "The Russian Fleet under Peter the Great" in 1711 and 1712. She is not mentioned in Veselago's "List of Russian Warships." Veselago's list for 1712 (Sketch of Russian Naval History 214) corresponds with that in "The Russian Fleet under Peter the Great," and this shews that the *Hobet* was a bomb. Veselago (List of Russian Warships 318) gives a bomb of 16 guns without a name, as having been built in 1708.

† Two other battleships of 50 guns each were finished at Olonyets. One was lost on the way down the Neva; the other, the *Pernov*, reached Petersburg too late to join the fleet.

say that he expected death or captivity; that no orders purporting to come from him were to be obeyed until he returned; and that if they heard for certain of his death they were to choose his successor from among themselves. Still, things were not quite as bad as he supposed. By the ability and energy of his mistress, Ekaterina, whom he married next year, by copious bribes, and by the cession of all the Turkish territory which he had conquered in 1696, Peter and his army were extricated from their dangerous position. The Black Sea fleet thus became a thing of the past. With its only port Azov given back to Turkey, its ships were sold or given to the Turks in some cases, destroyed in others, while some of their stores were carted to Petersburg and Archangel for use in the other fleets.

Sweden, on the other hand, was prevented from taking advantage of Peter's difficulties by the prevalence of an epidemic which was especially bad at Karlskrona and by lack of money. As a result the Finnish squadron was late in putting to sea, and the main fleet was even later. The Danes meanwhile, after sending out many convoys and small expeditions, organised two definite fleets for the North Sea and Baltic. The former, as eventually composed, consisted in June of the following ships:—

Haffru 70 (Vice-Ad. Sehested), *Gyldenløve* 56, *Tomler* 52, *Svaerdfisk* 52, *Fyen* 50, *Island* 50, *Engel* 50, *Slesvig* 50, *Ditmarsken* 50,* *Neptunus* 44, *Postillion* 26,* *Flyvende Dragon*,* *Snarensvend* 12, *Andrickt* 12, *Packa* 12.

The Baltic fleet under Gyldenløve was at first composed of the following 22 battleships:—

Elephant 90 (Gen. Ad. Gyldenløve), *Fredericus IV.* 110, *Christianus V.* 100, *Justitia* 90, *Prinds Frederik* 84, *Norske Løve* 82, *Mars* 80, *Prinds Christian* 76, *Sophie Hedvig* 76, *Wenden* 72, *Dronning Louisa* 70, *Jylland* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Anna Sophie* 60, *Svan* 60, *Christianus IV.* 56, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Nelleblad* 52, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Laaland* 50, with two "bombs," five fireships, one store-ship, and three hospital ships.

Leaving Copenhagen on July 13th it cruised in the Baltic and was joined by the cruisers already there, the *Højenhald* 30, *Raac* 30, *Heyre* 24, *Flyvende Fisk* 8, and *Makreel* 8. About the middle of August it was reinforced by Sehested with four battleships from the North Sea fleet, the *Haffru* 70, *Tomler* 52, *Svaerdfisk* 52, and *Island* 50, two frigates that had been on convoy duty in the North Sea, the *Loss* 26 and *Ørn* 20, and the two small privateers, *Raev* 8 and *Ulv* 2.†

* From the squadron in the Elbe.

† The rest of the North Sea Fleet stayed there till October, when, after the loss of the *Slesvig* 50 in a gale, they went to Copenhagen for the winter.

The duty of the Baltic fleet was to stop supplies or reinforcements from reaching the Swedish army in Pomerania, and to give such help as was possible to the operations of the Polish and Russian troops against Wismar and other Swedish garrisons. An attack on Rügen was contemplated in October, and the transports and boats for the purpose were prepared, but for some reason the plan fell through, and on November 10th the fleet came back to Kjöge Bay. After going to Copenhagen for provisions Gyldenløve was ordered back to Kjöge Bay on the 29th, but on December 3rd he was compelled by illness to give up the command to Barfod. The fleet was now laid up with the exception of six battleships* under Schoutbynacht Trøjel, which were sent into the Baltic to protect the transports carrying guns for the sieges of Wismar and Stralsund.

At last the Swedes got to sea. On December 14th Wachtmeister left Karlskrona with 24 battleships, four frigates, and two fireships convoying transports with 13,000 troops under Stenbock. Rügen was reached on the 18th, the troops were landed, and the fleet went back to Karlskrona for the winter, arriving there on December 29th. On the receipt of news of the Swedes' being at sea Barford was sent from Copenhagen in the *Justitia* 90 on January 5th, 1712, to take over Trøjel's squadron, but as the Swedish fleet went straight home again Barford and his ships were recalled on the 19th for the winter.†

The first fighting of the year 1712 took place in the Kattegat. Schoutbynacht Wilster, commanding the Danish North Sea fleet, detached four ships‡ on April 8th under Commodore-Captain Knoff to reconnoitre off Gothenburg. On May 7th Knoff was joined by two frigates from Copenhagen, the *Raae* 30 and *Loss* 24, and on the 11th, when at anchor off Fladstrand in Jylland, he was attacked by the Swedish fleet from Gothenburg under Schoutbynacht Sjöblad. The *Lindorm* had been detached§, and Knoff had therefore five ships with 158 guns. Against them the Swedes brought the following:||

Calmar 58 (14), *Fredrika* 52 (16), *Stettin* 58 (14), *Warberg*

*Jylland 70; *Haffru* 70; *Beskjermer* 64; *Christianus IV.* 56; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Svaerdfisk* 50.

†The *Tomler* 52 was apparently also at sea since she and the *Svaerdfisk* are mentioned together as being recalled at this time (Garde Eft. ii. 232).

‡*Fyen* 52; *Leopard* 24; *Soridder* 28; *Lindorm* 6. The last vessel was commanded by Lieutenant Wessell, later the famous Tordenskjold. He had been previously second in command of the *Postillion*.

§On April 30th Wessell had handed over the *Lindorm* to a new Commander, and had taken charge of the *Løvendals Gallej* 20.

|| The guns are uncertain. The figures given for five ships are from the list for 1719 in Wrangel "Kriget i Östersjön" i. 140. Figures in brackets give the part of the total which were only swivels. Garde (Hist. ii. 32/3) gives them a total of 288 guns.

52 (16), *Stenbock* 36, *Elfsborg* 36, *Charlotte* 38 (10)—a total of seven ships with 330 guns.

In spite of his great superiority Sjöblad could make no impression on the Danes, and after an action lasting from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. he had to withdraw to Gothenburg to refit. The Danes had 44 killed and wounded, mainly from a burst gun in the *Fyen*. After the action the Danish fleet was raised to five battleships and six frigates, and was joined by three Russian frigates. Its composition was now as follows:—

Prinds Carl 54, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Fyen* 52, *Laaland* 50, *Engel* 50, *Raae* 30, *Soridder* 28, *Leopard* 24, *Loss* 24, *Løvendals Gallej* 20, *Postillion* 26. Russians:—*Sv. Petr* 32, *Sv. Pavel* 32, *Sv. Yakov* 16.*

On May 26th Schoutbynacht Leijonhufvud left Gothenburg with eight frigates (the *Halmstad* 54 (14) and the seven of Sjöblad's squadron), two small craft, and two fireships. On the 29th he chased Knoff with the *Fyen*, *Prinds Wilhelm*, *Soridder*, *Raae*, and *Loss* into Stavaern in Norway. He then proceeded towards the Dogger Bank, took a Danish brig of 16 guns with a convoy for Bergen, and returned unopposed to Gothenburg. Wilster had started to follow him, but his flagship, the *Prinds Carl* was damaged, and he put into Langesund in the South of Norway till June 18th. He then moved to a position east of Skagen to wait for the Swedes, and remained there from the 21st to the 30th, but though his cruisers reported the approach of Leijonhufvud he made no attempt to get under way until the enemy was actually in sight, and consequently could do nothing more than follow him to Gothenburg.† Wilster was replaced by Trøjel in July,‡ court-martialled, and dismissed the service. He then left Denmark and entered the Swedish fleet, an action which makes it seem probable that his previous inactivity was due to deliberate treachery.§

In the meantime operations had begun in the Baltic. Barford left Copenhagen on May 5th with eight battleships and a frigate to join the three battleships and a frigate which were already out cruising.|| His orders were to protect commerce,

*A new Dutch-built ship.

†The only Danish success of this period was the capture of the Swedish privateer *Svenska Waben*, by the *Løvendals Gallej* 20, on June 1st.

‡The fleet was then as follows: *Prinds Carl* 54; *Fyen* 52; *Nye Delmenhorst* 50; *Engel* 50; *Raae* 30; *Sv. Ilya* (Russian) 28; *Soridder* 28; *Leopard* 24; *Loss* 24; *Løvendals Gallej* 20; *Packa* 16; *Andriekt* 12; *Maage* 10; *Lindorm* 6; *Windhund* 4; *Norske Waaben* (prize, ex *Svenska Waben*). The *Nelleblad* 52 and *Christianus IV.* 56 joined in August.

§In 1721, on the conclusion of peace between Sweden and Russia, he joined the Russian Navy as a Vice-Admiral.

|| He took the *Justitia* 90, *Beskjermer* 64, *Island* 50, *Jylland* 70, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Tomler* 50, *Haffru* 70, *Nye Delmenhorst* 50, *Ørn* 20, and joined the *Christianus IV.* 56, *Nelleblad* 52, *Neptunus* 44, *Højenhald* 30.

and keep Swedish reinforcements from Pomerania. After two months without incidents of importance Frederik IV. decided to do all he could to support the Russians and Poles on the coast of Pomerania, and especially in the siege of Stralsund. A squadron of light draught vessels* was therefore put under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sehested, and sent to attack the Swedish ships near Rügen. Convoyed by Barfod's fleet Sehested proceeded from Copenhagen to Rügen, and reached the entrance of the "New Deep" on July 28th. The New Deep is between the South East corner of Rügen and the little island of Rügen, which, up to the year 1309, had been part of the larger island. It thus forms the entrance to Griefswalder Bay, which in turn gives access from the East to the strait between Rügen and the mainland leading past Stralsund.

Here several Swedish vessels were found.† Commodore Henck had arrived a few days before from Karlskrona with three frigates, two other vessels, and 11 transports, and had at once taken steps with these and the ships he found there to protect the entrance to the New Deep. He had stationed his ships in such a position that the larger Danes could not get at them, and was supported by a 10-gun battery on the south-east point of Rügen. One of his ships, however, went aground in a squall, and this upset his line. Sehested seized the opportunity, and in the morning of July 31st he sent in the *Ditmarsken* and the three prams to attack. They warped into range and opened fire at about 8.30 a.m., but the other Danish vessels could not get up to support them, and though they kept up the action till the evening they made little impression. The Swedes lost 98 killed and wounded, the Danes 23. The next afternoon the six smaller Swedish vessels attacked the *Ebenetzer* 15, but retreated on the arrival of Danish reinforcements. During the night of August 2/3rd Henck sank his "kreiert" in the channel. Sehested thereupon sent all his smaller ships through the southern channel, between Rügen and Usedom, and on the 5th Henck retreated to Palmerort, on the south coast of Rügen. Next day Sehested got up the kreiert and brought his larger ships into Greifswalder Bay. On August 17th a second action took place. Henck lost 70 men killed and wounded, and had to withdraw to Stralsund, leaving the Danes in possession of the waters south of Rügen.

* *Ditmarsken* 46 (flat-bottomed battleship); *Kongens Jagt Krone* 24; *Svenske Sophia* 20 (frigates); *Christiansø* 26 (merchantman); *Gravenstein* 14; *Snaresvend* 12; *Phoenix* 12; *Flyvende Abe* 12; *Ræv* 8 (snows); *Ark Noa* 16; *Helleflynder* 14; *Ebenetzer* 15 (prams); *Hecla* 10 (bomb); *Ulv* 2; five barges, three fireships.

† *Stralsund* 30; *Anklam* 30; *St. Thomas* 30; *St. Johannes* 30; *Witduve* 22; *Jomfru* 14; *Sjökane I.* 8; *Sjökane II.* 8; one pram 6; one galley 5; one bomb; one "kreiert."

About this time the Russians had had a slight skirmish with the Swedes. After conveying further supplies to Viborg directly the ice broke up, the fleet, under Kruys, had remained at Kotlin.* In the evening of August 3rd three Swedish ships appeared, a battleship, a frigate, and a snow. Next morning Kruys sent the *Pernov* 50, *Samson* 32, and *Lizeta* 16 to attack, towing them with the rowing craft. As the Swedes showed no sign of retreating he sent the *Riga* 50 to join in the attack. The Swedish ships now withdrew, with the Russians in chase, but when the latter stopped they came back again. The chase was resumed, and a few long-range shots were fired before the Russians returned, and both sides anchored for the night. In the morning of the 5th the Russians were to windward, and could have cut off the Swedes' retreat, but failed to do so. The Swedish vessels withdrew, and rejoined their fleet. This was under Admiral Wattrang, and consisted of 9 battleships, 2 frigates, and 4 snows. The greater part of this fleet lay in Björkö Sund, south-east of Viborg, but this did not prevent the Russian galleys from reaching the Finnish coast, and on August 31st, near Fredrikshamn, they took the snow *Kräft* with 14 3 prs. and 10 swivels, and two boats of eight guns each.

In August the Danish force in the Baltic had been increased. On the 13th Gyldenløve left Copenhagen, and in Kjöge Bay he was joined by Barfod. The fleet now comprised 16 battleships, 6 frigates (including three Russians), and some small craft.† After conveying a number of cannon to the Russo-Polish army besieging Stralsund Gyldenløve received orders to put his fleet under the command of the Tsar Peter, who was then directing the siege operations in person. Peter ordered a landing in Rügen, but the Saxons who were to provide the necessary boats failed to do so, and the scheme was dropped. Expecting the Swedish fleet to appear, Gyldenløve sailed on August 26th to Bornholm.‡ On September 3rd Wachtmeister left Karlskrona with 19 battleships, and next morning he sighted the Danes at anchor between Bornholm and the Swedish coast. Gyldenløve at once retreated towards Kjöge Bay, followed by the Swedes,

* *Viborg* 50; *Riga* 50; *Pernov* 50; *Samson* 32; *Shtandart* 28; *Hobet* 16; *Lizeta* 16; *Munker* 14. With a number of galleys and brigantines.

† *Elephant* 90; *Fredericus IV.* 110; *Justitia* 90*; *Prinds Christian* 76; *Sophie Hedvig* 76; *Wenden* 72; *Dronning Louisa* 70; *Haffru* 70*; *Jylland* 70*; *Haskjermer* 64*; *Ebenetzer* 64*; *Svan* 60; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54†; *Tomler* 52; *Island* 50; *Laaland* 50†; *Sv. Petr* (Russian) 32†; *Sv. Pavel* (Russian) 32†; *Sv. Ilya* (Russian) 28†; *Højenhald* 30; *Heyre* 24; *Ørn* 20*; one bomb; three galleys; three fireships; one hospital ship. The ships marked * joined with Barfod. Those marked † came from the North Sea.

‡ The Russian ships sailed for Revel. Finding a Swedish squadron off that port the *Sv. Pavel* 32 and *Sv. Petr* 32 went to Riga, and arrived there on September 15th. The *Sv. Ilya* 28 was wrecked on the way. The *Sv. Yakov* 16 had reached Revel in April.

and after a chase lasting all day anchored at nightfall between Møen and Stevns, while Wachtmeister anchored off Trelleborg. The Danish hospital ship was captured, and the *Tomler* 52 nearly shared her fate, but was saved by the timely support of other Danish ships. On the 6th Gyldenløve moved to Dragør and anchored his ships so as to oppose any attack on Copenhagen,* but nothing of the kind was attempted, and on the 7th or 8th the Swedish fleet left Kjøge Bay.

Wachtmeister's object in putting to sea from Karlskrona had been to cover the passage from Karlskrona to Pomerania of Count Stenbock with 9,000 troops. Having driven the Danes back to Copenhagen, it would certainly have been sounder strategy to remain on the watch in a position where there was no chance of their eluding him. Still, he chose to abandon the close blockade, which was possible, and to leave the way open for the Danish fleet to put to sea; and, as a matter of fact, no bad results followed. On September 8th the Swedes met the Danish *Heyre* 24. She outsailed the *Fredrika Amalia* 64 and the *Phœnix* 30, but was brought to action by the *Hvita Örn* 30, and sunk after two and a half hours' fighting.

The Danish fleet was now reinforced by most of the ships of the North Sea fleet, which had been recalled on the receipt of the news that the Swedish ships in Gothenburg had been laid up and their crews sent to Karlskrona. Besides this, the old battleship *Tomler* 52 was paid off, and the *Prinds Frederik* 84 and *Tre Løver* 78 were commissioned. This gave Gyldenløve 22 battleships and six frigates, which he organised as follows:—

Van: *Sophia Hedvig* 76, *Fredericus IV.* 110, *Laaland* 50, *Jylland* 70, *Justitia* 90 (Ad. Barfod), *Fyen* 52,† *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Soridder* 28,† *Løvendals Gallej* 20,† one fireship.

Centre: *Christianus IV.* 56,† *Prinds Christian* 76, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Elephant* 90 (Gen. Ad. Gyldenløve), *Prinds Frederik* 84, *Dronning Louisa* 70, *Island* 50, *Svan* 60, *Raac* 30,† *Loss* 24,† one fireship, two hospital ships.

Rear: *Nelleblad* 52,† *Prinds Carl* 54,† *Tre Løver* 78, *Wenden* 72 (Vice-Ad. Raben), *Nye Delmenhorst* 50,† *Haffru* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Højenhald* 30, *Örn* 20, one fireship.

Head winds kept him in Kjøge Bay till September 23rd, and he was too late to intercept the Swedish troops which were landed at Wittow on the north coast of Rügen on the 24th. The Swedish fleet was anchored north of Dornbusch, an island west of Rügen, and had also been reinforced. It now con-

* The following eight ships were moored in line across the Drogden channel:—*Wenden* 72; *Ebenetzer* 64; *Dronning Louisa* 70; *Island* 50; *Fredericus IV.* 110; *Prinds Christian* 76; *Haffru* 70; *Beskjermer* 64.

† These ships came from the North Sea.

sisted of 24 battleships and three frigates. On September 26th the Danes appeared to the north-west. The wind was N.E., and they luffed up as soon as Wachtmeister weighed anchor. Neither side was anxious to fight. Gyldenløve wanted to get at the Swedish transports, and Wachtmeister to prevent him. About midnight the Swedes anchored again off Dornbusch. Next morning they weighed again with a N.W. wind, and tried all day to weather all or part of the Danish fleet. The wind then backed to S.W., and at daybreak on the 28th the position was as follows: The Danes were to the west of Wittow, and therefore to windward of the transports, while the Swedes had drifted to leeward, and were some distance to the north. This gave Gyldenløve his opportunity. He detached the *Raac* 30, *Soridder* 28, *Örn* 20, *Løvendals Gallej* 20, and *Maage* 10 to attack the transports, and formed the rest of his fleet in line ready for action with the Swedish battleships if necessary. Wachtmeister, on the other hand, seeing the danger, signalled to the transports to run down to him. Such as obeyed the signal were saved, but others, whose captains were ashore, or who stayed behind for other reasons, were burnt or taken by the Danish ships. There is a considerable discrepancy in the accounts of the numbers thus lost. Tornquist* quotes a statement of Stenbock's that fourteen were burnt, nine captured, and two missing; but Bäckström,† though without giving his authority, says that 42 were burnt and 15 taken, while 40 escaped. Danish versions give much higher figures; the log of the *Elephant* puts the Swedish loss at 80 vessels taken or destroyed,‡ and other accounts go even higher.

Meanwhile both fleets, after forming line on the starboard tack, had gone about, and were steering N.W., with a W.S.W. wind. The Danes were to windward, but a little astern, and Wachtmeister ordered his van to make more sail, tack, and double on the head of the enemy's line, but Gyldenløve saw his intention, and prevented this by making sail in his turn. The wind gradually backed to S.E., so that the two fleets found themselves heading for the German coast, and were at last obliged to tack. When this took place a few shots were fired between the Swedish van and the Danish rear, but darkness was coming on, and the firing soon stopped.

During the night the Swedes got on to the port tack again, but had to bear away to clear the shallows of the Rügen coast. Gyldenløve, however, decided that he had done all he could in this neighbourhood, and set his course for Kjøge Bay, so that

* ii. 51. Also Gyllengranat i. 297.

† 177.

‡ Garde Hist. ii. 42.

Wachtmeister next morning had no enemy in sight. He therefore sailed for Karlskrona, and arrived there on October 1st. The Danes stayed in Kjöge Bay till December 20th, when they went up to Copenhagen for the winter, but the Swedes tried at the end of December to send another convoy from Karlshamn, escorted by a small squadron from Karlskrona under Watt-rang. The weather, however, proved too bad to allow the expedition to get far, and the idea had to be dropped.

In the meantime Stenbock had given up the attempt to raise the siege of Stralsund, and started off westward to attack Denmark in the rear. Starting on his march on October 30th, he defeated the Danes at Gadebusch in Mecklenburg on December 20th. He was then forced into Holstein by the advance of the Russians and Saxons. He burnt Altona early in January, 1713, and finally took refuge in the fortress of Tönning on the Eider. Here he was at once besieged by the allied armies, while five small Danish warships* and five hired vessels from the Elbe took up the blockade from the sea. In March a battleship and two frigates† were sent from Copenhagen to join the blockading fleet but returned after Stenbock's capitulation on May 16th, though most of the other vessels stayed in the Eider till the surrender of the town itself in February, 1714.

At the western end of the Baltic but little of interest took place in 1713. On May 21st Vice-Admiral Reedtz left Kjöge Bay with nineteen battleships, two frigates, and three snows, but did nothing whatever, and failed to prevent Wachtmeister with fifteen battleships from taking supplies to Stralsund in September and returning. After this mishap the Allies abandoned the siege of Stralsund, and the Danish flotilla in those waters returned to Copenhagen. Only minor actions occurred in the North Sea. The Danish *Soridder* 28 took the Swedish privateers, *Göta Lejon* 18 and *Pacha* 16,‡ on March 31st and June 16th, while Wessel in the *Lövendals Gallej* 20 was engaged on August 13th by the Swedish *Ny Elfsborg* 36 and *Calmar* 58, but got away after a three hours' fight with only one man wounded. For some reason a Swedish attack on Copenhagen was expected this year, and in preparation for this two batteries were constructed on the sea front. The first, the Trekoner battery, was formed of the old battleships *Prinds Georg* 70, *Tre Kroner* 82, and *Charlotte Amalie* 60, sunk in the shallow water east of the harbour entrance, while the second, the Provesteen, further south along the shore, consisted of the *Delmenhorst* 48 and an old floating dock.

* *Meermin* 12; *Prinds Frederik* 10; *Thorenschent* 8; *Juncker* 10; *Svenske Sorte Adler* 8.

† *Island* 50; *Raae* 30; *Loss* 26.

‡ They were renamed *Søorm* and *Sødragon*.

The Russians were more active. Three ships bought abroad had reached Copenhagen in December, 1712. These were the *Antonii* 50 from Hamburg, the *Randolf* 50 from England, and the *Hardenbroek* 44* from Dunkirk renamed *Esperans*. On February 22nd they left Copenhagen, and on March 15th arrived at Revel; the *Sv. Pavel* 32, and *Sv. Petr* 32 from Riga, also came to Revel. On May 13th two fleets left Kotlin. The first under Apraksin consisted of over 200 galleys and other small craft, the second under Kruys was composed of four battleships, *Poltava* 54, *Vyborg* 50, *Riga* 50, and *Pernov* 50, two frigates, *Samson* 32 and *Shtandart* 28, one bomb, and two snows. The sailing ships took up a position in Björkö Sund, south of Viborg, and the galleys moving west landed an army and occupied Borgå. At the same time the Swedish Vice-Admiral Lillje reached Helsingfors with eight or nine battleships, but meanwhile the Russian ships from Revel had joined those at Björkö, so that Kruys had a force of seven battleships and five frigates, and besides these three more battleships and two frigates had reached Revel from abroad. These were the following:—*Vainqueur* 50, from England, renamed *Viktoria*,† *Vindford* (?) 50, from England, renamed *Straford*; *Tankerville* 50, from England, renamed *Oksford*; *Sv. Nikolai* 42, from Holland; *Norris* 32, from England, renamed *Lansdou*. Kruys took his squadron back to Kotlin to refit, and left on July 20th to fetch the new ships from Revel. On the 21st, near Hogland, three Swedish ships were sighted. They were the *Ösel* 56, *Estland* 48, and *Verden* 54, sent out from Helsingfors under Commodore Raab. By 4 a.m. on the 22nd the *Vyborg* 50 and *Antonii* 50 were close enough to open fire, and by eight o'clock the *Riga* 50, and *Esperans* 44 were also in range. Now, however, the *Ösel* touched on a shoal but scraped over, and the *Vyborg*, *Riga*, and *Esperans* following her closely, went hard aground. The other ships continued the chase, but Kruys lowered the signal for action and they returned. The *Riga* and *Esperans* were got off, but the *Vyborg* had to be burnt. Several Russian officers were court-martialled for this affair, and both Kruys and Rays, of the *Poltava*, were banished to Siberia after being sentenced to death and reprieved. The Swedish ships rejoined their fleet near Helsingfors, and the Russians entered

* She had been built in Holland (the Russian Fleet under Peter the Great 131). Two Dutch *Hardenbroeks* of 50 and 52 guns were taken by the French in 1706 and 1709 (De Jonge iii. 714/6 and iv. 80).

† "The Russian fleet under Peter the Great" (page 132) says she was a Dutch ship taken by the French, taken from them by the English, and sold to Russia. Probably she was the other *Hardenbroek*. However, no French ship called *Vainqueur* appears to have been taken by the English. The possible French prizes were the *Gaillard* 56, taken in 1710, and the *Adriade* 48, taken in 1709. She was probably the *Gaillard*.

Revel on July 27th. On August 5th they were back at Kotlin with the new ships.

Supported by the galleys the Russian army worked westward along the coast of Finland. Helsingfors was taken on July 26th and Åbo on September 5th. The Swedish fleet was forced to withdraw to Tvärminne just east of Hangö, a large cape between Helsingfors and Åbo. Here they were able to prevent the passage of the Russian galleys, and thus made it impossible for the Russian Army to remain at Åbo. Besides this they had captured the Russian battleship *Bulinbruk* (or *Bolingbroke*) 52, formerly the *Sussex*, on her way to Revel from England, where she had been bought.* No further fighting took place this year. Part of the Russian galley fleet wintered at Helsingfors, and part went to Petersburg. The Swedes stayed at Tvärminne till late in the year, and then went home. Lillje wintered at Dalarö with four battleships and a frigate.† The rest went to Karlskrona as usual. The only other important event of 1713 was the capture of Stettin in October.

As before, no important operations took place in the western part of the theatre of war in 1714. The greater part of the available Swedish strength was sent against Russia, and though Denmark commissioned nineteen battleships, only nine of them left Copenhagen. Commodore Thamsen was sent to the Baltic in June with six battleships and two frigates‡ with orders to join the two frigates which had been sent out in May§ and then to cruise west of Bornholm. This squadron remained for the most part in Kjøge Bay. It came back to Copenhagen at the end of September, and was laid up early in November. In the North Sea there was a small squadron of three battleships, one frigate, and one snow|| under Commodore Rosenpalm cruising on and off from July till December. The island of Heligoland was captured from Holstein-Gottorp in August after a short bombardment. In November, on the laying up of the rest of the Baltic fleet, Commodore-Captain Paulssen was sent out

* Neither Veselago nor "The Russian Fleet under Peter the Great" gives any information about her save that she was bought in England. However, a ship of 56 guns called *Kronskjepp* appears now in the Swedish fleet. Wessel, in a report of August, 1715, refers to her as "a French battleship of 60 guns taken by the Swedes last year, now called the *Kronskib*." The probability is that this was the *Bolingbroke*, and that she had originally been French, in which case she may have been the *Toulouse* 62 taken in 1710, the *Hasardeux* 52 taken in 1703, the "*Falkland's Prize*" 54 taken in 1704, or the *Maure* 60 taken in 1707.

† *Halland* 56; *Öland* 56; *Verden* 54; *Revel* 40; *Falk* 26.

‡ *Ebenetzer* 64; *Beskjermer* 64; *Fyen* 52; *Island* 50; *Laaland* 50; *Nye Delmenhorst* 50; *Højenhald* 30; *Loss* 26.

§ *Postillion* 26; *Ørn* 20.

|| *Prinds Carl* 54; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Nye Delmenhorst* 50, *Postillion* 26 (from Thamsen's squadron); *Norske Waaben*.

again with two battleships and two frigates,* and when it was heard that Carl XII. had arrived at Stralsund after his two years of captivity in Turkey, Paulssen was ordered to search all neutral ships to prevent his reaching Sweden. At the beginning of January, 1715, a further division† was sent under Schoutbynacht Gabell to join Paulssen's ships and prevent communications between Sweden and Pomerania, but no Swedish ships were found at sea, and the combined squadrom soon returned to Copenhagen for the winter.

A remarkable action was fought by Wessel in the *Løvendals Gallej* 20 this year. Off Lindesnaes, the southernmost point of Norway, he met on June 26th a Swedish frigate carrying 28 guns though pierced for 36. An action began at 6 p.m., with the two ships running side by side to the south-east. The Swede got clear at 9.30 p.m., but an hour later Wessel came up again. About midnight the main topmast of the Swedish ship came down, so Wessel knowing that he could now catch her when he liked, shortened sail and carried out his more pressing repairs. At 6 a.m. on the 27th the fight began again. After three hours the two ships, both damaged, separated mutually, but at 12.30 firing was resumed for another two hours. At last the *Løvendals Gallej* was near the end of her ammunition, and as the sea was too heavy for boarding, nothing more could be done. Wessel sent a flag of truce to explain the situation, and invited the captain of the Swedish ship to come on board and drink a glass of wine with him. The captain, an Englishman named Bactman (?) replied that he was sorry he had no ammunition to spare, and that he could not leave his ship. In the end the *Løvendals Gallej* closed in, and the two captains drank to one another's health amid the cheers of their crews before parting. Considering the length of the action the Danish loss was slight, being only seven killed and 21 wounded. Wessel's report mentions that he had only fired 23 shots per gun, and had powder left for four shots each. The *Løvendals Gallej*, much knocked about, went to Christianssand, and the Swedish ship to Gothenburg. She was the *Olbing Galley* bought in England and mainly manned by Englishmen. On her arrival in Sweden she was renamed *Prinsessa Ulrika Eleonora*. Wessel's conduct was much criticised, and he was censured by a court of enquiry for his behaviour after the action, but at the end of the year he was promoted to captain, so it is evident that he had done nothing to damage his prospects.

In contrast to the lack of activity in Danish and neighbour-

* *Island* 50; *Laaland* 50; *Raæ* 30; *Ørn* 20.

† *Beskjermer* 64; *Fyen* 52; *Nelleblad* 52; *Løvendals Gallej* 20; *Snarensvend* 12; *Cronprindsens Gallej* 10; *Maage* 10.

ing waters, the Gulf of Finland was the scene of several important operations this year. Both the Russian galley fleet and the sailing ships were commissioned, and both reached Björkö on May 31st. From here the galley fleet of about 100 vessels, under General-Admiral Apraksin, proceeded to Helsingfors, and arrived there on June 22nd. The sailing fleet was commanded by the Tsar himself as Rear-Admiral, and consisted of the following ships:—

Sv. Ekaterina, Poltava, Viktoria, Pernov, Randolph, Oksford, Sv. Antonii, Straford, Esperans, Lansdou, Samson, Sv. Pavel, Sv. Petr, Printsessa, Natalia, Diana.

Reaching Revel on June 22nd, this fleet was joined by a number of new ships, some from Archangel and some from abroad. These were as follows:—

Gavriil and Rafail, from Archangel*; *Perl†*, from the Netherlands; *Armont (Ormonde), Arondel, Fortuna*, and *Leferm‡*, from England.

After some sorting of men and guns Peter organised his fleet in the following line of battle:—

Van.—*Gavriil 52, Sv. Antonii 52, Poltava 52, Arondel 44, Pernov 42, Sv. Petr 32, Natalia 18.*

Centre.—*Riga 52, Rafail 52, Sv. Ekaterina 62, Perl 50, § Armont 50, Esperans 48, Samson 32, Sv. Pavel 32, Sv. Ilya 32, Printsessa 20.*

Rear.—*Randolf 50, Fortuna 52, Leferm 74, Oksford 50, Viktoria 62, Lansdou 32, Diana 18.*

The *Samson* and *Sv. Pavel* were sent out to look for the enemy, and soon found him. Admiral Wattrang had arrived between Helsingfors and Åbo about the middle of May with 15 battleships and many rowing vessels, and from his position off Hangö he had sent out Vice-Admiral Lillje with six battleships to find the Russians. At four o'clock in the afternoon of July 28th the *Sv. Pavel* came in with news that the Swedes were approaching, and the Russians therefore warped out into the bay during the night. Next morning the Swedes ran right into the bay, but on seeing the force of the enemy they began to beat out again. This was about 7 a.m. The Russians pursued, and a long chase followed. The *Arondel 44* went aground,

* Three ships, the *Rafail, Michail*, and *Gavriil* left Archangel in 1713. The *Michail* had to put back, but the *Rafail* wintered at Kola in Lapland and the *Gavriil* at Trondhjem.

† Formerly the Dutch *Groote Perel 52* of Zealand (de Jonge iv. 107 n.).

‡ She was originally the French *Ferme 72*, and was taken by the English at Vigo in 1702. She fought as an English ship at Velez Malaga in 1704.

§ The *Perl* was, as a matter of fact, in Pernau, and did not reach Revel till July. Besides the *Straford*, which is not in the list, the *Viktoria, Fortuna*, and *Oksford* had to be left in harbour for want of men.

but was got off again. Finally, at about 5 p.m. seven Russian battleships and two frigates were well up to the leemost of the Swedes, and would have weathered her on the next tack. Lillje, however, seeing this, bore up with the rest of his ships to her support, and the Russians, with six ships to fight instead of one, hesitated, failed to grasp the opportunity, and were eventually ordered by the Tsar from the snow *Printsessa* to return to Revel.*

Meanwhile Wattrang had sent some of his galleys to the Åbo district, where they had taken a few Russian small craft. Furthermore, when Apraksin reached Hangö with the Russian galley fleet on July 10th he found his way westward blocked by the Swedish battleships. He therefore waited in Tvärminne for a calm in which he might slip past, and sent to Peter to ask him to draw off the Swedes. This Peter decided was impossible, but on July 29th he left Revel for Helsingfors in the *Sv. Pavel 32* with six battleships and the *Printsessa 20*. On reaching the Finnish skärgård, or belt of islands and rocks, he sent back the battleships and went to Helsingfors with the two smaller ships. He then shifted to a galley and reached Tvärminne on July 31st. At once he gave orders that an attempt should be made to drag the lighter galleys over the isthmus to the western side of Hangö Head. As soon as this came to the knowledge of Wattrang he sent Schoutbynacht Ehrensköld from the battleship *Stockholm* to take one pram, six galleys, and two small boats† to wait for them and attack as they reached the water's edge. At the same time he sent Lillje with eight battleships to try and get near enough to the Russian ships at Tvärminne to open fire. About noon on August 4th Lillje started, and a little later Ehrensköld also got under way. The Russians had, however, already abandoned the idea of hauling over‡ and simultaneously with the Swedish movements Apraksin sent 20 "skampavias," or galleys with 36 oars, to try to get round. Lillje did not see them, but Wattrang did, and worked inshore to intercept them. Night fell, and the Russians, reinforced by 15 more galleys sent out during the afternoon, anchored behind two small islands off the southern coast of the peninsula.

Next morning came the long-expected calm, and the Russians were quick to take advantage of it. Early in the fore-

* Peter's conduct in leaving the *Sv. Ekaterina* for the *Printsessa* seems to have caused some surprise. No Swedish historian mentions this affair.

† *Elefant*, pram, 12 12's, 3 3's=18; *Orn*, galley, 2 36's, 14 3's=16; *Trana*, galley, 2 18's, 14 3's=16; *Grip*, galley, 2 18's, 14 3's=16; *Laza*, galley, 2 16's, 10 3's=12; *Gädda*, galley, 2 6's, 10 3's=12; *Hvalfisk*, galley, 2 6's, 10 3's=12; *Flundra*, boat, 4 3's, 2 1's=6; *Mort*, boat, 2 3's, 2 1's=4.

‡ One galley got over and one broke up on the way.

noon 19 galleys left their anchorage behind the islands, put out to sea, and went outside Watrang's ships, in spite of all his efforts to tow or kedge into range. A little later the remaining 15 got past as well, further out to sea. Watrang now recalled Lillje, and, apparently expecting the rest of the Russians to follow the same course, he stayed some distance out and warped out his inshore ships to join the main body. The following night Apraksin moved with his main force, and between 5 and 7 a.m. on August 6th some 60 Russian galleys went between the Swedes and the land, and passed without loss, save for one galley, the *Sazan*, which ran ashore and was taken with 232 men.

Ehrensköld meanwhile had reached Bengstörffjärd, a narrow passage just west of the isthmus, in the evening of the 4th. Next morning he found that the Russians had given up the attempt to haul their ships across, and, leaving Captain Sund in command, he started in his sloop to report, but on reaching the point of Hangö Head he heard firing and saw "over 30" Russian galleys approaching. Seeing that he was cut off he returned to Bengstörffjärd and took up a strong position across the channel, sinking a big local boat astern. He might have escaped by a swift retreat westwards, but decided to remain in order to cover Taube, who was at Kimito, to the west, with the rest of the Swedish flotilla, and to delay the Russian westward movement as long as possible.

He put the *Elefant* in the centre of the channel with her broadside bearing, three galleys on either side bows on, and the two boats at the bow and stern of the *Elefant* and a little behind her. Then having done all he could he waited to be attacked. After demanding his surrender in vain Apraksin sent in 35 galleys, the first division of his force, at about two o'clock in the afternoon of August 6th. Holding his fire till the enemy reached close range Ehrensköld repulsed this attack and also a second by the other two divisions, some 80 vessels, but the third attack was successful. Collecting about 95 galleys, the available boats of all three divisions, and taught by their previous experience the Russians attacked on the two wings first. The *Trana* on the left was the first victim. Boarded on all sides, she capsized and sank with the weight of men on board. One by one the galleys were taken; the *Elefant* was surrounded and set on fire, Ehrensköld and Sund were wounded, and at last the Russians boarded from every side. Ehrensköld was hit again and captured while unconscious, and by five p.m. all resistance was over.

The Swedes went into the action with 941 officers and men, and lost 361 killed. A week later 333 of the survivors were in Russian hands, the rest had died of their wounds. Five weeks

later the survivors were only a little over 200. The Russians had 125 killed and 341 wounded, so that their total loss with those captured in the *Sazan* was 698 officers and men.* Some accounts state that the Tsar himself was in action, but according to "The Russian Fleet under Peter the Great" "the Tsar beheld the action from an island at some distance, and when over came aboard." In view of his conduct at Revel a month before this seems the more probable story.

Watrang now left the Gulf of Finland, and cruised between Gothland and the Åland Islands. This left the way open for the Russian advance westward, and on August 14th a fleet of 60 galleys reached Åbo. A little later 16,000 men were landed in the Åland Islands. At the same time the greater part of the sailing fleet left Revel for Helsingfors.† On September 1st Peter returned to Helsingfors from Åbo, and sent the fleet to Björkö. A gale on the 11th did a good deal of damage, but no ship was lost, and on September 15th the fleet reached Kronsloot. Apraksin was meanwhile working up the Gulf of Bothnia; on September 20th he reached Vasa, and from here he sent nine galleys to attack the Swedish coast. He had already lost two galleys, and had to detach four others for repairs, and in this expedition he lost five more. Still, the Swedish town of Umeå was burnt, and a few local vessels destroyed. Apraksin moved a little further north to Nykarleby, but could not get into communication with the army, and therefore withdrew. Six more galleys were lost, and on November 10th the fleet was put into winter quarters at Nysted, a little north of Åbo. It was now composed of 47 galleys, but new construction during the winter almost doubled its strength before next year's campaign. As soon as the Swedes heard of the laying-up of the Russian fleet they left the neighbourhood of Stockholm for Karlskrona, where they arrived early in January, 1715.

* "Materials" i. 536/7. Swedish accounts give it at 3,000 or more.

† The following ships stayed at Revel for the winter (Materials i. 587):—*Michail* (Archangel) 54; *Viktorja* 56; *Sv. Antonii* 50; *Oksford* 50; *Fortuna* 50; *Landou* 44; *Samson* 30; *Ilya* 26; *Sv. Petr* 24; *Sv. Pavel* 24; *Natalia* 18; *Diana* 18. The *Michail* arrived in September from Archangel. The guns of several ships are very different to previous lists.

SECTION IX.

THE THIRD STAGE OF THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR,

1715-1719.

Sweden had now two more enemies to fight. The accession of George, Elector of Hanover, to the English throne in August, 1714, soon drew England into the struggle. As ruler of Hanover he had bought from Denmark the territories of Bremen and Verden, taken from the Swedes, and he had therefore been obliged to go to war with Sweden to keep his purchases. Naturally in his double quality as ruler of both England and Hanover he made use of the naval power of the former to help the latter, but there was, as a matter of fact, another reason for hostilities. The treatment of neutral trade by the Swedes had produced considerable tension even before the death of Queen Anne, and in this question the Dutch were also concerned to such an extent that they agreed to send a fleet to join in the operations of 1715.

Still, with the return of Carl XII. to the seat of war, the Swedes had once more a leader, and for some years yet they managed to keep up the unequal fight. For 1715, Carl XII. decided to make his main effort against Russia, and therefore sent Vice-Admiral Wachtmeister to the Gulf of Bothnia with four battleships, three frigates, and about 50 rowing boats, and Admiral Lillje to the Gulf of Finland with seventeen battleships and two frigates. At the same time Schoutbynacht Wachtmeister was given four battleships and two frigates for work at the western end of the Baltic. In April, Wachtmeister left Karlskrona and went southward. He did a good deal of damage in Femern, and one of his frigates, the *Hvita Örn* 30, captured the Danish *Örn* 20 off Dornebusch, after an engagement lasting two and a half hours. He now expected to receive reinforcements from Gothenburg through the Belt, but before these could join him he was attacked by a superior force of Danes, who had left Copenhagen on April 17th to look for him. The two fleets were as follows:—

Swedes: *Prinsessa Hedvig Sophia* 75, *Nordstjerna* 76, *Södermanland* 56, *Göteborg* 50, *Hvita Örn* 30, *Falk* 26.

Danes: *Prinds Christian* 76, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Nelleblad* 52, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Island* 50, *Laaland* 50, *Fyen* 50, *Højenhald* 30, *Raae* 30, *Løvendals Gallej* 20, three small craft, one fireship.

Early on April 24th the two fleets sighted one another. They were a little to the east of Femern, the Swedes about seven miles north of the Danes. At first there was hardly any wind, and both sides had to use their boats for towing, but eventually, about noon, a breeze sprang up from E.S.E. and enabled the Danes to close. About four o'clock the action began with both fleets on the port tack, the Danes to windward, and the wind apparently backing slightly. In spite of the disparity in force Wachtmeister accepted battle without trying to escape. The *Prinds Christian* 76, flagship of Schoutbynacht Gabel, the Danish commander, was driven out of the line, but came back later. After some time Wachtmeister tacked with the idea of cutting off the last two Danish ships, but Gabel also tacked, and kept to windward. Later on, the Swedes made another attempt to cut the line, and in this attempt the *Södermanland* 56 lost her foretopmast, had her captain killed, and bore up out of action. The rest of the Swedish ships followed, with in the Danes in pursuit, and finally darkness put an end to the fight at about nine p.m.*

Both fleets anchored between Femern and Langeland, the Danes to the eastward. The wind was northerly, making it difficult to enter the Great Belt, but about midnight it veered to the east, and Wachtmeister got under way, steering northwards. Still, with his damaged ships he found it impossible to weather the southern end of Langeland in the existing conditions of uncertain wind and strong current, so altered course and ran for the coast of Holstein. Off Bülek, at the entrance to Kiel Fjord, he put his ships ashore, either by accident or intentionally, and at once began to do his best to make it impossible for the Danes to refloat them. In the meantime the *Hvita Örn* 30 had been in a fair way to escape through the Great Belt, when the *Løvendals Gallej* 20 intercepted her, and in conjunction with the *Raae* 30 forced her to follow Wachtmeister.† Following her towards Kiel, Wessel, in the *Løvendals Gallej*, found the Swedish ships helplessly aground with their crews working desperately to destroy them. At once he

* Accounts of this fight are difficult to reconcile. Garde (Hist. ii. 48/9) says the action began at 4 p.m.; at 6.15 the Swedes tacked; at 7 o'clock the second attempt to cut the line took place, and the *Södermanland* was damaged; at 9.30 the firing ended. Tornquist (ii. 66/7) says firing began at 2 p.m.; at 2.30 Wachtmeister tacked; at 4.30 the *Prinds Christian* returned to the line and the *Södermanland* was damaged; at 9.30 the action ended. Furthermore, according to the Danish story, Wachtmeister's flagship was raked from aft in her first attempt to cut the line, though it is distinctly stated that she tacked. Probably all that is certain is that the Danes were to windward and got the best of the action.

† According to Tornquist (ii. 68) the captain of the *Hvita Örn* was forced to give up his attempt to escape by a mutiny among 150 Saxon soldiers who were on board.

sent a flag of truce to inform Wachtmeister that unless all such work ceased instantly the Danes would give no quarter. Wachtmeister thereupon surrendered, and was sent by Wessel on board Gabel's flagship on his arrival later in the morning with the Danish fleet. The Swedish commander was treated by the Danes with every mark of respect. On his coming alongside the *Löwendals Gallej*, Wessel gave him a salute of seven guns, and Gabel, finding that he had thrown away his sword, gave him his own to wear.

The Danes had lost in the action 65 killed and 220 wounded. The Swedish loss is not known, save for the flagship which had 28 killed and 58 wounded, but it is known that 1,875 prisoners were sent to Rendsborg.* All the ships were refloated and repaired by the Danes with the exception of the *Prinsessa Hedvig Sophia* 75, Wachtmeister's flagship, which was found too much damaged to be moved, and was therefore burnt. As soon as the salvage of the Swedish ships was complete Gabel sent them to Copenhagen. He also sent three battleships† to join Admiral Raben, who had entered the Baltic with seven battleships. With his five remaining battleships he sailed to blockade Gothenburg.

Early in July the English and Dutch appeared on the scene. On July 5th the Dutch squadron of twelve battleships,‡ under Schoutbynacht de Veth, arrived in the Sound, escorting a large fleet of merchantmen, and on the 10th Admiral Sir John Norris joined him with eighteen English battleships.§ On the 12th they proceeded together to Kjöge Bay, and, having decided to act in common, but to confine themselves to convoy work without assuming the offensive, they put to sea on the 17th.

At the same time the Allies, urged by the presence of Carl XII., decided on another attack on Stralsund. As before, all the available light draught Danish vessels|| were put under the command of Vice-Admiral Sehested for this purpose. On July 9th the flotilla left Copenhagen, escorted by Raben's fleet,

* Garde calculates the original complement of the Swedish fleet at 2,500, but probably 2,000 would be nearer the mark.

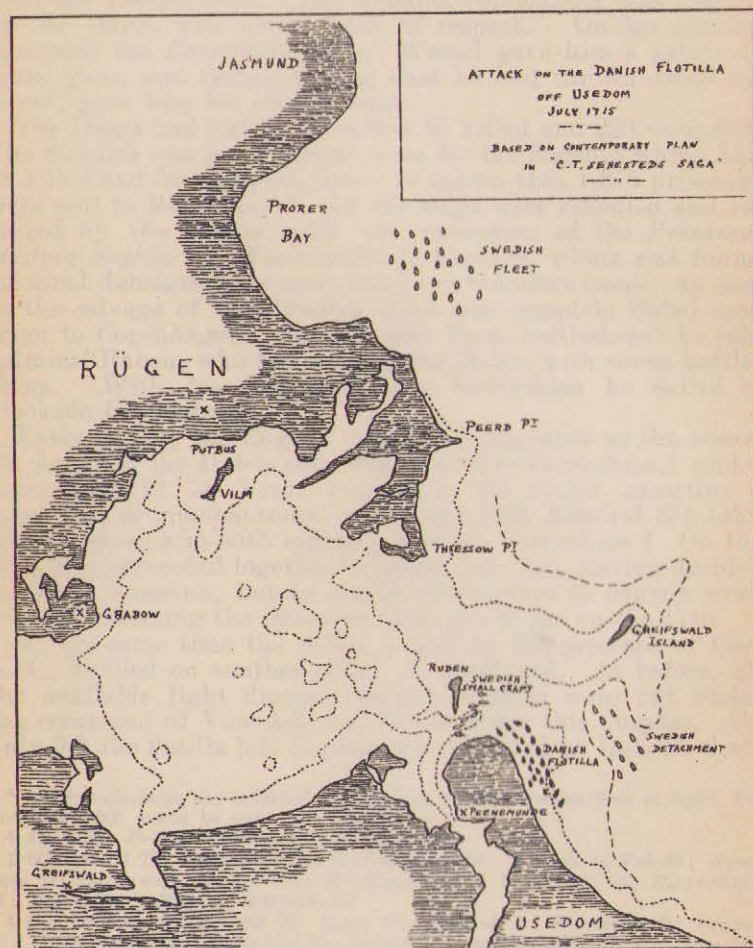
† *Fyen* 50; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Nelleblad* 52.

‡ *Gelderland* 72; *Boetselaar* 64; *Wolfswinkel* 54; *'t Huys te Nek* 54; *Nyenhuys* 52; *Oosterwijk* 52; *Curacoa* 52; *Matenes* 52; *Vredenhof* 44; *Diepenheim* 44; *Edam* 44; *'t Huys te Varmelo* 40.

§ *Cumberland* 86; *Norfolk* 80; *Essex* 70; *Burford* 70; *Plymouth* 60; *Rippon* 60; *Dreadnought* 60; *Assistance* 50; *Severn* 50; *Bonaventure* 50; *Chatham* 50; *Hampshire* 50; *Centurion* 50; *Weymouth* 50; *Moor* 50; *Swallow* 50; *Advice* 50; *Burlington* 50. Lodiard 867 n. The Danish list in Rothe 306 omits the *Plymouth* and *Burlington* and adds the *Tiger* 50.

|| *Ditmarsken* 46, battleship; *Leopard* 24, *Kongens Jagt Krone* 24, frigates; *Gravenstein* 14, *Phœnix* 20, *Ræv* 8, *Hummer* 8 (ex-Swede), snows; *Ark Noa* 16, *Helleflynder* 14, *Ebenetzer* 12, prams; *Christiansø* 26, *Haab* 10, *Beskjaermer* 10, merchantment; 2 bombs, 4 hoys, 2 galliots, 4 fireships, 6 storeships.

PLATE V.



[To face page 165.]

now thirteen battleships strong. On the 15th Raben was joined by three more battleships from the North Sea,* and on the 18th he anchored off the New Deep. Next day he was forced to retreat by the arrival of a Swedish fleet of twenty battleships† from Karlskrona under Admiral Baron Sparre with transports containing troops for Stralsund. The Swedish fleet was to windward with a breeze from E.N.E., but the Danes were able to weather Jasmund, and then, bearing away a bit, keep on out to sea. Sparre pursued for some distance, and even got close enough to open fire, but as soon as the Danes were far enough from Rügen to make it sure that he would be able to disembark his troops in safety he gave up the chase, ordered his fleet to tack together, and returned to Rügen to carry out his orders.

Raben's retreat left Sehested unsupported among the shoals of the New Deep. Hearing from the Prussians that they proposed attacking Usedom he anchored his fleet close in shore off that island. Here he was attacked by troops ashore, by a detachment from the Swedish fleet,‡ and by eight vessels from Stralsund.§ The battleships, however, could not get in close enough, and the other vessels were not strong enough to do any great harm; but the Danish flotilla was hard pressed from all sides until July 31st, when the Prussians, who had captured Wolgast on the mainland two days earlier, crossed into Usedom and drove the Swedish troops back into Peenemünde. This relieved the pressure on the land side, and a week later the return of Raben with the Danish battleship fleet put an end to all Sehested's difficulties.

Raben had, as a matter of fact, not retreated far. He had remained in the waters between Kjöge Bay and Rügen, and had kept in touch with the Swedes by means of his frigates. One of these, the *Hvide Örn* 30 (the Swedish *Hvita Örn*, taken off Bülck) was commanded by Wessel, the former captain of the *Lovendals Gallej*. True to his invariable practice, the young captain managed to get some brisk fighting; on July 20th he was engaged near Rügen by the Swedish battleship *Osæl* 50, and on August 4th by the *Frederica Amalia* 64 and *Välkomsten* 24, but in both cases got away unharmed. Mean-

* Line of Battle: *Ebenetzer* 54; *Jylland* 70; *Justitia* 90 (V.-Ad. J. Juel); *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Oldenborg* 52; *Sophia Hedvig* 76; *Fyen* 52; *Haffru* 70; *Elephant* 90 (Ad. Raben); *Prinds Christian* 76 (V.-Ad. Gabel); *Nelleblad* 52; *Prinds Carl* 54; *Laaland* 50; *Dronning Louisa* 70 (V.-Ad. Trøjel); *Beskjermmer* 64; *Wenden* 72.

† See list of August 8th.

‡ Including the *Oland* 54, with Carl XII. himself on board, and the *Osæl* 50. Sehested's own account (Sehesteds Saga) says there were 8 battleships and 2 frigates. All others say 5 battleships and 3 frigates.

§ *Dykert* 20, pram; *Stralsund* 24, *Välkomsten* 24, *Thais* 24, *Thomas* 24, *Kiskin* 20, *Grip* 14, frigates; 1 bomb.

while, on July 30th, Raben was joined by three more battleships from Copenhagen,* and on August 4th by the last two from the North Sea.† This put him on an equality with the Swedes, and he at once steered for Rügen to relieve Sehested, but through lack of wind it was not until August 8th that the two fleets met.

Swedish Fleet (in line of battle).—(6) *Skåne* 62, (19) *Brehmen* 68, (S.B.N.), (20) *Öland* 54, (9) *Pommern* 56, (17) *Prins Carl* 90, (Ad. Lillje), (1) *Småland* 66, (18) *Ösel* 50, (16) *Riga* 54, (15) *Stockholm* 68 (S.B.N.), (11) *Götha Lejon* 96 (Ad. Sparre), (2) *Prins Carl Frederik* 72 (S.B.N.), (8) *Westmanland* 62, (12) *Estland* 50, (21) *Gottland* 50, (13) *Verden* 54, (5) *Enighet* 96, (Ad. Henck), (7) *Fredrica Amalia* 64, (14) *Lifland* 50, (4) *Wenden* 72 (S.B.N.), (3) *Karlskrona* 72.

20 ships, 1,310 guns.‡

Danish Fleet (in line of battle reversed).—*Wenden* 72 (S.B.N.), *Beskjermmer* 64, *Prins Carl* 54, *Nordstjern* 70, *Dronning Louisa* 70 (Vice-Ad. Trøjel), *Laaland* 50, *Nelleblad* 52, *Svan* 60, *Island* 50, *Prinds Christian* 76, *Elephant* 90 (Ad. Raben), *Haffru* 70, *Fyen* 52, *Anna Sophie* 60, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Oldenborg* 50, *Justitia* 90 (V.-Ad. Juel), *Sophie Hedvig* 76, *Prins Wilhelm* 54, *Jylland* 70, *Ebenetzer* 64 (S.B.N.).

21 ships, 1,344 guns.

They were, as the foregoing lists show, very evenly matched, and an indecisive action followed. The position at 8 a.m., when they sighted one another, was as follows:—Sparre, with 15 of his ships, was at anchor in Prorer Bay, on the east coast of Rügen, while the other five Swedish battleships were off Greifswalder Island, some twelve miles to the S.S.W. The wind was N.W., and the Danes were approaching before the wind close to the north and east coasts of Rügen. Sparre at once ran down towards his detached ships, signalling to them to weigh anchor and join him. At about noon he formed line on the port tack a little off the wind, and Raben thereupon also put his fleet into line to windward, with the Rear squadron leading. At 2 p.m. the action began. The Swedes gradually bore away, and the Danes never really closed in, but firing went on with great determination on either side, until Raben hauled to the wind at about eight o'clock and the fleets parted. Many of the Swedish ships had suffered severely. Both the *Ösel* 50

* *Nordstjern* 70 (ex-Swede); *Anna Sophie* 60; *Svan* 60. These had scratch crews, including 88 soldier volunteers.

† *Delmenhorst* 50; *Island* 50.

‡ Raben's report puts the ships in the order shown by the numbers in brackets, and adds at No. 10 the *Götha* 70 (V.-Ad. Selander). This version is founded on the statements of a Swedish lieutenant captured by the *Hvide Örn* on his way to join his ship just before the action. Wilster, the former Danish Schoutbynacht, had his flag in the *Stockholm*.

and the *Gottland* 50 had had to leave the line altogether, and were sent at once to Karlskrona, while the *Götha Lejon* 96, *Enighet* 90, and *Pommern* 50 had many hits on or below the water line, and were in no fit state for further fighting. Besides this, the *Prins Carl Fredrik* 72 and *Westmanland* 62 had been in collision, and were both somewhat damaged. The Danish vessels were not much hurt. The *Svan* 60 had to leave the line for a time to replenish her ammunition supply, but her place had been taken by Wessel in the *Hvide Örn* 30. In personnel the losses were more equal, though here the Danes suffered slightly the more. They lost 127 killed, including Vice-Admiral Juel, commander of the Van squadron, and had 466 wounded, while in the Swedish fleet 165 were killed and 360 wounded, the commanders of both Van and Rear, Admiral Lillje and Admiral Henck, being among the killed.

Next morning the Danes were some ten miles to windward Sparre steered for Bornholm to join a convoy of provisions expected from Karlskrona, and the Danes, after watching him as far as that island, returned and anchored at 5.30 p.m. in Prorer Bay. The *Hvide Örn* 30, out cruising, fell in with the *Ösel* 50 and *Gottland* 50 in the night of August 8th-9th on their way to Karlskrona. Wessel at once attacked the *Ösel*, raked her from aft, and would very probably have taken her had not three more Swedish battleships appeared at daybreak. On the 10th the *Hvide Örn* came up with the Swedish convoy. Sparre had found it the day before, and besides being in sight of the main Swedish fleet it was under the protection of the *Phœnix* 34 and *Kronsknepp* 20,* but even so Wessel managed to take and get away with one of the ten Swedish merchantmen. Sparre intended to return to Rügen with the convoy, but he was kept near Bornholm for some days by fogs, and eventually thought it best to go to Karlskrona to refit. As soon as Raben heard of this he took the Danish fleet back to Kjöge Bay.

At the other end of the Baltic the first move had been made by the Russians. On April 20th Captain Bredal left Revel with the *Samson* 36, *Sv. Pavel* 32, *Sv. Petr* 32, and *Diana* 18 to attack Swedish privateers. He succeeded in taking three, the *Enhörning* 18, *Esperance* 11, and *Stockholm Gallej* 10, and was back at Revel with his prizes at the beginning of May. A little later Lillje's squadron reached Hangö, and on June 9th twelve of his battleships carried out an unsuccessful long range

* The *Kronsknepp* is described by Wessel (Rothe i. 344) as "a French battleship of 60 guns captured by the Swedes last year," and he further states that she "had landed her lower deck guns, and carries 8 pounders on the main deck and 4 pounders on the forecabin and poop, so that she now has 20 guns." She was presumably the Russian *Bulinbruk* (*Bolingbroke*) taken in 1713. The list of 1719 gives her 56 guns.

attack on the Russian ships in Revel. After this Lillje returned to Karlskrona to reinforce the fleet for Stralsund, and the Russian battleships were able to get to sea. The ships at Petersburg were fitted out, and on July 17th the fleet left Kotlin for Revel eleven battleships strong,* escorting over 40 galleys. Apraksin was in charge, while the Tsar, now a Vice-Admiral, was his second in command. On the 19th the fleet reached Revel, and joined the ships there. The Anglo-Dutch fleet had already visited Revel, but had put to sea again before the arrival of the ships from Kronslot. It had escorted to Revel three newly-bought Russian ships from England, the *London* 54, *Britania* 50 (ex-*Great Allen*), and *Ritchmond* 44 (ex-*Swiftsure*). With these and the ships already at Revel the following fleet was constituted:—

Leferm 70, *Ekaterina* 65, *Shlisselburg* 64, *Poltava* 54, *Sv. Michail* 52, *Rafail* 52, *Gavriil* 52, *Riga* 52, *Pernov* 52, *Perl* 52, *London* 52, *Randolf* 50, *Oksford* 50, *Sv. Antonii* 50, *Fortuna* 48, *Ritchmond* 46, *Arondel* 44, four frigates.†

Other ships that were left in harbour for want of men were the *Viktoria* 50, *Britania* 50, *Armont* 50, *Straford* 50, *Lansdou* 44, and *Sv. Nikolai* 42.

On July 21st Bredal was sent out with four frigates and three snows. He landed a few men in Gothland and cruised off the Stockholm skärgård, but saw no Swedish ships, and was back again on August 14th. In the meantime the rest of the fleet cruised off Dagö, the northernmost of the two large islands to the north of the Gulf of Riga. The galleys then went to Hapsal, in Esthonia, east of Dagö, and on August 2nd the battleships entered Råger Vik, a harbour twenty miles west of Revel. Next day the English and Dutch squadrons passed on their way to Revel, and on the 4th the Russians joined them there. Three weeks of mutual entertainment followed, till, on August 27th, the Anglo-Dutch fleet left for home, escorted as far as the island of Nargen, at the mouth of Revel Bay, by the Russian squadron, which was back again at Revel on September 2nd. On September 10th the English and Dutch anchored in Kjöge Bay.

After the withdrawal of Sparre's fleet, Sehested was able to take the offensive in the neighbourhood of Stralsund. Up to now he had remained at anchor off the north-east corner of the island of Usedom, which, with the adjacent parts of the mainland, was in the hands of his allies, the Prussians. In the New Deep, between Rügen and Rügen, lay the eight

* A new battleship, the *Narva* 64, was blown up by lightning on July 8th. Only 19 men out of 400 were saved.

† This list is taken from "The Russian Fleet under Peter the Great," p. 42. The guns given are somewhat different to those in other lists.

Swedish ships from Stralsund, while Captain Unbehawen (or Cronhawen), with seven Swedish frigates, was in the harbour of Stettin to prevent communication by water between that town and the besiegers of Stralsund. Sehested decided to attack Unbehawen first, and accordingly sent his smaller vessels through the Svinemunde entrance into Stettin harbour. The first attack was repulsed after six hours' fighting, but on the arrival of Danish reinforcements the Swedes retreated. Their only possible avenue of escape was the passage between Usedom and the mainland, and here they had to run the gauntlet not only of batteries on shore, but of Sehested's fleet at the northern end. The flagship lost no fewer than 72 men out of 120, but they got through and joined the other Swedish ships in the New Deep. Sehested was now reinforced by the new pram *Hjaelper* 46, and three galleys from Norway, the *Prinds Christian*, *Louisa*, and *Charlotte Amalia*, of seven guns each. On September 17th he left his position off Usedom, and began to work up towards the Swedish squadron. This consisted now of thirteen so-called "Stralsund frigates" and various small craft. Eight frigates, with some thirty guns each were anchored in a line across the channel, with the other vessels as a second line. From 9 a.m. on the 24th until dark and from daybreak next day till noon the action went on, but at last the Swedes gave way. Cronhawen, with ten ships, took shelter under Rügen, while Anckarcrona retreated with the other three to Iserhoft, on the south coast of Rügen, only to be followed by the Danes and forced to set his ships on fire and abandon them. The total Danish loss was forty men.

After its return to Kjöge Bay in August the Danish battleship fleet found little occupation for the rest of the year. It cruised to some extent between Copenhagen and Rügen, but for the greater part of the autumn it remained at anchor in Kjöge Bay, though its cruisers showed considerable activity. During the latter part of August Vice-Admiral Trøjel was sent with seven battleships* to escort a convoy to Pomerania. On September 10th the Anglo-Dutch fleet arrived in Kjöge Bay, and on the 15th eight English battleships† and a frigate joined the Danes. On October 1st the *Hvide Örn* 30 was attacked by the Swedish *Riga* 54 and *Phœnix* 34 off Rügen, but managed to drive them off in spite of the loss of her mainmast and mizzen topmast. After the action the fore topmast went as well, and the *Hvide Örn*, at anchor in the open sea,

* *Dronning Louisa* 70; *Nordstjern* 70; *Jylland* 70; *Ebenetzer* 64; *Beskjermer* 64; *Prinds Carl* 54; *Laaland* 50.

† *Essex* 70; *Burford* 70; *Plymouth* 60; *Dreadnought* 60; *Assistance* 50; *Severn* 50; *Weymouth* 50; *Chatham* 50.

nearly sank in the gale which followed. At last, in the afternoon of the 3rd, she crawled in towards Jasmund, driving away the *Phœnix*, which was anchored there. Wessel carried out temporary repairs on the spot, and reached Copenhagen for a refit on October 9th. He had only lost five killed and fourteen wounded. While he was away Admiral Raben had gone ashore ill, and on October 4th General Admiral Count Gyldenløve had taken command of the fleet.

About the middle of October, and again on November 13th, the Swedish fleet of 20 battleships left Karlskrona to relieve Stralsund, but each time they were driven back by stress of weather. On November 23rd seven ships left Karlskrona under Vice-Admiral Taube, but they also had to return. Wessel, in the *Hvide Ærn*, fell in with them on the 27th and watched them till the 30th, when they steered for Karlskrona. On December 3rd the Danish fleet went into winter quarters at Copenhagen save for 8 battleships which were left in Kjöge Bay under Gabel. Most of the English and Dutch ships had gone home, but four English battleships stayed for some time to co-operate with this Danish squadron. Five of the Danish battleships were sent, with two frigates and a snow,* under Schoutbynacht Kaas, to blockade Stralsund. Wessel managed to fight yet another action against a superior force. On December 7th he chased the Swedish *Svarta Ærn* 20 from her anchorage off Rügen, but was prevented from capturing her next day by the presence of the *Verden* 54, which was too strong for him to engage for any length of time.

The occupation of Rügen by the Prussians soon began to take effect. On November 22nd Cronhagen took off the garrison of Rügen and sailed with six of his ships for Sweden. Stralsund, too, was obviously bound to fall soon. Carl XII., therefore, looked about for some means of escape. In the night of December 20/21st he embarked in a small boat and cut his way through the ice to the old galley *Hvalfisk*, which lay some distance out. At 4 p.m. on December 21st he went on board her and got to sea. At noon on the 22nd he transhipped to the *Snappop* 11, and at 5 a.m. on the 23rd he landed at Trelleborg, having been away from Sweden for just over 15 years. The day that he landed Stralsund surrendered. Admiral Taube had meanwhile got to sea again with five battleships and 14 storeships with 700 soldiers and stores for Stralsund, but meeting two other small craft from that town he received orders to go to Wismar. Some of the storeships were got into the harbour by cutting a channel in the ice, while others were

* *Wenden* 72; *Ebenetzer* 64; *Beskjermer* 64; *Delmenhorst* 50; *Sydermanland* 46; *Raæ* 30; *Svenske Sophia* 20; *Maage* 10.

unloaded on the ice and their freight transported to Wismar.* Taube returned to Ystad, in Blekinge, for the winter on January 8th, 1716, and about the same time Kaas's squadron arrived back at Copenhagen.

With the Anglo-Dutch fleet five Russian ships came to Copenhagen. These were the *Oksford* 50, *Perl* 50, *Samson* 32, *Sv. Pavel* 32, and *Straford* 50. The last-named was to go to Holland for stores and gear, while the others, with five ships from Archangel, were to form a North Sea fleet. The rest of the Russian fleet was laid up for the winter. Twelve ships† were left at Revel, the others were sent to Kronslot. On August 14th the galleys at Hapsal were sent for the winter to Libau, in Courland. The Finnish galley squadron, which was now about 150 strong, wintered this year at Åbo. It had not been very active; from Nystad it had proceeded to the Åland Islands, and Golitsin, with 15 galleys, had crossed to the Swedish coast, but after engaging two Swedish battleships and a frigate‡ he returned to Finland. The fleet went into winter quarters on September 2nd.

The North Sea fleet was not a success. The *Straford* 50 reached Holland, and returned safely to Copenhagen with some 400 men for the Russian service, though she was nearly sunk by ice in the Texel. The rest of the ships were less fortunate. The *Sv. Pavel* 32 had to be left at Copenhagen as unseaworthy, and was eventually broken up there. The *Perl* 50 and *Samson* 32 were damaged and had to put back. The former was replaced by the *Oksford* 50, which had been left at Copenhagen with crews for the new ships, and about the middle of October both the *Oksford* and *Samson* reached England. Here they found the new Dutch-built ships *Marlbrough* (Marlborough) 60, *Portsmouth* (Portsmouth) 54, and *Devonshire* (Devonshire) 52. The five ships wintered in England, and in June, 1716, all reached Copenhagen except the *Oksford*, which, being worn out and unfit for service, was left in England and eventually sold there in 1717. The Archangel ships also failed to do much towards establishing a North Sea fleet. In September, 1715, five ships left Archangel under Captain

* In spite of this relief Wismar, the last Swedish town south of the Baltic, fell in April, 1716.

† *Ekaterina* 64; *Ingermanland* 64 (a new ship); *Poltava* 54; *Rafail* 54; *Gavril* 54; *Michail* 54; *Fortuna* 48; *Lansdou* 40; *Arondel* 48; *Sv. Petr* 32; with two battleships to be used as storeships, the *Viktoria* 50 and *Sv. Nikolai* 48.

‡ The following list of the Swedish ships near Stockholm in August was compiled by a prisoner belonging to the flagship, a Dutchman in Swedish service:—*Halland* 58 (44); *Wollgast* 25 (40); *Karlskrona Wapen* 30 (34); *Wachtmeister* 56 (52); *Anklam* 28 (42); *Ruskenfeldt* 24 (38); *Revel* 30 (40); *Mars* 30 (20); 3 8's; &c.

Names have been corrected. Guns in brackets are from 1719 list.

Senyavin. They were the four new 52-gun battleships *Uriil*, *Selafail*, *Varachail*, and *Yagudiil*, with the *Transport Royal* 20, a yacht given to Peter in 1697 by William III. of England. The *Uriil* and *Selafail* reached Copenhagen in December, the *Varachail* wintered at Flekkerö in Norway, and the *Yagudiil*, after putting back for repairs, wintered near Trondhjem. The *Transport Royal* was wrecked on the Swedish coast near Gothenburg.

Carl XII. wasted no time after his return to Sweden. On March 8th, 1716, he crossed the Norwegian frontier with 10,000 men and marched on Christiania, where he began the siege of the citadel Aggershuus on March 21st. On April 6th Vice-Admiral Gabel left Copenhagen with 7 battleships,* 6 frigates, and 4 snows, and after putting into Frederikshavn for troops sailed for Norway. He relieved Aggershuus and Frederikstad, landed his troops, and supported the successful attack on the town of Moss on Christiania Fjord on April 23rd. After this Carl XII. retired to Frederikshald, near the frontier.

About the same time two battleships and a frigate† were ordered to Stralsund to escort the Danish coastal craft thence, and on May 1st Schoutbynacht Kaas sailed with 4 battleships‡ as a reinforcement in view of the news that the Swedes were about to put to sea. On May 5th Kaas, with his seven vessels, met 14 Swedish battleships and 6 frigates under Admiral Wachtmeister, who chased him from Bornholm into Kjöge Bay, and then anchored off Falsterbo on the 7th. Kaas was joined next day by two Danish and two Russian battleships,§ and on the 13th by the former Swedish battleship *Giotteborg* 42, but the Swedes made no attack, and withdrew towards Bornholm. Meanwhile the Russian Revel fleet of 7 battleships, 3 frigates,|| and 3 snows had left Revel on May 1st and sailed as far as Bornholm, but, hearing of the Swedes' being at sea, Sivers, the Russian captain-commodore, decided to put back, and reached Revel again on May 23rd. The galleys, on the other hand, had made considerable progress westwards. They had left Libau on April 18th and reached Danzig on May 16th, having passed through the Kurisches Haff and Frisches Haff and the inland waterways connecting them. Wachtmeister heard of the movements of the Russian ships and sailed to Danzig to intercept them, but found only the galleys there,

* *Prinds Christian* 76; *Beskjermer* 64; *Ebenetzer* 64; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Fyen* 52; *Delmenhorst* 50; *Laaland* 50.

† *Nordstjern* 72; *Island* 50; *Loss* 26.

‡ *Wenden* 72; *Justitia* 90; *Jylland* 70; *Haffru* 70.

§ *Prinds Carl* 54; *Selafail* 52; *Uriil* 52; *Oldenburg* 50.

|| Or nine battleships and one frigate. The classification of the *Arondel* 44 and *Lansdou* 44 was very variable.

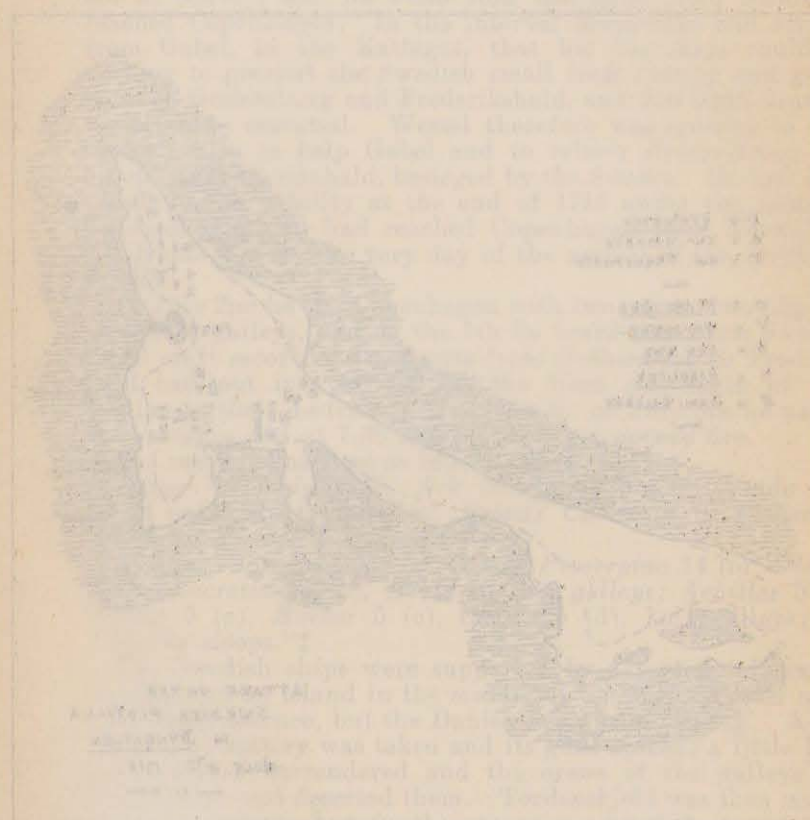
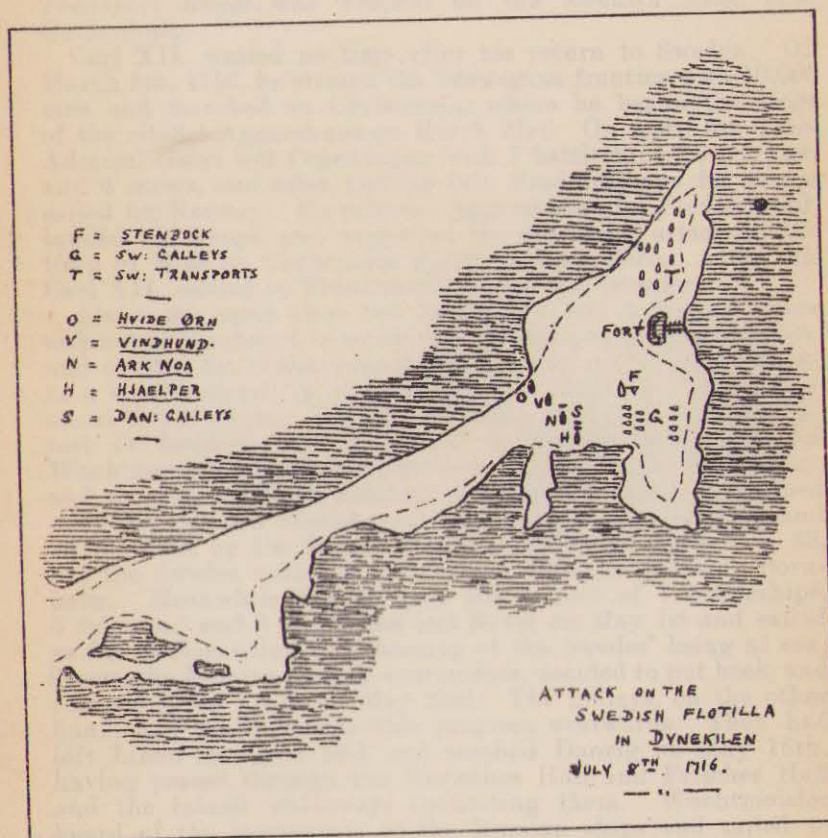


PLATE VI.



[To face page 173.]

and was of course unable to get at them. Fearing to be cut off from his base by the Danes or English, he returned to Karlskrona and was back there early in June.

The withdrawal of the Swedes enabled the Danes to make another attempt to fetch their vessels from Pomerania. On May 25th four battleships and two frigates* were ordered to act as convoy, and on June 18th the ships from Stralsund reached Copenhagen. In the interval despatches had arrived from Gabel, in the Kattegat, that his big ships could do nothing to prevent the Swedish small craft coming and going between Gothenburg and Frederikshald, and that light-draught vessels were essential. Wessel therefore was ordered to take several ships to help Gabel and to relieve Frederiksten, the citadel of Frederikshald, besieged by the Swedes. He had been raised to the nobility at the end of 1715 under the name of Tordenskjold, and had reached Copenhagen from Norway in the *Hvide Ørn* on the very day of the arrival of the Stralsund flotilla.

On July 2nd he left Copenhagen with two prams, two frigates, and three galleys, and on the 7th he heard that some Swedish small craft escorting transports from Gothenburg to Fredrikshald had put into Dynekilen, the fjord just south of that leading to their destination. At 6 a.m. on July 8th he passed the entrance and at 7.30 he anchored and opened fire.

The two flotillas were as follows:—

Danes:—*Hjælper* 46, *Ark Noa* 24,† prams; *Hvide Ørn* 30, *Vindhund* 16, frigates; *Prinds Christian* 7, *Louisa* 7, *Charlotta Amalia* 7, galleys.

Swedes:—*Stenbock* 24 (c), pram; *Proserpina* 14 (c), *Ulysses* 6 (c), *Lucretia* 13 (c), *Hecla* 13 (d), galleys; *Achilles* 5 (c), *Pollux* 5 (c), *Hector* 5 (c), *Castor* 5 (d), half galleys; six "double sloops."‡

The Swedish ships were supported by a battery of six 12-pounders on an island in the middle of the harbour, and made a stubborn defence, but the Danish fire was too strong. About 1 p.m. the battery was taken and its guns spiked; a little later the *Stenbock* surrendered and the crews of the galleys ran them ashore and deserted them. Tordenskjold was thus master of the situation, but in the meantime Swedish troops had

* *Nordstjern* 72; *Sydermanland* 46; *Haffru* 70; *Island* 50; *Loss* 26; *Løvendals Gallej* 20

† She had previously carried only sixteen guns, but was found able to carry more, and was given eighteen additional 8-pounders. However, only eight of these were on board for this expedition. (Garde, Hist. ii. 69 n.)

‡ This is the Swedish list (Tornquist ii. 84). The Danish account adds another galley, the *Wrede*, and calls two of the "double sloops" "half galleys." According to the Swedes they had fourteen transports, but the Danes claim to have taken nineteen and destroyed ten. There were also a few armed boats.

arrived and began to make his position somewhat precarious. Still, he waited to secure as many of his prizes as he could and destroy the rest before he left the fjord under a heavy fire at 9 p.m. Altogether he brought away one pram, three galleys, three half-galleys, two double sloops, two boats, and nineteen transports.* His loss in killed and wounded was 76. On the following day he anchored with his prizes at Mage, outside Frederikshald, and was joined there by three of Gabel's battleships.† This victory put an end to Carl XII.'s invasion of Norway. He raised the siege of Frederiksten and withdrew. Tordenskjold was promoted to Commodore and given a special gold medal.

A gigantic combined fleet was now collected at Copenhagen. The first section to arrive was the English fleet of nineteen battleships under Admiral Sir John Norris, who reached the Sound on June 7th. Two days later seven Russian battleships and a frigate came in from the North Sea, having assembled at Flekkerö, and going on to Copenhagen on the 10th they joined the *Uriil* and *Selafail* there. On July 13th a Dutch squadron of six battleships joined Norris in the Sound, and they went on to Copenhagen together. On the 17th the Tsar arrived from Rostock with thirty-seven galleys and a snow, and on the 30th the second division of the Russian battleship fleet arrived from Revel after a passage of seventeen days. Meanwhile, the Danish ships had been commissioned, so that on August 7th Gyldenløve was able to join the Allies with a force of eighteen battleships.

Lists of the various fleets follow:—

English.—*Cumberland* 80, *Shrewsbury* 80, *Essex* 70, *Burford* 70, *Dreadnought* 60, *Plymouth* 60, *Auguste* 60, *Exeter* 60, *Severn* 50, *Hampshire* 50, *Strafford* 50, *Burlington* 50, *Weymouth* 50, *Oxford* 50, *Falmouth* 50, *Chatham* 50, *Falkland* 50, *Charles Galley* 40, *Lynn* 40. Nineteen battleships, 1,070 guns.

Dutch.—*Boeteslaer* 64, *Batavier* 52, *Brakel* 52, *'t Hof van Reenen* 52, *Edam* 44, *Caleb* 44. Six battleships, 308 guns.

Russians.—From North Sea and Copenhagen: *Marlborg* 64, *Devonshir* 56, *Portsmouth* 54, *Perl* 52, *Varachail* 52, *Yagudiil* 52, *Uriil* 52, *Selafail* 52, *Straford* 50. From Revel: *Ingermanland* 66, *Sv. Ekaterina* 66, *Poltava* 54, *Michail* 54, *Gavriil* 54, *Rafail* 54, *Fortuna* 50, *Arondel* 44, *Lansdou* 44. Eighteen battleships, 970 guns.

* The Swedish galley *Wrede* is said by the Danes to have been blown up, but Swedish accounts do not mention her as having been present. She was certainly at Gothenburg next year, so cannot have been destroyed. The vessels captured are marked (c) and those destroyed (d). The *Hector* is said to have been captured, but does not appear in the Danish list for 1710/19 (Garde. Eft. ii.). Probably she was found useless and destroyed later.

† *Prinds Wilhelm* 50; *Fyen* 52; *Delmenhorst* 50.

Danes.*—*Elefant* 90, *Justitia* 86, *Nordstjern* 70, *Wenden* 72, *Prinds Christian* 76, *Dronning Louisa* 70, *Sophia Hedvig* 76, *Haffru* 70, *Jylland* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Oldenborg* 52, *Fyen* 50, *Island* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Laaland* 50. Nineteen battleships, 1,268 guns.

The allied fleet therefore consisted of no less than sixty-two battleships, with 3,616 guns; an immense force, nearly three times as great as anything that the Swedes could put against it.

In spite of its overwhelming strength this fleet did very little. Neither Gyldenløve nor Norris would consent to take orders from the other, and the Tsar was therefore recognised as Commander-in-Chief. Fourteen of the English ships formed the van, the eighteen Danes the centre, and fourteen Russians the rear.† It was arranged that in action Peter should shift to the *Arondel* 44 and take up a position behind the line abreast of the centre with six other Russian frigates and snows. The Dutch ships, with the five remaining English battleships,‡ were to convoy merchantmen to the various Baltic ports.

On August 16th the Tsar hoisted the signal to get under way and the Dutch and English promptly passed the Drogden Channel and entered Kjöge Bay, but the Danes, having no pilots, were unable to move before the 18th. The Russians seem to have got under way after the English and Dutch but before the Danes, since the greater part of the fleet left Kjöge Bay on the 18th, and was joined by the Danes off Bornholm on the 20th. Frigates were at once sent towards Karlskrona and returned on the 22nd with the information that the Swedish fleet of some twenty battleships was ready to sail, though it was, of course, not likely to do so in the face of such a superior force.§ The convoys were now sent off under the

* This is the list given by Garde (Eft. ii. 333). A letter from Grave, the Dutch Commodore, giving the line of battle of the combined fleet, puts the *Groenwyck* (?) 70 instead of the *Haffru*.

† Of the eighteen Russians in the previous lists two—the *Arondel* and *Lansdou*—were counted as frigates. The *Straford* was used as a storeship, and the *Portsmouth* is not mentioned either in the Russian list in "Materials" (ii. 97), or in the line of battle sent home by Grave. This letter puts in the *Straford* and omits the *Poltava*.

‡ *Weymouth* 50; *Strafford* 50; *Falkland* 50; *Charles Galley* 40; *Lynn* 40.

§ The following list of the Swedish fleet was sent home by Grave. The names of ships have been corrected, but the guns left as given in the original: *Götha Lejon* 90; *Enighet* 90; *Prins Carl* 80; *Brehmen* 70; *Wenden* 70; *Karlskrona* 70; *Prins Carl Frederik* 70; *Stockholm* 70; *Skåne* 66; *Fredrika Amalia* 64; *Småland* 70; *Westmanland* 60; *Lifland* 50; *Öland* 56; *Estland* 50; *Pommern* 56; *Riga* 50; *Ösel* 50; *Verden* 50; *Gottland* 50; *Kronskepp* 50; *Halland* 56; *Wachtmeister* 48; *Karlskrona Vapen* 36; *Revel* 40; *Wolgast* 36; *Ruskenfelt* 24; *Anklam* 24; *Tyska Pris* 24; *Pollux* 12.

Dutch Commodore Grave, and preparations began for the landing in Skåne which was the excuse for the assembly of such a fleet.

Mutual suspicion was, however, rife. The Danes knew of the efforts made by Gortz, the Swedish Ambassador in Holland, to get Russia to join Sweden against Denmark, and were therefore on the look out for treachery. It had been arranged that Peter the Great should supply 24,000 men for the projected landing, but instead of this no less than 40,000 arrived. Further, the Tsar showed no anxiety to proceed with operations against Sweden, and seemed more interested in getting his troops into the neighbourhood of Copenhagen. The later arrivals were therefore quartered in the island of Hven, and Danish ships were stationed to prevent any attempt on their part to land in Sjaelland. As early as August 25th the Tsar had left the fleet with four Russian battleships and gone to Rügen with the ostensible purpose of inquiring about the transports from Stralsund, and he proceeded thence to Copenhagen, giving orders to the Russian ships to return to Kjoge Bay. Gyldenløve was at once ordered to follow them in conjunction with the English, and further instructions were issued that the Russian galleys were not to be allowed among the islands south and west of Sjaelland. Meanwhile Peter reconnoitred the Swedish coast with the *Printses* 18 and *Lizet* 18, and in spite of difficulties all was ready by September 15th, and the landing fixed for the 21st, but on the 17th Peter refused to proceed any further before the spring, and the plan fell through. On October 16th the Russian galleys left for Rostock, where they arrived on the 23rd. At the same time the Russian troops were also transported to Mecklenburg, convoyed by fourteen Danish and twelve English battleships, and on November 5th the sailing fleet left for Revel.*

The English and Danes were back again off Bornholm on October 28th, and found that the Swedish fleet was still in Karlskrona.† Norris sent his frigates to hurry up the homeward-bound convoys, and on November 9th the English ships and convoy joined him. He reached Copenhagen next day,‡ and the Dutch with their merchantmen came in on the 12th. A few days later Norris sailed for home, but left seven ships to co-operate with the Danes. He reached the Nore on November 29th, while the Dutch did not get back to the Texel until December 31st. The departure of the Allies was the

* The *Yagudiil* 52 was left at Copenhagen for the winter.

† The Swedish frigate *Ilderim* 36 was taken by the English in October and handed over to the Danes, who renamed her *Pommern*.

‡ The *Auguste* 60 was wrecked on November 10th.

signal for the Danes to lay up their fleet save for two small squadrons in the Baltic* and North Sea.†

The Russians meanwhile had returned to the Gulf of Finland. On the way they met the two battleships *Shlisselburg* 60 and *Moskva* 64, which were escorting to Copenhagen the *Viktoria*, now used as a storeship, and eight other transports. Taking these with them, they proceeded to Revel since it was too late to get into the harbour of Kronsloot. On November 21st a gale destroyed the breakwater at Revel and wrecked the *Fortuna* 50 and *Antonii* 50, besides damaging several other ships. Four snows had been detached from the fleet before it left Copenhagen. One, the *Printses* 18, cruised in the North Sea, and was finally wrecked on the Norwegian coast. The other three, the *Lizet* 16, *Diana* 18, and *Natalia* 18, were ordered to winter at Rostock with two galleys, but the *Lizet* was wrecked. In the Gulf of Finland and Gulf of Bothnia Apraksin had, as before, been supporting the army. He had been in the Åland Islands most of the summer, and from thence he had sent two detachments to the Swedish coast. By the end of the year the Russian occupation of Finland was complete.

The year 1717 saw a further development in the attitude of England. The discovery that the Swedish Minister in London was involved in a Jacobite plot gave an impetus to hostile measures, and a large fleet was accordingly sent to the Baltic. It was under the orders of Admiral Sir George Byng, and consisted of the following ships:—

Barfleur 90, *Cumberland* 80, *Shrewsbury* 80, *Devonshire* 80, *Burford* 80, *Royal Oak* 70, *Yarmouth* 70, *Orford* 70, *Superbe* 60, *Dreadnought* 60, *York* 60, *Exeter* 60, *Panther* 50, *Burlington* 50, *Falmouth* 50, *Severn* 50, *Chatham* 50, *Dartmouth* 50, *Jersey* 50, *Strafford* 50, *Chester* 50, *Dragon* 50, *Worcester* 50, *Hampshire* 50, *Gloucester* 50, *Diamond* 40, *Pearl* 40, *Lynn* 40, 1 32, 2 24's.

This list is from Lediard, who says that Byng left the Nore on March 30th with a part of his fleet, the rest not being ready. Garde, however, states‡ that five English ships reached Norway on March 23rd as the forerunners of Byng's fleet, and gives their names as *Royal Anna* 40, *Roebuck* 40, *Charles Galley* 40, *Kinsale* 36, and *Deal Castle* 24. Tordenskjold, who had been wintering in Norway, received orders on March 29th

* *Nordstjern* 70; *Island* 50; *Delmenhorst* 50; 5 small craft. The battleships returned to Copenhagen on December 17th.

† *Laaland* 50 (Tordenskjold); *Sydermanland* 46; *Fyen* 50; *Hvide Ørn* 30; *Raac* 30; *Sorrider* 28; *Loss* 26; *Hjælper* 46; *Ark Noa* 34; 2 small craft.

‡ The *Sydermanland* was damaged and sent back to Copenhagen. The rest wintered in Norway, and were joined in January, 1717, by the *Delmenhorst* 50.

‡ Eft. ii. 358.

to join these ships and act in concert with them. On April 11th Byng reached the Sound and detached five of his ships to the Kattegat,* but apparently the Danish and English squadrons here failed to combine.

Little was accomplished in the Baltic this year. On May 7th Byng, with his convoy, passed Copenhagen, and was joined in Kjöge Bay by the following Danish squadron under Gabel:—*Prinds Christian* 76, *Dronning Louisa* 70, *Sophia Hedvig* 76, *Haffru* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Oldenborg* 52, *Giøtteborg* 42.†

Together the two fleets put to sea for Karlskrona, but were driven back by head winds. They worked together very badly. No real plan for combined action was made, and neither commander was given any clue to the other's signals. As a natural result little was done. On July 9th a Dutch fleet of 12 battleships and frigates‡ under Schoutbynacht Jacob van Koperen reached Copenhagen, and joined the Allies in Kjöge Bay on the 13th. Two days later the combined fleet sailed to Bornholm, whence the Dutch, with three English ships, convoyed the merchantmen of the two nations to Danzig, Petersburg, and other ports. The Swedish fleet made no movement, and neither Byng nor Raben, who had replaced Gabel, had any chance of distinguishing themselves. They seem, however, to have remained at sea, since on September 2nd two of the Danish battleships were sufficiently damaged in a gale to necessitate their replacement by two of the ships in reserve.§ On October 6th the homeward-bound convoy left Danzig,|| and on the 19th, after a spell of bad weather, it reached Copenhagen. The Allies now went home; the Dutch sailed on the 27th, and reached Goeree on November 6th; Byng left Copenhagen on November 2nd and anchored at the Nore on the 15th; while the English convoy arrived at Yarmouth on the 12th, escorted by three battleships.¶ As in the previous year, the

* Four of these were the 50-gun ships *Panther*, *Severn*, *Chatham*, and *Strafford*. (Lediard 871 n.).

† This ship was replaced by the *Island* 50 at the end of May, and the fleet was reinforced later by the *Wenden* 72 and *Sydermanland* 46.

‡ *Sterrenburg* (f) —, *Matenes* 52, *Overijssel* —, *Briel* — (Maze); *Wolfswinkel* 54, *Santvoort* —, *'t Huys te Nek* 40 (N. Quartier); *Boeteslaer* 64, *Termeer* 52, *Oosterwijk* 52, *Batavier* 52, *Brakel* 52, *Tombago* 24, *Hellevoetsluis* — (Amsterdam). The *Wolfswinkel* and *Overijssel* did not join till the middle of September.

§ The *Wenden* 72 and *Oldenborg* 52 were replaced by the *Jylland* 70 and *Delmenhorst* 50.

|| The Russian battleship *Armont*, bound for Venice as a merchantman, sailed with this convoy.

¶ Ships with Byng:—*Burford* 70; *Royal Oak* 70; *Orford* 70; *York* 60; *Exeter* 60; *Montagu* 60; *Panther* 50; *Jersey* 50; *Worcester* 50.

Convoy:—*Chatham* 50; *Gloucester* 50; *Hampshire* 50.

Left in the Baltic:—*Severn* 50; *Strafford* 50; *Lynn* 40.

Danish fleet was now laid up save for a division of 4 battleships* and some smaller vessels which remained in Kjöge Bay till December 22nd.

The Russians had done but little more than their allies. Apraksin left Revel early in June with 13 battleships, and was joined at sea by the *Portsmut* 58 and *Devonshir* 58, which had been cruising for some time previously. A gale on June 17th drove him back to Nargen, but on July 12th he got to sea again. His line of battle was as follows:—

Perl 52, *Michail* 50, *Shisselburg* 64 (S.B.N. Paddon), *Portsmut* 58, *Uriil* 50, *Gavriil* 50, *Poltava* 56, *Moskva* 68 (Gen. Ad. Apraksin), *Ingermanland* 68, *Selaifail* 50, *Devonshir* 58, *Varachail* 50, *Marlborg* 66 (Cap. Com. Shelting), *Rafail* 50, *Ekaterina* 64.

He proceeded to Gothland, reconnoitred the fortifications at Slitehamn, landed troops and captured a number of cattle, but did little else, and was at Råger Vik by the end of the month. Captain Van Hoff was sent out on August 11th with the *Perl* 52, *Portsmut* 58, and *Prints Aleksandr* 24 to cruise off Åland, and returned on the 31st with the Swedish brigantine *Pollux* 24. On September 7th the greater part of the fleet sailed for Kronsloot under Paddon, leaving at Revel the four battleships *Uriil* 52, *Poltava* 50, *Randolf* 50, and *Perl* 48,† with 7 frigates and snows. The *Uriil* 52 and *Samson* 32 were sent in October to convoy a few belated English ships as far as Danzig. The galley fleet of 102 vessels was based on Åbo during the year, and the galleys at Rostock returned to Revel in August and proceeded thence to Åbo to join the others. The *Yagudiil* 52 was sent from Copenhagen to Holland and to England to fetch the *Oksford* 50, but found her useless, left her to be sold, and went back to Copenhagen for the winter.

In contrast to the inactivity in the Baltic, several important actions took place this year in the North Sea. Tordenskjold, after conveying troops to Norway, had laid up his ships at Frederiksvaern, near Laurvik, in Norway, on January 27th. Here he remained until April 8th, when he put to sea again with his battleships and frigates to cruise in the Kattegat. On the 10th, off Fladstrand, in Jylland, he sighted and chased two Swedish ships, a battleship of 40 guns and a frigate of 30; but his leading ships, the *Søridder* 28 and *Hvide Ørn* 30, failed to attack the Swedish battleship as ordered, and the enemy escaped into Gothenburg. At the same time, as it was not known in Copenhagen that Tordenskjold was at sea,

* *Prinds Christian* 76; *Jylland* 70; *Delmenhorst* 50; *Island* 50. The last-named was dismantled towards the end of December.

† Note variation in guns. The *Leferm* 70, *Randolf* 50, and *Esperans* 44 (F) had come to Revel from Kronsloot during the summer.

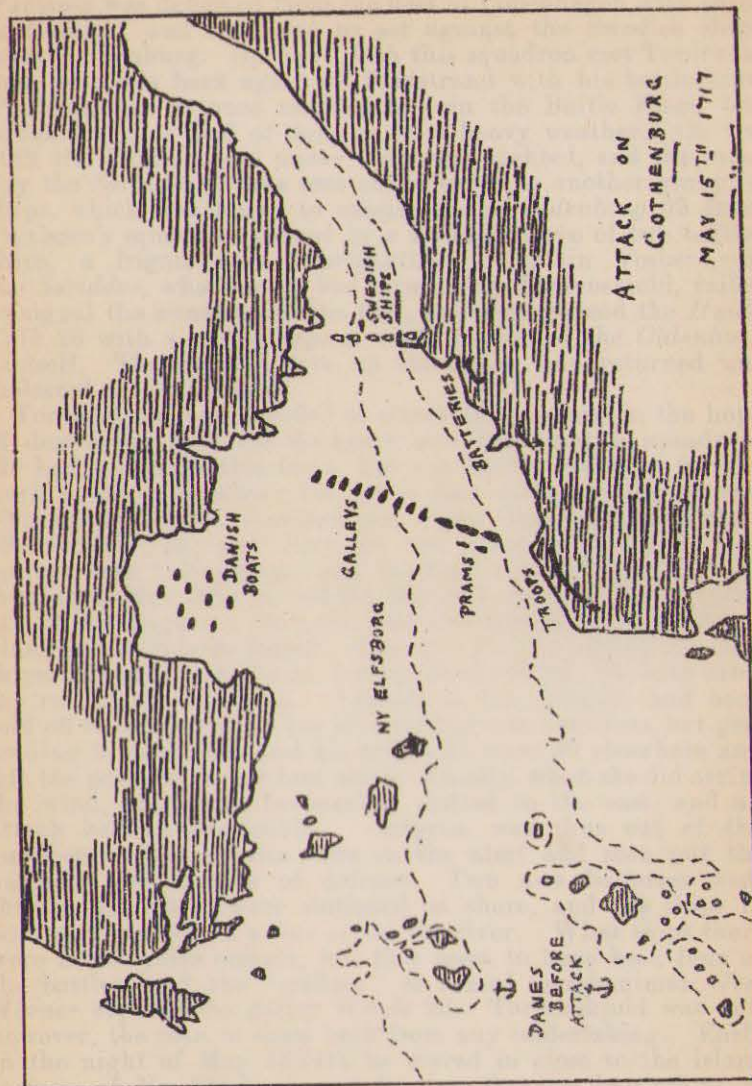
Paulssen was detached from the fleet at Copenhagen with three battleships* and a frigate to act against the Swedish ships from Gothenburg. On April 14th this squadron met Tordenskjold, who was back again off Fladstrand with his battleships. Paulssen was at once recalled to join the Baltic Fleet, but suffered a good deal of damage from heavy weather. On the 19th the English fleet under Byng was sighted, and the same day the *Soridder* 28 was sent out to examine another group of ships, which was found to consist of the *Oldenborg* 52 from Paulssen's squadron, chased by a Swedish force of two battleships, a frigate and a brigantine. Captain Vosbein, of the *Soridder*, who was on bad terms with Tordenskjold, failed to signal the situation to the fleet, and sent instead the *Hvide Falk* 26 with a verbal report, while he joined the *Oldenborg* himself. The Swedes gave up the chase, and returned unmolested to Gothenburg.

Tordenskjold now decided to attack Gothenburg in the hope of destroying both the dockyard and the Swedish squadron. He had a considerable force, but one hardly sufficient for the work to be undertaken; his entire fleet consisted now of two 50-gun battleships, *Laaland* and *Fyen*, three frigates, *Raae* 30, *Soridder* 28, and *Loss* 26, two prams, one snow, nine galleys, two half-galleys, and fourteen armed boats. In the evening of May 12th he left the Danish coast with all his ships except the frigates. Surprise was an essential element in his plan, and in this he failed. The *Ark Noa* 34, one of his best ships, did not reach Vinga, outside Gothenburg, till long after the rest of the squadron. Vosbein in the *Soridder* had been told off to tow her since her slow sailing was notorious, but pretending to misunderstand his orders he went off elsewhere and left the pram to do her best alone. Finally, when she did arrive the wind, previously favourable, shifted to the east, and an attack became impossible. Surprise was thus out of the question. The Swedes were on the alert and soon put the harbour into a state of defence. Two new batteries were thrown up, troops were stationed on shore, and the ships in port were moored in a line across the river. What ships there were is not quite certain, but they seem to have been four of the battleships,† the "galleas" or armed merchantman *Gref Mörner* 49, and the galley *Wrede* 22. Tordenskjold was not, however, the man to draw back from any undertaking. Early in the night of May 13/14th he moved in close to the island fortress of Ny Elfsborg, and leaving the two battleships at

* *Ebenetzer* 64; *Oldenborg* 52; *Giotteborg* 42; *Løvendals Gallej* 20.

† There were five battleships in these waters, the *Calmar* and *Stettin* 58, *Halmstad* 54, and *Fredrika* and *Warberg* 52. A large proportion of the guns in all the Swedish vessels in the Kattegat were only light swivels.





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anchor, entered the harbour with the rest of his force. A list follows:—

Prams *Hjaelper* 46, *Ark Noa* 34; snow *Jepta* 8; galleys *Fredericus IV. fra Arendal* 7, *Fredericus IV.* 7, *Prinds Christian* 7, *Prinds Carl* 7, *Louisa fra Arendal* 7, *Louisa* 7, *Charlotte Amalia* 7, *Sophia* 7, *Lucretia* 13; half galleys *Achilles* 5, *Pollux* 5; 14 boats and some more from the battleships.

At about 1.30 a.m. on May 14th the action began. The Danish vessels stationed themselves in a line across the channel with the prams at the southern end, and replied fiercely to the fire of the Swedish ships in front, the fortress of Ny Elfsborg in their rear, and the troops and batteries on their right flank. The smaller craft were put close under the northern shore and were not at first in action. For five hours the struggle went on, but at last Tordenskjold, seeing that he could make no impression on the Swedish defences took advantage of a lucky slant of wind from the north-east to withdraw. His losses were heavy; the casualties in the squadron were 52 killed and 79 wounded, and besides this two galleys were lost. One, the *Louisa* 7, sank at the northern end of the line early in the action, and the other, the *Lucretia* 13, went aground to the south on the way out, and was abandoned. Both were refloated by the Swedes later, The *Ark Noa* 34 also went aground during the retirement. She was well within range of Ny Elfsborg, and the Swedish galley *Wrede* 22 approached to board her, but a broadside drove off this foe, and soon after the pram got afloat with the help of a Danish galley. This was Tordenskjold's first failure. As a surprise the attack might have succeeded, but when once the Swedes were on the alert it was probably a mistake to attempt it. At any rate, it seems to have been foolish to leave the battleships out of action. It would, of course, have been risky to bring them into such difficult waters, but with so many oared craft there should have been no real danger of losing them, and their guns would certainly have been a valuable reinforcement.

For twelve days the Danish squadron remained in Rive Fjord, outside Gothenburg, partly to blockade the port and partly to repair damages. Twelve prizes were taken, one a Dunkirk privateer chartered by the Swedish Government, and three other Swedish privateers. Further, a detachment from Tordenskjold's fleet entered Odensala, some twenty miles south of Gothenburg, destroyed the rope-walk there, and carried off several vessels laden with rope for the Swedish dockyards. About this time Vosbein in the *Soridder* 28 captured the Swedish frigate *Island* 30.* This did much to appease Torden-

* Or *Islandsfahrrere*.

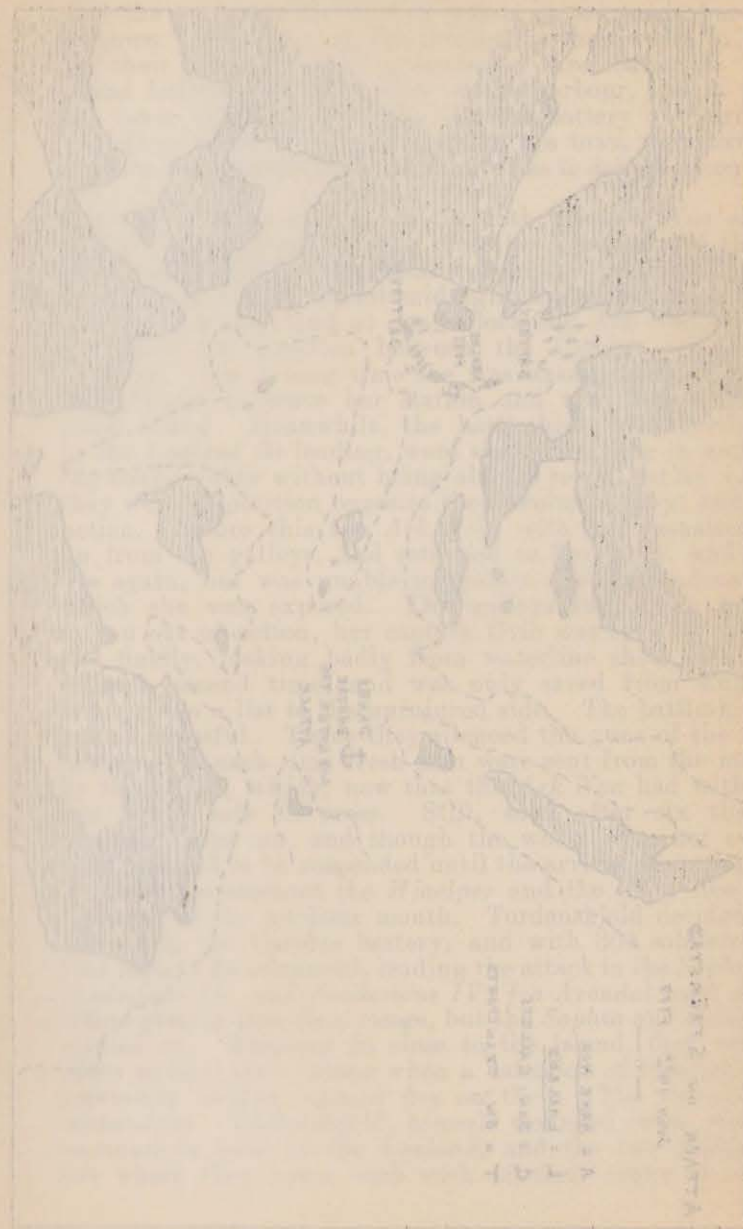
skjold, and on Vosbein's sending him an apology and an appeal to stop the proceedings which had been instituted, he did so, and in fact recommended Vosbein so highly that his promotion to Commodore-Captain followed almost at once. The *Island*, which was probably a privateer, was found unsuitable for the Danish service, and was therefore sold in Norway.

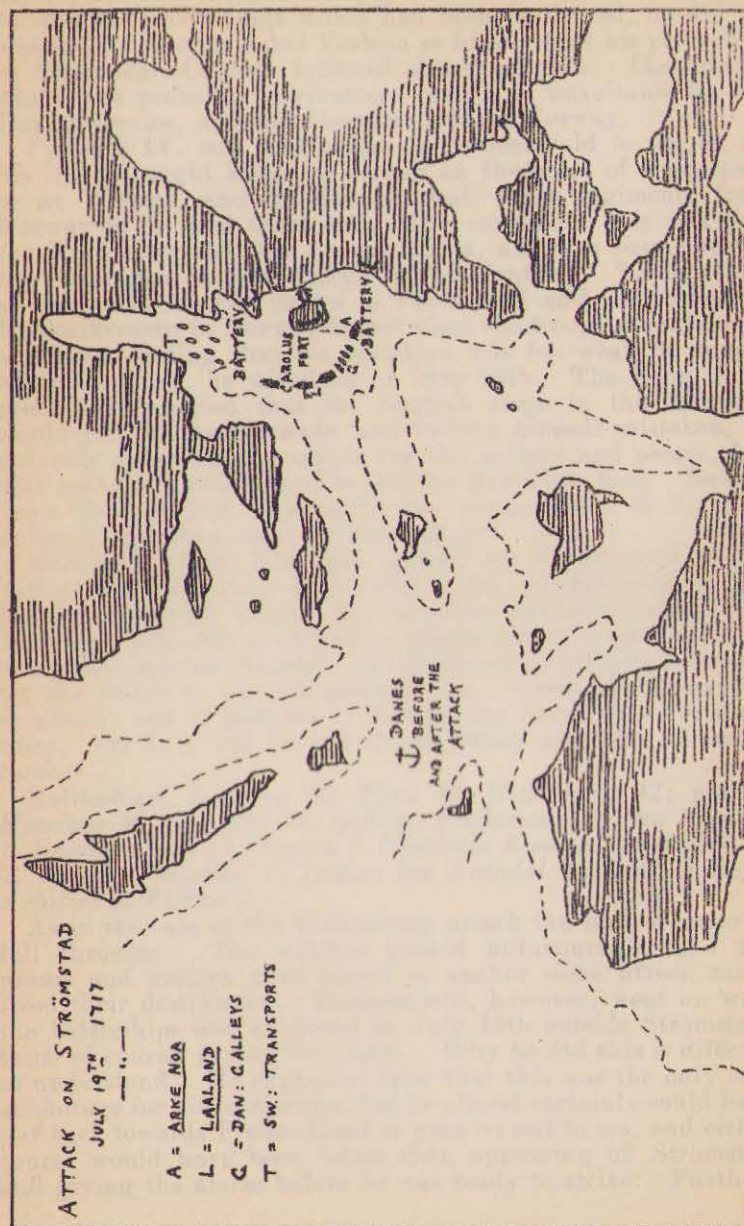
Frederik IV. now sent orders to Tordenskjold to tell off all his light draught ships for service on the coast of Pomerania or at Wismar, and decided to recall three regiments from Norway to be used there also. The reason for this was that the King distrusted his Russian allies, and was suspicious of the intentions of their troops in Mecklenburg. Tordenskjold at once sent the two prams to Fladstrand and six galleys to Frederiksvaern in Norway to sail when the troops should do so, and then, feeling that his squadron was too weak to remain off Gothenburg, he withdrew on May 26th. The King, however, had expected that the English ships in the Kattegat would join in the blockade, and finding himself mistaken, he not only cancelled the orders for the galleys and prams, but even sent the *Gjatteborg* 42 to join the North Sea fleet. During June Tordenskjold transported the troops from Norway to Jylland, and then went to Frederikstad.

Meanwhile, Carl XII. had ordered the fortification of the harbour of Strömstad, nine miles south of the mouth of the Ide Fjord, which formed the boundary between Sweden and Norway. His object, of course, was to obtain a good base for operations against Norway, and it therefore became necessary for the Danes to try and prevent this. Tordenskjold decided to attack, and if possible to destroy the incomplete fortifications. On July 4th he left Frederikstad with the following force:—

Battleships, *Laaland* 50, *Fyen* 50, *Gjatteborg* 42; prams, *Hjaelper* 46, *Ark Noa* 34; galleys, *Fredericus IV. fra Arendal* 7, *Fredericus IV.* 7, *Sophia* 7, *Charlotte Amalia* 7, *Prinds Carl* 7, *Prinds Christian* 7, *Louisa fra Arendal* 7; half galleys, *Achilles* 5, *Pollux* 5.

As in the case of the Gothenburg attack the idea of surprise fell through. The weather proved unfavourable, and the prams and galleys were forced to anchor some fifteen miles from their destination. Tordenskjold, however, went on with the battleships and anchored on July 15th outside Strömstad, thus, of course, giving the alarm. Why he did this is difficult to understand. He explained later that this was the only safe anchorage for his battleships, but he almost certainly could have put back towards Frederikstad or gone on out to sea, and either course would have been better than appearing off Strömstad and giving the alarm before he was ready to strike. Further,





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the wind now fell altogether, and the current was so strong that the galleys with the two prams in tow made hardly any progress. The interval was utilised by the Swedes in perfecting their defences, which consisted of three batteries. On the island Lalholm, in the middle of the harbour, just in front of the town, they had built the Carolus battery of fourteen 18-pounders, while north and south of the town were two others of three 18-pounders each, so situated as to deliver a converging fire.

At last, in the evening of the 18th, the *Ark Noa* and four galleys arrived, and hearing that the *Hjaelper* and the other galleys were only a short distance behind Tordenskjold resolved to attack at once. About midnight the ships began to warp into the harbour, and at one o'clock the *Ark Noa* 34 opened fire from her position between the Carolus and southern batteries. For a long time she was unsupported, and was at last obliged to leave her station and take refuge behind a small island. Meanwhile, the battleships, with Tordenskjold in the *Laaland* 50 leading, were slowly warping in and suffering considerably without being able to reply, but by 4.30 a.m. they were in position opposite the Carolus battery, and in full action. Before this the *Ark Noa*, with her casualties filled up from the galleys, had returned to her place, and opened fire again, but was unable to sustain the tremendous fire to which she was exposed. The galleys supporting her were driven out of action, her captain Grib was severely wounded, and finally, leaking badly from waterline shots, she had to retire a second time, and was only saved from sinking by being given a list to the uninjured side. The battleships were more successful. Twice they silenced the guns of the Carolus battery, but each time fresh men were sent from the mainland by the bridge, which, now that the *Ark Noa* had withdrawn, was again safe to cross. Still, soon after six the fort's magazine blew up, and though the works were not seriously hurt, fire had to be suspended until the arrival of more powder. At the same moment the *Hjaelper* and the other five galleys appeared at the harbour mouth. Tordenskjold decided to try and storm the Carolus battery, and with 300 soldiers in his four galleys he advanced, leading the attack in the *Sophia*. The *Fredericus IV.* and *Fredericus IV. fra Arendal* went aground before getting into close range, but the *Sophia* and *Prinds Carl* pressed on. Running in close to the island, they were just about to land their troops when a battalion of Swedish troops, previously hidden, opened fire on them. The slaughter was tremendous. Torkenskjold, himself wounded twice, was taken unconscious back to the *Laaland*, and the two galleys were left where they were, with such of their crews as survived

taking refuge below. It was now about eight o'clock. After a short period of unconsciousness, Tordenskjold came to his senses, and at once began to see about the rescue of the two galleys. Woodroff, a cadet, with two sailors in a dinghy, succeeded, in spite of the heavy fire, in taking a tow-rope to the *Sophia*, but the saving of the *Prinds Carl* was a more difficult business. Of her entire crew only her captain, Helmieh, and one sailor were left unhurt, and they had been driven below. A Swedish sailor waded out with a rope to secure her, but was shot by Helmieh, and at the same time the Danish sailor running aloft cut the lashings of one of her sails. This proved enough to move her just clear of the shore, and, though she was still within close range, Wulff, captain of the *Pollux* 5 managed to get close enough to pass a line, and she was towed into safety. This was the end of the action. The Danes withdraw with a loss of ninety-six killed and 246 wounded, patched up their damages, and sailed next morning for Frederikstad. The Swedish loss was twenty killed and 100 wounded.

Tordenskjold did not waste time. By August 9th he was again off Strömstad, and established a blockade to prevent supplies reaching the town by sea. However, his two failures coupled with the strained relations between him and the commander of the troops in Norway brought about his supersession by Schoutbynacht Rosenpalm, who arrived off Strömstad on August 22nd with several fresh ships.* In spite of his increased force the new commander did not distinguish himself. A Swedish convoy from Gothenburg, finding its way to Strömstad barred, put into Kongshamn, thirty-five miles to the south, and Gyllenskruf, the commodore in command, sent word to Strömstad of his position. At once the Swedish land forces brought their artillery against the Danish vessels in Styrssund, the innermost channel through the skärgård, and on August 25th drove them from their position† leaving the road open for the convoy which was composed of five galleys, a brig, and fourteen storeships. This was enough for Rosenpalm, and on the 28th he abandoned the blockade altogether. Little more occurred in these waters during the rest of the year. The Danish half-galley *Pollux* (ex Swedish) was taken by the Swedes north of Strömstad, together with another armed boat, while the Swedes lost a number of merchantmen, but Rosenpalm, though strengthened by the addition of the *Nelleblad* 50 in November, took no further steps against Swedish

* *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Sydermanland* 46; *Raae* 30; *Flyvende Fisk* 8; *Du Gala Gallej* 8 (a Swedish privateer just captured by the *Raae*).

† One pram and five galleys (Tornquist ii. 92). The Swedes had two 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, and two howitzers.

ships or ports. The English ships in the Kattegat had been even less active. Tornquist mentions that four English battleships had been supporting the Danes off Strömstad, and withdrew on their doing so, and Garde says that one English battleship sailed with Rosenpalm from Copenhagen, but beyond this nothing is known of their movements, and they certainly accomplished very little.

The year 1718 produced no important actions at sea in any part of the theatre of war. The Swedes in Karlskrona mobilised fifteen battleships, and the Danes fitted out twelve to meet them. Two frigates* left Copenhagen in March for the Baltic, and on April 30th Schoutbynacht Schindel was sent out with two battleships.† On May 9th he was joined by three more battleships and a frigate,‡ and soon sighted four Swedish battleships and two frigates off Moen. The Danes at once pursued, but off Bornholm they met six more Swedish battleships, and accordingly returned to Kjöge Bay.

This was the only attempt on the Swedish side to effect any thing at sea. On May 21st Raben left Copenhagen with the following fleet, and the Danes henceforth held undisputed command of the sea.§

Elefant 90, *Justitia* 86, *Nordstjern* 72, *Wenden* 72, *Prinds Christian* 76, *Dronning Louisa* 70, *Jylland* 70, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Beskjermer* 64, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Sydermanland* 46, *Hvide Ørn* 30, *Højenhald* 30, one fireship.

They were further strengthened by a fleet of ten English battleships, which arrived at Copenhagen on May 14th. These ships were as follows:—

Cumberland 80, *Buckingham* 70, *Hampton Court* 70, *Prince Frederick* 70, *Windsor* 60, *Defiance* 60, *St. Albans* 50, *Salisbury* 50, *Winchester* 50, *Guernsey* 50.

On June 9th Norris, the English admiral, joined Raben in Kjöge Bay, and after this the Allies cruised near Bornholm. A large convoy of Danish, English, and Dutch ships were collected and sent off on July 15th under the escort of the Dutch division of four battleships and a frigate, which had joined them off Bornholm on the 13th. The Swedes stayed in port, and nothing happened. On October 12th Raben left Bornholm for Copenhagen, but Norris waited a few days for the Dutch ships with the returning merchantmen. He was, however, at Copenhagen by the 23rd, and on November 2nd

* *Pommern* 36; *Højenhald* 30.

† *Nordstjern* 72; *Ebenetzer* 64.

‡ *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Delmenhorst* 50; *Sydermanland* 46; *Højenhald* 30.

§ The Russian *Yagudiil* 52, which had been at Copenhagen for two winters, accompanied the fleet as far as Bornholm.

the English and Dutch left for their respective destinations with their merchantmen in company.

The Russians were also inactive, but with better cause, since in March, 1718, they had begun negotiations for peace with Sweden at a conference held in the Åland Islands. Still, a large fleet was fitted out, and left Kotlin on July 27th.

Its line of battle was as follows:—

Van: *Sv. Ekaterina* 62, *Riga* 48, *Yagudiil* 52, *Ingermanland* 64 (V.-Ad. The Tsar), *Revel* 68, *London* 48, *Randolf* 50, *Arondel* 48. Centre: *Devonshir* 52, *Shlisselburg* 62, *Varachail* 50, *Perl* 50, *Moskva* 64 (Gen.-Ad. Apraksin), *Leferm* 64, *Gavriil* 50, *Uriil* 52. Rear: *Rafail* 52, *Selafail* 52, *Michail* 52, *Sv. Aleksandr* 70 (S.B.N. Menshikov), *Portsmut* 52, *Britania* 48, *Marlborg* 64. Twenty-three ships with 1,274 guns.

It was thus by far the strongest fleet that Russia had ever sent to sea, and was probably quite equal to any force that either Sweden or Denmark could muster at that time. It reached Revel on July 30th, left again on August 12th, and reached Hangö next day. Some galleys also arrived there from Petersburg, and the Tsar shifted to one of them. The fleet was then divided: eight battleships* under Captain-Commodore Sanders cruised towards the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, and went to Revel for the winter on September 26th. This detachment took as many as twenty-eight prizes, mainly small Swedish merchantmen. The rest of the battleship fleet moved to Björkö. The Tsar went to Åbo, spent ten days exercising a fleet of 121 galleys, and returned with the Petersburg detachment to Björkö. He arrived there on September 12th, and at once took the battleships back to Kotlin.

In the North Sea also the year was uneventful. In March the *Delmenhorst* 50 was sent to Norway convoying Dutch ships as far as Skagen, but on April 24th Paulssen, the second in command of the North Sea fleet arrived at Copenhagen with all the battleships save the *Laaland* 50.† However, the *Island* 50 and *Pommern* 36 had sailed for the Kattegat the day before, and on the 27th Paulssen was sent back in charge of the following squadron to reinforce Rosenpalm:—

Battleships: *Prinds Carl* 54, *Oldenborg* 52, *Ditmarsken* 50; frigates: *Kongens Jagt Krone* 24; prams: *Hjaelperinde* 36, *Cronprinds* 22; galleys: *Ulysses* 6, *Proserpina* 14; bombs: *Johannes den Gamle* 4, *Frue Anna* 4, *Christiania* 4, *Citron* 2; four armed boats.

* *Yagudiil* 52; *Perl* 50; *Portsmut* 52; *Rafail* 52; *Uriil* 52; *Selafail* 52; *Varachail* 52; *Devonshir* 52.

† He brought the *Fyen* 50; *Prinds Wilhelm* 54; *Nelleblad* 50; *Sydermanland* 46; *Giotteborg* 42; *Delmenhorst* 50.

The *Prinds Carl* and *Oldenborg* returned to Copenhagen, but on June 23rd they were sent again to the North Sea, accompanied by the *Prinds Wilhelm* 54 and *Sydermanland* 46, which had been detached from the Baltic fleet to make it equal in numbers to the English fleet of ten ships.

The only fighting of any importance took place in Ide Fjord, the landlocked stretch of water south of Frederikshald, communicating with the Kattegat by the narrow Svinesund. In 1716 the Swedes had thrown a bridge across Svinesund, and thus cut off from the sea Ide Fjord, Frederikshald, and the fortress of Frederiksten, but Tordenskjold had brought two brigantines and two double sloops thither overland. Now, however, Carl XII., wanting to proceed with his attack on Norway, took a hint from his adversary, and began to move some Swedish vessels overland from Strömstad to Ide Fjord. On July 18th the first of these seven or eight small vessels* were put afloat at Pilegården, five miles south of Frederikshald, and were at once attacked by the Danes. The superiority of numbers being with the Swedes, they managed to repulse this attack, but in the meantime Rosenpalm was also bringing ships overland, and on the 22nd, reinforced by the half galley *Achilles* 5; two double sloops and one single sloop, he returned to the attack. This time he was more successful. A Swedish half galley and a sloop were driven ashore, and the rest forced to take shelter under their batteries.†

Rosenpalm now took over a merchantman which he found lying at Frederikshald and armed her with twelve guns. On August 10th another action took place. The Danes managed to drive the garrison from a small Swedish battery, but on landing to occupy it they were repulsed by the enemy's troops. Meanwhile the Swedes were slowly increasing their naval forces, and by September had nine galleys and five sloops in these waters. On September 17th or 21st the Danish flotilla, now under Paulssen, made its last effort. Fighting lasted four hours, and Carl XII. himself took part in the galley *Luhr* 22, but neither side lost a ship, though the Danes had to retreat to Frederikshald.‡

At last, on November 8th, Carl XII. invaded Norway again with 21,000 men. He himself advanced from the south and east, but on the 22nd part of his army crossed the bridge over

* Rosenpalm's report (Garde Eft. ii. 380/4) says three half galleys, two double sloops, two single sloops. Mankell (28) says two galleys and six small boats.

† Rosenpalm. Mankell mentions no loss, but says the Swedes had four galleys and two shore batteries, and repulsed the Danes.

‡ The earlier date is the Danish version, the later the Swedish. Mankell says the Swedes had fourteen vessels and the Danes eighteen. Tornquist (ii. 95) mentions an action without date, which is apparently the same.

Svinesund and attacked Frederikshald from the other side. Two days later the Swedish flotilla attacked the Danes, who are said to have had thirty vessels. After fighting the whole morning the Danes retired up the river.* For a month the siege of Frederiksten went on, but on December 11th Carl XII. was killed. This altered the whole aspect of affairs at once; the Swedish army raised the siege and withdrew from Norway. No mention is made of the fate of the Swedish vessels in Ide Fjord, but the *Luhr* galley was at Strömstad next year, so it seems probable that they were withdrawn either overland or by sea. During September some Danish ships (seven galleys and nine armed boats) had appeared off Strömstad, but put out to sea again on the approach of four Swedish vessels.† The only other action in 1718 took place in July between the Danish *Pommern* 36 and the Swedish *Warberg* 52. The Swede was driven into Marstrand considerably damaged.

It will, perhaps, be most convenient to follow events in the North Sea to their conclusion before discussing the operations of 1719 in the Baltic. On April 4th, 1719, Tordenskjold, now Schoutbynacht,‡ left Copenhagen with four battleships and a frigate,§ and took up his position just outside Gothenburg on the 7th. At the same time Rosenpalm, in Norway, was ordered to get his ships fitted out to join Tordenskjold and take over the command of the combined fleet. The bulk of the Swedish force was in Marstrand, a harbour between two islands about twenty miles north-west of Gothenburg. In the previous year, when operations against Norway were in progress, all the available vessels had been collected at Strömstad, but on the retreat of the Swedish army all the larger ships had withdrawn to Marstrand, and only a few small craft had been left at Strömstad. For the moment, however, Tordenskjold's entire fleet was used in the blockade of Gothenburg.|| Here the Swedes had only a few small vessels, which

* Mankell 29. No other authority mentions this. Garde, on the authority of Hojer, says that Paulsen destroyed all his ships; but Mankell says nothing of this, and Garde (Eft. ii. 587) gives the *Achilles* 5, which was in Ide Fjord, as remaining in the Danish Navy till 1763.

† Tornquist ii. 93/4. The Swedes were the galleys *Wrede* 22 and *Viktoria* 10, and the merchantmen *Ståbell* (or *Stå Bras*) 49 and *Prins Frederik* 49. Carl XII. was in the *Wrede*.

‡ Towards the end of 1718 he was on convoy work in the Kattegat in the *Laaland* 50, and was the first to bring the news of Carl XII.'s death to Copenhagen.

§ *Laaland* 50, *Fyen* 50, *Prins Wilhelm* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Højenhald* 30.

|| He was reinforced in May and June by the following:—Battleship: *Oldenborg* 52. Frigate: *Stralsund* 30. Prams: *Frederikshald* 36, *Cronprinds* 22, *Hjælperinde* 36, *Prinds Jørgen* 22. Galleys: *Ulysses* 6, *Proserpina* 14, *Prinds Carl* 7, *Prinds Christian* 7, *Charlotta Amalia* 7. Bomb: *Johannes* 4. Floating batteries: *Langemar* —, *Spydstag* 10 (mortars).

lay for the most part in the Båhus Elv, the northern mouth of the Göta Elv. Tordenskjold stationed half his force at the mouth of either branch of the river, but about the middle of June four galleys and four transports managed to get to sea from the northern branch, and reached Marstrand,* while on July 14th three Swedish galleys and two sloops made an attack on the Danish small craft off Ny Elfsborg, and captured the galley *Prinds Christian* 7. Rosenpalm, meanwhile, with the Norwegian squadron,† was acting in support of the army, which was working southward from Norway. On July 13th he arrived outside Strömstad, whereupon the Swedes destroyed all their vessels with the exception of two galleys or half galleys, which escaped.‡ Three days later the town surrendered, and was occupied by the Danish troops.

Tordenskjold, on his part, was planning an attack on Marstrand and the Swedish ships there. He had heard that the Swedish garrison consisted of only 300 men, and that the ships were undermanned; but, wishing to be sure of the situation, he disguised himself as a fisherman and visited the town and the squadron. Finding that the position was as it had been represented, he proceeded with his attack. Marstrand lies on the east end of a small island, with the fortress of Carlsten on the high land behind the town. East of the town are two larger islands, Koö to the north and Klofverö to the south. The harbour is formed by the space thus enclosed. Besides Carlsten, there were two batteries north and south of Marstrand, while the harbour was further protected by batteries on two islets lying at either entrance.

Tordenskjold left off Gothenburg the battleships *Prinds Wilhelm* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, and *Tomler* 50, and off the Båhus Elv the *Laaland* 50, *Fyen* 50, *Oldenborg* 50, and *Svaerd-*

* Mankell 30. No other account mentions this. If it occurred the galleys must have gone on to Strömstad or back to Gothenburg.

† Battleships: *Sydermanland* 46, *Ditmarsken* 50. Frigates: *Pommern* 36, *Rane* 30, *Hvide Örn* 30, *Sørigger* 28. Prams: *Hjælper* 46, *Ark Noa* 34. Galleys: *Fredericus* IV. 7, *Fredericus* IV. fra Arendal 7, *Louisa* fra Arendal 7, *Sophia* 7. Bombs: *Bræmerflot* 4, *Christiania* 4, *Citron* 2.

‡ It is impossible to be certain which Swedish ships were destroyed. According to Wrangel (i. Ap. IV.) the following were there in January:—Prams: *Gå på* and *Ge på*. Galleys: *Wrede*, *Bellona*, *Viktoria*, *Lucretia*. Brigantines or half-galleys: *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Luhr*; and various smaller vessels. On the other hand a contemporary Danish plan ("Tordenskjold") shows as sunk one pram of 16 guns, four galleys, *Bellona* and *Louisa* and two others, and two half-galleys, *Pollux* and another. The *Wrede* was at Gothenburg later, and the *Castor* seems to have been at Marstrand. One of the prams is certainly identical with the *Gispaa*, captured at Marstrand. Probably, therefore, the Swedish force was as follows:—Destroyed: *Gå på* 20 pram, *Bellona* 14, *Viktoria* 10, *Lucretia* 12, *Louisa* 4, galleys; *Pollux* 5, *Luhr* 22, half-galleys. Escaped: *Wrede* 22, galley, *Castor* 6, half-galley.

fisk 50.* With the rest of his ships he proceeded to Marstrand, and there disposed them as follows. He stationed the two frigates *Stralsund* 30 and *Højenhald* 30 south-west of Carlsten, the prams *Prinds Jørgen* 22 and *Cronprinds* 22, with two galleys, at the northern entrance to the harbour, between Marstrand and Koö, and the two larger prams *Hjaelperinde* 36 and *Frederikshald* 36, the floating batteries *Spydstag* and *Langemar*, the bomb *Johannes den Gamle*, and the other galleys to the north of Koö. Here he landed with 700 men in the afternoon of July 21st, and at the same time the fleet opened fire. By the 23rd the Danes had completed batteries in Koö with 4 100-pr. mortars and 40 small howitzers. The bombardment now began in earnest. The Swedes did their best to silence the Danish batteries; first by landing, and then by the guns of their ships, but the Danish fire was too heavy, and the attempts failed. Next day Tordenskjold sent in a proposal of terms in which he agreed, in return for three of the five battleships and the three galleasses, to leave the town, the fortifications, and the other ships untouched, and to withdraw. These terms were refused, and he at once landed another 200 men just north of the town, cut away the boom across the harbour-mouth, and brought his ships into the entrance. The Swedes promptly began to sink their ships and retire to Carlsten. Tordenskjold sent boarding parties to try and bring out the ships, but the Swedish batteries opened fire on them, and it was only possible to save four vessels. In the meantime the Swedes retired to Carlsten, and the Danes occupied the town. Tordenskjold brought every available gun against the fortress, and on the 26th Danckward, the Swedish commander, agreed to surrender on condition of a free passage to Sweden. For this he has been much blamed. He undoubtedly suffered from no lack of supplies, but a large proportion of his troops were Saxons pressed into Swedish service, and their untrustworthiness may have influenced him.

The Swedish ships and their fates were as follows:—

Battleships.—*Calmar* 58, sunk; *Stettin* 58, sunk; *Halmstad* 54, sunk; *Fredrika* 52, sunk; *Warberg* 52, captured.

Galleasses.—*Prins Fredrik von Hessen* 49, captured; *Gref Mörner* 49, sunk but raised later; *Ståbell* (or *Ståbraf*) 49, sunk but raised later.

Frigate.—*Charlotta* 38, sunk but raised later.

Snow.—*William Galley* 14, captured.

Pram.—*Gepå* (or *Gifpå*) 17, captured.

Galley.—*Castor* 6 (?), sunk.

* The *Tomler* and *Svaerdfisk* were sent him to be used for sinking if necessary, but he kept them as fighting ships.

Jagt.—*Diana* 4, sunk.

Two fireships, sunk.

Elated by his success, Tordenskjold decided on another attack on Gothenburg. Operations were about to be begun against the town from the land side, and the idea was to occupy Hisingen, the island formed by the two branches of the Göta Ely. With this in view he attempted to reduce Ny Elfsborg, though he had himself described it as "impregnable." Leaving Marstrand on August 1st, he was off the mouth of the Gothenburg river the same afternoon. The following are the ships which participated in this attack:—

Battleships.—*Tomler* 50, *Svaerdfisk* 50. Frigate, *Stralsund* 30. Prams.—*Hjaelperinde* 36, *Frederikshald* 36, *Prins Fredrik von Hessen* 49 (ex Swede). Batteries.—*Langemar*, *Spydstag*. Bomb, *Johannes den Gamle*.

The first ships in action were the two floating batteries and the bomb vessel. Towed by the galleys, they took up a position west of the fortress where they were partly sheltered by other islets, on which they landed a number of small howitzers, and at 11 p.m. they opened fire. Shortly afterwards the two battleships and the *Prins Fredrik von Hessen* got into position to the north, but had to warp out of range again after three hours to repair damage. Still, they got back again to their posts later, and by 11 a.m. on the 2nd the remaining three ships were in place, the *Hjaelperinde* and *Stralsund* to the north and the other pram on the south-east side of the citadel. Firing went on unceasingly till the evening, when the Danes, mistaking signals made from Ny Elfsborg to Gothenburg with a white flag for an indication of willingness to treat, sent in proposals for the surrender of the fortress.

These were refused, and the action began again. The *Svaerdfisk* had already been forced to leave her post by the damage caused by two bursting guns, and as night fell the *Tomler* and the three prams followed her, but the smaller vessels kept up the bombardment all night. A magazine in the citadel had already been blown up. During the night the Swedes received reinforcements from Gothenburg, but, on the other hand, the Danes strengthened their position by landing four 100-pr. mortars on the island west of Ny Elfsborg. Next morning Tordenskjold went off to Marstrand to meet the King, leaving Commodore-Captain Hoppe in charge. As before, the firing went on all day. The *Stralsund* was driven out of action, but the other ships continued firing until squalls put an end to the action at 10.30 p.m.

The attack had failed. Early on the 4th two new Swedish batteries on Hisingen opened fire on the small Danish ships, and by 5 a.m. had forced them to retreat. Following up this

success, the Swedes sent their galleys to attack the Danish island batteries, and these with the four mortars were easily taken, though the smaller howitzers were carried off. This was the end. The Danish ships withdrew with a loss of 60 killed and 73 wounded, and settled down again to a blockade.

Peace was, however, in the air. The death of Carl XII. and the accession of his sister Ulrika Eleonora opened the way for an understanding, in which England acted as a mediator. As a result of the changed conditions the Danish North Sea fleet was reduced. On August 18th the *Oldenborg* 50, *Svaerdfisk* 50, and *Tomler* 50 were sent home, and on September 8th they were followed by the *Prins Wilhelm* 50, *Hjaelperinde* 36, and *Prins Fredrik von Hessen* 49. To send home the *Langemar*, *Spydstag*, and *Johannes den Gamle* it was necessary to remove their guns; this had been done and they were lying with the galley *Prinds Carl* 7 and four transports off Grotö, when they were attacked in the early morning of September 12th by four Swedish galleys and some sloops from the Båhus Elv and carried into Gothenburg. Ten days later Tordenskjöld received orders to send home the *Fyen* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Frederikshald* 36, and *Stralsund* 36, raise the blockade, and withdraw with the *Laaland* 50 and the three remaining galleys to Marstrand.

He was not the man to sit down quietly after a defeat. Even with the reduced forces at his command he decided to try and avenge his losses. Taking the three galleys *Ulysses*, *Proserpina*, and *Charlotta Amalia*, with ten sloops, he proceeded again towards Gothenburg. The Swedish ships and their prizes were lying at Elfsborg, on the south bank of the river, west of Gothenburg, but still inside Ny Elfsborg. Tordenskjöld left the galleys in Rive Fjord and sent in his flag-captain, Budde, with the sloops in the night of October 7/8th. The attack was a complete success. The *Prinds Carl* 7 was recaptured and taken out, while the galleasses *Carolus XII.* 49, a big privateer *Mörner*, the galley *Wrede* 22, the ex-Danish bomb *Johannes den Gamle*, and one of the captured transports were burnt. Attempts were made to burn the two floating batteries, but were unsuccessful. The Danes had no casualties.

This was the last action of the war as far as Denmark was concerned. By December all the Danish ships were back at Copenhagen, and an armistice had been signed for six months. Finally, on July 3rd, 1720, Peace was signed at Fredriksborg between Sweden on the one hand and Denmark and Prussia on the other. The terms were as follows:—

Sweden paid to Denmark an indemnity of 600,000 Riksdollars and agreed not to support the Holstein-Gottorp family further. To Prussia she ceded Stettin and the other

Pomeranian territory in Prussian hands, while Denmark evacuated her part of Pomerania, as well as Båhus and Marstrand. Poland was included in the treaty, and Sweden had to recognise Augustus of Saxony as King. Before this Peace had been concluded between Sweden and England on November 20th, 1719. Sweden gave up Bremen and Verden, but got in return a sum of 1,000,000 Riksdollars and the promise of help from an English fleet next year.

SECTION 10.

THE FINAL STAGE OF THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR.
1719-1721.

In the meantime the operations in the Baltic had been fairly brisk. The accession of Ulrika Eleonora put an end to the plans of Carl XII. against Norway and thus did away with the necessity for a truce with Russia. Accordingly the struggle, which had subsided almost completely towards the end of 1718, burst out again with renewed vigour. The work of mobilisation was pushed to the utmost at Karlskrona, but lack of stores and money acted as a serious drag.

On May 11th, 1719, the first Russian cruisers got to sea from Revel under Van Hoff. He had three battleships, three frigates, and a pink,* and sailed for Öland. He detached two of his ships to cruise off Gothland, and one of them, the *Lansdou* 32, heard from a prize that three Swedish warships had left Pillau for Stockholm with a convoy. Van Hoff at once sent the *Aleksandr* 24 to Revel with the news, but remained with his own ships off Öland looking for a place to land. On receipt of the news Apraksin ordered Captain Senyavin to take every possible ship from Revel and look for the Swedes, and on May 26th the following squadron got to sea:—*Portsmut* 52, *Devonshir* 52, *Yagudiil* 52, *Uriil* 52, *Rafail* 52, *Varakail* 52, *Natalia* 18.

The Swedes were the *Wachtmeister* 48 (52), *Karlskrona Vapen* 30 (34), and *Bernhardus* 10 (12).† They had left Stockholm on May 19th with the *Ruskenfelt* 32 to protect commerce, but the last-named ship had been detached. At day-break on June 4th the two squadrons met in the open sea, between Ösel and Gottska Sandö. Wrangel, the Swedish Commodore, of course retreated, running for Sandhamn, in the Stockholm skärgård, and the Russians pursued. At about 6 a.m. the action began. The two leading Russian battleships, the *Portsmut* and *Devonshir*, attacked the *Wachtmeister*, but the Swedish fire directed at their rigging soon brought down two of the *Portsmut's* topsail yards. The *Devonshir* now turned on the *Karlskrona Vapen*, and damaged her enough to let the *Portsmut* overtake and capture her. At the same time the

* *Perl* 50, *Uriil* 52, *Varachail* 52, *Samson* 32, *Lansdou* 32, *Sv. Ilya* 32, and *Aleksandr* 24.

† Figures in brackets are Russian. Others are from Swedish list for this year (Wrangel i. Ap. 3).

Bernhardus struck, in spite of Wrangel's efforts to relieve her. For the moment the *Wachtmeister* looked like getting away, but about 1 p.m. the *Rafail* came up on one side and the *Yagudiil* on the other. Wrangel was severely wounded, but his successor Trolle kept up the unequal fight. At last, dismasted and leaking, on the arrival of the *Portsmut* and other Russian ships, Trolle surrendered at about 3 p.m. The Swedes lost 50 killed and 13 wounded,* while the Russian casualties were only 18.

After this, the first victory of the Russian deep-sea fleet, the Russian squadron and its prizes returned to Revel. On June 20th the Tsar left Kotlin with the Kronslof squadron, and on the 30th he reached Revel. Three days later the combined fleet of 21 battleships† left Revel and proceeded to Hangö, where they arrived on July 7th and joined the galley fleet of 132 vessels which had assembled there from Åbo and Petersburg.

Meanwhile, at the other end of the Baltic, a small Danish squadron had put to sea early in May composed of the following ships:—

Haffru 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Prinds Carl* 52, *Island* 50, *Sophia Hedvig* 76, *Wenden* 72 (joined later), *Fortuna* 26, *Løvendals Gallej* 20.

Schoutbynacht Paulssen took his squadron to Bornholm and cruised in that neighbourhood, but no Swedes appeared. On July 7 a powerful English fleet under Admiral Norris reached Copenhagen. Norris's fleet contained the following 16 battleships, but apparently only ten or eleven were then with him:—

Cumberland 80, *Dorsetshire* 80, *Prince Frederik* 70, *Monmouth* 70, *Hampton Court* 70, *Suffolk* 70, *Plymouth* 60, *York* 60, *Monk* 60, *Medway* 60, *Defiance* 60, *Assistance* 50, *Dartmouth* 50, *Worcester* 50, *Falmouth* 50, *St. Albans* 50.

The English attitude being somewhat uncertain, the arrival of this fleet caused considerable stir. The Danes seem at first to have expected Norris to continue the policy of hostility to Sweden, since on August 3 Paulssen was ordered to bring his ships to Kjöge Bay to join Norris's fleet, but they soon found out their error, and on August 26 Paulssen's instructions were revised. He was now to shift his flag to the *Ebenetzer* 64, and, accompanied by the *Løvendals Gallej* 20 and *Søe Dragon* 10, to follow the English as far as Bornholm to ascertain their intention.

* Tornquist says 110 killed and wounded. Possibly the Russian version does not include those only slightly hurt.

† *Gangut* 90, *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Neptunus* 70, *Revel* 70, *Ingermanland* 64, *Moskva* 64, *Marlburg* 64, *Ekaterina* 64, *Shlisselburg* 64, *London* 58, *Uriil* 52, *Yagudiil* 52, *Varachail* 52, *Selafail* 52, *Rafail* 52, *Devonshir* 52, *Portsmut* 52, *Randolf* 50, *Perl* 50, *Britania* 48, *Arondel* 48.

Peter the Great made no such mistake. Directly after reaching Hangö he posted cruisers from Bornholm to Dagerort in Ösel to keep an eye on Norris, and sent him a message by the frigate *Samson* 32 to the effect that Russia had no intention of interfering with neutral ships except when carrying contraband of war. Deciding to go on with his plans in spite of the menace of the English fleet, Peter sent his battleships to sea on July 13th. A few days later the galleys also left Hangö, and on the 18th the entire Russian fleet assembled at Lemland in the Åland Islands. In the evening of the 21st they put to sea. Fog and calms forced the sailing ships to anchor, but the galleys, under Apraksin, about 130 in number, went on, and reached the Stockholm skärgård in the afternoon of the 22nd. The battleships now returned to Lemland, save for a detachment of seven, which was left off the Swedish coast under Senyavin.

Apraksin wasted no time. He sent Lacy northwards with 21 galleys and 12 sloops on the 23rd, and moved south next day with the rest of his fleet. On the 26th he was off Dalarö. A force of Cossacks was landed for a raid on Stockholm, but was repulsed, and a number of sloops sent with the same object found the various channels too well defended, and had to withdraw. The Swedes had, as a matter of fact, a considerable force in the Stockholm skärgård. Their total strength comprised four battleships, five prams, nine frigates, eleven galleys, and six brigantines, half-galleys or double sloops.

Battleships.—*Öland* 50 * (Ad. Taube), *Kronshepp* 56, *Hal-land* 44, *Reval* 40.

Frigates.—*Anklam* 38, *St. Thomas* 36, *Wolgast* 34, *Ruskenfelt* 32, *Stora Phoenix* 24, * *Lilla Phoenix* —, * *Välkomsten* —, * *Danska Örn* 18, * *Packa* 18.*

Brigantines.—*Ekorre* 22, *Kruthorn* 12, *Putzweg* 12, *Snap-popp* 11, *Korp* —, *Jungfru* —.*

Prams.—*Elefant* 26, *Svarta Björn* 26, *Sjöspök* 24, *Mars* 20, *Kamel* 16.

Galleys.—*Phoenix* 16, *Svan* 16, *Pelikan* 16, *Jungfru* 13, *Kräfta* 13, *Drake* 13, *Svärdfisk* 12, *Delphin* 12, *Sturk* 9, *Paltoz* 9, *Sudox* 7.

Apraksin was off Landsort, the southernmost point of the Stockholm skärgård, on July 30th. On the way, besides taking several merchantmen, he had burnt the ironworks on the island of Utö, and he now detached several ships to do what damage they could among the islands. In the Gulf of Södertelje more ships were sent to ravage the country, and the same was done at various other places. The fleet was at Nyköping on August

* Sent from Karlskrona in May.

4th and at Norrköping on the 10th. At the latter place a number of merchantmen were taken, and several of them were sent to Russia laden with copper from the adjacent mines, and with 300 guns captured at the foundry of Näfveksvarn. This was the southernmost point reached. On August 14th Apraksin began his return voyage, picking up his various detachments on the way. He was now ordered to attempt something against Stockholm. First he tried the Södra Staket channel, the southernmost and most difficult of the three approaches. He landed 6,000 men on the 24th, but these were defeated by the Swedes with a loss of 442 men; the Swedish pram, *Svarta Björn* 26, and the three galleys, *Svärdfisk* 12, *Jungfru* 13, and *Drake* 13, had been sent to defend this channel, and contributed largely to the Swedish success. Apraksin then withdrew to Möjan, one of the outer islands, where he anchored on the 26th, but sent Smaevitch with 21 galleys and 21 sloops to examine the Vaxholm channel, a duty which he performed thoroughly, in spite of a heavy fire from the fort, and in face of the powerful Swedish squadron there. On August 29th Smaevitch rejoined Apraksin, and next evening they were back at Lemland. Lacy meanwhile had been acting in a similar way to the north. He destroyed ironworks and factories all along the coast, and burnt the towns of Norrtelje, Östhammar, and Öregrund. The troops which he landed fought two brisk actions, capturing three guns at the first and seven at the second, but on reaching Gefle he found it too well garrisoned and fortified to be attacked, so returned, and reached Lemland on August 27th. On the 31st both galley fleet and sailing ships left Lemland, the former going to Kronslot and the latter to Revel.

The English fleet had entered the Baltic on August 26th. Three days before this the following Swedish squadron had left Karlskrona under Count Sparre:—

Göta Lejon 96, *Prins Carl Fredrik* 72, *Göta* 72, *Bremen* 64, *Stockholm* 64, *Fredrika Amalia* 62, *Skåne* 64, *Gothland* 50, three small craft.

Delays occurred partly from head winds, partly to fill up the complements of the ships, and by the 27th they had got no further than the north of Öland. Here they were joined by Rajalin with the *Verden* 52, *Pommern* 52, *Svarta Örn* 36, *Jarramas* 30, and *Kiskin* 22. This division had been sent out on August 12th to attack the Russian galleys, but had been too late to do any good. On the very day that Rajalin joined, the Russian frigate *Samson* 32 was sighted. The *Skåne* 64, *Svarta Örn*, and *Jarramas* were sent to chase her, but in vain. She escaped, went to Lemland with the news of the Swedish fleet's sailing, and gave the Russians time to retire to Revel.

On August 29th Norris was in communication with Sparre, but lack of pilots kept both fleets idle. At last, on September 4th, the *Verden* and *Svarta Örn*, which had been sent to Dalarö, returned with some pilots, while others arrived from Vestervik. In the morning of September 5th the English fleet reached the north end of Öland. The Swedes weighed anchor, and the two fleets proceeded together to Dalarö, where they anchored towards evening on the 6th. Norris had with him eleven battleships, while the Swedes had ten, besides the four in the Stockholm squadron, so that the total available strength of the Allies was probably superior to anything the Russians could produce, but nothing was attempted. The English were content to support Sweden without actually attacking Russia, and the Swedes, undermanned and in want of provisions, were in no state to take the initiative. Still, the news of their junction and presence off Stockholm made a deep impression in Russia and prevented any further expeditions this year. On September 5th the ships destined for Kronsloot* left Revel and anchored off Nargen, in such a position that they could get away to Kronsloot or return to Revel at will, but on the 22nd they proceeded to Kronsloot. On October 5th three more battleships left Revel for Kronsloot, and on the 9th, when close to their destination, the *London* 58 and *Portsmouth* 52 went aground and were lost.†

The Swedes meanwhile had ventured on a small expedition to Danzig. Some Russian ships had been there since the spring of 1717, when Lieutenant Villebois had proceeded thither from Travemünde with the hoy *Lasorser* (*La Sorcière*) 6. The City of Danzig had agreed to fit out three ships of twelve to eighteen guns to act against Sweden, and Villebois was ordered to take charge of these ships, but they never materialised. In May, 1718, the *Sv. Yakov* 22 and *Diana* 18 were sent to join him, but were found to be unfit for service. They were therefore replaced in the autumn by the *Natalia* 18, two privateers, and a brigantine. Using Danzig as a base, Villebois cruised against Swedish merchantmen with such success that it became necessary for the Swedes to try and put a stop to his activity. On September 21st therefore Commodore Rajalin left the Swedish fleet at Dalarö for Danzig with the *Verden* 52, *Svarta Örn* 36, and *Jarramas* 30. Arriving off Danzig on the 30th, he found three Russian ships in the harbour. They were the *Prints Aleksandr* 24,‡ *Natalia* 18, and the privateer *Eleonora* 12. Rajalin sent in a demand that the Russians should be forced to leave, and sailed to Gothland

* *Aleksandr* 70, *Moskva* 64, *Ingermanland* 64, *Neptunus* 70, *Revel* 70, *Shlisselburg* 64, *Ekaterina* 64, *Marlburg* 64.

† The third was the *Devonshire* 52.

‡ Swedish accounts give her 20 guns and 16 swivels.

for reinforcements. He picked up the *Kiskin* 22 and returned to Danzig. On October 9th he sent in a second letter demanding that either the Russians should be forced out or the Swedes allowed in. The City Council replied that as far as they were concerned the Swedes could come into the harbour, but that the Russians would fight. Rajalin decided to attack, but found that there was only enough water on the bar for the *Kiskin*, so withdrew on October 11th. He soon met the *Skåne* 64 and *Pommern* 52, which had left the fleet to join him on October 5th.* Admiral Psilander, commanding the reinforcements, took over the command of the squadron and went to Gothland, whence he sent the *Kiskin* to report. At once he was sent the three brigantines, *Jungfru*, *Sjökatt* 22, and *Fama* 22, and ordered to collect any suitable ships he could find and attack the Russians at all costs. Delays occurred, and it was not until November 30th that the four smaller vessels anchored in Danzig Bay under Captain Von Staube of the *Kiskin*. Next morning a gale scattered them. The *Kiskin* got into shelter under the point of Heel, but the brigantines made for Gothland. Von Staube therefore, after looking for them off Danzig and at Pillau, and finding the Russians ready for action, returned to Karlskrona, where he arrived on December 10th. The Russian ships stayed at Danzig for the winter. During this time the English squadron had laid idle at Dalarö, but on November 7th it sailed homewards, accompanied as far as Karlskrona by the Swedish battleships *Göta Lejon* 96, *Göta* 72, and *Prins Karl Fredrik* 72. It reached Copenhagen on November 17th, and left again for England on the 23rd. Five ships of the main Swedish fleet wintered at Stockholm† in addition to the three belonging to the Vaxholm squadron; the rest wintered at Karlskrona.‡

Early in 1720 the Swedes returned to Danzig. On April 3rd Schouthbynacht Feif left Karlskrona with the *Pommern* 52, *Kiskin* 22, *Ebenezer* 20, *Göya* 12, a galliot and three armed boats. On the 9th he was joined by Rajalin with the *Verden* 52, and *Svarta Örn* which had been to Lübeck on convoy duty, but the *Verden* was damaged and had to be sent to Karlskrona. On the 15th Feif arrived outside Danzig with the other ships. He was allowed into the harbor, but made no attack and offered

* On September 25th Commodore Von Unge had left Dalarö with the *Bremen* 64, *Stockholm* 64, and *Fredrika Amalia* 62 to join Rajalin and take over the command, but with the *Bremen* damaged in a gale on October 1st he put into Karlshamn on the 5th and thence joined Psilander off Gothland.

† The three ships of Von Unge's detachment, the *Bremen* 64, *Stockholm* 64, and *Fredrika Amalia* 62; the *Öland* 50, which had only been lent to the Vaxholm squadron; and the *Skåne* 64, one of Psilander's ships.

‡ The three just mentioned as accompanying the English besides Rajalin's ship, the *Verden* 52, the *Pommern* 52, from Psilander's division, and the *Gothland* 50.

the Russians 24 hours' start. Villebois insisted on 48 hours, and Feif agreed, though he knew that this made it practically impossible to catch him. On the 18th two more Swedes arrived, the *Verden* 52 and *Jarramas* 30, and on the 20th the Russians put to sea and went to Riga. Two days later Feif also left, and on April 25th he anchored near Karlskrona.

On the same day a Russian squadron under Van Hoff left Revel. It consisted of the following ships:—

Perl 50, *Uriil* 52, *Varachail* 52, *Selafail* 52, *Yagudiil* 52, *Britania* 48, *Randolf* 50, *Esperans* 44, *Samson* 34.

Van Hoff was handicapped by having too many different duties to fulfil. He was expected to support the galleys in an attack on the Swedish coast, to capture Swedish merchantmen, and to look for the Swedish men of war which had been at Danzig in the previous year, and were thought to have wintered in Gothland. As a result he accomplished nothing. He went to Gothland and Danzig in vain, saw nothing of the Swedes, and was back at Revel about the middle of May. He was then sent to Kronslot with his four larger foreign-built ships, leaving the Archangel battleships and the *Samson* at Revel. Golitsyn meanwhile, with 70 galleys, had reached Lemland from Åbo on May 8th, but as Van Hoff did not arrive, he made no further move. On the other hand another division of thirty-five galleys, under Brigadier Mengden, crossed from Vasa to the Swedish coast, burnt Umeå and several villages, captured merchantmen and cattle, and was back at Vasa on May 19th.

While this was going on the Anglo-Swedish forces were slowly assembling. A fleet of twenty English battleships had left England on April 27th, and arrived outside the Sound on May 8th. On the 18th they reached Copenhagen, and next day they entered the Baltic. This fleet, which as in the previous year was under Admiral Sir John Norris, consisted of the following ships:—

Sandwich 90, *Dorsetshire* 80, *Prince Frederik* 70, *Monmouth* 70, *Revenge* 70, *Suffolk* 70, *Elizabeth* 70, *Bedford* 70, *Buckingham* 70, *Nottingham* 60, *Medway* 60, *Defiance* 60, *York* 60, *Kingston* 60, *Gloucester* 50, *Falmouth* 50, *Worcester* 50, *Dartmouth* 50, *Monk* 50, *Warwick* 50.

On May 23rd Norris reached the Stockholm skärgård and joined the Swedish battleships under Over-Admiral Count Sparre. The first four of these had arrived from Karlskrona on May 3rd. They were at once joined by the five that had wintered at Stockholm, and on May 16th by two more and some small craft. Sparre was therefore in command of the following eleven battleships:—

Göta 70, *Karlskrona* 70, *Wenden* 70, *Prins Carl Fredrik* 70,

Stockholm 66, *Bremen* 66, *Fredrika Amalia* 66, *Öland* 56, *Pommern* 50, *Verden* 50.

On May 31st the two admirals put to sea and steered for Gottska Sandö, a small island twenty miles North of Gothland. On June 7th they left again for Revel, but detached a considerable squadron under Admiral Karl Wachtmeister to proceed to the Åland Islands and act in conjunction with the ships from Stockholm, to prevent a repetition of the Russian descents on the Swedish coast. Wachtmeister's ships were as follows:—

Karlskrona 70 (Swedish), *Öland* 56 (Swedish), *Pommern* 52 (Swedish), *Dartmouth* 50 (English), *Falmouth* 50 (English), *Phoenix* 30 (Swedish), *Ebenezer* 22 (Swedish), *Kiskin* 22 (Swedish), *Danska Örn* 20 (Swedish), *Blandford* 20 (English).

With the rest of their force, 26 battleships, they arrived off Nargen on June 10th, driving the Russian cruisers into Revel. A reconnaissance showed that Revel was too well fortified to be attacked with any hope of success, and on the 13th orders arrived from the Swedish King to proceed at once to Hangö.* The same day they did so, but they did not keep the sea long; on June 17th they anchored in the harbour of Kapelsvik in Gothland to take in water and provisions, and on the 27th they arrived at Dalarö.

No sooner had they left the Gulf of Finland than the Russians got to sea again. On June 23rd Van Hoff left Revel to convoy storeships to Helsingfors, and after this cruised undisturbed between Hangö and Råger-Vik. About a fortnight before this the galleys under Golitsyn, after a visit to Helsingfors, had taken up their position at Pojö N.E. of Hangö. The Swedish-English squadron under Admiral Karl Wachtmeister anchored on June 10th near Söderarm, a small island at the extreme north-east limit of the Stockholm skärgård, and waited there for reinforcements from the Vaxholm squadron. The *Pommern* 52 was sent out cruising with two frigates and various small craft, but the fleet, as a whole, did nothing. By the beginning of July Wachtmeister had been reinforced by a number of small craft, and had charge of a fleet of five battleships, thirteen frigates, eight galleys, and eight other small craft.† During July he sent various small detachments to

* These orders were brought by the frigates *Vainqueur* 30 and *Delphin*, which had been sent from Gothenburg and had passed the Sound on June 1st. Another Gothenburg frigate, the *Louisiana*, had entered the Baltic with the English fleet.

† Battleships.—*Karlskrona* 70, *Öland* 56, *Pommern* 52, *Dartmouth* 50 (E), *Falmouth* 50 (E). Galleys.—*Phoenix* 16, *Pelikan* 16, *Svan* 16, *Drake* 13, *Kräfta* 13, *Jungfru* 13, *Svärdfisk* 12, *Delfin* 12. Frigates.—*Reval* 40, *Phoenix* 34, *Vainqueur* 30, *Kiskin* 22, *Ebenezer* 22, *Anklam* 36, *Välkomsten*, *Danska Örn* 18, *Ruskenfelt* 32, *Louisiana*, *Lilla Phoenix*, *Packa*, *Blandford* 20 (E).

reconnoitre in the Åland Islands, and at last on August 6th came the news that a few Russian galleys had been seen. Wachtmeister at once recalled his ships from the islands, and sent Vice-Admiral Sjöblad with the *Pommern* 52, *Vainqueur* 30, and *Danska Örn* 18 to cover their retreat.

The Swedish division of one battleship, four frigates, three galleys, and seven other small craft retreated on August 6th through Ledsund before the Russian force of 61 galleys and 29 boats, but next day, as they reached the open sea, they met Sjöblad, and he, contrary to his orders, took them under his command and sailed to the attack. The Swedish force was now two battleships and six frigates, besides the smaller vessels, but the action resulted in a decisive Russian victory. At first Golitsyn retreated to entice the Swedish sailing ships into the narrow waters, but as soon as he had done this he turned and attacked. The Swedes tried to bring their broadsides to bear, but two of their frigates went ashore at once, and two others a little later. All these ships were captured after a brisk action. Sjöblad himself was only saved by a fine piece of seamanship. His ship, the *Pommern*, beating to the southward missed stays; the Russians were too close to allow him to wear, so he carried on again, luffed up, cast anchor, got his head sails drawing on the other tack, cut his cable, and escaped. The captured Swedish ships were the *Stora Phoenix* 34, *Vainqueur* 30, *Kiskin* 22,* and *Danska Örn* 18. They had lost before surrendering 103 men killed. The Russians lost 82 killed and 246 wounded. No fewer than 43 of the Russian galleys were so much damaged that they had to be burnt, while two had been sunk early in the action. On August 18th Golitsyn was back at Pojö with his prizes.

While these operations were going on in the Åland Islands the combined Anglo-Swedish fleet had been to sea again. On August 2nd it left Dalarö and sailed to Dagerort in Ösel, but could see nothing of the Russians, and anchored on the 9th at Kapelsvik. Norris and Sparre now decided to return to Dalarö, but sent Admiral Hosier with one Swedish and seven English battleships to cruise in the Southern Baltic. Count Wachtmeister, the Swedish second-in-command, had to stay at Kapelsvik to repair the *Skåne* 66 and *Stockholm* 66, but the rest of the fleet reached Dalarö on August 17th. Nothing more of interest happened this year. The Russian sailing ships were laid up for the most part at Petersburg and Kronslot, while the galleys wintered at Helsingfors, only fifteen being left at Åbo. Karl Wachtmeister's squadron at Söderarm went back to Stockholm at the end of September, and at the beginning of November both the English fleet and the main Swedish

* Swedish accounts say that the *Kiskin* sank.

fleet left Dalarö for home. The English reached Copenhagen on November 12th, and were back in England on December 1st,* the Swedes entered Karlskrona in detachments during the latter half of November.

At the beginning of the year the Danes had proposed to commission a fleet of fifteen battleships. Expecting an attack by this force on Karlskrona while the fleet was away, the Swedes moored in the entrance the battleships *Göta Lejon* 96, *Västmanland* 60, and *Lifland* 48 with various other vessels, but nothing came of the alarm, and peace with Denmark was soon concluded.

The Russian Kronslot ships had taken no active part in the operations, but the five new battleships, *Gangut* 90, *Lyesnoe* 90, *Fridrichshat* 90, *Syevernyi Orel* 80,† and *Isak Viktoria* 66 were at sea during July for sailing trials under the Tsar. The *Lansdou* 32 was sent from Revel to Copenhagen at the end of April to attack certain Swedish ships laden with guns, but was unsuccessful; she was watched for some time by two English frigates and by the Swedish *Svarta Örn* 36, but got back safely to Revel in the autumn.

The year 1721 saw the end of the "Great Northern War," which had been in progress since 1699. Of Sweden's enemies only Russia was left, and now both countries were ready for peace. On the death of Carl XII. Swedish policy had naturally become less warlike, and the revival of the war with Russia had merely been an attempt to make up for some of the losses of the previous year. The attempt had failed. Even with the help of an English fleet little could be done to stop the depredations of the Russian galleys, and the country, exhausted by over twenty years of war, was only anxious for rest. On the Russian side, too, though the war had for the last ten years been uniformly successful, there was a feeling that what had been gained was enough, and that the war should be ended. By the mediation of France a second Peace Conference was assembled at Nystad, in Finland, but in the meantime, to ensure favourable terms, both sides made great efforts.

Van Hoff left Nargen on May 16th with the Revel squadron of seven battleships;‡ he picked up a battleship, a frigate, and a snow§ which were out cruising, and proceeded to Hangö. Two days before this General-Lieutenant Lacy left Helsingfors with 30 galleys and 43 smaller vessels to attack the Swedish coast. Van Hoff's original orders were to convoy

* The *Monk* 50 was lost near Yarmouth.

† Or *Nord Adler*.

‡ *Pert* 50, *Poltava* 52, *Randolf* 50, *Rafail* 52, *Devonshir* 52, *Varachail* 52, *Arandel* 50.

§ *Selaifail* 52, *Samson* 32, *Eingorn* 14.

this detachment to the Åland Islands before sailing to Öland and Bornholm. This, however, did not take place; the galleys reached Åbo without escort, and Van Hoff, leaving his slower ships behind, steered west into the Baltic. He did not go far. A new English fleet had entered the Baltic on May 11th, and this necessitated the return of the Russian ships. At Gottska Sandö on May 21st Van Hoff's division was overtaken by a gale. The *Rafail* 52 lost her mainmast and her topmasts, and the *Poltava* 52 her foremast and mainmast. On June 8th the squadron was back at Revel.

The English fleet, which had reached the Sound on May 9th, was almost the same as last year, and was composed as follows * :—

Sandwich 90, *Dorsetshire* 80, *Chichester* 80, *Suffolk* 70, *Prince Frederick* 70, *Bedford* 70, *Monmouth* 70, *Revenge* 70, *Buckingham* 70, *Elizabeth* 70, *Medway* 60, *York* 60, *Defiance* 60, *Kingston* 60, *Nottingham* 60, *Guernsey* 50, *Worcester* 50, *Dartmouth* 50, *Falmouth* 50, *Panther* 50, *Gloucester* 50, *Warwick* 50, *Gosport* 40.

On May 13th it reached Karlskrona, and joined the seven battleships of the Swedish fleet which were ready for sea. Sparre, whose flagship, the *Ulrika Eleonora* 84, was not yet ready, came out in the *Jarramas* 30. On May 21st two more Swedish ships joined, and on the 21st the Allies set sail for Kapelsvik. On the way they received news of Lacy's arrival at Åbo, and at once decided to go towards Stockholm. At Elfsnabben they were joined by the last two battleships of the Karlskrona fleet. The Swedish contingent now comprised the following eleven battleships :—

Ulrika Eleonora 84, *Göta Lejon* 92, *Enighet* 92, *Prins Carl Fredrik* 70, *Bremen* 64, *Stockholm* 64, *Skåne* 60, *Westmanland* 60, *Fredrika Amalia* 60, *Verden* 56, *Öland* 50.

On June 11th the combined fleet left Elfsnabben, and on the 16th it anchored at Kapelskär, in the northern part of the skärgård. Several small craft joined it from Vaxholm, but nothing whatever was attempted, and the great fleet lay idle all the summer.

Lacy meanwhile had been working up the Gulf of Bothnia, destroying as he went. On May 27th he had crossed from Åland to Gefle, a fortified town on the Swedish coast about 100 miles north of Stockholm. This he found too strong to be attacked, so went northwards. At Hudiksvall and Sundsvall

* From a line of battle in Wrangel ii. Ap. 6. This is arranged with the first division of seven ships under Rear-Admiral Hosier, the second of seven ships under Rear-Admiral Hopson, and the third of nine ships under Admiral Norris. Presumably the Swedish squadron formed the fourth division, so that Norris was roughly in the centre. Lediard's list omits the *Guernsey* and *Panther*, and puts Norris in the centre. Probably this was the original organisation.

his troops met and defeated the Swedish forces, and six new galleys which were just ready for sea in the latter port were burnt by the Swedes themselves. On June 19th he was at Umeå, and on the 24th at Piteå, which he burnt. Here he received orders to stop operations, and on the 28th he was back on the Finnish coast at Vasa, having traversed and harried some 400 miles of the Swedish coast-line. The Russian sailing fleet showed no very great activity, but as many as 27 battleships were commissioned in the two ports. On June 19th Rear-Admiral Gordon reached Revel, with six battleships and three frigates,* from Kronsloot. The Tsar, who had been on a long visit to Riga, arrived at Revel the same day. He hoisted his flag in the *Ingermanland* 64 and took both Gordon's and Van Hoff's squadrons to Råger Vik. After surveying for the proposed harbour works, he returned to Revel, and leaving Van Hoff's ships at Nargen, put to sea again on June 27th with Gordon's squadron, and reached Kronsloot next day.

In the meantime some of the newer ships from Kronsloot had been out as far as Krasna Gorka, about twenty miles west of Kotlin for sailing trials. On his return Peter sent his six ships to join these others, and on July 27th he hoisted his flag in the *Ingermanland* 64, and took command of the following fleet :—

Van :—*Sv. Petr* 80, *Revel* 68, *Shlisselburg* 64, *Fridrichshtat* 90 (Rear-Admiral Menshikov), *Vyborg* 64, *Astrachan* 66.

Centre :—*Neptun* 70, *Fridemaker* 80, *Ingermanland* 64, (Vice-Admiral The Tsar), *Sv. Ekaterina* 66, *Nord Adler* 78, *Lyesnoe* 90.

Rear :—*Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Marlborg* 60, *Moskva* 64, *Gangut* 90 (Rear-Admiral Sivers), *Isak Viktoria* 66, *Sv. Andrei* 80.

After practising various evolutions and formations, and trying the ships on every point of sailing, the Tsar returned to St. Petersburg, leaving the fleet under Sivers to cruise at the Eastern end of the Gulf of Finland. This was on August 16th. Nothing further happened, and on September 10th Peace was signed at Nystad.

Before discussing the terms of the Treaty of Peace there are certain small matters which must be considered. After some years of independence of foreign builders the Tsar had arranged to have some more ships built in Holland. These were two battleships, *Rotterdam* 56 and *Prints Evgenii* (Prince Eugene) 50, and three thirty-two gun frigates, *Endracht*, *Amsterdam-Galei*, and *Dekrondelivde* (Kronde Liefde). The frigates were sent to Russia unarmed under the Dutch flag, but even so the

* *Isak Viktoria* 66, *Ingermanland* 64, *Moskva* 64, *Shlisselburg* 64, *Vyborg* 64, *Marlborg* 60, *Feniks* 34, *Lansdou* 32, *Kiskin* 22. The *Vyborg* was the old *Sv. Ekaterina* renamed.

Endracht was taken by the Swedish *Svarta Örn* 36, in July, 1720. The other two remained at Copenhagen until after the conclusion of Peace, and reached Revel in October, 1721. With the battleships a different method was adopted. The old Archangel battleships *Yagudiil* and *Uriil* left Revel on February 13th, 1721, for Holland. On arrival they were to be sold, and their guns and crews transferred to the two new ships. On February 20th they reached Drøger, south of Copenhagen, and were frozen in, but managed to cut their way through the ice into Copenhagen harbour. Here they remained until the autumn, when they proceeded to Holland, and were duly sold. The *Rotterdam*, renamed *Nishtat* in commemoration of the Peace, left for Russia early in November, entered the Baltic on the 20th, and was wrecked off Ösel on the 23rd. Her crew were saved, and her guns and gear were removed next summer. The *Prints Evgenii*, which had been sent to Ostend to fit out, was detained for some time by the Imperial authorities, and did not reach Russia till 1722.

On the conclusion of Peace, the various fleets in the Eastern Baltic returned to their respective bases. On September 16th the Russian Kronsloot squadron returned to port, and was joined on October 31st by the galleys. Van Hoff's squadron wintered again at Revel. The Anglo-Swedish fleet had left Kapelskär on August 29th, and sailing through the skärgård reached Dalarö next day. Here the Swedes stopped, but the English went on as far as Elfsnabben. On October 4th Norris left for England. He was at Copenhagen from the 12th to the 17th, and arrived at the Nore on the 31st. The Swedish fleet moved to Elfsnabben two days after his departure, and on October 12th they sailed for Karlskrona, where they arrived on the 15th. The greater part of the Vaxholm squadron had been laid up early in September, and the rest soon followed.

The Treaty of Nystad, which put an end to Sweden's long war, was naturally only brought about by large concessions. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Kurland, and the eastern part of Finland, including Viborg, had to be ceded to the victorious Russians, but the rest of Finland was restored to Sweden, and was accompanied by a money payment of 2,000,000 Riks-dollars. As a result, Russia was confirmed in the possession of the coast of the Gulf of Finland from Viborg to Riga, a striking contrast to the position of twenty years before, when all this territory was in Swedish hands.

No less striking had been the rise of the Russian fleet. In 1710, when the second phase of the war began, there had been two naval powers in the Baltic, Sweden and Denmark. Sweden in 1710 had 38 battleships in the Baltic and five at Gothenburg. During the war she lost all her Gothenburg ships and

fifteen of those in the Baltic. Of those at Gothenburg one was taken by the Danes, and four destroyed to prevent capture, while of those in the Baltic three were captured by Denmark and one by Russia, three were destroyed after action, one was accidentally blown up, one wrecked, and six condemned and sunk, or broken up. No battleships were built during this period, and only one captured from the Russians, so that the Swedish navy which, at the beginning of the war had forty-three battleships, had at its conclusion only twenty-four.* Denmark, too, was much weakened by the war. She had started it in 1710 with forty-one battleships, but though she built one and took four from Sweden during its course she had in 1721 only twenty-five battleships left. Of the twenty-one that had been lost, as many as seventeen were condemned and either sold or sunk for foundations for batteries, three were wrecked, and one burnt in action. Denmark and Sweden had thus suffered about evenly, and had both lost nearly half their strength, but Russia meanwhile had been steadily rising as a naval power. In 1710 there were no Russian battleships in the Baltic, but during the war no less than fifty-three were acquired. Of these twenty-four were built in the Baltic and seven at Archangel; twenty-two† were bought abroad, and one was taken from the Swedes. In these eleven years nineteen Russian battleships were removed from the list. Six were wrecked, one blown up, one destroyed after action, one captured, three sold, three broken up, and four cut down or disarmed. Besides these, five others were already condemned in 1722, and were soon broken up. The Russian Navy consisted, therefore, in 1722 of twenty-nine serviceable battleships, a greater number than that possessed by either Denmark and Sweden.

The rise of the Russian Navy was quite unparalleled. In a few years it had not only come into existence, but had risen to the foremost place in the Baltic, a position which it held until the rise of the German Navy at the end of the nineteenth century, and this rise had taken place in spite of the active opposition of the Swedish fleet, which, up to the last few years of the war, was undoubtedly superior to the Russians in every way.

* Three more ships were condemned in 1721 and 1722, and the Swedish Navy thus fell to twenty-one battleships.

† Four of these were sometimes called frigates.

SECTION II.

EVENTS FROM 1722 to 1733. THE WARS OF THE POLISH
SUCCESSION AND OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

1722-1755.

After the Peace of Nystad there followed eleven years of more or less precarious peace in the Baltic. Political events necessitated several important mobilisations, but no actual hostilities took place. In 1722 both Russian sailing fleets were at sea during the summer, but neither went far from its base. The Kronsloot squadron of thirteen battleships* and three frigates was under Kruys, who had been recalled from Siberia in 1714, after less than a year's exile, but up to now had only been employed on shore. This fleet went as far as Krasna Gorka, and the Revel squadron of six battleships† cruised between Nargen and Dagerort. A number of galleys were kept ready for sea, but were not actually commissioned. These movements caused some little anxiety in both Sweden and Denmark. In the former country a few merchantmen were sent out to investigate, and in Denmark preparations got as far as the mobilisation of four battleships,‡ but it was soon seen that Russia intended no attack on her neighbours, and their precautions were found to be unnecessary. Next year there was more cause for alarm. The Russian attitude became distinctly threatening. Peter, returning from his successful Persian war, invited to Petersburg the Duke of Holstein, nephew of Karl XII., and prepared to support him both in his claims on Slesvig, which had been taken by the Danes, and in his demand to be recognised as successor to the Swedish throne. As an earnest of his intentions he betrothed his daughter to the Duke, and prepared a large fleet to enforce his wishes.

On June 13th, 1723, the Kotlin battleship fleet left for Revel and joined the ships there, forming a fleet of 24 battleships and five frigates.§ Schouthebynacht Senyavin was sent out to cruise between Hangö and Råger Vik with six ships.|| The Duke of

* *Neptunus* 72, *Isak Viktoria* 66, *Panteleimon Viktoria* 66, *Shlisselburg* 64, *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Astrachan* 66, *Ingermanland* 64, *Vyborg* 64, *Revel* 68, *Sv. Ekaterina* 66, *Moskva* 64, *Mariburg* 60, *Poltava* 54.

† *Perl* 50, *Britania* 50, *Armout* 50, *Devonshir* 52, *Randolf* 50, *Arondel* 50.

‡ *Haffru* 70, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Sophia Hedvig* 70, *Beskjermer* 64.

§ *Van.*—*Sv. Andrei* 88,|| *Prints Evgenii* 50, *Vyborg* 64, *Sv. Ekaterina* 66 (Admiral Michailov—the Tsar), *Lyesnoe* 90, *Astrachan* 60,|| *Isak Viktoria* 66, *Neptun* 70. Centre.—*Fridemake* 88, *Armout* 48,|| *Panteleimon* 66, *Revel* 68, *Gangut* 92 (General-Admiral Apraksin), *Fridrichsthat* 96, *Poltava* 54,|| *St. Petr* 88. Rear.—*Mariburg* 64,|| *Arondel* 48, *Sv. Michail* 54, *Nord Adler* 80 (Vice-Admiral Gordon), *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Randolf* 50,|| *Moskva* 64, *Perl* 50.

Holstein went on board the *Fridemake* 88, and on July 23rd the fleet put to sea. It went to Råger Vik for the Tsar to found the new harbour, and then proceeded towards the Stockholm skärgård. It had been intended to send the Duke to Stockholm with fifteen battleships to support him, but the negotiations were successful, his claims were recognised, and the Russian ships only just showed themselves off the Swedish coast and then returned to Nargen, where they anchored on July 31st. The Revel ships went into harbour, and the seven three-deckers went back to Kronsloot at once,* but the rest of the fleet carried out tactical exercises on the way, and did not reach Kronsloot until August 16th. A fleet of 70 galleys had also been in commission, but had not left the Neva. Naturally the other Baltic countries had mobilised to some extent. Denmark had equipped thirteen battleships,†—nine in active commission and four in reserve, but the Swedes, though apparently more directly threatened, confined themselves to commissioning three battleships at Karlskrona and blocking some of the approaches to Stockholm.

About this time both Sweden and Russia showed an interest in the island of Madagascar. Some of the pirates and buccaneers of the West Indies, driven from their cruising ground by the English and French, had gone as far as Madagascar and taken up their position there. With a view to securing their position they had applied in 1717 to Carl XII. for protection. For some years nothing could be done in the matter, but on the conclusion of Peace in 1721 the *Jarramas* 30 was sent to take possession of the island. Morgan, the representative of the buccaneers, had promised to join her at Cadiz with 30 ships, but he never appeared, and the *Jarramas* returned to Sweden. In the meantime a certain Narcross, an Englishman, apparently one of the buccaneers, had been in the Swedish service. After the death of Carl XII. he was arrested for political reasons, but escaped and joined the Russian Navy for the last few months of the war. On its conclusion he went to England, but he had evidently suggested a Russian annexation of Madagascar, since, early in 1722, Ulrich, the former captain of the *Jarramas*, was invited to Russia, and the plans for the expedition prepared. It was not, however, until January, 1724, that Vice-Admiral Wilster‡ left Råger Vik with the *Amsterdam Galei* 32 and *Dekrondelivde* 32. The former ship sprang a leak and had to put back to careen, and while doing

* The Duke of Holstein shifted from the *Fridemake* 88 to the *Neptun* 70, and Apraksin from the *Gangut* 92 to the *Sv. Aleksandr* 70.

† *Dronning Anna Sophia* 90, *Nordstjern* 72, *Justitia* 86, *Haffru* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Fyen* 52, *Laaland* 50, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Jylland* 70, *Island* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Oldenborg* 50.

‡ He had formerly been in both the Danish and Swedish Navies.

this she filled and sank, with the loss of sixteen men.* After this the expedition was abandoned.

In the autumn of 1723 a new fortress was begun on the island of Kotlin, and called Kronstadt. The Tsar himself prepared the plans. Three ships were ordered on a trading voyage, with rope, guns, and other stores, but never left Revel. Peter the Great sent out another large fleet in 1724, but only for exercise. The Kotlin squadron of sixteen battleships† sailed to Krasna Gorka on June 17th, and was joined three days later by three battleships‡ from Revel. The combined fleet, under the orders of Vice-Admiral Wilster, carried out an extensive programme of exercises, but suffered considerable damage in a gale at the beginning of August. On September 22nd the Revel Division was back in port, but Wilster with the Kotlin ships stayed at sea till October 16th. An agreement for twelve years was concluded this year between Russia and Sweden. By it either country if at war could call on the other for help. Sweden's contribution in case of need was to be six battleships and two frigates, Russia's nine battleships and three frigates, figures which show clearly enough the change in the distribution of naval power in the Baltic.

On January, 1725, Peter the Great died at the age of fifty-two, and was succeeded by his wife Ekaterina. The Danes, expecting the new ruler to give more active support to the Duke of Holstein, commissioned ten battleships,§ three prams, and two frigates, and mobilised the defences of Copenhagen; but in August, finding their fears groundless, they laid up their ships. The Swedes relied on being able to remain neutral in the event of war, and made no preparations. The Russian fleet was, however, only mobilised for exercise. Twelve battleships|| left Kronstadt on July 28th, and proceeded to Revel, where they were joined on August 3rd by three others. Some galleys also went to sea for training. On August 10th the fleet left Revel for a cruise, in which it went as far as Gothland, and on the 24th it anchored in Råger Vik. On September 1st three battleships were sent to Revel,¶ on the 5th the

* She was easily refloated.

† *Fridrichshat* 96, *Lyesnoc* 90, *Gangut* 92, *Sv. Petr* 88, *Sv. Andrei* 88, *Nord Adler* 80, *Revel* 68, *Neptunus* 70, *Ingermanland* 66, *Aleksandr* 70, *Moskva* 64, *Vyborg* 64, *Marlborg* 64, *Shlisselburg* 64, *Astrachan* 66, *Isak Viktoria* 66.

‡ *Perl* 50, *Prints Evgenii* 50, *Randolf* 50.

§ *Dronning Anna Sophia* 90, *Justitia* 86, *Wenden* 70, *Haffru* 70, *Jylland* 70, *Nordstjern* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Prinds Wilhelm* 54, *Sydermanland* 46.

|| *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Neptunus* 70, *Revel* 68, *Derbent* 64, *Leferm* 70, *Astrachan* 66, *Marlborg* 64, *Moskva* 64, *Isak Viktoria* 64, *Rafail* 54, *Michail* 54, *Ne tron menya* 54.

¶ The ships that joined from Revel were the *Prints Evgenii* 54, *Perl* 54, and *Arondel* 52. Those that went there for the next winter were the *Prints Evgenii* 54, *Ne tron menya* 54, and *Sv. Michail* 54.

rest of the fleet got under way, and on the 12th it reached Kronstadt.

The year 1726 saw an English fleet again in the Baltic. Anna, the daughter of Peter the Great, married the Duke of Holstein, and at the same time there was evidence of an understanding between Russia and Spain. As long ago as 1718 a Quadruple Alliance had been formed by England, France, Holland, and the Emperor with the express object of checking Spain, which since the death of Louis XIV., had taken the place of France as the firebrand of Western Europe. In 1725, however, the Emperor went over to the Spanish side in the Treaty of Vienna, and, as a reply to this, the three Western Powers signed the Treaty of Hanover. Europe was thus divided into two parties, and both sides made every effort to gain the support of the Northern countries. Russia sided with Spain, and this was enough to throw Denmark into the opposite camp, but Sweden was undecided. It was therefore arranged in order to lend weight to the English representatives to send a large fleet into the Baltic. On April 28th Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Wager left the Nore with a fleet of twenty battleships.* From May 4th to 13th he was at Copenhagen, where he had an audience of the King, and on the 17th he reached Elfsnabben. After an audience with the King of Sweden he put to sea again on June 5th,† and on the 9th he arrived off Nargen. In Revel harbour there were only four Russian battleships and three frigates, but at Kronstadt there was a fleet of sixteen battleships under Apraksin. The Russian authorities at Revel demanded the meaning of Wager's presence, and he at once sent a frigate to Kronstadt to deliver to Apraksin a letter from George I. to the Tsarina. He further sent a message to the Danish squadron of eight battleships and four frigates which had left Copenhagen on May 25th for Bornholm. On June 11th the English fleet moved further into Revel Bay, and on the 24th it was joined by the Danish ships‡ under Schoutbynacht Bille. On July 5th the Russian battleship *Rafail* 54 arrived with Ekaterina's answer to the letter from George I. She put to sea again on the 8th, and the same day Wager forwarded the letter home by the *Elizabeth* 70, which he was sending to Copenhagen for repairs, and the

* *Torbay* 80, *Cumberland* 80, *Hampton Court* 70, *Nassau* 70, *Elizabeth* 70, *Northumberland* 70, *Monmouth* 70, *Captain* 70, *Yarmouth* 70, *Prince Frederick* 70, *Grafton* 70, *Bedford* 70, *Edinburgh* 70, *Plymouth* 60, *Preston* 50, *Assistance* 50, *Hampshire* 50, *Advice* 50, *Chatham* 50, *Weymouth* 50.

† He had been joined on the 2nd by the *Nassau* 70.

‡ The original squadron was composed as follows:—*Nordstjern* 72, *Wenden* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Ebenetzer* 64, *Slesvig* 54, *Laaland* 50, *Island* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Hvide Ørn* 30, *Raac* 30, *Høyenhald* 30, *Søridder* 30. The *Ebenetzer* and *Laaland* had had to be sent home, but the *Fyen* 54 had joined to replace one of them.

Assistance 50, which he had told off to accompany her.* The fleet remained in Revel Bay for nearly four months, and in spite of the nature of his errand Wager maintained excellent relations with the Russians, and was allowed not only to buy provisions ashore, but even to land his sick in Nargen. At last, on October 1st, the English and Danes put to sea. The former arrived at Copenhagen on October 20th, and left again for home on the 30th; but the Danes seem to have stayed behind in the Baltic, since it was not till November that they reached Copenhagen, having suffered a good deal of damage from heavy weather at the end of the previous month.

Very similar operations took place in 1727, but in this year the position was complicated by the fact that hostilities began in February between England and Spain, though these went no further than an unsuccessful siege at Gibraltar. The English fleet for the Baltic consisted this year of twelve battleships,† and was, as so often before, under Admiral Sir John Norris. On May 23rd Norris reached Copenhagen, and was joined by ten Danish battleships.‡ A defensive alliance with Denmark had been made by France and England, and a similar agreement was shortly made with Sweden; but before any Swedish ships could be mobilised to join the Allies the Tsarina Ekaterina died on May 28th. This altered the aspect of affairs, and made it unnecessary for the Anglo-Danish fleet to move eastward. The Russians only commissioned a few battleships this year, and the Danish fleet was laid up again at once, though Norris stayed at Copenhagen till October. On June 21st King George I. also died, but this caused no change in English policy. The siege of Gibraltar was abandoned, and after a year's deliberation an alliance was concluded at the end of 1728 between England, France, Spain, and Holland. For the next few years Peace reigned in the Baltic. Russia had twenty-five battleships in commission in 1728, but her fleet was almost completely idle for the next three years, and neither in Denmark nor in Sweden were there more than the most insignificant mobilisations.

Difficulties, however, arose in 1733. Augustus II., King of Poland, died, and Stanislaus, the former Swedish nominee, seized the throne again. He was backed by his son-in-law, Louis XV. of France, but was opposed by the Emperor and by the Russian Tsarina Anna, who had come to the throne in

* He had been joined on the 4th by the *Northumberland* 70. The *Elizabeth* rejoined on August 28th.

† *Cornwall* 80, *Hampton Court* 70, *Elizabeth* 70, *Nassau* 70, *Edinburgh* 70, *Suffolk* 70, *Revenge* 70, *Bedford* 70, *Captain* 70, *Monmouth* 70, *Grafton* 70, *Northumberland* 70.

‡ *Prinds Christian* 76, *Wenden* 70, *Hallru* 70, *Beskjermer* 64, *Prinds Carl* 54, *Nelleblad* 50, *Island* 50, *Laaland* 50, *Slesvig* 50, *Sydermanland* 46.

1730. Their candidate was Augustus, son of the late King, and steps were soon taken to support him. Russian and Austrian armies invaded Poland, and Stanislaus had to retire to Danzig. At the same time Spain joined France against Austria, and the Spaniards in particular won important victories in Italy. Louis XV. hoped to get help from Sweden, but that country was not ready for another war, and wisely remained neutral. Both in 1732 and 1733 the Russian Kronstadt fleet consisted of ten battleships, but it took no part in the war till 1734. The only way for Louis XV. to help Stanislaus was by sending troops to Danzig, and this could only be done by sea. Accordingly, on August 31st, 1733, a fleet of eight battleships and five frigates* left Brest for the Baltic, and on September 20th it reached Copenhagen. It went no further, and on October 8th Lieutenant-General La Luzerne-Briqueville, its commander, received orders to return to Brest. Early next year the siege of Danzig began, but the French did little to help. A fleet was slowly equipped at Brest, but it never reached the Baltic. Two ships, the *Achille* 62 and *Gloire* 46 were sent in advance with 1,800 troops, and on May 11th the soldiers were landed at Weichselmünde, a fortress at the mouth of the Vistula. At once La Motte, the French general, declared the position untenable and re-embarked, and on the 15th the two ships put to sea again. Hereupon Plelo, the French Ambassador at Copenhagen, took charge of these two ships and of the *Fleurion* 60, *Brillant* 30, and *Astrée* 30, which had just arrived at Copenhagen, and, insisting on La Motte's accompanying him, sailed again for Danzig. On May 24th he landed, and three days later he was killed. The French ships had moved towards Pillau, and they now cruised in the Baltic, in the hope of receiving reinforcements, but none arrived, and on June 10th they were back at Copenhagen. The *Fleurion* 60 and *Gloire* 46 met and took the Russian *Mitau* 32, but the French squadron attempted nothing more, and on August 24th it reached Brest.

The Russian Navy, on the other hand, was of the greatest help to the besieging army. On May 26th, 1734, Admiral Gordon left Kronstadt with a fleet of fourteen battleships,† five frigates, and two bomb vessels. On June 6th he reached Pillau, and on the 11th he moved to Danzig. In the harbour lay a French frigate, the *Brillant* 30. In the afternoon of June 12th the Russian bomb vessel *Yupiter* 6, supported by

* *Fleurion* 60 (f), *Conquerant* 70, *Saint Louis* 62, *Toulouse* 60, *Mercure* 56, *Heureux* 60, *Triton* 60, *Tigre* 56, *Griffon* 46, *Gloire* 46, *Argonaute* 44, *Astrée* 30, *Meduse* 16.

† *Petr I.* 110, *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Leferm* 70, *Natalia* 66, *Slava Rossie* 66, *Narva* 64, *Shtisselburg* 60, *Marlburg* 60, *Petr II.* 54, *Vyborg* 54, *Riga* 54, *Novaya Nadeshda* 54, *Devonshir* 52, *Panteleimon Viktoria* 50.

the frigates *Arondel* 50 and *Esperans* 44* approached the French ship and opened fire. After about an hour's action the *Brillant* withdrew, under the guns of Weichselmünde. From the 15th onwards the shore batteries were bombarded by the bomb vessels *Yupiter* 6 and *Donder* 6 and the frigates *Esperans* 44 and *Stor Feniks* 36, in conjunction with the land forces, and on the 23rd the fortress of Weichselmünde surrendered. With it the Russians got possession of three French ships, the *Brillant* 30, a hoy of fourteen guns, and a pram of eight. On June 29th the fleet left Danzig,† on July 9th it visited Revel, and on the 13th it was back at Kronstadt. Danzig was forced to capitulate on July 9th, but Stanislaus escaped. He abandoned his claims on the Polish throne, which was given to Augustus III., and in return was made Duke of Lorraine with the title of King. Louis XV. was pacified by the promise that on the death of Stanislaus, Lorraine, formerly part of the Empire, should pass to France.

The success of the Russian forces in Poland encouraged the Tsarina to attack Turkey. In 1736 the Russians captured Azov, and soon managed, with the aid of a flotilla of small vessels, to occupy the Crimea and advance westwards as far as Moldavia. Austria joined in the war, but was defeated several times by the Turks, and was compelled in 1739 to evacuate Belgrade and become neutral. Thus, deprived of her ally, the Tsarina also came to terms, and agreed to restore Azov and her other conquests, and to maintain no fleet in the Sea of Azov or the Black Sea.

Another event of 1739 was the outbreak of war between Spain and England.‡ For the moment there seemed no prospect of this involving any other power, but in 1740 the death of the Emperor Charles VI. threw practically the whole of Europe into war. The succession had been secured to his daughter, Maria Theresa, by the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been recognised by all the leading Powers, but hardly had his death occurred when efforts were made on all sides to deprive the new ruler of her inheritance. Frederick the Great, the new King of Prussia, seized Silesia, while the Elector of Bavaria, backed by France, laid claim to the whole of the Austrian dominions.

The war of the Austrian Succession soon extended to the Baltic; Russia was the ally of Austria, and Sweden of France, so that an outbreak of hostilities was almost inevitable. In

* Both these ships were now classed as frigates, and had probably reduced armaments.

† The *Yupiter*, *Donder*, and the French prizes were left at Weichselmünde, and came to Kronstadt later.

‡ This year a French squadron visited Stockholm. It was under the Marquis d'Antin in the *Bourbon* 74.

1740, too, the Tsarina Anna Ivanovna died. She was succeeded nominally by Ivan VI., but the new Tsar was an infant, and Russia was governed first by Biron, the favourite of the late Empress, and later by Anna of Brunswick, Ivan's mother. Taking advantage of the resulting weakness of Russia the Swedes decided in 1740 to attack, but their forces were unprepared, and it was Russia that was ready first. In actual numbers of battleships the Swedish Navy was slightly superior, especially since part of the Russian force was at Archangel. Both countries had laid down a theoretical establishment, but both were short of the required numbers. The Swedish establishment of 1734 was twenty-seven battleships, and at that date the available force was twenty-three. One new ship had been completed in 1735, but had been wrecked three years later;* the Swedish Navy, therefore, entered on the war with twenty-three battleships built and one building. In Russia the establishment was appointed in 1740, and was also twenty-seven battleships. At the moment there were fourteen ready for sea and one building in the Baltic, besides three ready and two building at Archangel.

War was not declared until August, 1741, and the Russian fleet made no move that year, though a squadron of fourteen battleships lay at Kronstadt.† As early as May 22nd Vice-Admiral Rajalin had left Karlskrona with five battleships‡ and four frigates, and on June 6th he was reinforced by five more battleships.§ Entering the Gulf of Finland he took up his position at Aspö, between Hogland and Fredrikshamn. Taught by the lessons of the previous war, Sweden had begun to build a galley fleet. Changes in the organisation, and uncertainty as to the best types, had prevented its reaching any great strength, but a small flotilla under Falkengren was able to establish itself at Kutsalo, just south of Fredrikshamn, to maintain communication between the army and the fleet. The Swedish army in Finland was unready, and nothing could be done. Sickness was rampant in the fleet, and by the middle of August over 700 men had died; on September 15th Rajalin himself died, and was succeeded by Schoutbynacht Sjöstjerna. In the meantime, on September 3rd, the Swedish land forces were defeated at Vildmanstrand in the interior of Finland, and this put an end to all thoughts of a Swedish advance. The

* The *Sverige* 80. She was on her way to be presented to the Sultan of Turkey.

† *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Revel* 66, *Slava Rossii* 66, *Osnovanie Blagopoluchia* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, *Astrachan* 54, *Azov* 54, *Gorod Archangelsk* 54, *Syevernaya Zvezda* 54, *Neptunus* 54, *Sv. Andrei* 54, *Kronshtadt* 54, *Novaya Nadezhda* 54.

‡ *Ulrika Eleonora* 76, *Prins Carl Fredrik* 72, *Stockholm* 68, *Finland* 60, *Fred* 42.

§ *Frihet* 66, *Bremen* 60, *Hessen-Cassel* 64, *Werden* 54, *Drottningholm* 42.

fleet was reinforced at the end of September by the *Götha* 72 and *Skåne* 62, and its complement was filled up by 2,000 soldiers, but it was in no condition to effect anything, and on October 25th it returned to Karlskrona.*

The Swedish battleship *Öland* 60 and the frigate *Fama* cruised in the North Sea from June onwards to watch for the Russian ships from Archangel. The three Russian frigates, *Vachmeister* 46, *Krondelivde* 32, and *Kavaler* 32, left Revel on May 22nd, and reached Archangel on July 18th. Three Russian battleships and a frigate, the *Leferm* 66, *Sv. Panteleimon* 54, *Sv. Isakii* 54, and *Apollon* 32, left Archangel for the Baltic, but, hearing of the outbreak of war, they put into Bergen after a cruise near the Shetlands. They wintered at Katerin Harbour, some 200 miles east of the North Cape. A small Danish squadron of three battleships and three frigates† was also in those waters in 1741.

The year ended with a revolution in Russia, which brought to the throne Elisabetha the second daughter of Peter the Great. The new Tsarina at once offered to conclude a truce, but the Swedish demands were so unreasonable that the war went on. Both sides, however, continued inactive at sea. On June 6th, 1742, a fleet of fifteen Swedish battleships and five frigates left Karlskrona, and on the 16th it reached Aspö. The Russian fleet as a whole was not yet ready, but a battleship and two frigates had left Kronstadt on June 2nd, and the galley fleet of forty vessels had put to sea on the 5th. On June 10th Rear-Admiral Kalmykov left Kronstadt with two more battleships, and by the 19th his force consisted of seven battleships‡ and three frigates. At the same time Sjöstjerna, the Swedish Commander sent out three battleships§ on scouting duty, and the opposing forces were frequently in touch. On July 4th Vice-Admiral Mishukov left Kronstadt to take command of the Russian fleet. It was then at anchor near the islands of Lavensari and Seskar, some thirty miles south-east of the Swedish position at Aspö. On July 11th the last battleship joined Mishukov, and he had then a fleet of thirteen battleships|| and three frigates. At the same time Sjöstjerna decided to move from Aspö to Hangö. This was a most disastrous step. The retirement of the Swedish battleships compelled their galleys to retreat to Pellinge, thirty miles east of Helsingfors;

* The frigate *Svarta Örn* 34 was wrecked on the Finnish coast.

† *Prinsesse Carlotta Amalia* 60, *Markgrevinde Sophia Christina* 60, *Prinsesse Louise* 60, *Blaa Heyre* 18, *Christiansøe* 18, *Søe Ridder* 18.

‡ *Revel* 66, *Astrachan* 54, *Kronshtadt* 54, *Syevernaya Zvezda* 54, *Osnovanie Blagopolutchie* 66, (*Gorod*) *Archangelsk* 54, *Sv. Andrei* 54.

§ *Enighet* 70, *Finland* 60, *Westmanland* 62.

|| *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Ingermanland* 66, *Slava Rossii* 66, *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Neptun* 54, *Azov* 54, besides the seven previously under Kalmykov. The *Sv. Petr* 54 joined later, bringing the fleet to 14 battleships.

this in its turn brought about the retreat of the Swedish Army; and when this retreat had once begun it was found impossible to make a stand short of Helsingfors. Now the Swedish galley fleet instead of taking up a position to ensure the communications of Helsingfors by sea, withdrew to the west, and left the way open for the Russian galleys to establish a blockade.

Sjöstjerna lay idle off Hangö, and the Russians worked slowly west along the southern side of the Gulf of Finland. After a visit to Nargen they appeared off Hangö on August 21st. Both sides had fourteen battleships,* but neither seems to have thought of attacking. The Swedes formed line and waited to be attacked, but the Russians soon disappeared, and were back off Nargen on the 25th. The situation of the Swedish Army in Helsingfors was untenable. Lewenhaupt, the Commander-in-Chief of Finland, was recalled to Stockholm to answer for his mistakes, and his successor, General Bousquette, was compelled against his own opinion to sign the capitulation of August 31st. All the artillery and other warlike stores fell into the hands of the Russians, the Finnish troops were disarmed, and the Swedish Army transported to Stockholm by the galley fleet; a truce was also signed for the rest of the year.

After this the Swedish fleet left the Gulf of Finland. Schoutbynacht Cronhawn was sent to cruise in the Baltic with four battleships and two frigates, with orders to look out for the Archangel ships, but the rest of the fleet withdrew to the Stockholm skärgård, and in October it returned to Karlskrona. Cronhawn stayed at sea till the end of December, when he also returned to Karlskrona, having lost the *Öland* 54, which was wrecked on the island after which she was named. Nothing was seen of the Archangel fleet, either by this squadron or by the division of one battleship and two frigates† which cruised all through the summer in the North Sea. As a matter of fact, the Russian ships had got no further than the North Cape. Two new battleships were got ready for sea, but one, the *Blagopolutchie* 66, sprang a leak, and had to be left for repairs. The ships from Katerin Harbour came to Archangel, and on July 30th the squadron put to sea. It consisted of four battleships and five frigates,‡ and was under the order of Vice-Admiral Bredal. On August 3rd the new battleship *Stchastie* 66, was separated from the fleet in a gale, and on the 24th, after a spell of heavy weather off the North Cape, Bredal decided to

* Mishukov had been joined by the *Sv. Petr* 54, while Sjöstjerna had detached the *Sophia Charlotta* 60 to Gothland. She rejoined on the 23rd, and the same day he sent the *Werden* 54 to Karlskrona with sick.

† *Drottningholm* 42, *Götheborgs Vapen*, *Gröna Jägare*.

‡ *Leferm* 66, *Stchastie* 66, *Isakii* 54, *Panteleimon* 54, *Vachmeister* 46, *Krondelivde* 32, *Merkurii* 32, *Apollon* 32, *Kavaler* 32.

put back to Katerin Harbour. Here he left the battleships for the winter, but took the frigates to Archangel; the *Stechastie* reached Katerin Harbour on September 28th. This squadron was no more fortunate next year. Captain Lewis left Archangel at the end of July with two new battleships and three frigates. He picked up the four battleships in Kola Bay, and put to sea on August 7th. A succession of gales followed. One after another his ships had to leave him and run for shelter, and at last his flagship, the *Ekaterina* 66, was left alone. On September 24th she reached Copenhagen, and was shortly followed by the *Mercurii* 32. The other ships had returned to Katerin Harbour or Archangel. Lewis went on to Kronstadt after repairs. Meanwhile, in the Baltic the Swedish fleet of sixteen battleships from Karlskrona and the seven Russian battleships which had wintered at Revel had put to sea simultaneously on May 11th. The Swedish commander, Admiral Von Utfall, sent five battleships ahead under Commodore Von Stauden, and cruised with the rest of his fleet between Gothland and Ösel. On May 13th Von Stauden sighted the Russians near Dagerort. The Russian fleet consisted of seven battleships and three or four smaller vessels as against a Swedish force of five battleships; but, nevertheless, the Russian commander, Rear-Admiral Barsh, retreated, and was off Nargen again on the 14th. The Swedes watched the enemy so far, and then withdrew to rejoin their fleet, which they met on the 19th. Ten days later the entire Swedish fleet anchored off Hangö. It was too late to intercept the first of the Russian galleys under Général Keith, but was in time to prevent his being joined by Field-Marshal Lacy, who reached Tvärminne, just east of Hangö, on June 6th. Keith went on toward Åland, and was attacked on May 31st at Korpo, about half-way between Åland and Hangö, by a superior Swedish force under Vice-Admiral Falkengren. The Russians had two prams and seven galleys, the Swedes one pram and eighteen galleys and other vessels, but the Russian position was so strong that the attack failed. After some three hours' fighting, Falkengren retreated towards Åland. Everything now depended on the Swedish sailing fleet, and it again failed. The Russian ships from Kronstadt had sailed on May 20th, the day after the departure of Lacy and the galleys. On the 23rd they reached Nargen, and on the 25th the Revel squadron joined them. Admiral Count Golovin had now under his orders the following fleet:—

Kronstadt ships: *Sv. Petr* 66, *Sv. Aleksandr* 70, *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Revel* 66, *Slava Rossie* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, *Osnovanie Blagopolutchia* 66, one bomb vessel, two fireships, two snows, five small craft.

Revel ships: *Astrachan* 54, *Archangelsk* 54, *Kronshtadt* 54, *Azov* 54, *Neptun* 54, *Sv. Andrei* 54, *Syevernaya Zvyezda* 54, one frigate, one bomb vessel, one small.

On June 1st Golovin left Nargen, again steering west. Two days later his scouts sighted the Swedish fleet off Hangö, and on the 10th he put into Råger Vik. On June 12th he moved north, and on the 15th he was sighted by the Swedes. On the 17th he anchored four or five miles south of the Swedish fleet. Utfall sent the frigate *Eckholmsund* 26 to reconnoitre, and Golovin detached the *Syevernaya Zvyezda* 54 and *Rossia* 32 to chase her. Three Swedish battleships were sent to support the frigate, and the Russians replied with five battleships. A few long range shots were fired by the two Russian bomb vessels, but no action took place, and the various ships returned to their respective lines. Utfall decided to attack, and late in the afternoon of the 18th he got under way. The Russians, who had been joined by fourteen galleys, also weighed anchor, and both fleets formed line on the starboard tack, with a W.N.W. wind, the Swedes to windward. Next morning the wind fell and a fog came on. The Swedish bomb-vessel *Thorodon* lost station, and drifted into the Russian fleet. She fired a few shots, but was soon relieved by the clearing of the fog and the consequent arrival of two Swedish battleships. Some of the Russian ships had already fired a few long range shots. The Russians, who had previously been on the port tack, got on to the starboard, and reformed their line. At about mid-day the Swedes bore up to attack, but Golovin also bore away and retreated. Utfall realised the danger of leaving his position off Hangö, and returned thither, but in the interval the entire Russian galley fleet had passed.

Golovin's plans had succeeded perfectly. An order of Peter the Great's had forbidden the Russian fleet to attack the Swedes without a superiority of at least one third. This order, which was still valid, would have been a sufficient excuse for his retreating; but, as a matter of fact, it was obviously his duty to do so. The first essential was to clear the way for the passage of the Russian galleys, and in this he was successful. Whether he should have attacked afterwards is another question; but probably he was right in not doing so. It is harder to find excuses for Utfall. His first duty was to prevent the Russian galleys from passing Hangö, and having once allowed himself to be enticed from his position, his only reasonable course was to pursue the Russian sailing fleet and bring it into action. As it was, by first following Golovin and then turning back to catch Lacy, he missed both.

Golovin reached Råger Vik on June 20th, and on the 26th Lacy, with the galleys, arrived at Lemland, in the Åland

Islands. Utfall detached two battleships and four frigates to support the Swedish galleys under Falkengren, and Over-Admiral Taube arrived in the *Fredrik Rex* 62 and took the rest of the Swedish fleet to cruise between Gothland and Dagö. No more fighting took place, and on July 18th peace was concluded at Åbo. Golovin was still at Råger Vik, where he had been joined by the new ship *Sv. Pavel* 80, but Lacy was just about to attack Falkengren when orders came to stop operations. Sweden had to cede all the Finnish territory east of the river Kymene, and thus lost the towns of Fredrikshamn, Nyslott, and Wildmanstrand, but got back the rest of Finland.

The reasons of these favourable terms were somewhat complicated. King Christian VI. of Denmark tried to force Sweden to choose the Danish Crown Prince as heir to the Swedish throne. With this object he instigated a rising in Dalecarlia, and at the same time assembled a large army on the Norwegian boundary and commissioned a fleet of twelve battleships* and six frigates, with six battleships in reserve.† The Tsarina Elizabeth intimated to Sweden that if her wishes were consulted in preference to those of Christian VI. she would be disposed to moderate her demands in Finland. The Swedes therefore chose the son of the Duke of Holstein and Anna, daughter of Peter the Great; but he had just been chosen as heir to the Russian throne, and the only available member of the Holstein family was a distant cousin, Adolf Fredrik, who was therefore accepted in his stead. For some little time the situation was critical. Two Danish frigates had been in the Eastern Baltic early in July, and on the 23rd the Russian fleet left Råger Vik to investigate. It cruised at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland till the end of September, but on October 8th seven of its battleships reached Kronstadt for the winter. The others cruised between Revel and Råger Vik until November 1st, when they went into Revel and were laid up. The Swedish fleet moved from Elfsnabben to Karlskrona soon after the conclusion of peace, and on September 25th it reached the German coast to fetch the new Crown Prince. On October 4th he embarked at Dornbusch, and on the 6th the fleet was back at Karlskrona. The Danes had sent out their reserve ships and formed a single fleet early in September, but the Tsarina declared plainly that she could not allow the possibility of Denmark and Sweden becoming one kingdom, and followed this up by sending 10,000 men and 100 galleys

* *Norske Love* 70, *Dannebrog* 70, *Prinsesse Charlotte Amalia* 60, *Jylland* 70, *Prinsesse Louise* 60, *Markgrevinde Sophia Christina* 60, *Tre Løver* 60, *Prinsesse Sophia Hedvig* 60, *Oldenborg* 60, *Slesvig* 50, *Ditmarschen* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50.

† *Christianus Sextus* 90, *Justitia* 86, *Elephant* 70, *Nordstjern* 72, *Svan* 60, *Fyen* 50.

and other small craft to help the Swedes. Accordingly, Christian VI. was obliged to give up his plans, and at the beginning of October the Danish fleet was laid up. The Russian troops and galleys wintered in Sweden. Next year the Swedes again mobilised a fleet of sixteen battleships and six frigates, ready to join the Russians if necessary; but there was nothing more to fear from Denmark, and the only duty of this fleet was to fetch from Germany the bride of the new Crown Prince, Louisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick the Great. The Russian troops and galleys from Sweden returned to Revel, and the two sailing fleets of twelve and seven ships respectively cruised for a month near Kronstadt and Revel. Four new battleships arrived in the Baltic from Archangel.*

During these four years the general European war had been spreading. In 1742 Maria Theresa was forced to cede Silesia to Frederick, and at the same time the Elector of Bavaria was declared Emperor. England now became openly the ally of Austria, Holland joined unofficially, and the war began again. In 1744 France joined Spain against England, and the same year Prussia again attacked Austria. The Elector of Bavaria died, his son refused to press for recognition as Emperor, and Maria Theresa's husband was elected as Francis I. Peace between Austria and Prussia was re-established in 1745, and Prussia, by the acquisition of East Friesland, reached the North Sea for the first time. France turned on the Austrian Netherlands, and finally on Holland. At last in 1748 the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war, leaving everything much as it had been before save for the recognition of Francis I. as Emperor and the acquisition of Silesia and East Friesland by Prussia.

None of the three Baltic Naval Powers took any further part in the war, but in 1746 Russia had in commission as many as twenty-four battleships, nineteen at Kronstadt and five at Revel. No other important mobilisation took place for some years.† Sweden felt uncertain as to Russia's designs in 1747, and began to commission a squadron, but it never went to sea. Denmark showed no activity during this period. King Christian VI. died in 1746, and was succeeded by his son, Frederik V., while Fredrik I. of Sweden died in 1751 and was succeeded as arranged by Adolf Fredrik.

* *Fridemaker* 66, *Stechastie* 66, *Poltava* 66, *Leferm* 66. The *Lysenoe* 66 got as far as Bergen, but had to return. The *Blagopolutchie* 66 was found useless, and broken up.

† The following list shows the movements of Russian battleships from Archangel to the Baltic from 1745 to 1755:—1745: *Archangel Rafail* 66, *Lysenoe* 66. 1748: *Sv. Sergii* 66, *Sv. Nikolai* 54. 1749: *Varachail* 54 (wrecked on leaving Archangel). 1750: *Gavriil* 66, *Uriil* 66, *Moskva* 66. 1751: *Shlisselburg* 54. 1752: *Ingermanland* 66, *Varachail* 54. 1754: *Poltava* 66, *Natalia* 66.

SECTION XII.

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, THE FIRST "ARMED NEUTRALITY,"
AND OTHER OPERATIONS.

1755-1788.

The European situation following the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was uncertain in the extreme. The real source of danger lay in the inevitable struggle for Canada between France and England. In that it was more or less obvious that England with her superior sea power must be victorious, but there were several disturbing side issues. Firstly, there was the probability that Spain would join France, and secondly there was the question of Hanover. United with England by their common ruler, George II., Hanover formed England's weak point. It would inevitably be conquered by the French and their allies the Prussians, and would be held as a hostage for any territory that France might lose outside Europe.

Under these circumstances the English Government turned to Austria for help, but instead of receiving the guarantees they required, they were pressed in their turn for promises of assistance against Prussia. England and Prussia were as a matter of fact on the verge of hostilities over a question of the seizure of Prussian ships in the previous war, but the question of North America was paramount at the moment. Failing Austria, an alliance was concluded in 1755 between England and Russia, whereby the latter undertook to prevent the conquest of Hanover. Instantly Frederick the Great changed his tactics, and offered to guarantee the neutrality of Hanover himself; the offer was accepted, and in January, 1756, a definite alliance was signed between England and Prussia. At the same time Spain agreed to remain neutral, but four months later Austria, faithful to her enmity with Prussia, went round to the side of France and signed the Treaty of Versailles, while Russia, allied formally both to Austria and England, decided to support the former. Hostilities between England and France had begun in the summer of 1755, but war was not declared until May, 1756. In September Prussia attacked Saxony and Austria, and the struggle at once became general.*

* The number of battleships possessed in 1756 by each of the Baltic Navies was as follows:—Sweden: 26 and 2 building. Denmark: 27 and 2 building. Russia: 18 in the Baltic, 2 at Archangel, 3 building. All the Russian ships were extremely modern, as no less than 21 had been condemned since 1750.

Neither Denmark, Sweden, nor Russia took any active part in the war in 1756, but the two first-named nations agreed to maintain an "armed neutrality" and sent a combined fleet into the North Sea to protect their trade from English war-ships and privateers. The two squadrons were as follows:—

Swedes.—*Prins Carl Fredrik* 72, *Adolf Fredrik* 62, *Bremen* 60, *Sophia Charlotta* 60, *Sparre* 54, *Prins Wilhelm* 54, *Phœnia* 36, *Mercurius* 36.

Danes.—*Stormar* 60, *Fyen* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Ditmarschen* 50, *Moen* 40, *Bornholm* 40, *Hvide Ørn* 30, *Vildmand* 18.

The Danish squadron under Schouthynacht Rømeling left Copenhagen on July 6, and reached Flekkerø on the 9th. The Swedes under Schouthynacht Taube passed the Sound on July 18th, but it was not until September 16th that the two squadrons joined at Flekkerø. The arrangement had been that the two senior officers should act in turn as Commander-in-chief, holding the position for two months at a time, and deciding which should take it first by drawing lots. Taube accordingly took charge, and on September 28th the fleet put to sea, but the weather was bad, and on October 1st, off Skagen, the two squadrons parted. The Danes reached Copenhagen on the 5th and the Swedes on the 28th. A few days later they returned to Karlskrona. The Russians had only nine battleships in commission in the Baltic this year, and these were only at sea for about six weeks in the neighbourhood of Revel. Two battleships and four frigates went as far as Danzig in the autumn, and two new battleships arrived from Archangel, but otherwise the Russian Navy did nothing.

Next year, however, both Russia and Sweden began hostilities against Prussia. The former, as the ally of Austria, joined in the war early in the year, but it was not until the autumn that the Swedes decided to follow suit. The first objective of the Russian attack was Memel in East Prussia, about 100 miles north-east of Danzig, and this town was attacked both by land and sea. A detachment left Kronstadt for Memel on May 12th, consisting of the following ships:—

Battleship: *Gavriil* 66. Frigates: *Elefant* 36, *Dikii Byk* 36. Galliot: *Rak*. Bomb vessels: *Donder* 10, *Yupiter* 10.

Two days previously the Revel squadron of six battleships and three frigates had put to sea to blockade the Prussian coast. The Memel detachment under Captain Lyapunov met with very heavy weather and reached Libau on June 1st considerably damaged; the *Gavriil* 66 had to be sent to Revel for repairs and the other ships remained at Libau. A last, on June 25th the Kronstadt fleet arrived, and next day Lyapunov's ships sailed with it for Memel. Here they arrived on the

27th, while Admiral Mishukov, with the Kronstadt fleet went on as far as Bruster Ort, a cape half-way between Memel and Danzig, and was joined there on June 30th by the Revel squadron under Rear-Admiral Lewis.

The Russian force now comprised the following seventeen battleships:—

Kronstadt ships.—*Sv. Pavel* 80, *Sv. Nikolai* 80, *Sv. Ioann Zlatoust I.* 80, *Astrachan* 66, *Sv. Sergii* 66, *Sv. Rafail* 66, *Aleksandr Nevskii* 66, *Uriil* 66, *Sv. Ioann Zlatoust II.* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, *Poltava* 66.

Revel ships.—*Revel* 66, *Moskva* 66, *Natalia* 66, *Syeverynyi Orel* 66, *Shlisselburg* 54, *Varachail* 54.

An English fleet was expected to enter the Baltic to help Prussia, and Mishukov accordingly sent out a series of cruisers to give him warning of its approach. Meanwhile the prams and bomb-vessels of Lyapunov's squadron began the bombardment of Memel on July 2nd in conjunction with the Russian army, and on the 5th the town surrendered.* Mishukov now moved to Danzig, and arrived there on July 15th.

It soon became obvious that no English fleet was likely to put in an appearance, and the Russian fleet received fresh orders. On August 19th Mishukov left Danzig with ten battleships. He had sent home his three 80 gun ships on the 12th, and he left on the German coast five battleships and a frigate under Admiral Myatlev. With the rest of his fleet he sailed for Karlskrona to co-operate with the Swedes. The *Uriil* 66 and *Rafail* 66 had to be detached on the way, and sent to Revel for repairs, and finally on September 3rd heavy weather forced the Russians into Karlshamn. At once Mishukov received orders to return to Russia; on the 7th he weighed anchor, and on the 15th he was back at Revel. Myatlev had soon abandoned his position. The *Moskva* 66 and *Gavriil* 66 had to be sent home almost at once, and on August 28th he reached Revel with his other ships. On September 8th he put to sea again with the *Poltava* 66, *Moskva* 66, and the *Uriil* 66, from the main fleet, and proceeded to Kronstadt, leaving the *Gavriil* 66, *Varachail* 66, and *Shlisselburg* 54 at Revel. On the 22nd, a week after Mishukov's return, the two last-named ships were sent out again with the *Natalia* 66, *Syeverynyi Orel* 66, and *Revel* 66, under Vice-Admiral Polyandskii. Mishukov, with the remaining ships, left Revel on September 25th, and reached Kronstadt on the 28th, but Polyandskii went to Danzig, where he lay from October 2nd to 23rd, sending out his ships in turn to cruise at sea, and was not back at Revel till November 6th.

* The Russian ships stayed there till the end of September. The *Vachmeister* 32 was wrecked near Revel on October 14th.

The Russian galley fleet had not found much to do. Early in June thirty-seven galleys reached Libau,* and in August ten of these were sent past Memel into the Kurisches Haff with supplies for the army. At the beginning of September this detachment engaged some Prussian troops on the eastern branch of the Pregel, but this was its only fighting. Twenty-one galleys wintered at Libau and sixteen at Memel. On land the Russians had been thoroughly successful. Not only had they taken Memel, but they had also defeated a Prussian army on August 30th at Wehlau, 75 miles to the south. Now, however, came a change in Russian policy. The Tsarina Elisabeth fell ill, and Bestuzhev, her Chancellor knowing that her heir Peter, formerly Duke of Holstein, was disposed to side with Frederick the Great, thought it wiser to withdraw the Russian army, and thus sacrificed the advantages of the year's campaign.

Both in Denmark and Sweden the year had witnessed considerable mobilisations. At first both countries were officially neutral, and it was arranged to continue the joint North Sea fleet. The following were the ships equipped for this purpose:—

Swedes.—*Louisa Ulrika* 72, *Frihet* 66, *Hessen Cassel* 64, *Uppland* 50, *Södermanland* 50, *Drottningholm* 42, *Illerim* 36, *Postiljon* 32.

Danes.—*Dronning Juliane Marie* 70, *Sejer* 60, *Sjaelland* 60, *Slesvig* 50, *Ditmarschen* 50, *Nelleblad* 50, *Doque* 30, *Hvide Orn* 30.

The Danes under Schouthynacht Rømeling left Copenhagen about the middle of June, and a little later the Swedes arrived. Now difficulties arose. As the Swedish commander had held the position of Commander-in-Chief for a fortnight in 1756 the Danish Government claimed that Rømeling should be the first to act as such this year, but the Swedes insisted that either Schouthynacht Lagerbjelke, their senior officer, should be in command for the balance of the two months, or that a new draw should take place. No agreement could be reached, and on July 16th, instead of going to Flekkerö to join the Danes, the Swedish squadron returned to Karlskrona. It was, as a matter of fact, recalled to assist in the transport of troops to Pomerania for the attack on Prussia. Eleven battleships and four frigates† were commissioned for this purpose, and this fleet, together with the North Sea Squadron, transported during August no less than 17,000 soldiers to the

* Four others were lost on the way.

† *Prins Carl Fredrik* 72, *Stockholm* 68, *Fredrik Rex* 62, *Adolf Fredrik* 62, *Sophia Charlotta* 60, *Finland* 60, *Bremen* 60, *Prins Wilhelm* 54, *Sparre* 54, *Pommern* 54, *Fredrika Amalia* 52, *Svarta Orn* 40, *Mercurius* 36, *Phœnix* 36, *Fama* 32.

Pomeranian coast. At the same time, two prams and four galleys* were sent from Karlskrona to Stralsund, and were then stationed in the Grosses Haff to blockade Stettin. Meanwhile, negotiations were going on as to the command of the North Sea fleet, and eventually the Swedes gave way. On September 19th the Swedish squadron joined the Danes at Flekkerö, and Römeling took charge. The combined fleet cruised in the North Sea till October 14th, when they returned to Copenhagen. The Danish ships were laid up for the winter, and the Swedes reached Karlskrona on the 23rd.

Next year there was no Swedish fleet in the North Sea. Instead of joining the Danes, the usual small squadron joined the Russians for operations in the Baltic. Sweden, in fact, was rapidly inclining towards a definite alliance with Russia, and this naturally roused Danish suspicions, since the approaching accession of the Duke of Holstein to the Russian throne threatened a revival of the entire Holstein question. Their squadron of six battleships and two frigates† was therefore employed in the transport of troops from Norway to Holstein, partly to guard against any possible developments of the European war, and partly to impress the Swedes and Russians. The Revel fleet of five battleships and two frigates put to sea on June 19th, and met the Swedish squadron of six battleships and two frigates off Gothland on the 29th. On July 3rd the two squadrons lost touch with one another in a fog, but on the 18th the Kronstadt fleet of eleven battleships, two frigates, and three bomb vessels joined the Revel ships, and two days later off Bornholm the Swedes rejoined. The same evening the combined fleet anchored in Kjöge Bay.

It was composed of the following ships:

Swedes.—*Götha Lejon* 74 (V.-Ad. Lagerbjelke), *Fredrik Rex* 62, *Bremen* 60, *Sophia Charlotta* 60, *Sparre* 54, *Fredrika Amalia* 52, *Falk* 36, *Phoenix* 36.

Russians from Revel.—*Syevernyi Orel* 66 (V.-Ad. Polyandskii), *Natalia* 66, *Revel* 66, *Shlisselburg* 54, *Varachail* 54, *Rossia* 32, *Kreiser* 32.

Russians from Kronstadt.—*Sv. Nikolai* 84 (Ad. Mishukov), *Sv. Pavel* 80, *Sv. Ioann Zlatoust* 1. 80, *Aleksandr Nevskii* 66, *Sv. Sergii* 66, *Gavriil* 66, *Uriil* 66, *Moskva* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, *Poltava* 66, *Astrachan* 66, *Yagudiil* 32, *Archangel Michail* 32, *Yupiter* 10, *Samson* 10, *Donder* 10.

Total, 22 battleships, with 1,440 guns.

An English fleet was again expected in the Baltic, and to prevent its passage the Russo-Swedish fleet lay in Kjöge Bay

* *Hector* 26, *Achilles* 26, *Carlskrona* 12, *Bleking* 12, *Cronoborg* 12, *Malmö* 12.

† *Kjöbenhavn* 70, *Oldenborg* 60, *Sejer* 60, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Ditmarschen* 50, *Slesvig* 50, *Bornholm* 40, *Doque* 30.

until September 8th. The Danish squadron anchored in Kjöge Bay on August 21st, but did not actually join the combined fleet. On leaving Danish waters the Swedes went straight to Karlskrona, but the Russians visited Rügen and the Pomeranian coast, and did not reach Revel until October 3rd. The *Moskva* 66 was wrecked near Libau, but most of her crew were saved by the galleys. The Kronstadt ships left Revel on October 10th, and reached Kronstadt next evening.

In 1759 the Danes, being still suspicious of Russia and Sweden, commissioned a fleet of twelve battleships and six frigates,* but these ships never left Copenhagen. The Russians, on the other hand, got to sea early in the year. On April 29th two frigates† left Revel to cruise near Pillau, and they were followed on May 10th and 13th by three battleships. Two of these, the *Varachail* 54 and *Astrachan* 66, went to Riga to convoy storeships to Pillau, while the third, the *Natalia* 66, was sent to Kiel on a similar errand. The remaining ships of the Revel squadron, the *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Revel* 66, and *Sv. Michail* 32, put to sea on May 13th and proceeded to Danzig. Arriving there on the 23rd, they found a Swedish frigate, but on the 29th they left again and steered west. The Swedish army in Stralsund wished to occupy the island of Usedom north of Stettin, and the Russian ships therefore took up a position off Svinemünde, the entrance to Stettin Harbour. In the meantime a Swedish squadron had left Karlskrona. Its composition was as follows:—*Götha Lejon* 74, *Hessen Cassel* 64, *Bremen* 60, *Sophia Charlotta* 60, *Uppland* 54, *Prins Wilhelm* 54, *Illerim* 36, *Falk* 36.

Vice-Admiral Lagerbjelke had intended to join the Russians and proceed to Kjöge Bay as in the previous year, but finding that there was no prospect of the arrival of an English fleet, he returned to Karlskrona and was then sent to help the Russians at Svinemünde. Accordingly, on June 28th, when Vice-Admiral Polyandskii returned with part of the Russian squadron‡ from a visit to Danzig, he found off Svinemünde, besides two Russian ships, a Swedish force of four battleships and two frigates. Three days later the combined fleet weighed anchor to cruise off Kolberg, but on July 11th it entered the Swedish port of Karlshamn. Putting to sea for a few days at the end of the month, it picked up the *Astrachan* 66, *Varachail* 54, and *Rossia* 32, but attempted no active opera-

* *Dronning Juliane Marie* 70, *Kronprinz* 70, *Wenden* 70, *Oldenborg* 60, *Sejer* 60, *Stormar* 60, *Sjælland* 60, *Grønland* 50, *Fyen* 50, *Delmenhorst* 50, *Nelleblad* 50, *Slesvig* 50, *Moen* 40, *Bornholm* 40, *Hvide Örn* 30, *Doque* 30, *Christiansborg* 24, *Vildmand* 18. The *Doque* was replaced in June by the *Ditmarschen* 50. The *Grønland*, *Fyen*, *Moen*, and *Christianborg* were employed on convoy duty.

† *Kreiser* 32, *Rossia* 32.

‡ The *Natalia* 66 had rejoined on the 18th.

tions and stayed in Karlshamn till the middle of August.* The *Revel* 66 had been left off Svinemünde, and she was relieved early in August by the *Natalia* 66 and sent to Danzig to land her sick. On August 14th the combined fleet left Karlshamn again. Two days later the Swedes returned to Karlskrona, and on the 17th the Russians reached Danzig. The same day the Kronstadt fleet arrived. It had left Kronstadt on August 5th, and was composed of the following ships:—*Sv. Nikolai* 80, *Aleksandr Nevskii* 66, *Gavriil* 66, *Sv. Sergii* 66, *Uriil* 66, *Poltava* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, *Shlisselburg* 54, *Sv. Nikolai* 54, *Archangel Michail* 32.

For some time the resulting fleet of thirteen battleships and four frigates lay idle at Danzig,† and on September 3rd the Kronstadt ships left for their home port. At the same time the *Revel* squadron left Danzig for a cruise, but was back again on the 14th, and went home on the 26th. On October 6th it reached Revel, and two days later it went into the harbour,‡ but three battleships, two frigates,§ and some small craft were sent from Revel to Danzig and did not return till November 18th.

Meanwhile the Swedish galley squadron had found some occupation. The Prussians in Stettin had collected a considerable flotilla in the harbour, and it became necessary to attack them; the galleys at Stralsund were therefore sent into the harbour through the passage between Usedom and the mainland. They left Stralsund on August 14th and passed Wolgast two days later; but at Anclam, fifteen miles to the south, the water became so shallow that they had to be lightened. On the 22nd the Prussians attacked, but were driven off by the Swedish batteries, and on September 2nd the Swedish ships entered the Kleines Haff, the western part of Stettin Harbour. The Prussian flotilla withdrew to the passage between the Kleines Haff and the Grosses Haff, and on September 10th the Swedes attacked.

The two flotillas were as follows:—

Prussians.—Galliot: *König von Preussen* 14, *Prinz von Preussen* 14, *Prinz Heinrich* 14, *Prinz Wilhelm* 14. Galleys: *Jupiter* 11, *Mars* 11, *Neptunus* 10, *Merkurius* 10; five armed boats.

Swedes.—Galleys: *Carlskrona* 13, *Cronoborg* 13, *Malmö* 13,

* The *Kreiser* 32 joined on August 11th.

† The *Sv. Michail* 32 was sent to Svinemünde, and joined the *Natalia* 66 and two Swedish frigates.

‡ The *Natalia* 66 had rejoined from Svinemünde.

§ *Revel* 66, *Varachail* 54, *Neptunus* 54, *Kreiser* 32, *Rossia* 32. The *Neptunus* had sailed from Archangel with the *Rafail* 66 and four pinks on July 20th. The battleships had reached Revel on September 13th and 25th respectively, the pinks on October 5th.

Bleking 13. Half galleys: *Svärdfisk* 5, *Delphin* 5, *Cabilliou* 5, *Stor* 5. One bomb vessel, three sloops, fourteen armed boats.

Ruthensparre, the Swedish commander, advanced in four lines. The four galleys composed the first, the half-galleys the second, the bomb vessels and the sloops the third, and the boats the fourth; but the fleet formed single line abreast on coming into range. Three half-galleys and five boats were sent into Neuwarf Bay, to the south, to observe ten ships there, but these were found to be neutrals. With the rest of his fleet Ruthensparre closed in and boarded. After four hours' resistance all the larger Prussian ships were captured, though the smaller boats escaped. Over 600 prisoners were taken, but the Swedes lost only thirteen killed and twenty-one wounded. As a result of this action the island of Wollin was evacuated by the Prussians, and occupied by the Swedes, so that the latter, having already taken Usedom, had complete control over the approaches to Stettin.

On land the Russian army had advanced again, and had taken Königsberg, a town eighty miles east of Danzig. It then moved west in conjunction with the Austrians, and on August 12th the allies defeated the Prussians at Kunersdorf, near Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. As before, the Russians failed to take advantage of their victory, and the Austrians alone were unable to effect anything.

Next year Kolberg became the objective of the Allies. This town is situated on the coast, one hundred miles east of Stralsund, and was, therefore, a suitable goal for a combined naval and military attack. Denmark had at last acceded to the Russo-Swedish alliance, and the arrangement was that the Russian and Swedish ships should operate together in the Baltic, while the Danish fleet prevented any foreign fleet from coming to help Prussia. With this object a Danish squadron of six battleships and two frigates* was commissioned, but most of the ships were sent away on convoy work, and the three or four vessels left at Copenhagen could have done little to protect the passage of the Sound and the Belt.

However, no enemy appeared, and the Russians and the Swedes were free to act as they liked in the Baltic. The Russian Kronstadt fleet of fourteen battleships and three bomb vessels put to sea on August 5th. Four days later it picked up seven battleships and three frigates from Revel, and on

* *Kronprinz* 70, *Sejer* 60 (1), *Stormar* 60, *Grønland* 50 (2), *Fyen* 50 (3), *Ebenetzer* 50 (4), *Christiansborg* 24 (5), *Vildmand* 18 (6). (1) Sent to Morocco with an Ambassador, May 31st—October 22nd. (2) Sent for convoy duty in Mediterranean, December 24th. (3) Sent with convoy to Mediterranean, May 6th—November 14th. (4) Sent to Iceland for fishery protection, April 17th—July 29th. (5) Sent with convoy to West Indies, May 21st—October. (6) Sent into Baltic and to convoy from Norway, August 19th—October 18th.

September 5th the entire Russian fleet arrived off Kolberg. Its composition was as follows:—

Kronstadt ships: *Sv. Dimitrii Rostovskii* 100, *Sv. Kliment Papa Rimskii* 80, *Sv. Nikolai* 80, *Sv. Pavel* 80, *Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi* 80, *Sv. Ioann Zlatoust I.* 80, *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, *Gavriil* 66, *Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii* 66, *Uriil* 66, *Sv. Sergii* 66, *Shlisselburg* 54, *Sv. Nikolai* 54, *Samson* 10, *Yupiter* 10, *Donder* 10. Revel ships: *Poltava* 66, *Astrachan* 66, *Rafail* 66, *Revel* 66, *Natalia* 66, *Varachail* 54, *Neptunus* 54, *Rossia* 32, *Kreiser* 32, *Sv. Michail* 32.

Two days after his arrival Admiral Mishukov sent in his bomb vessels with his two 54-gun battleships and the frigates *Rossia* and *Kresier* to open fire on the fortifications. At the same time he landed a force of 3,000 troops and seamen, who occupied a small fort on the eastern bank of the river Persante. Next day, August 18th, the following Swedish ships arrived:—

Prins Gustaf 70, *Enighet* 70, *Adolf Fredrik* 62, *Frihet* 66, *Södermanland* 50, *Sophia Charlotta* 60, *Illerim* 36, *Ekholm-sund* 26.

The Swedes, however, took no part in the bombardment, and eventually the attack had to be abandoned. The landing force was re-embarked on September 19th, but left behind 600 prisoners and twenty-two guns. Next day the Swedish fleet left for Karlskrona, and on the 21st the Russian ships also put to sea. Putting into Revel from September 29th to October 5th, they detached five battleships and a frigate* to winter there, and reached Kronstadt on October 9th.

The Russians and Austrians had met with a considerable amount of success on land, but had accomplished nothing decisive. The latter, after winning one battle and losing a second, joined the Russians, and succeeded in occupying Berlin; but this occupation lasted only four days, from October 9th to the 13th. On the approach of Frederick the Great the Allies withdrew, and on November 3rd they were defeated by him at Torgau, in Saxony. The Swedes had done little to influence the course of the war, either ashore or afloat. Their light vessels were stationed at various points in the neighbourhood of Stralsund and Stettin, but no fighting occurred this year.

In 1761 the Prussians had again a fairly important force in Stettin Harbour. Besides two galleys, *Pallas* and *Juno*, two prams, *Pluto* and *Proserpina*, and seven boats, they had built two frigates, *Preussen* and *Schlesien*, carrying twelve 18-pounders each. As a reply to these General Major Ehrensvärd, commanding the Swedish flotilla, cut down his two prams

* *Sv. Kliment Papa Rimskii* 80, *Rafail* 66, *Revel* 66, *Natalia* 66, *Poltava* 66, *Sv. Michail* 32. Two new battleships from Archangel, the *Moskva* 66 and *Sv. Petr* 66, also wintered at Revel.

Hector and *Achilles*, to reduce their draught, and brought them into the harbour. This addition to the Swedish strength prevented any general action, though a few Swedish boats were taken by a surprise attack in the night of September 5th.

At sea the year 1761 was practically a repetition of 1760. Denmark commissioned ten battleships and four frigates,* but, save for convoy work and sailing trials, these ships lay idle in Copenhagen Harbour. As before, the Russian squadrons combined near Revel, and moved west. The junction took place on June 29th, and a month later the fleet anchored off Rügenwalde, thirty-five miles east of Kolberg. A few ships were sent to reconnoitre off Kolberg, and on August 22nd the whole fleet proceeded thither. On the 25th the bombardment began. The ships employed were the battleships *Astrachan* 66 and *Rafail* 66, the frigates *Archangel Michail* 32 and *Rossia* 32, and the bomb-vessels *Samson* 10, *Yupiter* 10, and *Donder* 10. On August 27th the Swedish fleet arrived, and the allied fleet was thereafter composed as follows:—

Russians:—Kronstadt ships: *Sv. Dimitrii Rostovskii* 100, *Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi* 80, *Sv. Nikolai* 80, *Sv. Pavel* 80, *Sv. Ioann Zlatoust* 80, *Ingermanland* 66, *Astrachan* 66, *Gavriil* 66, *Shlisselburg* 54, *Varachail* 54, *Neptunus* 54, *Rossia* 32, *Donder* 10, *Samson* 10, *Yupiter* 10. Revel ships: *Sv. Kliment Papa Rimskii* 80, *Natalia* 66, *Revel* 66, *Moskva* 66, *Sv. Petr* 66, *Poltava* 66, *Rafail* 66, *Archangel Michail* 32.

Swedes†:—*Prins Gustaf* 72, *Prins Carl* 60, *Sophia Charlotta* 60, *Bremen* 56, *Sparre* 52, *Uppland* 52, *Illerim* 36, *Jarramas* 34.

The Swedes, as before, took no part in the bombardment; but they assisted in the landing of a Russian force of 2,000 men on September 2nd. The attack went on until September 25th, but little effect was produced, and on the following day the landing force was re-embarked. On October 5th the greater part of the Swedish squadron left for home, and on the 9th the Russian fleet also sailed. Two Russian battleships and a frigate were left off Kolberg, with two Swedish battleships, but withdrew on October 18th. The Russian fleet reached Revel on November 2nd.‡ Kolberg surrendered to the Russian army on December 17th.

* Denmark 70, *Dronning Louise* 70, *Oldenborg* 60, *Sejer* 60, *Island* 60, *Stormar* 60, *St. Croix* 50 (1), *Ebenetzer* 50, *Slesvig* 50 (1), *Fyen* 50 (1), *Moen* 40 (2), *Falster* 30 (3), *Hvide Ørn* 30 (4), *Christiansborg* 24 (3). (1) Convoyed troops to Holstein in May. (2) Sent to the Mediterranean. (3) On trial in the Baltic. (4) Training duties in the Baltic.

† Guns from list given to the Russian Admiral (Materials X 613 n).

‡ The *Revel* 66 had reached Revel on September 19th. The *Sv. Ioann Zlatoust I.* 80, *Gavriil* 66, and *Shlisselburg* 54 had left the fleet on September 21st and arrived at Kronstadt on October 12th. The *Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi* 80, *Sv. Nikolai* 80, *Sv. Pavel* 80, *Rossia* 32, and the three bomb vessels came to Kronstadt later.

squadron of three battleships and five other ships left Kronstadt on October 20th and reached Portsmouth early in January.* At last, in June, 1770, a fleet of nine battleships was assembled in the Grecian Archipelago. Elphinstone's division had already been engaged by the Turks, and on July 5th the Russian fleet attacked fourteen Turkish battleships in the Bay of Tchesma, near Scio. Both flagships were burnt, but the action was indecisive, though the Turks retreated. That night the Russians sent in fireships and burnt the entire Turkish fleet with the exception of one battleship, *Rhodos* 60, which was taken. This was the only important naval action of the war. Besides the *Sv. Evstafie* 66 burnt in action the Russians lost by accident the *Svyatoslav* 80 and the prize *Rhodos* 60, but in January, 1771, they were joined by three more battleships from the Baltic.† In December, 1772, another three battleships‡ arrived, and a year later four more followed.§ A treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was concluded in 1774, and during the following year thirteen Russian battleships returned to the Baltic.||

Denmark also sent a squadron to the Mediterranean at this time. In 1746, with the aid of a squadron of three battleships¶ commercial treaties had been concluded between Denmark and the various North African States, but the Algerians had ceased to respect their agreement, and in 1770 it became necessary to use force. In the previous year eight battleships and two frigates** had been commissioned at Copenhagen, and had undertaken a short cruise in the Baltic in October. For the expedition to Algiers a squadron was prepared consisting of four battleships, two frigates,†† two bomb-vessels, and two store-ships, and on May 2nd, 1770, these ships left Copenhagen under Schouthynacht Kaas. After an unsuccessful bombardment of Algiers on July 8th Kaas withdrew to Port Mahon, where he was replaced by Schouthynacht Hooglant. In November another battleship was sent out, and a year later two others,‡‡

* *Ne tron menya* 66 (R.-Ad. Elphinstone); *Sarator* 66; *Tver* 66 (sent back to Revel and replaced by the *Svyatoslav* 80 from the First Squadron).

† *Sv. Georgii Pobedyonosets* 66; *Vsevolod* 66; *Azia* 66.

‡ *Tchesma* 80; *Pobyeda* 66; *Graf Orlov* 66.

§ *Isidor* 74; *Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii* 66; *Dimitrii Donskoi* 66; *Mironosits* 66.

|| Three others, the *Sv. Ianuarii* 66, *Trech Svyatiteli* 66, and *Azia* 54 had been sold. The *Ne tron menya* 66 was cut down.

¶ *Oldenborg* 60; *Sydermanland* 46; *Delmenhorst* 50.

** *Dronning Juliane Maria* 70; *Sjaelland* 60; *Christiansøe* 30; *Norske Løve* 70; *Slesvig* 50; *Færøe* 20; *Island* 60; *Mars* 50; *Prinsesse Wilhelmine Caroline* 60; *St. Croix* 50.

†† *Prins Friderich* 70; *Prinsesse Sophia Magdalena* 60; *Slesvig* 50; *Mars* 50; *Christiansøe* 30; *Havfru* 30.

‡‡ *Grønland* 50; *Prinsesse Wilhelmine Caroline* 60; *Sejer* 60.

but diplomacy managed to bring the Algerians to terms, and in 1772 the squadron returned to Copenhagen.

In the following year both Denmark and Russia had considerable fleets in commission in the Baltic. Both in Denmark and in Sweden there had been a change of rulers. Adolf Fredrik of Sweden had died in 1771, and was succeeded by Gustaf III., while Frederik V. of Denmark had been succeeded by Christian VII. in 1766. There was a good deal of mutual suspicion among the three Baltic Powers, but for the moment hostilities were averted. Denmark mobilised a fleet of twelve battleships and four frigates,* while the Russian squadrons at Kronstadt and Revel consisted respectively of six battleships with four frigates† and of seven battleships with one frigate.‡ Three of the Danish battleships§ were sent to transport troops from Norway to Jylland, and on June 20th the rest of the fleet put to sea to cruise between Bornholm and Öland. The Russian Kronstadt squadron reached Revel on June 21st, and left again on the 29th for Gothland; on August 27th it was back at Revel, and on September 28th it sailed for Kronstadt. On June 25th five battleships left Revel for the Western Baltic,|| and on July 13th they anchored in Kjöge Bay. Six days later the Danish fleet returned to Copenhagen. On August 2nd the Russians put to sea again, and after cruising for a few days off Bornholm they reached Revel on September 7th. An offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Denmark was signed on August 12th, 1773.

1774.—Next year another small Russian squadron visited Danish waters. Five battleships and a frigate¶ left Revel on July 27th, and arrived in Kjöge Bay on August 17th. On September 22nd they entered Copenhagen Harbour, and on October 3rd they left again for Revel, where they arrived on October 11th. Fifteen Russian battleships were in commission in 1775, but never left their home waters.

In 1779 all three Baltic powers mobilised squadrons of a

* *Praetige* 80; *Kronprinz* 70; *Øresund* 70; *Norske Løve* 70; *Prins Friderich* 70; *Neptunus* 60; *Island* 60; *Prinsesse Sophia Magdalena* 60; *Stormar* 60; *Sjaelland* 60; *St. Croix* 50; *Ebenetzer* 50; *Christiansøe* 30; *Falster* 30; *Søe-Ridder* 18; *Langeland* 18.

† *Sv. Panteleimon* 74; *Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi* 72; *Vyatcheslav* 66; *Viktor* 66; *Sv. Yakov* 66; *Gorod Archangelsk* 54; *Gremyashchii* 32; *Aleksandr* 8; *Nadezhda* 10; *Ekaterina* 20.

‡ *Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii* 66; *Pamyat Evstafie* 66; *Mironosits* 66; *Knyaz Vladimir* 66; *Boris i Glyeb* 66; *Deris* 66; *Preslava* 66; *Sv. Feodor* 32.

§ *Sjaelland*, *St. Croix*, and *Neptunus*.

|| *Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii*, *Deris*, *Mironosits*, *Knyaz Vladimir*, and the *Vyatcheslav* from the Kronstadt Squadron.

¶ *Vladimir* 66; *Vyatcheslav* 66; *Deris* 66; *Preslava* 66; *Boris i Glyeb* 66; *Sv. Astafii* 32.

fair strength. The revolt of England's American colonies in 1775 led, in 1778, to the outbreak of war between England and France, and in the following year Spain also attacked England. To protect their trade the three Northern Powers sent out considerable fleets. The chief part in 1779 was taken by Sweden, which mobilised ten battleships and six frigates, and sent all but four battleships into the North Sea. The Danes also commissioned a fleet of ten battleships and six frigates, but only five battleships and four frigates left the Sound. Two Russian battleships and two frigates were sent out from Revel, and were joined in the North Sea by a similar force from Archangel.

Lists of the various fleets follow:—

Swedes:—*Sophia Magdalena* 70, *Götha Lejon* 70, *Kung Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Prins Gustaf* 70, *Wasa* 62, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Prins Carl* 62, *Sophia Albertina* 62, *Hertig Ferdinand* 60, *Finland* 60.

Danes:—*Sophia Friderica* 70, *Jylland* 70, *Elephant* 70, *Prinds Friderich* 70, *Holsteen* 60, *Wagrien* 60, *Indfødsret* 60, *Dannebroke* 60, *Ebenetzer* 50, *Grønland* 50.

Russians:—*Vyatcheslav* 66, *Preslava* 66, *Chrabryi* 66, *Nikolai* 66.

Of the Swedish fleet the *Götha Lejon*, *Prins Gustaf*, *Prins Carl*, and *Finland* were left in reserve at Karlskrona, but the rest of the fleet went into the North Sea. After cruising there for some time it sent off its frigates with various convoys and returned to Karlskrona, stopping at Copenhagen on the way. Two Danish battleships, the *Wagrien* and *Indfødsret*, cruised on the west coast of Norway during the summer, and two others, the *Prinsesse Sophia Frederica* and *Prinds Friderich*, were sent out for trials, while the *Holsteen* went to the Cape of Good Hope to convoy homeward-bound Indiamen. The Russian Revel ships passed the Sound at the end of May, and sailed for the North Cape. In July the Archangel ships joined them, and in October the squadron passed Copenhagen on its way to Kronstadt.*

In 1780 the "Armed Neutrality" was formed. Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Portugal, Austria, and the Two Sicilies agreed to insist on the rights of neutral trade. England at once declared war on Holland, but took no steps against the other countries. The following were the fleets mobilised by the Baltic Powers to support their claims:—

Swedes:—*Götha Lejon* 70, *Prins Carl Fredrik* 70, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Fredrik Rex* 62, one frigate, besides the six already at sea.

Danes:—*Prinsesse Sophia Friderica* 70, *Jylland* 70, *Prinds*

* The *Chrabryi* had to winter in Norway and the *Vyatcheslav* at Copenhagen.

Friderich 70, *Justitia* 70, *Dannebroke* 60, *Indfødsret* 60, *Wagrien* 60, *Mars* 60, *Grønland* 50, five frigates.

Russians:—First squadron: *Isidor* 74, *Azia* 66, *Amerika* 66, *Slava Rossii* 66, *Tverdyi* 66, two frigates. Second squadron: *Panteleimon* 74, *Sv. Nikolai* 66, *Blagopolutchie* 66, *Aleksandr Nevskii* 66, *Ingermanland* 66, one frigate. Third squadron: *Iezekiil* 78, *Knyaz Vladimir* 66, *Spiridon* 66, *David Selunskii* 66, *Deris* 66, one frigate.

The three Russian squadrons left Kronstadt together on June 22nd, and reached Copenhagen on July 3rd. Four weeks later they left the Sound for the North Sea. The first squadron, under Rear-Admiral Borisov, and the third, under Brigadier Palbin, called at the Texel and at Dover, and reached the Tagus on September 8th. The first squadron anchored off Lisbon, but the third cruised for nine days off Cape St. Vincent. On September 19th the third squadron left Lisbon to return to the Baltic, but bad weather kept it back, and eventually, on November 5th Palbin came back to Lisbon for the winter.* Borisov's squadron left Lisbon on October 19th, and arrived at Leghorn on November 6th.†

In the North Sea were the Danish and Swedish squadrons and the second division of the Russian fleet. Rear-Admiral Kruse left the Sound with the Russian squadron on July 31st. He put into the Downs from August 11th to 22nd for repairs, and then was compelled by sickness to go to Christianssand, in Norway. Here he stayed from August 30th to September 27th, and on October 4th he was back at Copenhagen. Joined by the *Ne tron menya* 66 from Archangel,‡ he left Copenhagen on the 13th, and reached Kronstadt on the 19th. The Danish fleet, under Vice-Admiral Von Schindel, entered the North Sea a few days after the Russians, and cruised for two months off the English and Scottish coast. At the end of September it suffered severely in a gale, and its ships eventually returned to Copenhagen one by one during October and November.§

* The *David Selunskii* 66, having a great part of her crew sick, had been detached on August 22nd to Portsmouth. Arriving there on the 26th she left again on October 22nd to meet the squadron, but failing to find it went to Copenhagen and anchored there on November 5th. The *Deris* 66 had to be left in the Tagus while the squadron was off Cape St. Vincent. On September 30th she parted from the squadron, and after looking for it at sea for a month she entered Portsmouth harbour on November 15th.

† The *Slava Rossii* 66 was wrecked near Toulon on November 3rd.

‡ The *Januarii* 66, which had left Archangel with the *Ne tron menya* in July, had to winter at Bergen. The *Chrabryi* 66 and *Vyatcheslav*, which had wintered in Norway and at Copenhagen, reached Kronstadt early in the summer.

§ The *Prinds Friderich* 70 was lost near Laeso, in the Kattegat, on September 30th. The *Indfødsret* 60 was sent in August to the Cape of Good Hope, and was not back until August 1781. The *Bornholm* 36 went to the West Indies. She was engaged in December by three English privateers, and her convoy was taken from her.

Three Swedish battleships cruised in the North Sea, but the fourth, the *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, was ordered, for some reason, "to watch the coast of Båhus," near Gothenburg.

Swedish, Danish, and Russian mobilisations for 1781 were as follows:—

Swedes.—*Kung Gustaf III.* 70, *Sophia Magdalena* 70, *Kung Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Götha Lejon* 70, *Fredrik Rex* 62, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Wasa* 62, *Prins Carl* 62, *Sophia Albertina* 62, *Hertig Ferdinand* 60,

Danes.—*Elephant* 70, *Pr. Sophia Friderica* 70, *Norske Løve* 70, *Justitia* 70, *Pr. Wilhelmine Caroline* 60, *Pr. Sophia Magdalena* 60, *Wagrien* 60, *Grønland* 50, *Ebenetzer* 50.

Russians.—*Panteleimon* 74, *Ne tron menya* 66, *Evropa* 66, *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, *Viktor* 66; also the four battleships of Borisov's squadron, the three of Palbin's, the three that had wintered in foreign ports, and two from Archangel.

The two Russian squadrons at Leghorn and Lisbon were recalled. The former put to sea on April 29th, spent three weeks at Cadiz, and reached Copenhagen on July 28th. The latter left Lisbon on May 15th, and after a day at Portsmouth and three weeks in the Downs arrived at Copenhagen on July 10th. Leaving again on the 14th, it reached Kronstadt on the 26th, while Borisov's squadron did the same a month later.* The outward bound fleet under Rear-Admiral Suchotin left Kronstadt on June 5th. The grounding of the *Panteleimon* 74 delayed it at Copenhagen for some days, but on July 7th it entered the North Sea. It passed Gibraltar on August 9th, and reached Leghorn on the 26th.

From the beginning of May to the end of August four of the Danish battleships† were stationed at the entrance of the Sound. The rest of the fleet was also there during June, but in July it cruised in the North Sea. One battleship had been cruising there before this,‡ and two others§ remained at sea till the middle of September. Three battleships|| were also left till then in the Sound, but the other ships were laid up in August. The Swedish fleet cruised in the North Sea, and sent out four convoys, two under frigates to the Mediterranean and two under battleships to Cape Finisterre. The two battleships were unfortunate: the *Sophia Albertina* 62 was wrecked on the Dutch coast, and the *Wasa* 62 was so much damaged

* The *David Selunskii*, *Ianuarii*, and *Deris* reached Kronstadt on May 19th, July 1st and July 6th respectively. The two Archangel ships, *Trech Svyatitelei* 66 and *Svyatoslav* 66 left Archangel on July 21st and reached Kronstadt on September 23rd.

† *Elephant*, *Wilhelmine Caroline*, *Sophia Magdalena*, *Grønland*.

‡ *Sophia Friderica*.

§ *Sophia Magdalena*, *Ebenetzer*.

|| *Justitia*, *Norske Løve*, *Grønland*.

in a gale on the Dogger Bank that she had to go to the Norwegian coast for extensive repairs.

Both Sweden and Denmark reduced their armaments in 1782, but Russia had again a considerable force at sea. Details of this year's fleets follow:—

Swedes.—*Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta* 62, four frigates.

Danes.—*Justitia* 70, *Sophia Friderica* 70, *Oldenburg* 60, *Holsteen* 60, *Indfødsret* 60, two frigates.

Russians.—*Konstantin* 74, *David* 66, *Svyatoslav* 66, *Pobyedonosets* 66, *Ianuarii* 66, two frigates, *Chrabryi* 66, *Nikolai* 66, *Tverdyi* 66, *Blagopolutchie* 66, *Trech Svyatitelei* 66, two frigates; also Suchotin's five battleships and two from Archangel.

The four Swedish frigates were sent off with convoys, while the battleship remained on the Swedish coast. The Danish battleship *Indfødsret* 60 left Copenhagen for the East Indies in June, and was lost at sea with all hands on her return next year. One frigate was sent out to the West Indies, and the rest of the squadron stayed near home. It reached Helsingør on June 20th and lay there for some time, and then cruised in the Kattegat and Skagerrack. The *Oldenburg* 60 stayed in the Sound till the end of September, but the other ships were laid up at the beginning of that month. The Russian squadron at Leghorn put to sea on May 13th, and reached Kronstadt on July 13th. The two outward-bound fleets under Vice-Admiral Tchitchagov and Rear-Admiral Von Kruse left Kronstadt on July 1st. They were at Copenhagen from July 24th to August 1st, and ten days later they parted off the south coast of Norway. Tchitchagov's fleet was in the Downs for the first few days of September, and then proceeded on its way to the Mediterranean. It was scattered by heavy weather, but no ship was lost, and at various dates between October 15th and November 28th its ships arrived safely at Leghorn. Kruse's ships visited Dover, and then had to spend nearly a month at Christianssand for repairs. On September 21st they anchored off Copenhagen, and on the 30th they were back at Kronstadt.*

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 put an end to England's wars with France, Spain, and Holland, and thus did away with the necessity for the "Armed Neutrality." Six Swedish battleships were commissioned at Karlskrona, but did not leave harbour. The Russian squadron at Leghorn stayed there the whole year, and a squadron of five battleships under Suchotin went no further than from Kronstadt to Revel and back, though two battleships† and two frigates were sent from Archangel

* The *Vysheslav* 66 and *Rodislav* 66 had arrived there from Archangel on September 8th.

† *Metcheslav* 66 and *Boleslav* 66.

to the Baltic. The Danish battleship *Oldenborg* 60 was sent on convoy duty to the Mediterranean, but no other Danish battleships were mobilised. In 1784 relations between Denmark and Sweden were somewhat strained, but only four Danish battleships* were commissioned, and these were only used for training purposes. The Russian squadron under Admiral Tchitchagov was recalled from the Mediterranean, and reached Copenhagen on August 8th. Here it was joined by three battleships† from Archangel and by seven from Kronstadt‡. Tchitchagov left Copenhagen on August 25th and reached Kronstadt with his fifteen battleships on September 1st.

For the next three years neither Sweden nor Denmark had any battleships in commission, but there was a large Russian fleet at sea in 1785. A squadron of fifteen battleships§ left Kronstadt under Vice-Admiral Kruse on July 18th. It went as far west as Bornholm, returned to Revel, and after another short cruise was back at Kronstadt on September 6th. In 1786 and 1787 the Russian Kronstadt fleet consisted of only five battleships, which cruised as far as Bornholm. During these three years five newly-built battleships|| had come to Kronstadt from Archangel, but otherwise there were no further naval movements in the Baltic before the outbreak of the war between Sweden and Russia in 1788.

* *Sophia Friderica* 70, *Oldenborg* 60, *Wagrien* 60, *Ditmarschen* 60.

† *Yaroslav* 74, *Vladislav* 74, *Izyaslav* 66.

‡ *Izekiil* 78, *Ioann Bogoslov* 74, *Vysheslav* 66, *Boleslav* 66, *Metcheslav* 66, *Rodislav* 66, *Evropa* 66.

§ *Trech Ierarchov* 100, *Rostislav* 100, *Izekiil* 78, *Ioann Bogoslov* 74, *Vladislav* 74, *Yaroslav* 74, *Pobyedoslav* 74, *Konstantin* 74, *Izyaslav* 66, *Metcheslav* 66, *Boleslav* 66, *Rodislav* 66, *Vysheslav* 66, *Trech Svyatitelei* 66, *Svyatoslav* 66.

|| In 1785 the *Mstislav* 74 and *Vseslav* 74, and in 1787 the *Sv. Petr* 74, *Kir Ioann* 74 and *Panteleimon* 66.

SECTION XIII.

THE WAR BETWEEN SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.

1788-1790.

In September, 1787, Turkey declared war on Russia. This gave Gustaf III. a chance of recovering the territory lost by Sweden in the two last wars, and in June, 1788, he left Stockholm for the invasion of Russian Finland. He was undoubtedly encouraged in this adventure by England and Prussia, though their help went little beyond compelling Denmark to remain neutral. Still, there was good reason to expect success in an attack on Russia at this moment, since by far the greater part of the Russian army was engaged in the war with Turkey. Besides this, a considerable detachment of the Russian fleet was ordered to sail for the Levant under Greig to draw off the attention of the Turks from the new Russian Black Sea Squadron, which was at present only six battleships strong. Altogether Russia had a force of fifty-four battleships at this time, as compared with twenty-six in the Swedish fleet, but of these six were in the Black Sea, five were still at Archangel, where they had been built, fifteen were about to leave for the Mediterranean, and, of the twenty-eight remaining, nineteen were quite unfit for sea. All of the twenty-six Swedish battleships were more or less efficient, so that there was a possibility, if arrangements were made properly, of being able to bring odds of practically three to one against the nine Russian battleships in the Baltic. Here, however, the scheme failed; through undue haste on the part of Gustaf III. the attack was made when only three of the fifteen battleships destined for the Mediterranean had actually started, and, moreover, before the whole of the Swedish fleet was ready for sea.

On April 19th, 1788, orders reached Karlskrona to commission a squadron of twelve battleships and five frigates, on May 31st Carl, Duke of Södermanland, hoisted his flag as Commander-in-Chief, and on June 9th the fleet left Karlskrona.

Its composition was as follows:—

Gustaf III. 70 (Duke Carl), *Prins Gustaf* 70 (Wachtmeister), *Sophia Magdalena* 70, *Gustaf Adolf* 62, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta* 62, *Dygd* 62, *Ära* 62, *Försigtighet* 62, *Fädernesland* 62, *Ömhet* 62, *Rättvisa* 62, *Wasa* 60, 4 frigates of 40 each, 1 frigate of 34, 8 small craft.

Sending the *Patriot* sloop to Danzig for information as to

the Russian movements Duke Carl worked slowly eastward, exercising his fleet on the way. On June 21st, between Gothland and Dagö several Russian ships were sighted. The weather was thick, and for some time it was impossible to make out their force, but at nine o'clock in the evening it became clear enough to see that they were three three-deckers and four frigates. These were the first detachment of the fleet intended for the Mediterranean, and had been sent on in advance to give the three-deckers time to lighten ship for the passage of the Sound. News of the Swedish preparations had reached Russia on May 24th, but for the moment no alterations had been made in the Russian plans. On June 15th Vice-Admiral Von Dessen left Kronstadt with the battleships *Saratov* 100, *Trech Ierarchov* 100, *Tchesma* 100, the frigate *Nadezhda* 32, and three storeships bound for Copenhagen, but at the same time three frigates* were sent out to look for the Swedish fleet, and the five battleships intended for the Baltic were added to Greig's fleet.

Duke Carl, on meeting Von Dessen's ships, found himself in an awkward position. He had strict orders not to attack until he received definite instructions to do so, but on the other hand he knew that the outbreak of war was only a matter of a day or two, and was naturally loth to let slip such a valuable prize. Still, he decided to obey his orders, but tried to make the Russians attack him first. On the morning of June 22nd he sent the *Fröja* 40 to demand a salute from Von Dessen, hoping that he would refuse it, but the Russian commander, though insisting that he paid the honour to Duke Carl as a Prince, not as a Swedish Admiral, gave the required salute, and had therefore to be allowed to proceed on his voyage in safety. The Swedish fleet steered north towards Hangö; the *Fröja* sighted the three Russian frigates, and on the 25th the fleet met the *Mstislavets* 44, which fired a salute and went off to Kronstadt with the news of the approach of the Swedes. On June 29th she reached Kronstadt, and on July 3rd Greig put to sea with his fleet.

Meanwhile Gustav III. had embarked his army of 8,000 men in the galley fleet and had left Stockholm on June 24th with 28 galleys and 30 gun-boats. On June 26th the Russian Ambassador was asked to leave Stockholm; on July 1st the Swedish galley-fleet passed the sailing fleet off Hangö, next day the troops were landed at Helsingfors, and on the 3rd the Swedes began a bombardment of the Russian fortress of Nyslott in the interior of Finland. Duke Carl had sent out four ships to cruise on the 2nd, and four days later he weighed with the whole fleet, picked up his cruisers, and steered

* *Mstislavets* 44, *Yaroslavets* 36, *Gektor* 26.

towards Revel. On July 7th he received orders to open hostilities, and next day he captured the Russian frigates *Yaroslavets* 36 and *Gektor* (*Hector*) 26 near Nargen, just north of Revel; the Russian ships were taken by surprise, and surrendered without firing. After this the Swedish fleet sailed with its prizes to Mjölö, south of Helsingfors; the *Ara* went aground, but was got off unharmed, and on July 11th Duke Carl was reinforced by four ships from Karlskrona, the *Enighet* 70, *Prins Carl* 62, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, and *Camilla* 40, conveying a further 3,000 troops. On July 14th he left Mjölö, steering eastwards, to meet the Russians.

At the same time Greig was working slowly westward. He had shifted his flag to the *Rostislav* 100, one of the five ships intended to be left in the Baltic, and had arranged his fleet of seventeen battleships in the usual three squadrons under Rear-Admiral M. Von Dessen, himself, and Rear-Admiral Koslanianov. On July 9th the fleet left Krasna Gorka, in the evening of the 14th it approached the island of Hogland, and in the morning of the 17th it sighted the Swedes north-west of that island. The wind was E.S.E., a light breeze, and the Russians to windward in a close-hauled line on the starboard tack, while the Swedes were on the port tack in a bow and quarter line, thus having the general direction of their line parallel to that of the Russians. At about 11 a.m., as the Russians finished forming their line, Duke Carl also put his fleet on the starboard tack by making them tack together. At 1.30 p.m. he reformed his line on the port tack in the natural order, it having been up to now in reversed order. About 2.30 the Swedish fleet tacked together to a bow and quarter line on the starboard tack, and a little before 4 o'clock it tacked together again and formed close-hauled line on the port tack. Meanwhile the Russian fleet had been gradually coming down before the wind more or less on the starboard tack, and now, wearing simultaneously to the port tack, it bore away towards the Swedish line.

The composition and order of the two fleets were as follows:—

Swedes.—*Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta* 62, *Grip* 40, *Ömhjet* 62, *Prins Gustaf* 70, *Rättvisa* 62, *Camilla* 40, *Enighet* 70, *Fröja* 40, *Dygd* 62, *Wasa* 60, *Gustaf III.* 70 (f.), *Fädernesland* 62, *Ara* 62, *Minerva* 40, *Försigtighet* 62, *Thetis* 40, *Prins Carl* 62, *Sophia Magdalena* 70, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Prins Gustaf Adolf* 62: 20 ships, 1,180 guns.

Russians.—*Boleslav* 66, *Ioann Bogoslov* 74, *Vseslav* 74, *Vysheislav* 66, *Metcheslav* 66, *Rodislav* 66, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Sv. Petr* 74, *Mstislav* 74, *Rostislav* 100 (f.), *Iziaslav* 66, *Vladislav* 74, *Viktor* 66, *Yaroslav* 74, *Kir Ioann* 74, *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, *Deris* 66: 17 ships, 1,220 guns.

Possibly the Swedish ships may have carried more guns than are given here; certainly some of them carried more in the latter part of the war, but probably the figures given are correct for 1788.

Out of the line the Swedes had five frigates and a sloop,* the Russians seven frigates.†

At the moment of contact the Swedish fleet was in excellent order, and the Russians quite the reverse. At 3.30, as he came down with the wind on the starboard quarter, Greig had signalled to the rear squadron, then leading the line, to bear away for the enemy's van. Unfortunately this order was also carried out by three other ships, the *Boleslav*, *Metcheslav*, and *Vladislav*, and though Greig shortly signalled to the whole fleet to bear away, these ships had quite lost their position in the line. Further, on his signalling at four o'clock to the fleet to wear to the port tack, three other ships—the *Bogoslov*, *Pamyat Evstafia*, and *Deris*—tacked instead, and thus got to windward of the line away from the enemy. As a result the Russian fleet went into action not in the line of battle as arranged, but somewhat as follows‡:—

Vseslav 74, *Vysheslav* 66, *Rodislav* 66, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Sv. Petr* 74, *Mstislav* 74, *Rostislav* 100 (ahead of line), *Izyaslav* 66, *Boleslav* 66 (ahead of line), *Viktor* 66, *Yaroslav* 74 (behind line), *Metcheslav* 66 (ahead of line), *Kir Ioann* 74, *Ioann Bogoslov* 74 (behind line), *Vladislav* 74 (ahead of line), *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, *Deris* 66 (behind line).

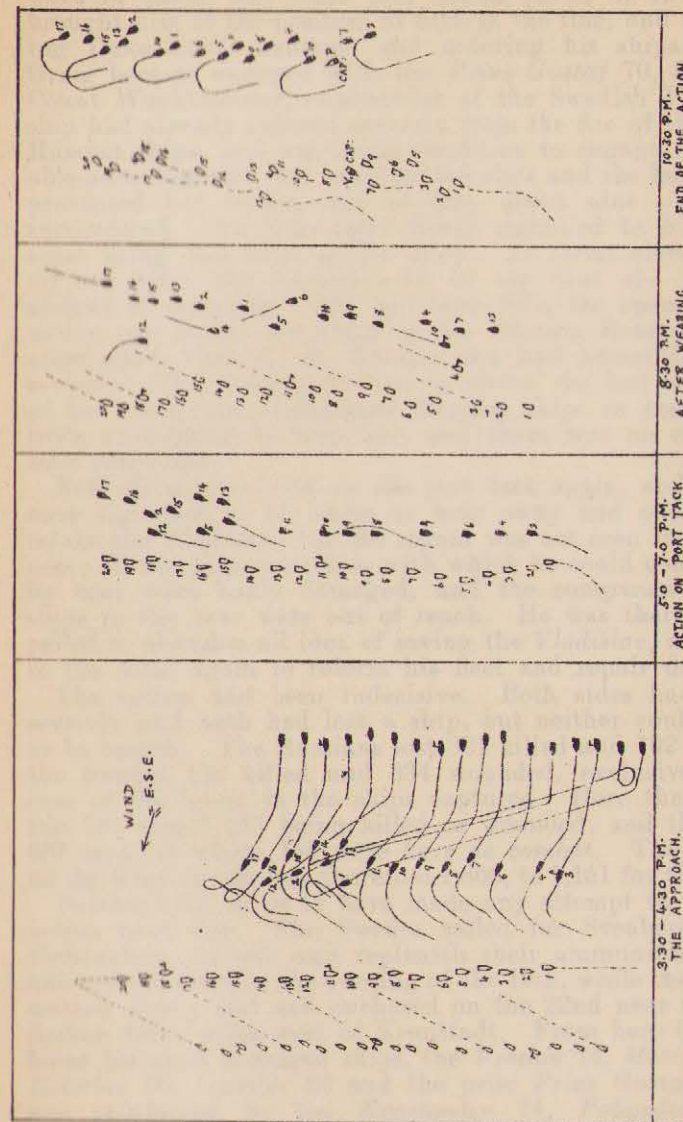
True to precedent, Greig, in the *Rostislav*, attacked the Swedish flagship *Gustaf III.* and her next astern, the *Fädernesland*. This left ten Swedes for the seven Russian ships ahead of the flagship, but as three of the Swedes were frigates the odds were pretty even. In the rear the Russians did badly. Greig's next astern, the *Izyaslav*, attacked the *Ara* and *Minerva*, but the six following Swedes were able to concentrate on the *Boleslav*, *Metcheslav*, and *Vladislav*, since the rest of the Russians kept deliberately at long range. At length the fire of the leading Russian ships overcame that of the lighter Swedish vessels, and these gradually bore away. There was an almost complete calm, and all movements were difficult; but at last, at about eight o'clock, Duke Carl wore his fleet to the starboard tack and reformed his line. Meanwhile Greig, in the *Rostislav*, finding it difficult to keep astern

* *Jarramas* 32; *Jarislawitz* 32 (ex-Russian), *Hector* 22 (ex-Russian); *Sprengport* 24, *Trolle* 24, *Patriot* 16.

† *Vryatchislav* 40, *Premislav* 36, *Podrazhislav* 36, *Slava* 36, *Mstislavets* 40, *Nadezhda* *Blagopolutchia* 36, *Vosmislov* 36.

‡ See plan.

PLATE IX.



BATTLE OF HOGLAND D.
JULY 17th 1788

[To face page 244.]

of the *Mstislav* and *Sv. Petr*, had luffed up, passed to windward of them, and come into action ahead of them. This brought him to the position of fifth in the line, and on following Duke Carl's example and ordering his ships to wear, Greig became engaged with the *Prins Gustaf* 70, flagship of Count Wachtmeister, commander of the Swedish Van. This ship had already suffered severely from the fire of the leading Russian ships, and was in no condition to engage so formidable an antagonist, but her disabled state and the lack of wind prevented her escape, and at last, about nine o'clock, she surrendered. An hour later Greig signalled to his fleet to cease firing and haul to the wind. At about eleven a boat arrived from the *Vladislav* 74 to say that she had been obliged to surrender. She had been from the opening of the action one of the few ships in the Russian Rear which had approached close to the Swedes and had naturally suffered severely. Her rigging was cut to pieces, she had lost a third of her crew, the undamaged Russian ships in the rear did little or nothing to help her, and there was no course left save surrender.

Both fleets were now on the port tack again, and Greig at once signalled to his ships to bear away and endeavour to retake the *Vladislav*, but the signal was not seen in the darkness; all the ships near him with which he could communicate by boat were badly damaged, and the comparatively fresh ships in the rear were out of reach. He was therefore compelled to abandon all idea of saving the *Vladislav*, and hauled to the wind again to reform his fleet and repair damages.

The action had been indecisive. Both sides had suffered severely and both had lost a ship, but neither could be said to be beaten. The Russians lost 321 killed and 702 wounded, the Swedes 130 killed and 334 wounded, exclusive in each case of the losses in the ships captured. Here the Russians lost 783 men,* 257 being killed or wounded, and the Swedes 687 men, of whom 148 were *hors de combat*. The total loss on the Russian side was therefore 1,806, to 1,151 for the Swedes.

Neither side seems to have made any attempt to renew the action next day. The Swedes sailed for Sveaborg, outside Helsingfors, to refit and replenish their ammunition supply, and arrived there in the evening of the 19th, while the Russians worked slowly east and anchored on the 22nd near the island Sesar, forty miles west of Kronstadt. From here Greig sent home his most damaged ships, the *Vseslav* 74, *Metcheslav* 66, *Boleslav* 66, *Izyaslav* 66 and the prize *Prins Gustaf* 70, and was reinforced by the *Konstantin* 74, *Pobyedonosets* 66, *Panteleimon* 66, and *Svyatoslav* 66. Early on August 5th he

* Swedish figures. Russians say 770.

weighed anchor and sailed west towards Sveaborg, and appeared off that port about eight o'clock next morning. The Swedes had meanwhile sent out a small detachment of three battleships and four frigates, but these ships usually returned at night, and the arrival of Greig's fleet found four of them—the *Försigtighet* 62, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Prins Gustaf Adolf* 62, and *Thetis* 40, at anchor outside Sveaborg. The morning was foggy and the Russians got close in without being seen. Three of the Swedes cut their cables and escaped, but the *Prins Gustaf Adolf* waited to weigh anchor; and then, though apparently likely to get away safely, ran aground on an unknown shoal in the harbour mouth and surrendered after a few shots from Koslanianov's new flagship the *Yaroslav* 74. Finding her too much damaged to be refloated, Greig had her burnt next day after removing her crew of 553 men.

In the meantime the galley fleets were showing some activity. As has been said, the Swedish flotilla of twenty-eight galleys and thirty gunboats had reached Sveaborg on July 2nd. Here it was reinforced by a number of vessels of the Finnish flotilla, but for some time it lay idle. On July 18th six gunboats from Sveaborg captured a Russian vessel of twelve guns outside Fredrikshamn, and on the 25th the troops re-embarked in the flotilla for an attack on that port. Leaving Sveaborg on July 26th, the main body passed Svenskund on the 28th, but on the previous day two divisions of gunboats (between thirty and forty boats) had chased away a Russian force of six kaiks and two "secret boats" which had reached Fredrikshamn on the 25th. This small detachment was under Slisov, and had left Kronstadt on the 16th for Viborg, afterwards proceeding to Fredrikshamn at the request of Musin Pushkin, the Russian commander-in-chief in Finland. Slisov, however, found that the Swedes were approaching in too great strength to allow of any thought of engaging them, and accordingly retreated under fire. On August 5th he took up a position in Björkö sund, south of Viborg, where he remained for a month. Delayed by bad weather, the Swedish landing took place on August 3rd, and hardly was it complete when Gustaf III. decided to abandon the attack. Siegroth, the Swedish general, at once reshipped his troops and withdrew the flotilla to Svenskund; from the beginning of the landing to the end of the re-embarkation only thirty-one hours had elapsed. A few gunboats had opened fire on the town in support of the attack, but these were also recalled. On the 11th the army was again landed at Borgå, twenty-five miles east of Helsingfors.

The withdrawal from Fredrikshamn was brought about by the attitude of many of Gustavus' officers and subordinates. The Finns especially refused to join in a war which had not

been sanctioned by their assembly, and many of the Swedes followed their example. The result of the battle of Hogland had upset all plans for an advance on Petersburg by sea, and the new situation prevented any further advance by land. At the same time Denmark, joining in the war, attacked Southern Sweden, and it became necessary to think of home defence rather than aggression. Now, however, Greig's fleet became an important factor. In a general way it is possible for small craft to work along the Finnish coast inside the skärgård, and thus secure from attack by larger ships, but at two places promontories running out into deep water allow big ships to get in close enough to prevent this. These two positions are at Hangö and Porkkala, the first about seventy, and the second twenty-five miles west of Sveaborg. Greig now stationed a detachment at Hangö to intercept communications between Stockholm and Sveaborg. He had left Sveaborg on August 7th, but had told off eight battleships under Koslanianov to remain off Porkkala. After a visit to Nargen, he was again off Sveaborg on the 15th, and then, rejoined by Koslanianov, returned to Revel, and remained there from the 17th to the 21st. On the 23rd he appeared off Sveaborg again with two more battleships from Kronstadt, the *Iezekiil* 78 and *Boleslav* 66, and on the 25th he sent Captain Trevenen to Hangö with the *Rodislav* 66, *Premislav* 36, *Slava* 36, and *Evangelist Mark* 20, reinforcing him two days later by the *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, and on September 3rd by the *Panteleimon* 66. With the rest of the fleet Greig cruised in the Gulf of Finland, showing himself off Sveaborg on August 27th and September 11th, and returning at intervals to Nargen or Revel. The Swedes naturally made every effort to restore communication with the west. They sent to Tvärminne, just east of Hangö, two frigates, one hemmema, one turuma, and some gunboats under Stedingk, of the *Sprengport* 24, and early in September sent Ankarsvärd with four turumas, three mortar boats, and six gunboats to take over the command. At the same time they shifted the *Trolle* 24 from Barösund to Porkkala, and sent thither from Sveaborg the *Fröja* 40, *Minerva* 40, and *Hector* 22. Meanwhile they had to fall back on the method of unloading stores on the west side of Hangö, transporting them across the isthmus of Lappvik, and reshipping them on the east.

At last, on October 14th, the Swedes began to move. A number of storeships had reached the west side of Hangö Head, and began to try and pass eastwards. At the same time eight gunboats from Tvärminne came out, and succeeded in the calm in getting past the *Evangelist Mark*, and joining the transports to the west. Trevenen sent in a second frigate,

and the Swedes attempted nothing further. Two days later, however, the turuma *Nord*, the hemmema *Oden*, and nine gunboats attacked the *Evangelist Mark*. A brisk action took place, but without result. At the same time the Russians sent in their boats, and chased ashore fourteen of the Swedish transports. While these operations were going on Grëig had been cruising between the Finnish coast and Revel. On September 17th he left Nargen, proceeded to Porkala, and returned on the 21st, being joined on the way by the *Metcheslav* 66, in exchange for the *Boleslav* 66, which had had to be sent home. Again, between September 28th and October 1st he sailed to Hangö and back. He had prepared a plan for an attack on the Swedish frigates at Porkala, but before he could carry out his intentions he was taken ill, and on October 16th he died.

Koslanianov assumed the chief command, but did little of importance. He was ordered to send his six worst ships to Kronstadt, and accordingly detached Rear-Admiral Spiridov with the *Iezekiil* 78, *Konstantin* 74, *Ioann Bogoslov* 74, *Svyatoslav* 66, *Viktor* 66, and *Deris* 66. On October 24th the Russian ships left Hangö, and on the 27th they rejoined the fleet, while the same day there left to join Von Dessen in the Sound the *Pobyedonosets* 66, *Metcheslav* 66, and *Panteleimon* 66. On October 31st Koslanianov took all his ships save four frigates into Revel for the winter, and hauled down his flag.

As soon as the position at Hangö was abandoned by the Russians it was occupied by the Swedish ships *Sprengport* 24, *Oden* 26, and some gunboats. The frigates at Porkala were recalled, and preparations made for sailing to Karlskrona, but the whereabouts of the Russian fleet was unknown, and it was not thought safe to move till informed on this point. At last Klint, in the *Makrill* 4, heard from a fisherman that he had seen the entire Russian fleet sailing for Kronstadt. This was, of course, a mistake, but it was sufficient. Duke Carl, who had gone ashore as commander-in-chief, returned to his flagship, and in the morning of November 20th, with ice already forming in the harbour, the fleet left Sveaborg. South of the Åland Islands it was scattered by heavy weather, but eventually reached Karlskrona safely on the 27th, with the exception of the *Grip* 40, which lost the fleet, and put into Kalmar Sound, and had to winter there. Duke Carl went ashore next day, and on December 6th Wrangel hauled down his flag.

Slisov, with the Russian galley flotilla, had returned to Kronstadt on September 4th. He put to sea again on September 21st with a force of six galleys, one kaik, one double sloop, one bomb cutter, three gunboats, one brigantine, and one pram. Three days later he anchored in Trångsund,

the entrance to Viborg, and remained there till October 14th, when he laid up his ships in Viborg. From the middle of August a so-called "reserve squadron" was in existence under Vice-Admiral Kruse, but this was little more than a depôt for supplying Greig with fresh ships. The battleships that passed through Kruse's hands were the *Boleslav* 66, *Metcheslav* 66, *Iezekiil* 78, *Pobyedoslav* 66, and *Evropa* 66, besides a number of frigates and other vessels; but the two last-named battleships were the only vessels which Kruse retained till his return to Kronstadt in the first days of October.

At the same time as the operations in the Gulf of Finland, there was a certain amount of activity in the Western Baltic and North Sea. Von Dessen, after his meeting with the Swedish fleet, proceeded on his way, and reached Copenhagen on July 8th. Here he was joined by two vessels bought in England, the *Merkurii* 18 and *Delfin*, by the frigate *Nadezhda* 32 from Revel, and by two ships laden with artillery and stores for Archangel, the *Kilduin* 26 and *Solombala* 24. The Danes were bound by treaty obligations to support Russia with a force of six battleships, three frigates, and an army of 12,000 men, but these had not yet materialised. On July 30th Von Dessen left Copenhagen, but head winds kept him at Helsingør till August 11th. The Swedish force at Gothenburg consisted of the three forty-gun frigates *Diana*, *Bellona*, and *Venus*, and Von Dessen's object was partly to locate these ships, and partly ensure the safety of the *Kilduin* and *Solombala*. He failed in both parts of this plan. On August 13th, hearing from merchantmen that the Swedes were near Bergen, he sent off the transports to work north along the English and Scottish coast, and then returned to anchor off Skagen. The Swedes were, however, close at hand, and had sighted his fleet without being seen themselves. On the 15th, as Von Dessen lay at anchor five ships appeared. These were the three Swedes, and the two Russian transports, which had been chased all night and captured that morning. The *Solombala*, however, had not had a proper prize crew put on board, owing to the heavy weather, and managed to escape to the Russian fleet; but the *Kilduin* and the Swedish frigates proceeded quietly towards Marstrand, and were in safety long before the Russian battleships could get near them. On August 27th Von Dessen anchored again at Copenhagen.

Here he was joined on September 8th by four battleships and two frigates from Archangel, under Rear-Admiral Povalishin, these being the ships completed there both in 1787 and 1788. Povalishin had put to sea from Archangel on July 16th with the following seven ships:—

Maksim-Ispovjednik (No. 9) 74, *Sysoi Velikii* (No. 8) 74,

Aleksandr Nevskii 74, *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Prochor* (No. 75) 66, *Archangel Gavriil* 38, *Pomoshchnoi* (No. 41) 38.

His flagship, the *No. 9*, went aground near Trondjhem, and was sufficiently hurt to make it necessary to send her for repairs to Christianssand, where she wintered. Povalishin, therefore, shifted his flag to the *No. 75*, and brought his fleet to Copenhagen without further incident.

The following day Von Dessen was joined by three Danish battleships and a frigate. Denmark had at last decided to join in the war, and early in September marched an army over the Norwegian frontier as far as Lake Wener. As early as July the Danes had commissioned the following ships:—

Norske Love 70, *Justitia* 70, *Prinsesse Louise Augusta* 60, *Ditmarschen* 60, *Oldenborg* 60, *Prinsesse Wilhelmine Caroline* 60, *Moen* 40, *Store Belt* 36, *Christiania* 20.

Finding that two of the battleships, the *Norske Love* and *Prinsesse Wilhelmine Caroline* were unseaworthy, they replaced them by the *Nordstjern* 70 and *Arveprinds Friderich* 70.

On the outbreak of hostilities they sent into the Kattegat and North Sea the *Justitia*, *Prinsesse Louise Augusta*, *Oldenborg*, *Moen*, and *Store Belt*, and joined to the Russian squadron the *Nordstjern* (flag of Rear-Admiral Krieger), *Arveprinds Friderich*, *Ditmarschen*, and *Christiania*, flying in these ships the Russian flag. Von Dessen then detached the *Nadezhda* 40 and *Delfin* to join the Danes in the North Sea, and left Copenhagen for the Baltic on September 15th. A week later, when still off Amager, the island east of Copenhagen, he received orders from Greig by the *Vryatcheslav* 40 to blockade Karlskrona and prevent the return of the Swedish fleet. After another week's delay he left on September 30th and took up his position off Karlskrona next day. He only stayed there just a month. In spite of receiving new orders on October 27th to stay off Karlskrona at all costs, and in spite of the news that three battleships were to join him from Revel, he abandoned his post on October 31st, sailed for Copenhagen, and anchored there on November 10th. The total force which he could have put in line in the event of a meeting with the Swedish fleet would have been twelve ships—three 100's, two 74's, two 70's, two 66's, one 60, and two 38's—with 856 guns; while the Swedes, with the loss of the *Prins Gustaf* and *Prins Gustaf Adolf*, the separation of the *Grip*, and, on the other hand, the capture of the *Vladislav*, would have had eighteen ships with 1,082 guns, by no means an overwhelming preponderance considering the probable condition of their ships. Still, Von Dessen saw fit to disobey his orders and the Swedes got into Karlskrona unmolested.

The Danes meanwhile had accomplished little. They had advanced on Gothenburg and invested it on October 6th, but three days later they were forced by England, Prussia, and Holland to conclude an armistice which was shortly followed by a treaty of peace, and by the middle of November all their troops were back in their own territory. This part of the war had brought about a few semi-naval operations. The Danish Army was supported on the coast of Sweden by the following flotilla—eight galleys of 15-9 guns each, five “boats,” and six “double sloops”; while the Swedes had five gunboats in the skärgård and two galleys on Lake Wener. Such success as there was rested with the Swedes; their gunboats took twenty-five small transports on their way from Norway and eight vessels bound for Norway with captured guns, while the Danish galley *Flekkerö* was wrecked on the Swedish coast. Directly after Von Dessen's return to Copenhagen the Danish vessels hauled down the Russian flag, and the Danes thenceforth took no part in the war. Von Dessen was joined during November by the *Panteleimon* 66, *Pobyedonosets* 66, and *Metcheslav* 66. At the beginning of December he sent out Captain Odintsov with two battleships, two frigates, and one cutter to cruise in the Kattegat, but winter soon forced this detachment back. Having made no proper arrangements for wintering, the Russian ships suffered considerably from ice and bad weather, losing anchors, being forced aground, and being carried hither and thither in the ice. On December 28th Von Dessen received orders to hand over the squadron to Povalishin and return to Petersburg.

The fighting of 1788 had been indecisive, and had satisfied neither side. The Swedes had failed in their attempt to take the Russians by surprise; but, on the other hand, the Russians had made no use of the disaffection in Sweden and Finland. Gustaf III. had now got the approval of his people for the war, and both sides prepared for great efforts. Potentially the Russians were by far the stronger, but circumstances did much to modify their superiority. In 1788 the Swedes had commissioned only fifteen of their total force of twenty-six battleships, whereas the Russians, out of forty-eight, had had thirty-one battleships at sea. This year Gustaf III. ordered the preparation of twenty-one of his twenty-five battleships, while Ekaterina II. proposed to commission thirty-five out of forty-one available for sea. At the first glance it would seem that the superiority of the Russians was well enough marked, in spite of its being on paper somewhat less than that of 1788, since in that year no less than eight Russian battleships had been far removed from the scene of action, whereas this year it was hoped to bring all available forces to bear together.

Still, in many ways the position was by no means unfavourable to Sweden. The Swedish fleet at Karlskrona was concentrated, while the Russians were in three different ports. At Copenhagen were eleven battleships, at Revel ten, and at Kronstadt fourteen (ten for the active fleet and four for a reserve). Against these the Swedes had twenty-one battleships in one fleet, and were besides favoured by the fact that the break up of the ice would inevitably allow them to get to sea before either of the two eastern Russian squadrons. They were also at least equal to a combination of any two of the three Russian divisions, and the junction of all three divisions would be no easy task. They failed, however, to make use of their natural advantages; the ice at Karlskrona broke up at the end of April, but it was not until July that the Swedish fleet put to sea, and thus, of course, it forfeited all the benefits of its position.

The first fighting took place in the western part of the theatre of operations. On April 30th the *Merkurii* 22*, under Lieutenant Crown, left Copenhagen to reconnoitre Karlskrona, and on May 10th off that port she met and took the *Snappupp* 12. On the previous day Koslanianov had reached Copenhagen and taken over the command of the squadron, and on the same day Vice-Admiral Schindel hoisted his flag as commander-in-chief of a considerable Danish fleet commissioned to protect the Russians while in Danish waters.

This fleet was as follows:—

Praegtige 80, *Fyen* 70, *Kronprinds Frederik* 70, *Nordstjern* 70, *Justitia* 70, *Elephant* 70, *Norske Love* 70, *Mars* 60, *Infodsret* 60, *Prinsesse Louise Augusta* 60, *Ditmarschen* 60, *Friderichsvaern* 36, *Cronborg* 36, *Moen* 36, with the "blockships" without masts: *Sejer* 60, *Island* 60, *Grønland* 50, *Ebenetzer* 50, and twenty-seven other vessels, prams, gunboats, &c.

These ships formed a line with the Russians across the mouth of the harbour ready for any Swedish attack, but the Danes declined to give any active help. Two Swedish frigates, the *Illerim* 32 and *Jarislawitz* 32, left Karlskrona on May 14th for Bornholm on scouting duty, and about the same time the *Venus* 40 put to sea from Gothenburg, while the equipment of the fleet in Karlskrona was begun. On May 26th Koslanianov sent off Captain Lezhnev with the *No. 8* 74, *No. 75* 66, *Archangel Gavril* 38, *No. 41* 38, and *Merkurii* 22 to cruise in the Kattegat and fetch the *No. 9* from Christianssand. Four days later this squadron fell in with the *Venus* 40 near Marstrand. The Swedish vessel retreated up Christiania Fjord, and Lezhnev, with the larger Russian ships, pursued, without

* She originally carried 18 12-prs., but these had been replaced by 22 24-prs. carronades (Golovatchev, i. 110).

much ardour; but Crown, in the *Merkurii*, taking advantage of the falling wind on the 31st, brought his ship up under sweeps, engaged the *Venus* first on one quarter and then on the other, and brought down her foretopmast, whereupon seeing that there was no hope of escape, she surrendered with a loss of one man killed and a few wounded; the *Merkurii* lost her maintopmast and had two men wounded. Crown was promoted, given the order of St. George, and appointed to command the prize*; 302 Swedes were captured. Lezhnev then proceeded to Christianssand, but it was not till July 23rd that he rejoined Koslanianov with the *No. 9*, though the *No. 75* and the prize *Venus* had done so a fortnight earlier. In the meanwhile the Danish fleet had moved to Dragør, south of Amager, on July 1st, and had been followed during the next week by the Russian ships, the larger of which had to be disarmed to pass through the channel.

While these operations were going on in the west the Russian fleets at Kronstadt and Revel had been preparing for action. At Revel were the following ten battleships:—

Rostislav 100, *Mstislav* 74, *Kir Ioann* 74, *Sv. Petr* 74, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Yaroslav* 66, *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, *Rodislav* 66, *Iziaslav* 66, *Boleslav* 66.

These were put under the command of Admiral Tchitchagov, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the sailing fleet. At Kronstadt the squadron intended to join Tchitchagov consisted of the following ten battleships, under Rear-Admiral Spiridov:—

Dvynadtsat Apostolov 100, *Knyaz Vladimir* 100, *Iezekiil* 78, *Prints Gustav* 70, *Vseslav* 66, *Pobyedoslav* 66, *Svyatoslav* 66, *Deris* 66, *Viktor* 66, *Vysheslav* 66.

The Revel squadron got out into the roadstead on May 13th, and the Kronstadt ships on the 24th; Spiridov put to sea on June 1st, and joined Tchitchagov at Revel on the 5th. Meanwhile Tchitchagov had sent out two small detachments, the first, consisting of two frigates and a cutter,† left on May 20th for Hangö, and the second, a battleship, a frigate, and a cutter,‡ sailed for Porkkala a week later. The Hangö detachment returned with the news that it would be impossible to prevent the passage of small craft there, since the Swedes, by building fortifications, had made it unsafe for big ships to go in close enough for this. At the same time, the ships from Porkkala also came back and reported that many Swedish small craft were in motion in those waters. Tchitchagov then

* She carried 26 24-prs. on her main deck, with 14 6-prs. on the forecastle and poop. Her main deck was pierced for 30 guns.

† *Premislav* 42, *Pospyeshnyi* 32, *Letchichii* 28.

‡ *Boleslav* 66, *Slava* 38, *Neva* 8.

decided to occupy a position off Porkala instead of Hangö, and on June 12th he sent thither, under Captain Sheshukov, the *Boleslav* 66, *Premislav* 42, *Mstislavets* 40, *Letutchii* 28, and *Neva* 8.

Sheshukov arrived off Porkhala just in time to intercept a detachment of seventeen Swedish rowing craft on their way from Stockholm to Sveaborg, and these attacked him on June 14th and 15th, but were repulsed and forced to retire to Barösund, some twenty miles to the west. The Swedish flotilla was thus divided into two parts: those vessels that had wintered at Sveaborg, and those that had done so at Stockholm. At the former port there were in all sixty-two fighting vessels (one hemmema, seven turumas, two frigates, three udemas, three pojemas, twenty-seven gunboats, and nineteen galleys, &c.), besides twenty-four transports, while at Stockholm there were fitting out about sixty-five small craft. The first of the Sveaborg ships got to sea on May 26th, and by June 21st the entire flotilla was assembled in Svensksund or Rochensalm, about twelve miles south-west of Fredrikshamn. Here they remained for some time, while their gunboats entered the eastern mouth of the Kymmene River, and interrupted the communications of the Russian troops in the delta, finally forcing them to withdraw about the middle of July. At the same time they sent several vessels into the Gulf of Finland, and captured as many as ten Russian storeships.

Meanwhile the Russian flotilla had been increased to an extraordinary extent. In 1788 it had consisted only of the few vessels under Slisov, but for 1789 it was to be over 150 strong. All these ships were built at Petersburg between the autumn of 1788 and the spring of 1789, and naturally they developed many defects. Still, by June 23rd Prince Nassau-Siegen, the new commander-in-chief of the Russian flotilla, was able to leave Kronstadt with a force variously stated at from forty-seven to seventy-two ships.* On June 27th he reached Rödhall, an island in Viborg Bay, and was joined by Slisov from Viborg, though with only five galleys of a force of twelve ships, since lack of men had prevented the commissioning of the rest. A few days later he landed 6,000 men between Viborg and Fredrikshamn, but soon re-embarked them, and finally anchored south of Fredrikshamn on July 15th. Two days before this Tchitchagov had left Revel with his fleet of twenty battleships, steering towards Karlskrona; but in the meantime there had been a certain amount of activity in the Gulf of Finland. Sheshukov had, as has

* "Materials" XIII. 641 Journal of galley *S. Peterburg* 47 ships; "Materials" XIII. 636 Journal of shebek *Letutchaya* 58 ships; Golovatchev i. 156, 72 ships.

been said, left Revel for Porkala on June 12th, and on arriving there had frustrated the attempts of vessels from Stockholm to pass eastwards. This showed the necessity of occupying the position at Porkala; but Sheshukov's ships were wanted to rejoin Tchitchagov, and it thus became essential to hurry to sea some of the ships of the Reserve Squadron to relieve him. On June 23rd two battleships and two frigates, the *Ianuarii* 66, *Evropa* 66, *Simeon* 38, and *Patrikii* 38, left Kronstadt at the same time as Nassau-Siegen's flotilla, and joined Tchitchagov at Revel on the 27th. On July 3rd Tchitchagov sent them under Glebov, of the *Ianuarii*, to relieve Sheshukov at Porkala; next day they did so, and on the 6th Sheshukov reached Revel; but before being relieved he had fought another brisk action with the Swedes. This was on July 2nd. Eight Swedish vessels attacked the smaller Russian ships between Trasko and Porkala. The Russian ships were the *Sv. Mark* (or *Evangelist Mark*) 20, *Letutchii* 28, and *Neptun* 18; the Swedish vessels had about thirty guns in all. Naturally the Swedes were unsuccessful, and eventually, after about two and a half hours' fighting they were forced to retreat, and a small battery which they had built was silenced and captured. On the arrival of Glebov, Sheshukov handed over to him the *Letutchii*, *Sv. Mark*, and *Stchastlivyi*, and returned with his other ships to Revel.

It is now necessary to consider the movements of the various sailing fleets. Tchitchagov left Revel on July 13th, with twenty battleships, six frigates, and nineteen small craft. Koslanianov was then at Dräger, south of Copenhagen, with eleven battleships, four frigates, and three smaller ships, supported to some extent by a Danish fleet of eleven battleships, three frigates, and many other miscellaneous vessels. The Swedes, on the other hand, had already left Karlskrona with twenty-one battleships, nine large, and four small frigates, on July 6th. Probably feeling uncertain as to the best course to pursue, Duke Carl spent some days between Bornholm and the Danish coast, exercising his crews, and occasionally coming in sight of the Russian and Danish ships off Dräger. On the 11th he moved eastward, but continued to cruise rather aimlessly backwards and forwards without any definite object. At last, on July 24th, he got into touch with Tchitchagov's fleet. This was in the evening, and early next morning Tchitchagov, in his turn, heard of the approach of the Swedes. At nine o'clock in the morning of July 25th a Danish cutter joined the Russian fleet, and reported that she had sighted the Swedes at dawn thirty-six miles south of Öland, and fifty-eight miles north-west of the Russians. Her

* The *Simeon* was detached to cruise in the Gulf of Finland.

commander also stated that he had orders to take any instructions to Koslanianov, and Tchitchagov therefore wrote suggesting Öland as rendezvous. He was then steering north, close-hauled on the port tack. At 12.30 p.m. the Swedes were sighted to the north-west; the Russians were then east by south of the southern end of Öland, and thirty-six miles distant from it. Tchitchagov now formed his fleet into two lines bearing N.N.E. and W.S.W. respectively from his flagship. The wind was north-west, so that these lines formed the two lines of close-hauled sailing, one being in line ahead, and the other in a line of bearing on either tack. At present he continued to steer N.N.E., while the Swedish fleet gradually approaching formed line-of-battle on the port tack. At 5.30 Tchitchagov also formed line on the port tack. The wind freshened, and Duke Carl, finding he could not use his lower-deck guns, decided not to attack until next day. Both fleets hove to on the port tack for the night.

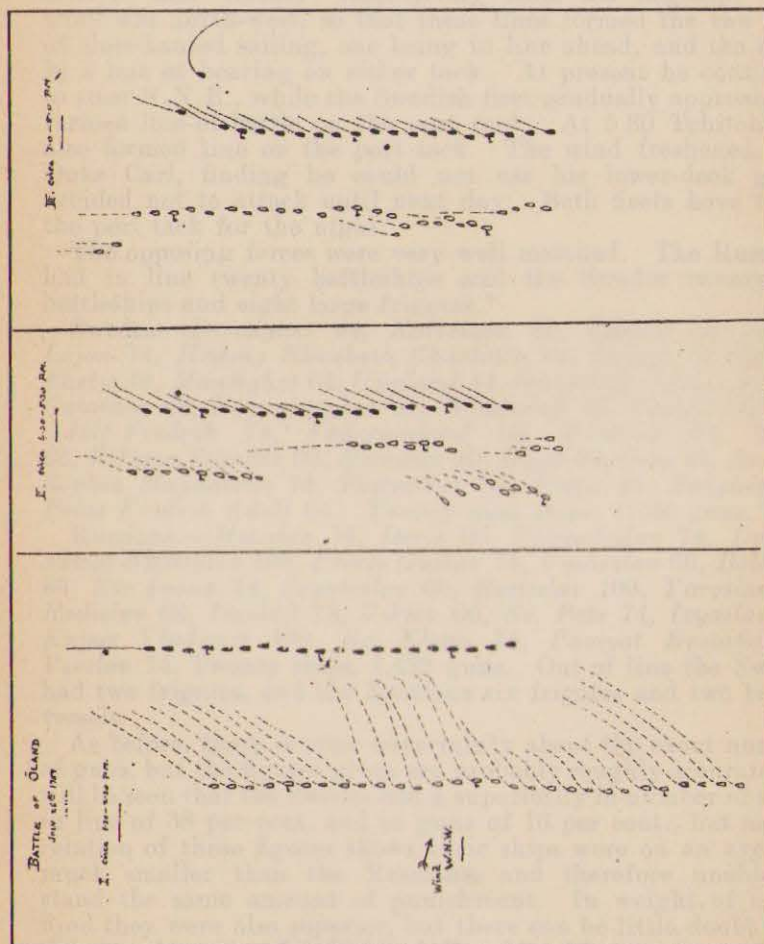
The opposing forces were very well matched. The Russians had in line twenty battleships and the Swedes twenty-one battleships and eight large frigates.*

Swedes.—*Dristighet* 64, *Rättvisan* 62, *Zemire* 40, *Götha Lejon* 74, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta* 64, *Louisa Ulrika* 74, *Thetis* 40, *Manlighet* 64, *Uppland* 44, *Ömhet* 62, *Prins Carl* 64, *Galathea* 40, *Försightighet* 64, *Wladislaff* 76, *Gustaf III.* 74, *Adolf Fredrik* 74, *Fädernesland* 66, *Minerva* 40, *Wasa* 62, *Riksens Ständer* 60, *Euredice* 40, *Dygd* 64, *Grip* 44, *Ära* 64, *Sophia Magdalena* 74, *Tapperhet* 64, *Fröja* 40, *Enighet* 74, *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 64. Twenty-nine ships, 1,736 guns.

Russians.—*Mstislav* 74, *Deris* 66, *Pobyedoslav* 74, *Dryenadtsat Apostolor* 100, *Prints Gustav* 74, *Vysheslav* 66, *Boleslav* 66, *Kir Ioann* 74, *Svyatoslav* 66, *Rostislav* 100, *Yaroslav* 74, *Rodislav* 66, *Iezekiil* 78, *Viktor* 66, *Sv. Petr* 74, *Izjaslav* 66, *Knyaz Vladimir* 100, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, *Vseslav* 74. Twenty ships, 1,498 guns. Out of line the Swedes had two frigates, and the Russians six frigates and two bomb-vessels.

As before, there is some uncertainty about the exact number of guns, but the figures given are probably roughly accurate. It will be seen that the Swedes had a superiority in number of ships in line of 38 per cent. and in guns of 16 per cent., but as the relation of these figures shows their ships were on an average much smaller than the Russians, and therefore unable to stand the same amount of punishment. In weight of metal fired they were also superior, but there can be little doubt that the superior size of individual Russian ships was enough to counter-balance this advantage.

* The *Camilla* 40 was absent from the fleet.



[To face page 257.]

At dawn on July 26th both fleets were still hove to on the port tack. The wind was N.W. and the Swedes about four miles to windward. At nine o'clock the wind veered north, and at twelve o'clock backed again to W.N.W., but both fleets remained on the port tack. The Swedes bore down gradually, but got into disorder as they did so. Duke Carl's orders were to concentrate on the enemy's Rear and double on its aftermost ships, but at the same time he ordered the Van squadron to steer for the head of the Russian line, presumably to prevent the leading Russians from going about and coming to the help of their rear division. This, of course, made an opening in the Swedish line, and at the same time the Rear, under Admiral Lilljehorn, deliberately kept to windward and astern of its station. It is true that the four rearmost ships tried to obey the order to bear away and double on the Russians, but, finding that they were unsupported, they had to haul to the wind again.* Lilljehorn claimed afterwards that the bad sailing of the four leading ships of his division made it essential to keep the rest back in line with them, and pointed out that Duke Carl's signal for each squadron commander to take charge of his own division made it natural to look on the division rather than the fleet as the tactical unit. Be the reasons what they may, the fact remains that the Swedish Rear and the last two ships of the Centre hardly came into action at all. Duke Carl, with the five ships ahead of his flagship and his next astern, steered for the enemy's rear, and at two o'clock opened fire. Now comes a distinct conflict of evidence as to the movements of the Russian fleet; Gyllengranat basing his accounts on Duke Carl's report, states that the Russians continually bore away, but Golovatchev, supported by the logs of the Russian ships, is equally positive that they never bore away from the close hauled line. It seems, however, that they must have done so to some extent, since otherwise, when the Swedes had once come into range, they could never have left it again unless it is assumed that the Russian ships were extraordinarily leewardly. It therefore seems probable that the Russians must have borne away to some extent, especially since it is easy to find reasons for Tchitchagov's wanting to postpone a decisive action until after his junction with Koslanianov. Assuming, then, that the Russians did bear away to some extent, the rest of the battle becomes simple enough. At two o'clock the Swedish Centre came into action with the leading ships of the Russian Rear, but within three-quarters of an hour the range had increased so much that the Russians ceased fire. At this moment the

* There is apparently no truth in the story that they were recalled by signal from Lilljehorn (see "Tid. i Sjö." 1908, 86).

Swedish Van opened fire on the Russian Van and the leading ships of the centre, but these latter soon ceased fire again, leaving only the Russian Van in action. Duke Carl then brought the Swedish Centre up to join in this action, and at about 5.30 the Russian Centre was also engaged. Half an hour later the *Deris* 66 left the Russian line in consequence of damage caused by bursting guns, and soon after the *Mstislav* 74 lost her fore-topmast and main-top-gallantmast, and was accordingly unable to keep to the wind. As before, the Russians bore away slightly, and by eight o'clock firing stopped on both sides, as the Swedes hauled to the wind and the range increased.

The action had been little more than a skirmish. On the Russian side thirty-four were killed and 176 wounded, but half of these (fifteen killed, ninety-two wounded) were in the *Deris*, whose injuries were caused almost entirely by the bursting of three guns. The only other ship much damaged was the *Mstislav*, the Russian leading ship, which was injured aloft, and had her captain, Mulovskii, killed, besides eighteen other casualties. The *Sv. Petr* 74, in which guns also burst, lost twenty-seven men, but ten ships had no loss at all. These were the eighth to thirteenth and the seventeenth to twentieth in the line, and these figures show clearly enough the nature of the Swedish attack. On the Swedish side the loss was also slight, and here again most of the casualties were caused by the bursting of a gun in the *Dristighet*.

Both fleets stayed hove to on the port tack all night. In the morning of the 27th the wind backed somewhat. Tchitchagov went about to the starboard tack, and Duke Carl, thinking an attack on his rear was intended, did the same and bore down towards the Russians. As before, Tchitchagov bore away, and no action took place. The wind dropped entirely during the night, but about eight o'clock on the 28th it sprang up from S.E., and soon backing to E.N.E., gave the Russians the weather gauge. At first Tchitchagov was on the port tack and the Swedes on the starboard, but when the Russians tacked in succession and headed north, Duke Carl tacked his fleet together and formed line of bearing. At about eleven the Russians again tacked in succession, whereupon the Swedish fleet went about together to a close-hauled line on the starboard tack in the hope of cutting off the Russian rear, but seeing that this was impossible they soon reverted to the line of bearing. Finally Tchitchagov got to the starboard tack again, and Duke Carl did the same; but as soon as darkness came on he altered course and steered for Karlskrona to drop his sick and pick up fresh men before sailing to attack Koslanianov, thinking, as he says in his report, that Tchitchagov

intended to stay where he was, or even to return to the Gulf of Finland.

It seems doubtful if this was really his idea, at any rate when he arrived off Karlskrona in the morning of the 29th and heard that Koslanianov was still off Dräger he at once proceeded, not to Kjøge Bay to attack Koslanianov, but to Bornholm to wait for Tchitchagov. Early on June 30th the Russians were sighted to the east. At first the wind was from the north, and the Russians had, if anything, the weather position, but later it backed to N.W. and put the Swedes to windward. Duke Carl kept his fleet in line on the starboard tack all night, and began to bear away towards the Russians next morning, but Tchitchagov, still anxious to avoid an action, bore away also, and nothing happened. At last, seeing that the wind was fair for Koslanianov to leave Kjøge Bay, Duke Carl went about and steered for Karlskrona, where he arrived at 5 p.m. on July 31st. This left the way clear for the junction of Koslanianov and Tchitchagov, and this duly took place. On July 30th Koslanianov heard from merchantmen of the battle of Öland, and at once sailed to join Tchitchagov without waiting for the Danes. Next day his advanced ships (the *Venus* and the two cutters) sighted a large fleet near Bornholm. The Danish frigate *Cronborg* informed him that these were Swedes, and he therefore steered to clear them; but on August 1st he found out his mistake, and that night the two fleets joined. By 7 p.m. on August 2nd the combined Russian fleet, now consisting of thirty-one battleships, was off Karlskrona, and was just in time to prevent the exit of a small squadron composed of the battleships *Wladislaff* 76 and *Ömhet* 64, the frigates *Thetis* 40, *Minerva* 40, and *Camilla* 40, the cutter *Falk* 12, and the pojama *Disa* 16. Tchitchagov, however, attempted nothing with his large fleet; he cruised in the neighbourhood of Karlskrona till August 6th, when he was driven off by heavy weather, and then decided to return to Russia, urging want of water as a pretext. Sailing eastward, he cruised at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland till August 19th, when he anchored south of Nargen. He had, it is true, effected the junction with Koslanianov, and had brought the combined fleet safely back to Russia, but he had done nothing whatever towards defeating and destroying the Swedish fleet. His thought all along had been to join Koslanianov first and then fight, but it must have been obvious that in face of such a superiority the Swedes would retire to Karlskrona and stay there. Unquestionably he should have tried to fight a decisive action when he had the chance, leaving Koslanianov either to turn a defeat into a victory or to render a victory already gained more complete. At the same time Duke Carl lost his

chance by allowing the Russian fleets to meet without any real fighting. Placed as he was between the two fleets it would have been easy for him to attack either. Of course the defection of Lilljehorn on July 26th upset his plans for that day, but there can be little doubt that he might have brought the Russians to action during the next few days if he had really wished to do so. As it eventually proved, he had lost almost the only good chance of success that came in the way of the Swedish Navy during this war.

Simultaneously with the return of Tchitchagov to Nargen, where he arrived on August 19th, active operations began on the coast of Finland. Here the position was roughly as follows:—At Fredrikshamn was the Russian flotilla under Nassau-Siegen, while the Swedes from Sveaborg were in Svensksund, ten miles to the south-west, and those from Stockholm were still unable to get past the Russian ships at Porkala. A Russian report of July 12th estimated the total strength of the Swedish flotilla at seventy-five vessels with 1,049 guns, and the Russian at eighty-two ships and 1,246 guns. At the same time there was in theory a sailing ship squadron under Kruse acting in the Gulf of Finland. This squadron, however, was far from its theoretical strength. As early as June 23rd the *Evropa* 66, *Ianuarii* 66, *Simeon* 38, and *Patrikii* 38 had sailed for Kronstadt, but these ships had at once been appropriated for the position at Porkala. Later two other battleships were commissioned, the *Ne tron menya* 66 and *Sv. Nikolai* 100. A third battleship, the *Konstantin* 74, could only be given about a fifth of her proper crew, and was, therefore, useless. The squadron was to have contained a number of rowing vessels, but at Nassau-Siegen's request these were turned over to him. On July 8th the *Ne tron menya* got to sea, and ten days later Kruse followed in the *Sv. Nikolai*. He found the *Ne tron menya* and *Patrikii* at Seskar, left them there and went on to Revel, where he met the *Simeon* on convoy duty. Here also were two small transports, which he armed and sent to sea; these were the *Buivol* 14 and *Pospieshnii* 10. On July 30th he got to sea again, and by August 7th he was off Hogland with the following squadron:—

Sv. Nikolai 100, *Ne tron menya* 66, *Patrikii* 38, *Simeon* 38, *Buivol* 14, *Pospieshnii* 10. Bomb-vessels from Kronstadt: *Perun* 24, *Grom* 14.

On the 15th he left his battleships, and proceeded in the *Simeon* with the rest of his squadron to the south side of Svensksund, where he joined, and took command of, the southern detachment of the Russian flotilla.

The same day there was a skirmish on the north side of the Swedish position. Ehrensward, who under Gustaf III.

was in command of all the Swedish galley fleet, sent twenty-three vessels* under Major Hjelmstjerna to reconnoitre towards Fredrikshamn during the night of August 14th-15th. At dawn on the 15th this detachment became engaged with the Russians north of Korkiansari, a group of islets about half-way between Svensksund and the mouth of Fredrikshamn Bay. Nassau-Siegen at once sent Count Litte, his second in command, to collect all the smaller vessels and outflank the Swedes. About six o'clock the Swedish squadron retreated through the channel between the islands and re-formed west of Korkiansari. The Russians then advanced, and at the same time their lighter vessels rounded the islands towards the flanks of the Swedes. Hjelmstjerna, who had been reinforced by six more gunboats, retreated slowly to Svensksund, and by 10.30 the action was over, with but little loss on either side.† The Swedish account states that the Russians had 61 ships in action, but Golovatchev only mentions 35.

There was now a considerable force on either side of the Swedes. On July 23rd Nassau-Siegen had sent Winter, with eleven of his larger ships, to Aspö, twenty miles south of Fredrikshamn, to join Kruse and attack the Swedes from the south. Other vessels from Petersburg joined Winter, and with the arrival of Kruse the squadron reached a total of 31 ships.‡ To the north of the Swedes was Nassau-Siegen with about 60 ships, while Ehrensward, the Swedish commander, had 62 fighting ships and 24 transports. Nassau-Siegen's plan was that Kruse should attack first, and he himself come to his assistance at once, but Kruse, supported by the opinion of a council of war, urged strongly that the first attack should be delivered by the northern squadron. Events proved that he was right, but Nassau-Siegen would not hear of such a thing, and wrote to the Empress urging Kruse's removal, though meanwhile Kruse expressed himself willing to carry out any orders, in spite of his disapproval of the plan. He therefore moved northwards on August 19th as far as Merenkari, half-way between Aspö and Svensksund. On the way the *Patrikii* 38 went aground. All efforts to tow her off failed, and Kruse had to leave the *Buivol* and a cutter to unload her. He spent the next two days in sounding and marking the channels, and weighed from Merenkari at 6 a.m. on the 23rd, with a light S.S.E. breeze. He had with him 20 vessels, and had arranged their various stations and duties with the greatest care, but at eleven o'clock, as he

* *Udemas Ingeborg* 11, *Gamla* 11, *Pojama Brynhild* 16, half-galley *Löpare*, 1 gun-vessel 17, 18 gunboats 6 each.

† The Russians lost 20 men, the Swedes 11.

‡ This figure includes 9 half-shebecks which are not heard of in the subsequent operations.

approached Svensksund, General Major Ballé, from Nassau-Siegen's fleet, came on board the *Simeon* and announced that he had been sent to take over the command. Kruse at once left the ship and went to Fredrikshamn; Ballé took the squadron a little further forward and anchored again about mid-day.

The harbour of Svensksund, or Rochensalm, in which the Swedes lay, is a space roughly circular, enclosed by a number of islands, rocks, and shoals; through it runs the channel leading to Fredrikshamn from the west running in this particular section about S.W. and N.E. It is bounded on the north-east by a row of small islands stretching from the mainland to the large island of Kutsalo and running at right angles to the channel which passes south of the larger islands and between them and the smaller rocks north-west of Kutsalo. This passage is the real Svensksund, but the harbour to the south was usually given that name. The islands of Kutsalo and Lächmasari form the south-eastern side, while to the north-west lie Kotka and Mussala. Between the northern islands and Kotka and between Kotka and Mussala run channels leading respectively to the east and west branches of the river Kymmene. The harbour is more or less open to the south-west save for the island of Vikari, which lies south of Mussala and west of Lächmasari, but half-way between here and Svensksund proper there is a rather narrow passage formed by a series of rocks which extend from Kotka to the north of Lächmasari. The passage here lies between two islets known as Kråkskär and Sandskär, or Varisari and Kukuari, and is about half-a-mile broad. Besides Svensksund there are three passages through the islands on the north-east, but these are only suitable for very small craft; they are all north of Svensksund, between it and the mainland.

To defend this position Ehrensvärd had the following fleet:—

1 frigate, 24; 1 hemmema, 26; 6 turumas, 48 each; 1 pojema, 16; 3 udemas, 11 each; 5 galleys, 14 each; 23 gunboats, 6 each; 4 bomb-vessels, 5 each; 3 gun-vessels, 17 each; 1 schooner, 14; 1 half-galley, 6. Forty-nine vessels in all, with 686 guns.*

The two Russian squadrons were as follows:—

Northern squadron under Nassau-Siegen.—1 shebek, 2 half-prams, 2 secret boats, 5 bomb and other cutters, 22 kaiks and

* Golovatchev, the Russian historian, estimates the Swedish strength at a very much higher figure. He puts it at 62 fighting ships, with 783 guns. Apparently the figure 62 represents the number of vessels that wintered at Sveaborg, and these may not all have been present. I have followed Mankell and Gyllengranat for the number of ships and have taken figures for the guns from all available sources.

galleys, 34 gunboats and double sloops. Sixty-six vessels, with 879 guns.*

Southern squadron under Ballé. — One frigate, 38; seven shebeks, two 50's, one 46, four 32's; one "secret boat," 44; two bombs, 14 each; three cutters, two 28's, one 14; six kaiks and double sloops, 8 each. Twenty vessels, with 404 guns.†

Ehrensvärd had decided to deal with Ballé first. He had accordingly sunk vessels in Svensksund and the passage to the north of it to prevent the passage of the Russian ships, and had detached two galleys and eleven gunboats to prevent the Russians from removing the obstructions and to protect the two remaining small channels. The rest of his ships he drew up between Kråkskär and Sandskär in a curved line concave towards the south-west. His line was arranged thus:—East of Kråkskär came the twelve gunboats and four mortar vessels with their bows to the south. Then came in order, with their port broadsides bearing the turumas *Lodbrok* and *Sigurd Ormöga*, the frigate *af Trolle*, the udeima *Gamla*, and (bows on) the galleys *Halland*, *Stockholm*, and *Småland*. So far the line had run almost due east, but it now began to curve until at its left flank behind Sandskär it was running about S.S.E. After the galleys came the turumas *Ivar Benlös*, *Björn Jernsida* (Ehrensvärd's flagship), *Sällan Värre*, and *Rogvald*, the hemmema *Oden*, the udemas *Ingeborg* and *Thorborg*, the pojema *Brynhilda*, and finally three gun-vessels (bows on).

This was the line which Ballé had to attack with his 20 ships, but there is little doubt that if Nassau-Siegen's squadron had reached the scene of action in reasonable time the Russian attack would have been quite successful. This is where it failed. Nassau-Siegen did not move until ten o'clock, over three hours after Ballé had begun to advance, and the obstructions in Svensksund and the fire of the Swedish gunboats delayed him so much that it was not until seven in the evening that his ships entered the harbour, and by that time Ballé had been beaten and repulsed.

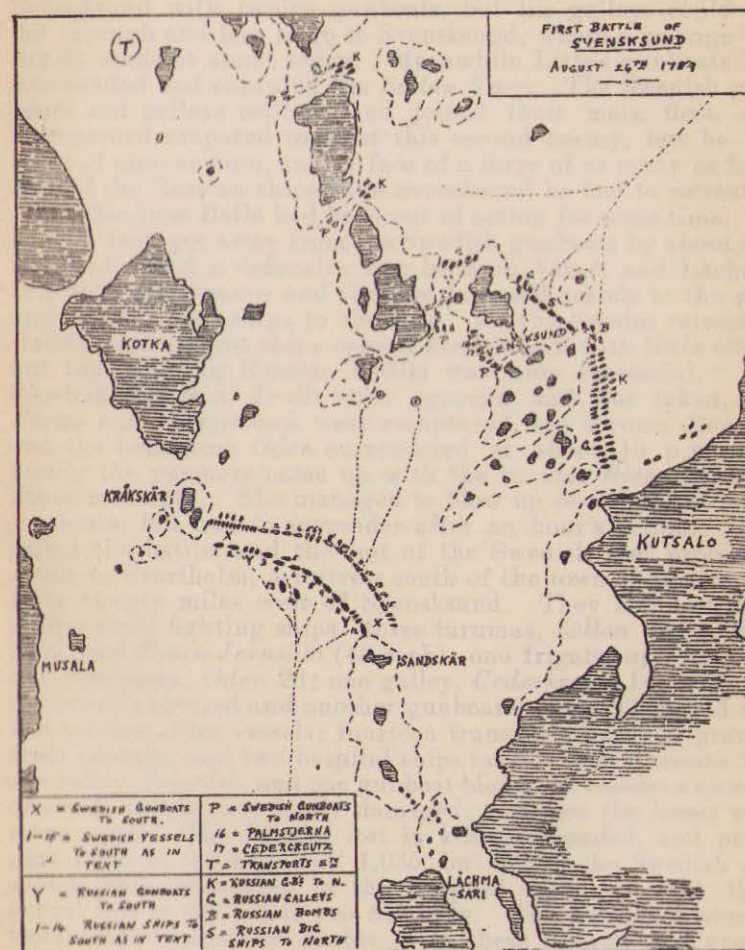
Ballé weighed anchor at 6.30 a.m. and advanced with a light southerly breeze. The *Pospyeshnii* led the way, and was followed by the kaiks towing the two bomb-vessels. After these came six of the shebeks and the frigate, and, finally, the two cutters, one shebek, and the "secret boat." With the exception of the *Grom*, which was to attack the left wing of the Swedes, the Russian ships were to take up their positions, one after the other, starting from the western end of the Swedish line. About 10.30 a.m. the Swedes and the leading Russians opened fire. The Russian ships took up their stations as fol-

* Golovatchev's figures. Mankell gives Nassau-Siegen 78 ships and Ballé 26.

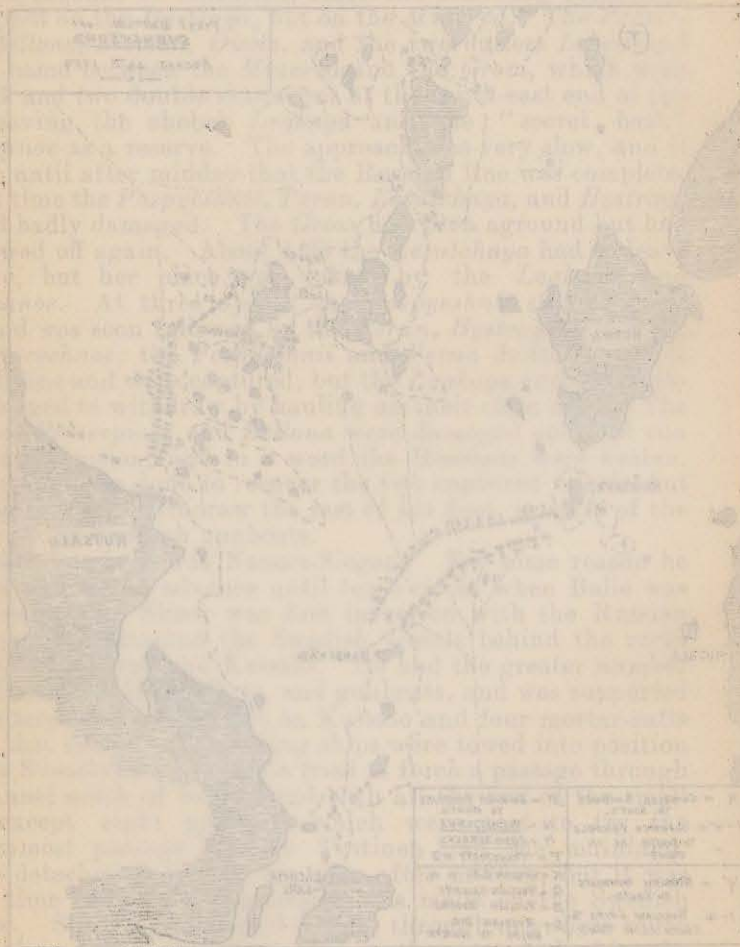
lows:—At the western end of the line came the *Pospyeshnii*, *Perun*, three kaiks, and the shebek *Letutchaya*. The next ship, the *Minerva*, cast anchor too far out, so the *Bystraya*, which had got in closer, moved forward to a position next to the *Letutchaya*, leaving the *Minerva* behind the line. This caused a certain amount of confusion, since the following ships took station, not on the *Bystraya*, but on the *Minerva*. The *Proserpina*, *Bellona*, *Simeon*, *Diana*, and the two cutters *Lebed* and *Baklan* came between the *Minerva* and the *Grom*, which with one kaik and two double sloops was at the south-east end of the line, leaving the shebek *Legkaya* and the "secret boat" *Ostorozhnoe* as a reserve. The approach was very slow, and it was not until after midday that the Russian line was complete. By that time the *Pospyeshnii*, *Perun*, *Letutchaya*, and *Bystraya* were all badly damaged. The *Grom* had been aground but had been towed off again. About 1.30 the *Letutchaya* had to leave the line, but her place was taken by the *Legkaya* and *Ostorozhnoe*. At three o'clock the *Pospyeshnii* signalled for help, and was soon followed by the *Perun*, *Bystraya*, *Legkaya*, and *Ostorozhnoe*; the *Pospyeshnii* and *Perun* drifted into the Swedish line and were captured, but the *Legkaya* and *Ostorozhnoe* managed to withdraw by hauling on their stern cables. The *Minerva*, *Proserpina*, and *Bellona* were damaged and had run out of ammunition, and in a word the Russians were beaten. Nothing could be done to recover the two captured vessels, but Ballé managed to withdraw the rest of his fleet, in spite of the pursuit of the Swedish gunboats.

Meanwhile where was Nassau-Siegen? For some reason he had not ordered an advance until ten o'clock, when Ballé was almost engaged. Slisov was first in action with the Russian left wing, and attacked the Swedish vessels behind the rocks between Svensksund and Kutsalo. He had the greater number of the Russian kaiks, galleys, and gunboats, and was supported by a battery of three mortars on Kutsalo and four mortar-rafts behind that island. The sailing ships were towed into position opposite Svensksund, and Litte tried to force a passage through the channel north of Svensksund with all the rest of the small craft except eight gunboats which were sent to try the northernmost passage between Tiutinen and the mainland. Slisov's detachment opened fire soon after midday, but it was a long time before any impression was made on the Swedish defences. Slisov's ships could not get through anywhere south of Svensksund, the gunboats on the north were repulsed by the Swedish fire, and both Svensksund and the channel north of it were blocked by sunken vessels. The Russians set to work to remove the obstructions, but under the fire of the Swedish gunboats it was a slow business. One galley, the *Tsyvilsk*, was

PLATE XI.



[To face page 264.]



blown up and others badly damaged. At three o'clock Ehrensvärd sent from the Swedish line the turuma *Sällan Värre* to reinforce the gunboats at Svensksund, but she went aground and he had to send the hemmema *Oden* instead. At last, about five o'clock Litte got through one of the channels north of Svensksund with twelve gunboats, but his galleys could not get through and had to go to Svensksund, where a passage was finally made at about seven. Meanwhile Litte's gunboats had surrounded and captured the *Sällan Värre*. The Swedish gunboats and galleys retired, and joined their main fleet, and Ehrensvärd prepared to meet this second enemy, but he was short of ammunition, and in face of a force of as many as fifty-four of the Russian ships from Svensksund he had to retreat.

By this time Ballé had been out of action for some time. He had, in fact, got away from the Swedish gunboats by about six, and had found a defensive line between Vikari and Lächmasari with the *Simeon* and the less-damaged vessels to the west and the disabled ships to the east. As the Swedes retreated, Ballé's westernmost ships opened fire, though with little effect, but the pursuing Russian flotilla was more successful. The Swedish frigate *af Trolle* went aground and was taken, the *Perun* and *Pospyeshnii* were recaptured, the turuma *Rogvald* and the hemmema *Oden* surrendered at about 10 p.m., and finally the pursuers came up with the turuma *Björn Jernsida* about midnight. She managed to blow up one of the Russian gunboats, but had to surrender after an hour's action. This ended the battle, and the rest of the Swedish fleet proceeded safely to Svartholm, a fortress south of the town of Louisa and some twenty miles west of Svensksund. They had lost altogether eight fighting ships—three turumas, *Sällan Värre*, *Rogvald*, and *Björn Jernsida* (48 each); one frigate, *af Trolle* 24; one hemmema, *Oden* 26; one galley, *Cederkreuts* 14; with one gunboat 6 captured and another gunboat 6 sunk. They had also lost sixteen other vessels; fourteen transports burnt to prevent their capture, and two hospital ships taken. The Russians had one galley, *Tsyvilsk*, and one gunboat blown up, besides a number of small vessels very badly damaged. In men the losses were more equal. The Swedes lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners 1,345 to the Russians' 1,035, but 500 of the Swedish prisoners were sick taken in the hospital ship, so that their actual loss in the battle was 845 only. The Russian historian Golovatchev expresses doubts as to these figures, and argues that as the Russians took 1,137 prisoners this only leaves just over 200 for killed and wounded. This, however, seems quite a reasonable figure. Ballé's squadron, which was subjected to a tremendous concentrated fire for seven hours, only lost 359 men, and it is certain that none of the Swedish ships save those captured were ever exposed to such a fire.

It is difficult to know how to describe this battle. Up to six o'clock it was undoubtedly a Swedish victory, and even in their retreat the Swedes only lost a sixth of their strength. Presumably the whole day's work must be considered a Russian victory, but by no means a decisive one. Through Nassau-Siegen's delay Ballé's squadron had been so much damaged as to be of little use for any further operations. There was apparently no excuse for this delay; Kruse and his council of war had urged Nassau-Siegen to attack first, and he had refused; he had also failed to recognise the possibility of blocking Svenssund, and as a result had left Ballé to face the entire Swedish force. On the side of the Swedes either Ehrensvärd or Gustaf III. had made the fatal error of delaying the retreat for too long. Had it not been for want of ammunition it would have been possible for them after disposing of Ballé to move northwards and attack Nassau-Siegen as he came through Svenssund, but without sufficient powder and shot the only reasonable thing to do was to retreat directly after Ballé had left the way clear for them to do so. Altogether, both sides had much to be proud of, but both had also much to regret in the day's fighting.

The retreat of the Swedes made it possible for the Russian flotilla to co-operate with the army in an attack on the Swedish forces in Finland. With this object Nassau-Siegen prepared a landing-force of 5,000 men, and on September 1st tried, with eighteen galleys and kaiks, to land at Broby, between the two branches of the river Kymmene, while at the same time he entered the eastern mouth of the river with twelve gunboats and attacked Suttula. The attacks were unsuccessful, but the possibility of landings in its rear compelled the Swedish army to retreat as far as Abborfors, on the western branch of the Kymmene, where it could be supported by the flotilla at Svartholm, only ten miles away. Nassau-Siegen reconnoitred the Swedish position at Abborfors, but found the fortifications too strong to allow him to attempt anything. After this the Russian flotilla did little or nothing, and in October it retired to winter quarters at Fredrikshamn and Viborg. The Swedes did no more than the Russians; they lay for some weeks at Svartholm, where they were joined by four armed merchantmen from Helsingfors, and on September 23rd they took up a position near Pellinge, half-way between Svartholm and Sveaborg, but the Russians made no attack and the Swedes soon withdrew to Sveaborg for the winter.

The only other fighting of 1789 arose as a result of the Russian occupation of the position off Porkala, but, besides this, the various Russian squadrons showed some little activity.

The Swedes had collected in Barösund a small squadron of vessels from Stockholm, and between this and the Russian Porkala detachment there was a certain amount of fighting. Rayalin, the Swedish commander, tried on July 31st to attack the Russian battery on the point at Porkala, but was prevented by head winds. On August 21st the *Sv. Mark* 20 and *Letutchii* 28 attacked two Swedish storeships near Porkala, but were driven off by two gunboats and two smaller boats. On the 26th Rayalin made another unsuccessful attack on the Russian battery; three galleys and two gun-vessels passed the headland and engaged the Russian squadron of two battleships, one frigate, and two cutters, while four galleys and some gunboats attacked the battery. The Russians were too strong, and Rayalin had to retreat. Tchitchagov's withdrawal from Karlskrona left the way open for the Swedish sailing fleet to put to sea. The object of the detachment which the Russians had intercepted at the beginning of the month had been to attack the ships at Porkala, and on August 25th Fust, the Swedish captain in charge, got to sea. Another battleship had been added to his force, so that he now had the three battleships *Wladislaff* 76, *Ömhét* 64, and *Rättvisan* 62; three 40-gun frigates, *Thetis*, *Minerva*, and *Camilla*; and some small craft. On September 4th he was off Hangö, and the same day the Russian squadron at Porkala was joined by the *Rodislav* 66, bringing its strength up to three 66-gun battleships—*Evropa*, *Ianuarii*, and *Rodislav*, with the *Sv. Mark* 20 and *Letutchii* 28. On the 6th the Swedes reached Barösund, but here they sighted the masts of a large fleet towards Revel, and at once decided to return; on September 15th they were back at Karlskrona. The masts which they had seen were, in fact, those of Tchitchagov's fleet, which had just left Revel to cruise in the Gulf of Finland. This cruise lasted till October 21st, but nothing of interest took place, and Tchitchagov was never in command of his full fleet. At first he left at Revel the *No. 8* 74, *No. 9* 74, and *Deris* 66. On September 10th and 11th three of his ships, the *Syeveryni Orel* 66, *Panteleimon* 66, and *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74, arrived at Porkala, while three others, the *Metcheslav* 66, *Soyatoslav* 66, and *Pamyat Evstafia* 66, were detached to Nargen. On September 10th Kruse, who had returned to the *Sv. Nikolai* 100, reached Revel with that ship, and the *Ne tron menya* 66. On September 21st he was off Nargen, and took charge of the three last-named of Tchitchagov's ships. On October 12th the *Vseslav* 74 and *Yaroslav* 74 arrived from Tchitchagov's fleet, and on the 21st the rest of that fleet entered the Revel harbour.

Meanwhile, on September 16th, all the Russian ships at Porkala except the two battleships *Evropa* and *Ianuarii* had

proceeded to Barösund, and on the 18th they attacked the Swedish flotilla there. On the Russian side were eight ships, with 374 guns, the *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74, *Rodislav* 66, *Syevernyi Orel* 66, *Panteleimon* 66, *Vryachislav* 46, *Sv. Mark* 20, *Letutchii* 28, and *Stchastlivyi* 8; on the Swedish 1 turuma, 5 galleys, and 2 gun-vessels, with 152 guns, besides batteries on either side of the channel.* After an hour's action the Swedes retreated, with the loss of one galley, which ran aground and had to be burnt. The Russians pursued, and the *Syevernyi Orel* 66 ran aground on Jakobs Ramsö, north of the channel. All attempts to refloat her proved in vain, and eventually, after the removal of her guns and stores, she was burnt. The Swedes retreated towards the mainland at Ingo and Bastubacka, lying respectively north and north-west of their former position. Those in Ingöfjärd were attacked on the 19th by two of the smaller Russian vessels, but managed to repulse them. The Russians then attempted landings between Ingo and Bastubacka, but were unsuccessful in each case.† They also built a battery on Elgsö, the island south of the channel, but this was captured by the Swedish troops from the mainland in a surprise attack in the early morning of September 30th, and thenceforth became part of the Swedish scheme of defence. At last, on October 23rd, a number of Swedish gunboats reached Barösund from the west, and the next day the Russian squadron abandoned its positions both at Barösund and Porkala. On the 26th, off Nargen, three ships, the *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74, *Rodislav* 66, and *Gavriil* 38, ran aground; the first and last named were refloated, but the *Rodislav* had to be burnt. Ravalin took the Swedish flotilla to Helsingfors for the winter on October 27th.

A little before this the Swedish fleet in Karlskrona had been to sea again. On October 14th it left the harbour 21 battleships strong, and cruised for a week in the Southern Baltic, but returned on the 21st with nothing accomplished. At the same time the Russian fleet was laid up for the winter. On October 22nd Kruse left Revel for Kronstadt with nine battleships, and on the 28th Koslanianov followed with eight more. Six other battleships were also sent to Kronstadt, and Tchitchagov at Revel was left with only ten battleships, six frigates, and various small craft. Koslanianov's detachment was overtaken by a gale on its way to Kronstadt and had to anchor off Rödskär, south-west of Hogland, on the 29th. It weighed anchor next morning, and reached Kronstadt in safety, but the *Vysheslav* 66 was unable to weather the island, and had to

* Russian accounts put the Swedish force at 15 galleys, 1 half-galley, 20 gunboats, and 30 armed boats.

† They were reinforced to a strength of 3 battleships, 5 frigates, 2 bomb-vessels, and 6 cutters

remain at anchor. Her stern had already struck the rocks, and on the wind shifting from south-west to west she struck again and disabled her rudder. On the 30th the wind went round to north-west; she got under way, and anchored again, three miles from Rödskär. The wind, however, went back to south-west, the ship first dragged her anchors, and finally lost them one after another, and on November 4th, having already sent part of his crew to Hogland and having lost his last anchor, Captain Teziger abandoned the ship with the rest of the officers and men and proceeded to Kronstadt in the boats. Later in the year the Swedes also lost a ship by the accidental burning of the *Minerva* 40 at Karlskrona on December 6th.*

On shore the year 1789 had been as indecisive as the previous year. The Swedes had advanced as far as Högfors, on the eastern branch of the Kymmene, but after the battle of Svensk-sund they had been forced to retreat again to Abborfors, on the western branch, leaving the position as it had been before the opening of the year's fighting.† At sea, too, the position was little changed. Since the beginning of the war the Swedes had lost two battleships and the Russians four, while each had captured one battleship from the enemy. Two fleet actions had been fought without result, and it seemed as if the numerical superiority of the Russians was of little use to them. Their coast-flotilla had certainly won a victory, but had gained little in doing so, and the fact that a considerable part of the Stockholm flotilla wintered this year in Helsingfors might well enable the Swedes to gain an advantage in this direction next year. Swedish prospects for 1790 looked therefore brighter than before. Peace had been definitely signed with Denmark, and, furthermore, the people of Sweden and Finland were now united as to the justice of the war. It therefore seemed reasonable to expect greater success than had been achieved up to now, and with this object every possible ship was commissioned. All the 25 available battleships were prepared—24 in Karlskrona and one, the *Fredrik Rex* 60, in Finland. The eight large frigates at Karlskrona were also fitted out, and the two at Gothenburg, the *Bellona* and *Diana*, sent round to Karlskrona, while an East Indiaman, *Louisa Ulrika*, was taken over in Gothenburg and armed with 50 guns to take their place. In all, the Baltic fleet was to consist of 25 battleships, 10 large frigates, 5 smaller frigates, and 14 small craft, while in Gothenburg there were to be 1 large armed merchantman,

* They also lost the *Orn* cutter wrecked outside Karlskrona, while in August the Russian cutter *Delfin* had been wrecked on Bornholm.

† Both sides had a few small-craft on Lake Saima, the biggest of the Finnish lakes, and on September 7th an action took place near Nyslott between twelve Swedish armed vessels and six Russian gunboats, in which four of the Swedes were captured.

1 frigate, and 2 smaller vessels. Against this the Russians proposed to put 29 battleships in three squadrons—10 at Revel, 11 in the active fleet at Kronstadt, and 9 in the Reserve.* As regards the flotillas, both countries made great efforts, so that for 1790 the Swedes had a paper strength of as many as 349 vessels, and the Russians 201.

This year the Swedes made full use of their geographical situation, and both with their sailing fleet and their flotilla they were ready before the Russians. Gustaf III. intended to do everything possible to advance and capture Petersburg, and for this the support of fleet and flotilla on the army's right flank was essential. As early as March 4th three ships left Karlskrona. They were the *Jarramas* 32, *Ulla Fersen* 18, and *Husar* 18, and their object was a surprise attack on the harbour of Råger Vik. They were joined on the way by the *Kossack* 10, but the two smaller vessels were left behind, and the attack was executed after a visit to Hangö by the two first-named ships alone. They entered the port on March 17th, opened fire, landed 110 men, and were soon masters of the fort. All the stores in the town were destroyed, the guns of the fort spiked, a ransom of 4,000 roubles extorted, and the two frigates left again the same day. On the 26th they were back at Karlskrona. Other vessels at sea were the *Thetis* 42, *Camilla* 42, *Illerim* 32, *Hector* 26, and the small craft *Höök* and *Louisa Ulrika*. On April 30th the Swedish fleet left Karlskrona. It consisted of 22 battleships, 12 frigates, and 13 other vessels. As before, Duke Carl was in command, with Admiral Modée and Colonel Lejonankar as his subordinates. The idea was to attack and destroy the Russian ships at Revel before they could be joined by the ships from Kronstadt. Favoured by a steady easterly breeze, the fleet made good progress, and on May 12th it was off Råger Vik. In the meantime the Russians, alarmed by the Swedish attack at Råger Vik, had been making every effort to get ready the Revel fleet. The ice broke up on March 27th, and various small craft were sent out cruising in the first days of April. Tchitchagov arrived on April 20th, and on the 27th the fleet began to leave the dockyard for the outer harbour. On May 9th and 10th Tchitchagov sent out on scouting duty the battleship *Kir Ioann* 74, the frigates *Premislav* 42, and *Podrazhislav* 38, and the cutter *Stchastlivyi* 8. On the 11th the Swedes were sighted along the coast to the west, and early next morning Tchitchagov put his ships in a line running N.E. and S.W. across the harbour. During the night of the 12th/13th the wind dropped, but sprang up in the morning

* They also commissioned 13 frigates, 5 of which were of 40 guns or more, but these were not intended, like the corresponding Swedish vessels, for use in the line of battle.

from the west and rapidly freshened. The Swedes were sighted at dawn beyond Nargen, hove to on the port tack, and Tchitchagov at once recalled his cruisers. His fleet was in three lines running N.E. from the wall of the harbour, in the following order:—

First line.—*Kir Ioann* 74, *Mstislav* 74, *Venus* 44, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Iziaslav* 66, *Yaroslav* 74, *Rostislav* 100, *Pobyedonosets* 66, *Boleslav* 66, *Saratov* 100, *Prochor* (ex No. 75) 66.

Second line.—*Pobyeditel* (bomb) 18, *Premislav* 42, *Podrazhislav* 38, *Slava* 38, *Nadezhda Blagopolutchia* 38, *Strashni* (bomb) 14.

Third line (order unknown).—*Merkurii* 29, *Neptun*, *Stchastlivyi* 8, *Letutchii* 28, *Vyestnik*, *Lebed* 28, *Volchov* 8, *Olen*.

The first line thus contained ten battleships and one frigate, with 804 guns, and the second two bombs and four frigates, with 188 guns.

Against this Duke Carl brought a fleet of 21 battleships and 6 larger frigates, having left the *Zemire* 42 at Hangö and the *Manlighet* 64 and *Thetis* 42 cruising in the Gulf of Finland.

The following list gives the order in which his fleet sailed:—

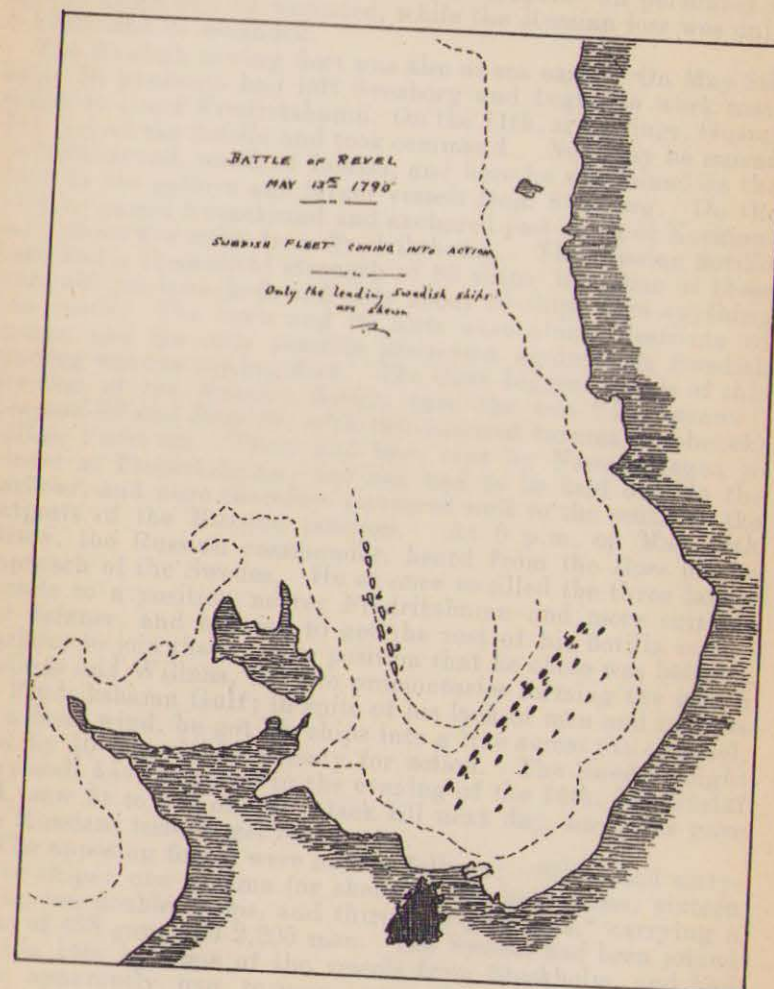
Dristighet 64, *Tapperhet* 64, *Riksens Ständer* 60, *Camilla* 42, *Dygd* 64, *Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Fröja* 42, *Götha Lejon* 70, *Euredice* 42, *Ära* 64, *Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Fädernesland* 64, *Galatea* 42, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta* 64, *Wladislaff* 74, *Forsigtighet* 64, *Gustaf III.* 74, *Louisa Ulrika* 70, *Prins Carl* 64, *Sophia Magdalena* 74, *Ömhet* 62, *Rättvisa* 62, *Wasa* 64, *Enighet* 70, *Uppland* 44, *Grip* 44. 26 ships, with 1,580 guns.

With such a superiority in strength a complete victory was to be expected, but instead the Swedish fleet suffered a defeat. For this its tactics were responsible, and Duke Carl and his chief of staff, Nordenskjöld, have been severely blamed for the manner in which the attack was conducted. The method of attack employed was for one ship after another to run along the Russian line from end to end and then haul to the wind and withdraw. It was, in fact, the attack delivered by the French fleet on the English at St. Christopher in 1782, as opposed to that of Nelson at Aboukir Bay in 1798. However, the recent discovery of Duke Carl's orders shows that the attack as originally planned would have been far more like Nelson's. These orders lay down "doubling" on the Russian ships to the extent of two or three to one, boarding, and anchoring if necessary, and, besides this, three divisions of three frigates each were to endeavour to take the Russian line in flank from either end, while the other two frigates, *Grip* and *Uppland*, were to deal with the Russian ships near Nargen. There can be little doubt that the execution of these orders would have given success, but the weather prevented this. The wind got up to

such an extent that all manœuvres became difficult; a delicate piece of work such as bringing two or three ships against one would have been quite impossible, and the only available method was that of running past in line-ahead. Here it is right to blame Duke Carl or Nordenskjöld, not for the plan they had prepared, but for persisting with the attack when that plan was impossible instead of waiting for a more favourable opportunity.

The Swedes approached rapidly in line ahead, but about half-past six their second ship, the *Tapperhet* 64, went hard aground on the Ragnild shoal north of Nargen. This threw their fleet into some confusion, but it soon recovered, and by eight o'clock it passed between Nargen and Wulf Island, and thus entered Revel Bay. The wind was rising all the time, and many of the Swedes began to shorten sail. At 10.15 the *Dristighet* 64 came into action. She came down on the star-board tack, wore ship, and steered for the *Izjaslav* 66, the fifth ship in the Russian line. From here she ran along the line firing, but at long range, and finally hauled to the wind and withdrew, without causing or suffering any considerable damage. The next three ships did much the same, but the fifth, the *Adolf Fredrik* 70, Modée's flagship, steered for the *Venus* 44 and then kept much closer to the Russian line. Her fire was not very effective, but she was considerably damaged herself and lost her maintopmast, her foretopsail yard, and her crojack yard, besides having 45 men killed and wounded. The next nine ships kept at a fairly long range, but the *Forsigtighet* 64 and the *Gustaf III.* 74 both approached closer. The former got away with the loss of her mizzen-top-gallant-mast, but the *Gustaf III.* suffered more severely. Her rudder was damaged, and a lucky shot jammed the fore brace so that the foretopsail was taken aback and she drifted, stern on, towards the Russian line, but she was got under control again and went off in safety. It was now a little after midday. The next ship did not come so close, but the *Prins Carl* 64 and *Sophia Magdalena* 74, which came into short range, suffered very severely. The *Prins Carl* lost her main and foretopmasts; she tried to set her courses, but they were also injured, and she was unable to get away. She therefore anchored, and surrendered, after being in action for ten minutes. The *Sophia Magdalena* lost her foretopmast but was covered to some extent by the *Prins Carl*, and escaped. As the *Ömhet* 62 approached the Russian line Duke Carl signalled from the frigate *Ulla Fersen* to abandon the action. The *Ömhet* therefore, and the ships astern of her, wore at once to the port tack and went off northwards, without coming into action. Firing ended at about one o'clock. On the way out of the bay the *Riksens Ständer* 60 went aground north of Wulf Island. She could not be moved, and was finally burnt, but

PLATE XII.



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the *Tapperhet* 64 was refloated on the 15th after jettisoning 42 of her guns. As a result of the action the Swedish fleet had thus lost two ships, the *Prins Carl* 64 and *Riksens Ständer* 60, and several other ships were badly damaged. In personnel it lost 51 killed and 81 wounded, while the Russian loss was only 8 killed and 27 wounded.

The Swedish rowing fleet was also at sea early. On May 8th some 70 gunboats had left Sveaborg and begun to work eastwards to attack Fredrikshamn. On the 11th, at Pelling, Gustaf III. joined the flotilla and took command. Next day he moved to Orregrund, south of Louisa, and here he was joined on the 13th by the galleys and larger vessels from Sveaborg. On the 14th he passed Svensksund and anchored just north of Korkiansari, about five miles from Fredrikshamn. The Russian flotilla here had a theoretical strength of 89 ships, but some of these were not yet launched, and only about 70 ships were anything like ready. The town and its forts were almost destitute of troops, and the only possible protection against the Swedish landing was the rowing fleet. The three biggest vessels of this division of the Russian flotilla were the two "half-prams" *Leopard* 28 and *Bars* 26, with the captured turuma (or shebek) *Sällan Värre* 48. These had been sent by Nassau-Siegen to winter at Fredrikshamn, but had had to be kept outside the harbour, and were therefore stationed well to the south as the outposts of the Russian position. At 5 p.m. on May 14th Slisov, the Russian commander, heard from the *Bars* of the approach of the Swedes. He at once recalled the three larger vessels to a position nearer Fredrikshamn and more suitable for defence, and hurried to get the rest of his flotilla out of harbour to join them. The position that he chose was between Hillnäs and Willnäs, the two promontories forming the mouth of Fredrikshamn Gulf; in spite of his lack of men and in spite of a head wind, he got his ships into a line across the channel, and by 10 p.m. he was ready for action. The Swedes might very well have attacked in the evening of the 14th, but Gustaf III. saw fit to put off his attack till next day, and thus gave the Russians time to get ready.

The opposing forces were now as follows:—Slisov had sixty-three ships: one turuma (or shebek), two half-prams, sixteen kaiks, ten double sloops, and thirty-one gunboats,* carrying a total of 408 guns and 2,205 men. The Swedes had been joined on the 14th by some of the vessels from Stockholm, and had now apparently one turuma, two udemas, several smaller sailing vessels, eight bomb-vessels, twenty galleys, and about

* Kaiks, double sloops, and gunboats proper were often classed together as "gunboats."

seventy gunboats,* besides a number of storeships and transports. Their fighting ships were, therefore, about 110 in number, and carried about 1,000 guns and 10,000 men, a force roughly two or three times that of the Russians.

It was, however, plainly Slisov's duty to delay the Swedes at any cost, to give time for the arrival of Russian troops, and this he did most effectively. Between 3.30 and 4 o'clock in the morning of May 15th the Swedes were close enough to open fire. They advanced in three bodies, the big vessels and galleys in the centre and gunboats on either side. The right wing of the Swedish force had to go east of the island of Lilla Swartan to reach its position; but the other two divisions advanced direct. The Russians held their fire until the enemy were quite close, and then opened fire with great effect. For three hours the fight went on; but at last the Russians' ammunition ran short, and Slisov ordered a retreat. The three larger ships were abandoned and taken by the Swedes, as were also seven smaller craft, while six vessels were sunk and ten burnt to prevent their capture. The Russians lost 242 men in all (sixty-five killed, twenty-seven wounded, and 150 captured). The Swedes had one gunboat sunk, thirty men killed, and thirty wounded.

Gustaf III. failed to follow up his success at once, and the Russians had time to get their ships into comparative safety under the guns of the forts. It was not until well on in the afternoon that the Swedish gunboats advanced and bombarded the town and the fortifications. They were received with a heavy fire, and after three hours' fighting they retired. Late in the afternoon a regiment of Russian troops arrived, and the Swedes' chance of an easy success vanished. During the night of the 16th-17th, and again on the 18th Gustaf III. tried to land his troops at three separate points near the mouth of the river Kymmene, but the Swedish army failed to co-operate, and the landing forces were repulsed with heavy losses. The Swedish flotilla had retired to Svensksund, and from here a detachment was sent on the 19th to make a final attack on the Russian ships in Fredrikshamn. Captain Virgin, the Swedish commander, had a force of eighteen gunboats, seven bomb-vessels, and one boat, and with these he opened fire on the Russian position at 3.30 a.m. on May 20th. Slisov had protected his ships by blocking the channel, and after some three hours' fighting Virgin had to withdraw with nothing accomplished. Five days later the Swedish rowing vessels moved to Pitkõpas, about half-way between Fredrikshamn and Viborg Bay, and here they stayed till June 2nd, when they

* These are only approximate figures. Slisov estimated the Swedish force at 19 galleys, 15 big and 30 small sailing vessels, 10 bombs, and 80 gunboats, etc. Mankell puts it as 20 galleys, 70 gunboats, and "several" turumas, udemas, and bombs. Golovatchev's figures are certainly exaggerated.

crossed the mouth of Viborg Bay and took up a position in Björkö Sund, its eastern approach. While at Pitkõpas Gustaf III. carried out two successful landings: the first, on May 27th, was effected by about twenty gunboats and 200 troops at Pytterlaks, in the bay north of Pitkõpas, and resulted in the destruction of nineteen heavy Russian guns intended for the flotilla; the second was carried out on the same day, with a similar force, against a Russian depôt on the Fredrikshamn-Viborg road, and was equally successful.

The Swedish battleship fleet had been forced to remain near Revel for some days, to repair the damages which it had suffered in the action of May 13th. On the 21st two battleships and a frigate arrived from Karlskrona. These were the *Hertig Ferdinand* 62, *Finland* 56, and *Illerim* 32, and their arrival brought the fleet back to its original strength. Duke Carl was now ordered to move eastwards to protect the right flank of the galley fleet. On May 24th he left the mouth of Revel Bay, and on the 26th he anchored a few miles east of Hogland.

At the same time the Russian Kronstadt fleet had got to sea. The original arrangement had been that two squadrons should be got ready at Kronstadt, one of eleven battleships to join Tchitchagov at Revel, and a second of eight battleships as a reserve. These plans were, however, modified by the unexpected approach of the Swedish fleet. The position of affairs was such that the success or failure of the Swedish advance on Petersburg depended to a great extent on the Russian sailing fleet. The sailing fleet which was master of the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland would be able to support its own coast flotilla, and would thus be in a position to decide the movements of the armies ashore. This being the case, it became essential to prevent the advance of the Swedish battleships, and to keep them in check until the arrival of the Russian ships from Revel should enable a superior force to be brought against the enemy. On May 15th news reached Petersburg of the Swedish attack on Revel, and it was at once decided that the reserve squadron should be incorporated with the active fleet, and sent out under Vice-Admiral Kruse to protect the approaches to Kronstadt. The eleven battleships of the active fleet were ready for sea, but only six of the eight reserve battleships were as yet ready to join them, and, accordingly, Kruse's strength consisted for the moment of only seventeen battleships. With this fleet he left Kronstadt on May 23rd, but there was very little wind, and his progress westward was very slow. On the 26th, the day on which the Swedes anchored near Hogland, Kruse was at anchor just west of Tolbukin, about fifteen miles west of

Kronstadt, and the two fleets were, therefore, about seventy miles apart. On the 31st the Swedish fleet appeared off Pitköpas, while the Russians were between Styrsudden and Dolgoi Nos, the two capes that mark the entrance to the easternmost part of the Gulf of Finland. That evening Brigadier Denisov joined the Russian fleet with a valuable reinforcement in the shape of eight newly-built "rowing frigates" of thirty-eight guns each. At the same time each fleet heard of the other's approach, and early on June 1st they were in sight of one another. All through that day and the next they worked slowly towards one another, with very light and variable breezes, and at last, about 3 a.m. on June 3rd a breeze sprang up from E.S.E., and enabled the Russians to attack. They were then some four miles south of Styrsudden, and directly to windward of the Swedes. Both fleets formed line on the starboard tack, but the Swedes, contrary to their usual custom, only put into line two of their big frigates, leaving the six others to act as a reserve, and the Russians formed a similar division, composed of their four sailing frigates and five of the rowing frigates.

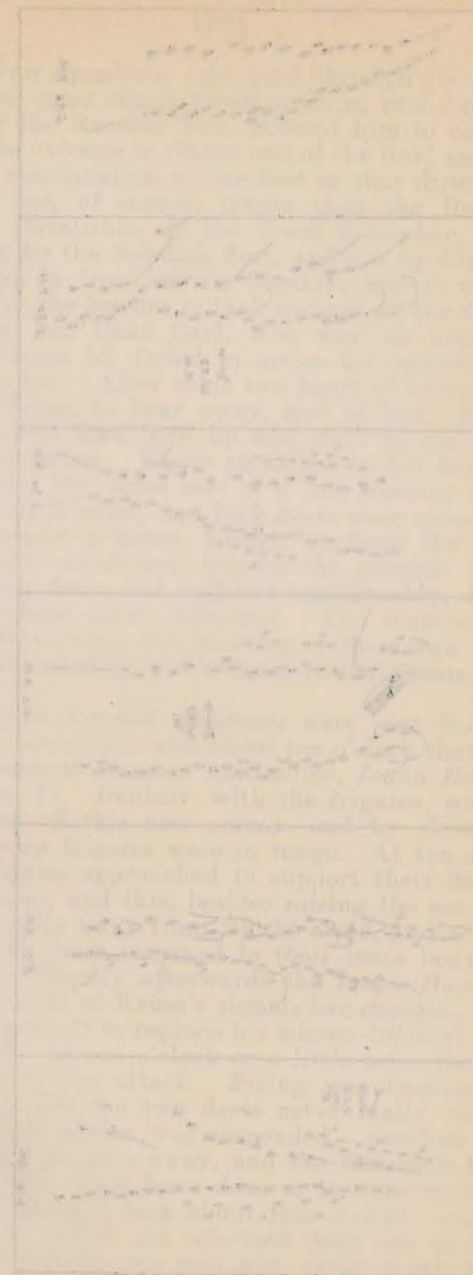
The two lines of battle were as follows:—

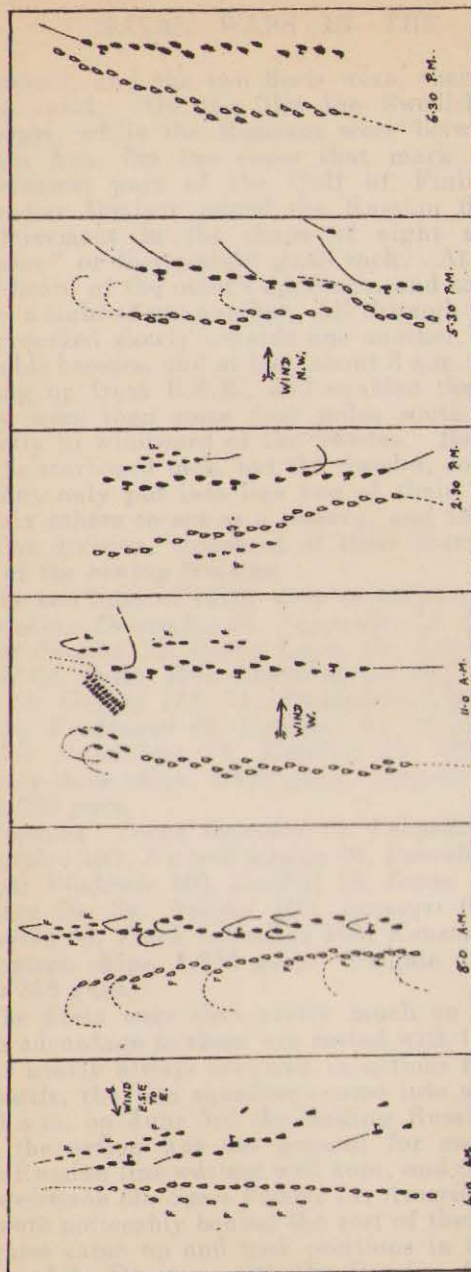
Swedes: *Dristighet* 64, *Tapperhet* 64, *Finland* 56, *Dygd* 64, *Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Götha Lejon* 70, *Ära* 64, *Grip* 44, *Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Hedv. Elis. Charlotta* 64, *Fädernesland* 64, *Wladislaff* 74, *Gustaf III.* 74, *Försigtighet* 64, *Louisa Ulrika* 70, *Hertig Ferdinand* 62, *Uppland* 44, *Manlighet* 64, *Ömhet* 62, *Sophia Magdalena* 74, *Rättvisa* 62, *Wasa* 64, *Enighet* 70. Twenty-three ships, 1,470 guns. Frigate division of six ships with 252 guns.

Russians: *Ioann Bogoslov* 74, *Pobyedoslav* 74, *Dryenadtsat Apostolov* 100, *Ne tron menya* 66, *Panteleimon* 66, *Vseslav* 74, *Knyaz Vladimir* 100, *Iezekiil* 78, *Ioann Krestitel* 100, *Prints Gustav* 70, *Sv. Nikolai* 100, *Ianuarii* 66, *Sysoi Velikii* 74, *Amerika* 66, *Trech Ierarchov* 100, *Konstantin* 74, *Sv. Petr* 74. Seventeen ships, 1,256 guns. Frigate division of nine ships with 358 guns.

The fleets were thus pretty much on an equality, though such advantage as there was rested with the Swedes.

As nearly always occurred in actions fought in formal line of battle, the Van squadrons came into action first. At about 3.30 a.m. on June 3rd the leading Russian ships opened fire, but the action was not general for another hour or more. The Russian line was not well kept, and the *Ne tron menya* 66, *Panteleimon* 66, *Sysoi Velikii* 74, *Amerika* 66, and *Konstantin* 74 were noticeably behind the rest of their fleet. The Swedish frigates came up and took positions in the intervals of their line, while Denisov, with the Russian frigate division, went





THE ACTION OFF STYRSSUDDEN JUNE 30 1790.

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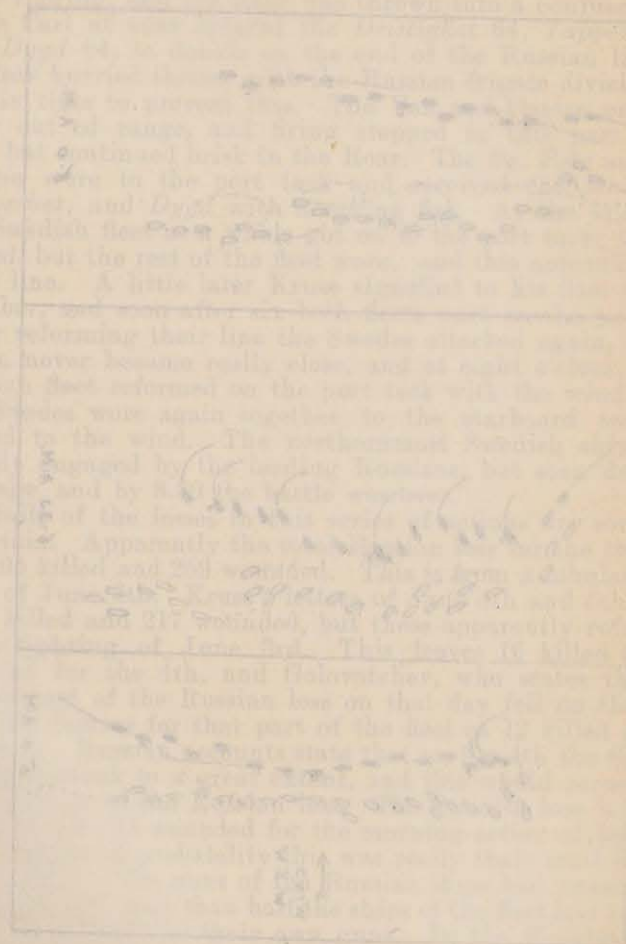
to help the Van squadron, and fired through its gaps. His shots in several cases struck Russian ships, and Suchotin, the commander of the Russian Van, ordered him to cease fire, so he moved to the extreme northern end of the line, and stationed his ships as a continuation of the fleet in that direction. The Swedish line was, of course, longer than the Russian, but Rear-Admiral Povalishin, in the *Trech Ierarchov*, had taken up his position by the Swedish fleet, and not by his own line. This left a gap in front of his flagship, and it would have been possible for the Swedes to tack and cut off the three aftermost Russians, but Duke Carl, who was, as usual, in the frigate *Ulla Fersen* 18, failed to notice his opportunity, and the chance was lost. After some two hours of close action the Swedish Van began to bear away, and at last, about eight o'clock their whole fleet bore up and wore to the port tack. This ended the action. Kruse signalled to his fleet to tack, and got his ships into some sort of a line steering south, but there was very little wind, and both fleets were more or less in disorder. Presently a breeze sprang up from the west, and put the Swedes to windward, but for the moment they made no attack. Both fleets had suffered considerably, but so far the action had been quite indecisive. The Russians in particular had suffered from the bursting of their own guns, and on both sides several ships had lost top-gallant-masts and other spars.

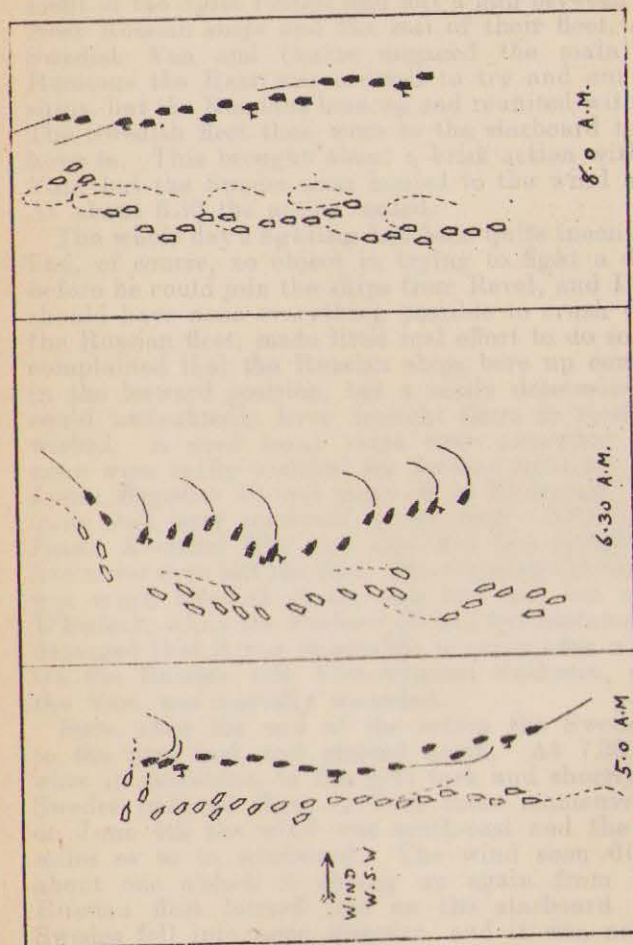
Twenty or more Swedish gunboats were sent from Björkö Sund to join in the action, and about ten o'clock they attacked the two northernmost Russian battleships, *Ioann Bogoslov* 74 and *Pobyedoslav* 74. Denisov, with the frigates, was at once ordered to chase off this new enemy, and by eleven o'clock three of his rowing frigates were in range. At the same time the Swedish frigates approached to support their flotilla, but the wind freshened, and this, besides raising the sea, took the sailing fleets steadily away from Björkö Sund, and accordingly the Swedish small craft returned to their main body without effecting much. Shortly afterwards the *Ioann Bogoslov* left the line, and in spite of Kruse's signals her captain, Odintsov, proceeded to Kronstadt to replace his mizzen-topmast and fore-top-gallant-mast. At one o'clock or a little later the Swedish fleet bore down to the attack. Firing was heaviest in the Van and Centre, but the two fleets never really closed, and by three o'clock the action was suspended. Swedish accounts say that the Russians bore away, and the Russians deny this, but presumably they must have done so to some extent. The Swedes wore to the port tack about four o'clock, and a little later the Russians tacked and reformed their line on the same tack. What wind there was was now about north-west, and

the two lines headed in consequence N.N.E. The Russian *Sysoi Velikii* 74 had to leave the line owing to the damage done by bursting guns, but stayed by the fleet. Just after five the Swedes bore down again on the Russian line. The retirement of the *Sysoi Velikii* had left a gap between the southernmost Russian ships and the rest of their fleet, and while the Swedish Van and Centre engaged the main body of the Russians the Rear was ordered to try and cut off these few ships, but the Russians bore up and reunited without difficulty. The Swedish fleet then wore to the starboard tack again and hove to. This brought about a brisk action with the Russian Van, but the Swedes soon hauled to the wind and withdrew. At about 6.30 the action ended.

The whole day's fighting had been quite inconclusive. Kruse had, of course, no object in trying to fight a decisive action before he could join the ships from Revel, and Duke Carl, who should have done everything possible to crush this portion of the Russian fleet, made little real effort to do so. The Swedes complained that the Russian ships bore up continually when in the leeward position, but a really determined commander could undoubtedly have brought them to close action if he wished. A good many ships were somewhat damaged, but none were really unfitted for further fighting. The Russian *Ioann Bogoslov* 74 had gone off to Kronstadt, but she could quite well have remained in the fleet. Kruse's flagship, the *Ioann Krestitel* 100, had also lost her mizzen-topmast, but had never even left the line. The Swedish *Hertig Ferdinand* 62 was much knocked about, and had lost her captain, Major Whitlock, while the *Finland* 56 had her maintopmast so much damaged that it was impossible to carry even a reefed topsail. On the Russian side Vice-Admiral Suchotin, commander of the Van, was mortally wounded.

Soon after the end of the action the Swedes went about to the port tack and steered north. At 7.30 the Russians wore in succession to the port tack and shortly hove to; the Swedes imitated them in both these manœuvres. At dawn on June 4th the wind was south-east and the Russians five miles or so to windward. The wind soon died away, and about one o'clock it sprang up again from W.S.W. The Russian fleet formed line on the starboard tack, but the Swedes fell into some disorder, and it was not until nearly four o'clock that they were in a position to attack. Their Van came into action soon after four, and about an hour later the two fleets were completely engaged. The Russian Van bore away somewhat, but the rest of the fleet kept to the wind and received the Swedish attack steadily. To diminish their speed the Russian ships in the Centre backed their maintop-





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ACTION OFF STYRSUDDEN
JUNE 4TH 1790.

sails; but the aftermost two ships of the fleet, the *Sv. Petr* 74 and *Konstantin* 74, failed to do this soon enough, and as a result the *Sv. Petr* collided with the *Konstantin* and the latter with the *Trech Ierarchov* 100. Both the 74's were damaged in their rigging, and the Rear was thrown into a confused heap. Duke Carl at once ordered the *Dristighet* 64, *Tapperhet* 64, and *Dygd* 64, to double on the end of the Russian line, but Denisov hurried thither with the Russian frigate division, and was in time to prevent this. The Van and Centre gradually drew out of range, and firing stopped in this part of the line, but continued brisk in the Rear. The *Sv. Petr* and *Konstantin* wore to the port tack and received the *Dristighet*, *Tapperhet*, and *Dygd* with a raking fire. At the same time the Swedish fleet as a whole got on to the port tack; the Van tacked, but the rest of the fleet wore, and this naturally upset their line. A little later Kruse signalled to his fleet to wear together, and soon after six both fleets were on the port tack. After reforming their line the Swedes attacked again, but the action never became really close, and at eight o'clock, as the Russian fleet reformed on the port tack with the wind abeam the Swedes wore again together to the starboard tack and hauled to the wind. The northernmost Swedish ships were sharply engaged by the leading Russians, but soon drew out of range, and by 8.30 the battle was over.

Details of the losses in this series of actions are somewhat uncertain. Apparently the total Russian loss for the two days was 105 killed and 259 wounded. This is from a tabular statement of June 8th. Kruse's letters of June 4th and 5th put it at 89 killed and 217 wounded, but these apparently refer only to the fighting of June 3rd. This leaves 16 killed and 42 wounded for the 4th, and Golovatchev, who states that the greater part of the Russian loss on that day fell on the rear, gives the figures for that part of the fleet as 12 killed and 33 wounded. Russian accounts state that on the 4th the Swedish fleet fired blank to a great extent, and this would account for the smallness of the Russian loss. The Swedish loss is put at 84 killed and 241 wounded for the morning action of June 3rd alone, but in all probability this was really their total loss for the two days. The guns of the Russian ships had proved very unreliable, and more than half the ships of the fleet had suffered from the bursting of their own guns. In the *Konstantin* 74 no less than eleven guns had burst, and in the *Sv. Nikolai* 100 seven had done so. Altogether 46 men had been killed or wounded in this way.

Less than half an hour after firing ended the Swedish fleet heard from its cruisers that the Revel squadron was at sea, and a little later the Russian ships were in sight. Tchitchagov,

the Russian admiral at Revel, had been consistently wasting time; the Swedish fleet had left Revel Bay on May 24th, and Tchitchagov had moved on the 27th as far as the mouth of the Bay, but it was not until 10 p.m. on June 3rd that he had actually put to sea. Twenty-four hours later, when he sighted the Swedes, he was close to the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland, eleven miles south of the island of Seskar and about twenty miles west of Dolgoi Nos. The Swedes had just previously gone about to the port tack and were making off north westward with a fresh breeze from the south-west pursued by Kruse's fleet. Tchitchagov might perhaps have intercepted the Swedish fleet and brought it to action, but his force consisted of only eleven battleships and five frigates carrying respectively 824 guns and 200 guns, whereas the Swedes had twenty-one battleships with 1,382 guns and eight big frigates with 340, and Tchitchagov was not the man to attack against odds such as these. He therefore hauled to the wind, and kept his position some twenty miles west of the Swedes. During the morning of June 5th the two Russian squadrons sighted one another. The wind was westerly but light, and the Swedes continued to work westward; the *Finland* 56, with her damaged maintopmast, had to be towed by the frigate *Illerim*. Six galleys left Björkö Sund at about eleven o'clock to tow some of the sailing ships, but these were too far off, and by 1.30 the galleys were back with the rest of the flotilla. The wind became very uncertain and progress was slow, while the return of the smoke of the two previous days' actions made it impossible to see any distance. At 6.30 p.m. the Swedish fleet was close to the island of Seskar, and must have been comparatively near Tchitchagov's fleet. The wind backed to S.S.E. and freshened during the night.

Captain Smith, later the famous Sir Sidney Smith, had taken Duke Carl's report to the King, and in the night of June 5th-6th he rejoined the fleet with definite orders to "enter Viborg Bay to protect the flotilla." With the fresh southerly breeze the Swedish fleet soon reached the northern coast, and at 6.30 a.m. on June 6th it anchored near Vidskär, about fifteen miles south-west of the entrance to Viborg Bay. Earlier in the day Tchitchagov had sighted a fleet approaching him, and had promptly taken up a position at anchor in line of battle between the islands of Seskar and Peni. However, by seven o'clock he knew that the supposed enemy was really the Kronstadt fleet, and a little later he began to weigh anchor, while Kruse hove to to wait for him. The wind now shifted to W.S.W., and made it necessary for the Russians to beat to windward to approach the Swedish anchorage, but at 11.30 the Swedes got under way again. Passing Krysserort,

the promontory marking the western limit of Viborg Bay, they turned south-east behind a large shoal called Salvör Grund, and about three o'clock they began to take up a new position. The bulk of the fleet anchored in a single indented line between Salvör Grund and Biskopsö, the island north of Björkö, but three battleships and a frigate were left between the shoal and Krysserort, to guard the western entrance to the bay.* The Russians followed slowly, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of June 7th they also anchored, but without much order, between Pitköpas and Björkö, about twelve miles south-west of the Swedes.

For a time now the interest shifts to the rowing fleets. On both sides these were very numerous, but in neither case were they concentrated in one body. Roughly speaking, the Swedes were in two divisions and the Russians in three. The Swedish King's main flotilla in Björkö Sund had been joined by several detachments from the west before the arrival of the Russian sailing fleet closed the mouth of Viborg Bay and cut off further reinforcements, and without counting storeships and transports it consisted of six sailing vessels and about 170 galleys, gunboats, and bombs. Another division of about forty boats, mainly gunboats from Stralsund, was on its way east along the Finnish coast. The Russian flotilla was more widely scattered. Part was at Fredrikshamn, part at Viborg, and part at Kronstadt, while the Swedish force in Viborg Bay effectually prevented a junction. In Viborg, under Koslanianov, were the largest ships of the Russian flotilla, forty-two in number; in Fredrikshamn was Slisov's squadron of fifty-nine vessels, mainly gunboats, while in Kronstadt Nassau-Siegen was collecting a division whose theoretical strength was over 120 vessels, though at the beginning of June it had only reached a total of fifty. There were also ten gunboats at Revel; and accordingly the grand total of the Russian rowing fleet if combined would have been 230 ships to the Swedish 220, but for the moment the Swedes were in a position of undoubted superiority, both in numbers and position.

The Russian plan was, of course, to concentrate the whole

* The Swedish dispositions were as follows:—Between Krysserort and Salvör Grund: *Illerim* 32; *Wasa* 64; *Louisa Ulrika* 70; *Enighet* 70. E.S.E. from Salvör Grund: *Finland* 56; *Grip* 44; *Rättvisa* 62; *Dristighet* 64; *Adolf-Fredrik* 70; *Dydd* 64; *Tapperhet* 64; *Camilla* 42; *Götha Lejon* 70; *Ara* 64; *Fredrik Adolf* 62; *Fädernesland* 64; *Hedv. Elis. Charlotta* 64; *Wladislaff* 74; *Gustaf III.* (I) 74. B.B.E. to Biskopsö: *Försigtighet* 64; *Omhet* 62; *Sophia Magdalena* 74; *Mantlighet* 64; *Hertig Ferdinand* 62; *Uppland* 44. The five remaining 42-gun frigates, *Thetis*, *Fröja*, *Zemire*, *Euredice*, and *Galatea* were stationed behind the line. Two frigates, *Jarramas* 32 and *Jarislawitz* 32 were sent further into the bay to watch the Russian flotilla in Viborg. The small craft were posted in front of the battleship line.

of their available strength, and carry out a grand combined attack on the two Swedish fleets in Viborg Bay, while the main object of the Swedes was to press on towards Petersburg. On June 7th the Swedes landed 3,000 men at Koivisto, in Björkö Sund, and detachments from this force at once occupied Maklaks, on the road to Viborg, and Umajocki, on the road to Petersburg. On the 8th Tchitchagov was joined by the *Chrabryi* 66, *Svyatoslav* 66, *Patrikii* 32, and *Sv. Mark* 20, from Kronstadt, and on the following day he moved in close to the Swedish line, and anchored again some three or four miles from the enemy. The *Ioann Bogoslov* 74 rejoined on the 11th, and on the same day the *Sysoi Velikii* 66, *Amerika* 66, and two cutters were detached to reconnoitre south of Björkö Sund, and then proceed to Kronstadt for repairs. The Swedish flotilla also got under way, and six galleys and about 110 gunboats went northwards to attack the Russian Viborg detachment which had taken up its position in Trångsund, seven miles south-west of the town. On June 12th this Swedish force was off Rödhall, five miles from the Russians, and here it was joined by four frigates, one cutter, and two fireships from the sailing fleet, and by six more galleys from Björkö Sund.* At the same time Tchitchagov began to take steps to prevent any more Swedish small craft from reaching Viborg Bay, and with this object he stationed Rear-Admiral Chanykov, with five frigates, about two miles west of Krysserort.

In the meantime Koslanianov at Viborg had been preparing to defend the approaches to the inner harbour. He had forty-two vessels, mostly of large size,† and with these he had decided to meet the Swedish attack in the narrow passage of Trångsund. The Russians had also built fortifications on the islands on either side of Trångsund, and had made their position so strong that there was little prospect of success for a direct attack. Gustaf III. therefore told off two detachments to try to outflank the Russians. The first, under Sidney Smith, consisted of some fifty gunboats, and its duty was to embark the Swedish troops from Maklaks, and then endeavour to reach the inner part of the bay by means of the easternmost passage between the island of Uransari and the mainland. The second, of thirty gunboats, was to effect a landing in the island west of Trångsund, while the rest of the fleet, four frigates, twelve galleys, and thirty gunboats, under the King himself, would attack the Russian position in front. Smith embarked his troops on the 14th, and on the 16th he captured a Russian

* There were left in Björkö Sund six large vessels of the rowing fleet, eight galleys, and about twenty gunboats.

† One pram, two shebeks, two turumas, four frigates, one bomb vessel, four bomb-cutters, twenty-three galleys, five gunboats.

battery at Kachis, on the mainland, just south of Uransari. The general attack was arranged for the 17th, but heavy weather caused its postponement, and next day the King, thinking that the movements of the Russian sailing ships foreshadowed an attack, ordered the abandonment of the attempt on Trångsund, and the return of the flotilla to Björkö Sund. Smith, however, went on, and on the 18th he landed in Uransari. At first he met with success, and managed to take one of the Russian batteries, but the enemy soon received reinforcements, and he only managed to re-embark and retreat after losing over 300 men killed or captured. On the same day the ships in Björkö Sund embarked the other Swedish troops who had been forced back to Koivisto, and then moved north to Biskopsö, at the northern end of Björkö Sund, where the Swedish flotilla now assembled.

Three of Chanykov's frigates had been engaged on June 14th by an advanced detachment of the Swedish flotilla from the west, and on the 17th this force, under Cronstedt, arrived in Svensksund about forty ships strong. It made, however, no attempt to intercept the Russian Fredrikshamn squadron, which put to sea on the 19th, and joined Tchitchagov the same day. On the 17th also Tchitchagov had occupied Rondö, a small island about two miles south and west of the main Swedish line, and on the 18th he had been joined by two bomb vessels, six cutters, and five storeships from Revel. He now made considerable changes in his dispositions. He had already sent five of the eight rowing frigates to join Nassau-Siegen at Kronstadt, and he now sent Slisov with about thirty of his ships to do the same. The remaining gunboats, about twenty in number, he added to Chanykov's frigate squadron to the west of the bay. On the same day, June 20th, he formed three small detachments under Rear-Admiral Povalishin, General-Major Lezhnev, and Brigadier Crown. The first, consisting of five battleships* and one bomb vessel, was stationed south of Krysserort, about one and a half miles from the right of the Swedish fleet, the second was posted opposite the other extremity of the Swedish line, between Rondö and the shoals off Biskopsö, and comprised four battleships,† one bomb, one rowing frigate, and two fireships, while the third was sent to Pitköpas to attack any Swedish rowing vessels, and consisted of two frigates‡ and four cutters. Finally, he moved forward with the rest of the fleet, and took up a new position about two and a half miles from the Swedes, between Rondö and the Repie shoal, south of Krysserort. The *Ioann Bogoslov* 74

* *Prints* Karl 64; *Pobyedoslav* 66; *Ianuarii* 66; *Boleslav* 74; *Prints* Gustav 70.

† *Sv. Petr* 74; *Vseslav* 74; *Panteleimon* 66; *Ne tron menya* 66.

‡ *Venus* 44; *Premislav* 42.

had been detached to join the *Amerika* 66 and *Sysoi Velikii* 66, and co-operate with Nassau-Siegen, and this left Tchitchagov with eighteen battleships in the centre of his line, or a total force of twenty-seven as compared with twenty-one Swedes.

The movements of the Russian fleet seemed to Gustaf III. to point to a general attack, and he therefore recalled his flotilla from Björkö Sund and stationed it just inside the sailing fleet to act as a reinforcement if necessary. The position of the Swedish fleet was becoming desperate; provisions were running short, and eventually, after three councils of war, on June 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, it was decided to break out of the bay at all costs. At the same time the Russian arrangements for a combined attack were gradually progressing. On June 24th Nassau-Siegen left Kronstadt with his flotilla, and on the 29th he anchored just south of Björkö Sund. The Swedish rowing fleet at once returned to their original station, and sent Stedingk with the six sailing vessels, eight galleys, ten gun vessels, and about fifty gunboats to hold the narrowest part of the passage at Koivisto. In the meanwhile Cronstedt had worked eastwards with the Swedish rowing vessels from Svensksund. He had sent a few gunboats into the Kymmene to help the army, and finally reached Pitkõpas on June 30th. He was at once attacked by the Russian detachment under Crown. At first the Swedes were successful, and Crown had to retire; but on July 1st he was reinforced, and soon succeeded in driving the Swedes back to Svensksund.

Both sides were now ready for their final effort. The wind had become easterly, and the Swedes arranged to effect their escape while the Russian flotilla from Kronstadt was ready to force the passage of Björkö Sund, join Koslanianov from Viborg, and co-operate with the sailing fleet in a grand attack on the Swedes from both sides. The Swedish plan was to escape by the Krysserort channel early in the morning of July 3rd, and with this in view they tried to turn the attention of the Russians to the other end of their line. The position in the evening of July 2nd was somewhat as follows:—

The Swedish sailing ships were still at anchor across the harbour mouth, but were ready to move; the flotilla was already in movement. The transports and about fifteen gunboats were leaving Björkö Sund to take up their position just north of the battleships, a force of about sixty-five gunboats and eight bomb vessels under Törning was on its way between Biskopsö and Torsari to attack the eastern end of the Russian line, and the remaining vessels under Stedingk—six sailing vessels, twenty galleys, ten gun vessels, and fifty gunboats—were stationed at Koivisto to keep back the Russian flotilla. The Russians had

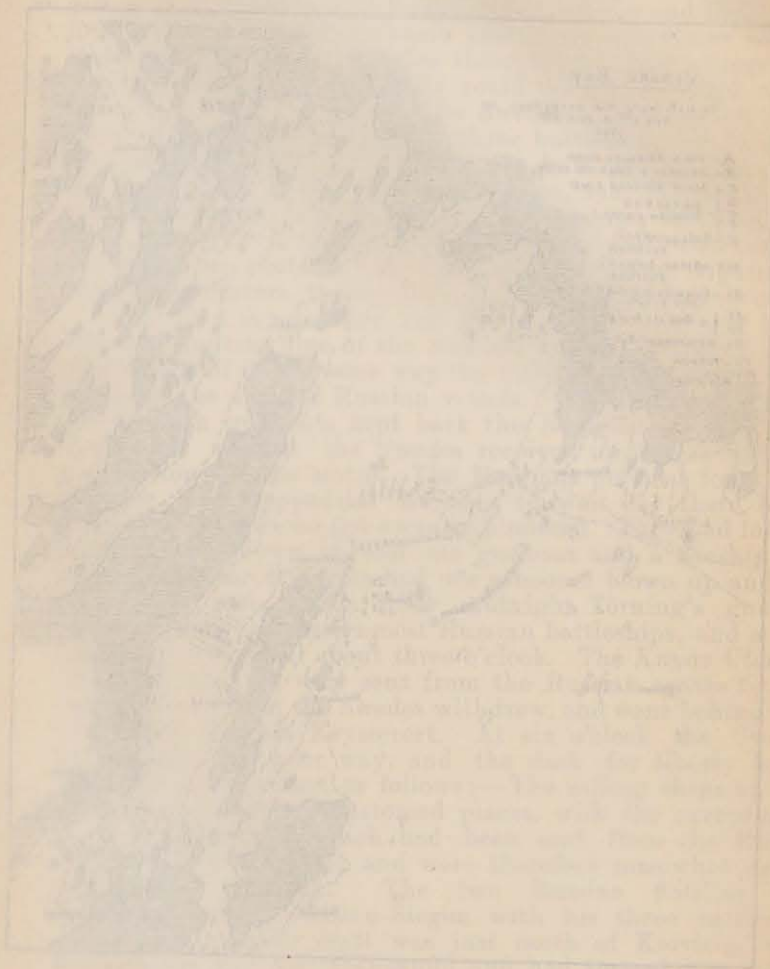
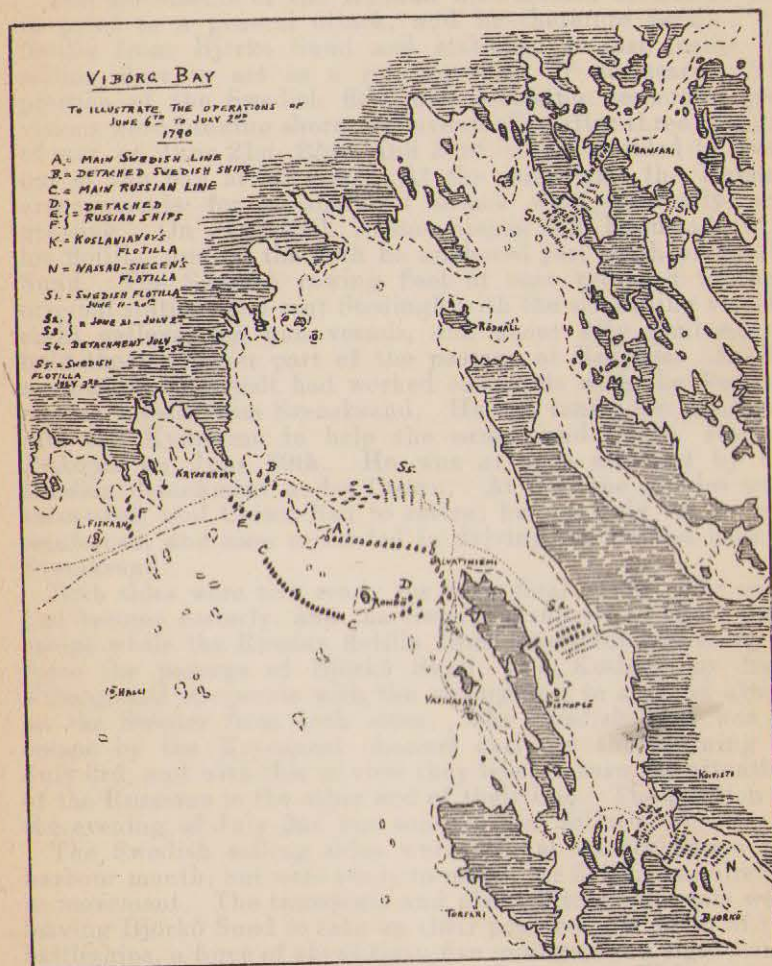


PLATE XV.



[To face page 285.]

three frigates and two cutters at Pitköpas under Crown, five frigates a little west of Krysserort under Chanykov, five battleships and one bomb vessel under Povalishin nearer the Swedes and south of Krysserort, eighteen battleships under Tchitchagov, Musin Pushkin, and Kruse between Repie and Rondö, and four battleships and one bomb vessel under Lezhnev between Rondö and Biskopsö. Besides these forces Nassau-Siegen and Koslanianov were respectively south of Björkö Sund and in Trångsund to the north of the Swedes. The former had a force of 113 ships of all sorts—three battleships, two frigates, six rowing frigates, six shebeks, two half shebeks, one pram, one bomb, four cutters, eleven schooners, four half-prams, two galiots, three floating batteries, two fireships, forty-six gunboats, and twenty transports; the latter had forty-two vessels—one pram, two shebeks, two turumas, four rowing frigates, one bomb, four cutters, twenty-three galleys, and five gunboats.

At 10.30 p.m. on July 2nd Nassau-Siegen's attack began. The real fighting line of the Swedish force was formed by the gunboats, and in the same way the chief part in the attack was taken by the smaller Russian vessels. The converging fire of the Swedish gunboats kept back the Russians for over three hours, but at last the Swedes received orders to retire in preparation for the sortie. The Russians pursued for a short distance, but stopped off Koivisto to wait for their bigger ships, and the Swedes got away unhindered. They had lost two bomb vessels blown up and one gunboat and a fireship captured, while the Russians had one schooner blown up and lost, in all 150 men. Soon after midnight Törning's gunboats opened fire on the easternmost Russian battleships, and a brisk action went on until about three o'clock. The *Knyaz Vladimir* 74 and *Iezekiil* 78 were sent from the Russian centre to reinforce Lezhnev, but the Swedes withdrew, and went behind their battleships towards Krysserort. At six o'clock the Swedish battleships got under way, and the dash for liberty began. The position was then as follows:—The sailing ships on both sides were in their accustomed places, with the exception of the two battleships which had been sent from the Russian centre to join Lezhnev, and were therefore somewhat east of their usual stations. The two Russian flotillas were both stationary. Nassau-Siegen with his three battleships and all his smaller craft was just north of Koivisto, while Koslanianov had left Trångsund and had formed line a little to the south. The Swedish rowing fleet, on the other hand, was in active movement preparing for the sortie, and was just forming into its final order behind the battleships. First came its larger ships under Stedingk, next came the bomb vessels

and some eighty gunboats, then the galleys and transports, and finally about fifty more gunboats.

At six o'clock, then, in the morning of July 3rd, the Swedish fleet got under way. The wind was E.N.E., light but freshening. Tchitchagov at once signalled to his fleet to prepare for action and to have boats ready to deal with fireships. He also signalled to recall Crown and his division from Pitköpas. One of the Swedish battleships, the *Finland* 56, the nearest ship to Salvör Grund, went aground almost directly after weighing anchor and could not be moved, but the rest of the fleet soon formed line, and, passing north of the shoal, entered the Krysserort channel. Passing through the line of four Swedish ships between Krysserort and Salvör Grund, the *Dristighet* 64 reached the Russian line at 7.30. She passed between the *Sv. Peter* 74 and *Vseslav* 74, leaving three battleships to port and two to starboard, while the leading ships of the flotilla went north of the Russian battleships and attacked the bomb vessel *Pobyeditil* as they passed. The *Dristighet*, of course, suffered as she approached, but as she passed she raked the Russian ships with considerable effect. Ship after ship of the Swedish fleet followed, and the Russians were naturally much damaged. The *Vseslav* 74 was twice set on fire, and Trevenen, in the *Ne tron menya* 66, was killed, while the Swedish ships received little if any hurt. Swedish accounts state that at eight o'clock, as the *Gustaf III.* 74 passed the Russian ships, they struck their flags, and that they had only about forty to sixty men left unhurt in each ship; but the real loss in the six Russian ships was only forty-nine killed and ninety-eight wounded, and this, even if incurred by only two ships, would hardly lead to their surrender.

The leading Swedes left the bay in the following order:—*Dristighet* 64, *Camilla* 42, *Rättvisa* 64, *Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Euredice* 42, *Dygd* 64, *Tapperhet* 64, *Fröja* 42, *Götha Lejon* 70, *Wasa* 64, *Ära* 64, *Fredrik Adolf* 62, *Fädernesland* 64, *Wladislaff* 74, *Gustaf III.* (flagship), and *Försigtighet* 64. So far everything had gone well; over half the fleet was at sea, and the Russians had not moved, but disasters soon came. The Swedish ships between Krysserort were to keep their positions until the last and form the rear of the line. The *Wasa* 64 had as a matter of fact been among the leading ships to pass the Russian line, but the others waited till the rest of the fleet had almost passed before moving. The last ship to get under way was the *Enighet* 70, and beside her sailed a Swedish fireship intended to attack the Russians under Povalishin, but she was badly handled, and ran blazing on board the *Enighet*, which in trying to avoid her collided in turn with the *Zemire* 42. Together the three burning ships bore down on the Russian

ships *Vseslav* and *Panteleimon*, but before reaching them they blew up. The greater part of their crews were killed or drowned. This was about nine o'clock. The air was already thick with smoke, and this explosion made it even worse. As a result several of the aftermost Swedish ships ran aground. The *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta* 64 went on to the Repie shoal just beyond the Russian line, the *Ömhjet* 62, with a schooner and three galleys, ran aground near Pensar at the northern end of Chanykov's frigate line, and the *Louisa Ulrika* 70, *Uppland* 44, and *Jarislavitz* 32 went on to the Passalada shoal to the south. The rest of the fleet got away to sea. Chanykov's frigates fired on the Swedes as they passed, but caused little damage, and by ten o'clock the survivors of the Swedish fleet were clear of the Russians.

Tchitchagov meanwhile had been hesitating in the most extraordinary way. He had, as has been said, signalled to prepare for action, but had done little else. At about 8.30 he ordered Musin Pushkin on the left of his line to take two ships to help Povalishin. At 9.0 Lezhnev and Kruse were ordered to cut or slip and pursue the enemy, but Tchitchagov himself made no move until 9.30, and then waited to weigh anchor. Musin Pushkin's flagship, the *Dvynadtsat Apostolov* 100, went with the *Konstantin* 74 to help Povalishin. The *Konstantin* got into action at about nine o'clock and suffered considerable damage, but the *Dvynadtsat Apostolov* was unable to weather the Repie shoal, and had to give up the attempt. Musin Pushkin then started with his squadron in chase of the Swedes, but at once received a signal to shorten sail and wait for the rest of the fleet. At last by about ten o'clock the main body of the Russian fleet was in pursuit of the enemy. Povalishin's five battleships were unfit to move, and Lezhnev's four were sent to help them, while the *Pobyedonosets* 66 was left to take possession of the *Finland* 56 aground on the Salvör Grund, but the remaining seventeen battleships went off under Tchitchagov after the Swedes. At about eleven the two Swedish fleets parted company.

The sailing ships kept on the south-west outside Widskär in the open sea, while the flotilla altered course to west to enter the channel through the skärgård. About noon the Swedish battleships passed Widskär twelve miles from Krysserort, and at 7 p.m. they were off Hogland. The aftermost Swedish ships were the *Sophia Magdalena* 74, *Manlighet* 64, *Hertig Ferdinand* 62, *Fredrik Adolf* 62, and *Grip* 44. At about eight o'clock the *Sophia Magdalena* was within range of the leading Russians, the *Dvynadtsat Apostolov* 100, *Mstislav* 74, *Kir Ioann* 74, and *Venus* 44. She was brought to action by the *Mstislav*, while the other Russian ships fired at her as

they pressed on after the ships just ahead of her. Both the *Mstislav* and the *Sophia Magdalena* lost their maintopsail yard, but the Swede also lost her mizzen-mast, and at 9.30 she surrendered. The *Chrabryi* 66 was at once ordered to stand by to assist either ship while the rest of the fleet continued the chase. At ten o'clock the *Kir Ioann* and *Venus* engaged one of the aftermost Swedish battleships and the frigate *Grip*,* but darkness was coming on, and firing stopped after about an hour.

Duke Carl had intended to take his fleet to Louisa, half-way between Fredrikshamn and Helsingfors, but the wind, which had been heavy enough in the afternoon, dropped towards evening, and became too light to allow of his making any progress close-hauled, and he therefore decided to keep straight on for Sveaborg. The Russians steered a little too much to the south during the night, and at dawn on July 4th, with a north-east wind, they were somewhat to leeward. The Swedes, too, were by now close to Sveaborg, and at about eight o'clock in the morning of July 4th they anchored near Mjölö at the entrance of the harbour. Two of their ships were, however, to leeward of the rest; these were the *Götha Lejon* 70 and the *Rättvisa* 62, which had lost her foretopmast. The *Wladislaff* 74, *Dristighet* 62, and *Camilla* 42 were ordered to assist them, but reported damages, and did not do so. The two Russian ships *Izjaslav* 66 and *Venus* 44 came up with the Swedes about eight o'clock. The *Izjaslav* steered for the *Götha Lejon*, but on the Swedish ship's bearing away to wear because in her damaged state tacking was impossible, the *Izjaslav* bore away too, and left her to escape, but attacked the *Rättvisa*, which was already engaged with the *Venus*. This second Swedish ship surrendered after about half an hour's action, but the *Götha Lejon* was towed into safety by the boats of the Swedish fleet.

In the evening the Swedes got under way again, and beat up towards Sveaborg, but soon had to anchor, and it was not until 11 a.m. on the 5th that a southerly wind enabled them to reach their destination.

They had lost the following ships:—*Finland* 56, run aground in Viborg Bay and taken; *Enighet* 70, *Zemire* 42, burnt near Krysserort; *Louisa Ulrika* 70, *Hedv. Elis. Charlotta* 64, *Ömhet* 62, *Uppland* 44, *Jarislawitz* 32, run aground outside Viborg Bay and taken; *Sophia Magdalena* 74, taken by *Mstislav* 74 near Hogland; *Rättvisa* 62, taken by *Izjaslav* 66 near Sveaborg. The Swedish fleet consisted, therefore, on its arrival at Sveaborg of fourteen

* Russian accounts say that the *Grip* actually surrendered.

battleships and six big frigates,* while Tchitchagov, even after sending the *Mstislav* and her prize, the *Sophia Magdalena*, to Revel, had seventeen battleships and four frigates with which to establish a blockade, and was besides soon joined by other ships from Viborg.

The Swedish sailing fleet had therefore no longer any chance of meeting the Russians on anything like equal terms; but the rowing fleet was in a more favourable position. It had, as has been said, left Viborg Bay at the same time as the battleships, and had as soon as possible taken to the channel through the skärgård. A schooner and three galleys had gone aground on leaving the bay, but this was only a trifling loss. It has been suggested† that Tchitchagov might easily have cut off its retreat by heaving to on the starboard tack across its path, but it seems very doubtful if he was ever in a position to do this, and even so his true objective was clearly enough the Swedish battleship fleet. Still, Crown's ships at Pitköpas were certainly favourably placed to attack the Swedish flotilla, and in the afternoon of July 4th they did so. Many of the Swedish vessels surrendered, but Tchitchagov ordered Crown in the *Venus* 44 to join the sailing fleet, and this compelled him to leave his prizes to be retaken by other Swedish ships. This unlucky signal of Tchitchagov's was, as a matter of fact, the means of saving Gustaf III. from capture, since it was only the recall of the *Venus* that allowed the escape of the yacht *Colding* in which the Swedish King was. Still the other two frigates and two cutters of Crown's detachment did fairly well, and the loss of the Swedes in this part of the day's fighting reached the high total of four galleys, eleven gunboats, and some thirty transports.

The sea was rapidly getting up, and it became difficult for the rowing vessels on either side to do much. Nassau-Siegen had gone north through Björkö Sund on the opening of the action, and had at once started in pursuit of the Swedes, but it was not until noon that he rounded the northern end of Biskopsö, and by that time the Swedish flotilla was quite out of reach. In spite of this he went after them, but Koslanianov saw the uselessness of doing so and merely brought his vessels as far as Rödhall some five miles south of Trångsund. Nassau-Siegen had appointed a rendezvous at Aspö nine miles south of Svensksund, but the weather was too much for his ships, and he was driven beyond Hogland. Slisov, with part of the Russian flotilla, managed to get shelter at Aspö Gäddar ten miles east of the rendezvous. In the morning of July 4th he

* Near Louisa were the newly commissioned *Fredrik Rex* 62, *Diana* 42, and *Bellona* 42.

† Golovatchev ii. 159/160.

sighted part of the Swedish flotilla under the King himself, and at once sent to demand their surrender, but Gustaf III. of course refused, and the Swedes went on their way to Svensksund, where they joined Cronstedt's squadron. That evening the rest of the Swedish flotilla assembled near Louisa, and on the 5th its whole force was concentrated in Svensksund. Its total loss had been 7 galleys, 11 gunboats, and 30 transports. At the same time the Russian flotilla slowly got together again. Slisov, with about forty vessels, went to Fredrikshamn for repairs on July 5th, and the same day Koslanianov, from Viborg, reached Kutsalo, just east of Svensksund, with 45. Many scattered ships joined him here, but it was not until July 7th that Nassau-Siegen's own squadron reached Aspö. He decided to attack the Swedes at once, and by midnight of July 8/9th he had concentrated the entire Russian flotilla at the southern entrance of Svensksund harbour.

The Swedish force was very considerable. Cronstedt's reinforcements more than made up for their losses, and their total available strength was as follows:—

Six sailing vessels (2 hemmemas, 1 turuma, 2 udemas), 18 galleys, 153 gunboats* (99 "sloops" and 54 "yawls"), 10 gunvessels, 8 bombs, 1 yacht. They had thus 196 fighting ships of all sizes, and carried about 1,200 guns.†

Against them the Russians could bring the following‡:—

Thirty sailing vessels (8 frigates, 8 shebeks, 1 hemmemma, 8 schooners, 3 bombs, 2 half-prams), 23 galleys, 77 gunboats and kaiks, 3 floating batteries, 8 bombs—a total of 141 ships, with about 1,500 guns.

The Swedish force occupied practically the same position as in August, 1789. The northern approaches were blocked, and a force of 1 turuma, 1 galley, and 33 gunboats was told off to protect them. Between the two islets of Kråkskär and Sandskär lay the Swedish centre, consisting of 2 hemmemas, 2 udemas, 1 cutter, 17 galleys, and 15 gunboats. This line ran N.W. and S.E. and covered, roughly, the position of the Swedish fleet in the previous year, but on this occasion it formed only a part of the scheme of defence. Stretching southwest from Kråkskär to an islet close to Musala came the Swedish right wing of 61 gunboats, while on the left from Sandskär to Kutsalo behind a row of islets and rocks was another force of 44 gunboats. The eight bomb-vessels were not in the fighting line. Three or four had been sent as scouts to the other side of Svensksund, and the rest lay as a reserve between the two Swedish lines.

* Gunsloops (Kanonsluparne) carried two big guns and four swivels, while gunyawls (Kanonjollarne) carried a single big gun.

† Golovatchev gives them 295 warships, 65 transports, and 1,000 guns.

‡ These are only approximate figures.

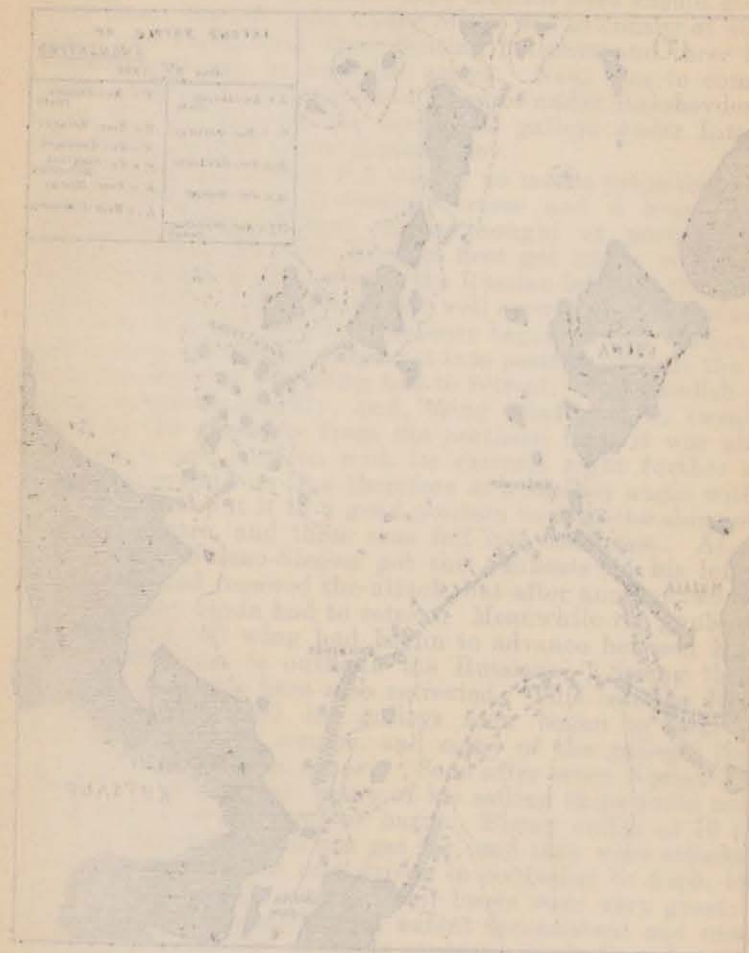
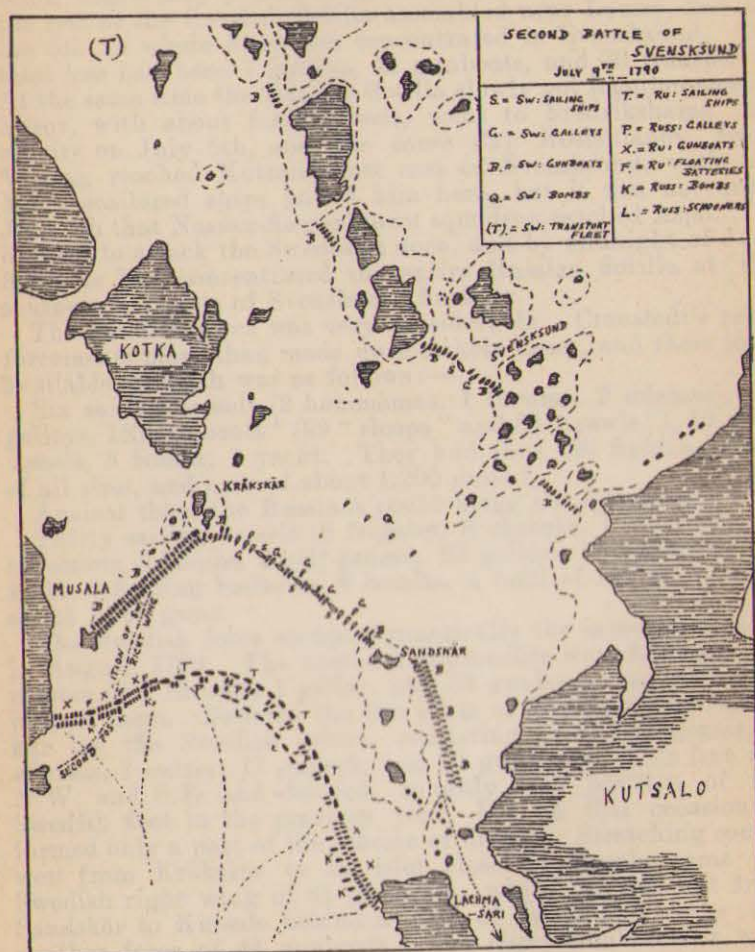


PLATE XVI.



[To face page 291.]

This was the position which Nassau-Siegen had to attack, and he did so confidently enough. July 9th was the day of the Tsarina's accession, and he chose that date for his expected victory. His arrangements were that his fleet should go in in four lines; the left wing under Slisov was to consist of 40 gunboats and kaiks, with three floating batteries and three bomb-vessels, and was to lead the attack. Next was to come the right wing of 37 gunboats and 8 bombs under Bukshevden, and then the two lines of the centre, 23 galleys under Litte and the sailing vessels under Koslanianov.

The morning of July 9th was by no means promising. There was a freshening south-westerly breeze and a heavy driving mist, but Nassau-Siegen never thought of postponing his attack. At 8 a.m. the Russian fleet got under way, and at 9.30 the action began between the Russian left and the Swedish right. At first everything went well enough, but the wind and sea rose, and the Russian gunboats began to lose station. At about noon the sailing ships got into position, but at the same time the Russian left wing had to retreat. The Swedish right wing advanced steadily, and, being reinforced by twenty or more of the gunboats from the northern line, it was able to take up a new position with its extreme right further south than before, and its line therefore at a smaller angle with the centre. This put it in a good position to rake the ships of the Russian centre, and these soon fell into confusion. At about two o'clock Nassau-Siegen got the gunboats on his left into line again and renewed the attack, but after another two hours' fighting they again had to retreat. Meanwhile the gunboats of the Swedish left wing had begun to advance between Kutsalo and Lächmasari to outflank the Russians. Seeing this the Russian gunboats here also retreated. This left the Russian centre exposed, and its galleys soon began to sink. The rowers went to the pumps, and many of the galleys, though anchored, were driven ashore. Soon after seven Nassau-Siegen decided to retreat, but many of his sailing ships could not get away and were captured or burnt. Firing ended at 10 p.m., but the Russians could not get far, and they were attacked at daybreak on the 10th and driven in confusion to Aspö, losing several ships on the way. Their losses were very great; the figures available are to some extent inconsistent and unsatisfactory, but the list of ships captured or destroyed was probably, roughly, as follows*:

Five frigates, 3 taken, 2 sunk; 4 shebeks, 1 taken, 3 sunk; 1 hemmema, taken; 2 half-prams, destroyed; 2 floating bat-

* Nassau-Siegen's report omits the kaiks which are given by Veselago (List of Russian ships) as lost and by Bäckström (Ap. 22) as added to the Swedish fleet.

teries, taken; 7 schooners, destroyed; 16 galleys, 7 taken, 9 destroyed; 7 bombs, 2 taken, 5 destroyed; 10 kaiks, taken; 6 gunboats, taken; 4 double sloops, taken; 64 vessels lost.

On the Swedish side only four ships were lost, the *udema Ingeborg* and three gunboats. The loss in men was also comparatively small, since only 181 officers and men were killed and 123 wounded. The Russians' loss was 7,369 officers and men. About 6,500 of these were captured, the rest killed or drowned.

After its defeat the Russian flotilla went to Fredrikshamn, and was joined there by new gunboats from Petersburg, so that by the end of July it consisted of 170 fighting ships, chiefly gunboats. The Swedes remained in Svensksund, and were joined by 1 *hemmemma* and 27 gunboats from Sveaborg. Little more happened either at Sveaborg or Svensksund. Both sides were ready for peace, and negotiations were therefore begun. About the middle of July Tchitchagov sent Povalishin's squadron to Kronstadt and took the rest of his fleet to Revel. Half the fleet went into the harbour, but the rest stayed near Nargen. The Russian gunboats left Fredrikshamn on August 6th and advanced against the 25 Swedish gunboats at Korkiansari, two miles north-east of Svensksund. The Swedes at once formed line and prepared for action, but as the Russians made no attack they took the opportunity to retire to Svensksund. Next day the Russians withdrew to Lilla Svartan, three miles nearer Fredrikshamn, and the Swedish force returned to Korkiansari.

On August 14th Peace was concluded at Werelä on the basis of a complete cession of all territorial gains on either side, and the re-establishment of the position in Finland exactly as it had been before the outbreak of war. On the whole, Sweden was lucky to obtain such terms, and it was only the changes in the general European situation which had made them possible. In the war with Turkey Russia and Austria had gained some successes, but at this moment Austria was compelled, by the revolt of the Belgian Netherlands and by the threatening attitude of Prussia and Poland, to agree to Peace with Turkey. This left Russia alone to fight two enemies, and Ekaterina at once decided to come to terms with Sweden. Gustaf III., in spite of his victory at Svensksund, could hardly hope to continue the war with a battleship fleet of less than half the strength of its adversaries, and he was therefore glad enough to accept such an unexpectedly good offer.

The three years' fighting had been disastrous for the Swedish battleship fleet. In 1788 the Swedes had lost two battleships and taken one, while the Russians had lost one and taken one.

Next year the Russians lost three battleships without any corresponding Swedish loss, but in 1790 no less than ten Swedish battleships were lost and five of these had been added to the Russian Navy. For the three years, therefore, the Swedes lost twelve and gained one, while the Russians lost four and gained six, exclusive of their gains by new construction. Altogether, the Russian Navy at the end of the war had 46 battleships, without counting those in the Black Sea, while the Swedish Navy had fallen to the low figure of 16 battleships. Denmark had at this date 33 battleships, but several of these were really only harbour defence ships and five of them were condemned in the next two years.* The Russian superiority to the other two Baltic Powers had been more or less assured ever since the days of Peter the Great, but after this war with Sweden it became far more marked than before, and it was not until quite modern days that the rise of the new German Navy deprived Russia of her position.

* Five battleships and three "blockships" (old battleships used as harbour defence ships) were in commission in 1790.

SECTION XIV.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS IN THE BALTIC.

1791-1802.

Russia entered on the year 1791 with only one active enemy, Turkey, but with no ally and with two powerful opponents, England and Prussia. These two Powers proposed to insist on Russia's returning to Turkey her territorial gains, and even went as far as the despatch of an ultimatum to that effect. Prussia got ready an army, and England prepared a "Russian Armament" of 36 battleships, but public opinion in England was in favour of Russia, and Pitt had to give way; the ultimatum was intercepted and Russia was left undisturbed. It was, however, obviously impossible for the Tsarina to insist on the retention of all her conquests, which extended far south of the Danube, and she was finally satisfied with the cession of Otchakov at the mouth of the Bug and of the territory between that river and the Dniester. An armistice was arranged on these terms in August, 1791, and in January, 1792, the Peace of Jassy put an end to the war and left Russia well established on the Black Sea.

The new Russian Black Sea fleet had done very well. Starting the war with five battleships and three 50-gun frigates, it had fought four general actions against superior forces of Turks and had in each case been more or less successful. It had also co-operated with the army in several attacks on fortified positions. It had had one battleship taken by the enemy, but had, on the other hand, captured two Turkish battleships and destroyed two others, and was able in 1792 with the ships built during the war to send to sea a force of nine battleships and twelve 46 or 50-gun frigates.*

As an answer to the preparations of England and Prussia in 1791 the Tsarina commissioned a large fleet in the Baltic. Nineteen battleships† were assembled near Kronstadt at the beginning of May, and were joined at the end of the month

* These were often reckoned as battleships.

† *Tchesma* 100; *Knyaz Vladimir* 100; *Nikolai* 100; *Evsevi* 100; *Pobyedoslav* 74; *Ioann Bogostov* 74; *Sv. Petr* 74; *Maksim Ispoviednik* 74; *Iezekiil* 74; *Sysoi Velikii* 74; *Prints Gustav* 74; *Vseslav* 74; *Konstantin* 74; *Metcheslav* 66; *Emgeiten* 66; *Prints Karl* 66; *Izyaslav* 66; *Panteleimon* 66; *Trech Sevatielci* 66. The *Tchesma* was also called *Ioann Krestitel*. The *Emgeiten* was the Swedish *Omhet*.

by thirteen others* from Revel. This fleet, however, stayed quietly at anchor till the middle of August, when it was again laid up. A flotilla of 100 gunboats and 25 larger vessels was collected at Kronstadt, and went as far as Aspö, but was back again by the middle of August. Denmark had six battleships in commission this year.† In 1792 the Kronstadt squadron consisted of only three battleships and the Revel squadron of two. Neither Denmark nor Sweden mobilised any large ships, but six Russian battleships came round to the Baltic from Archangel,‡ and two squadrons of 60 and 50 gunboats cruised for exercise on the Finnish coast. Two important events took place this year. The French Revolutionary Government declared war against Austria, thus starting the Great War, and almost simultaneously the Russians invaded Poland. As early as 1772 portions of Polish territory had been seized by Russia and Prussia, and in January, 1793, by the Second Partition Treaty Russia, Prussia, and Austria all extended their boundaries at the expense of their weak neighbour.

These two factors led to considerable Russian mobilisations in 1793. On February 1st the French Republic declared war on Holland and England, and five weeks later on Spain. The Great War thus became a naval as well as a military struggle, and Ekaterina thought it well to make some show of force. She therefore fitted out a fleet of fifteen battleships§ at Kronstadt and another of eleven at Revel.¶ The first, under Admiral Kruse, put to sea on July 16th and joined the Revel fleet on the 20th. Admiral Tchitchagov then took charge, and on July 21st the combined fleet anchored off Møen south of Copenhagen. From here Kruse went on into the North Sea with nine battleships.¶ He cruised there for three weeks, and rejoined the fleet off Bornholm on August 25th. On the 31st the fleet was back again at Revel, and a week later Kruse left

* *Saratov* 100; *Trech Ierarchov* 100; *Rostislav* 100; *Kir Ioann* 74; *Sofia Magdalina* 74; *Sv. Elena* 74; *Mstislav* 74; *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74; *Yaroslav* 74; *Pobyedonosets* 66; *Boleslav* 66; *Prochor* 66; *Retvizan* 66. Before returning to Revel this squadron exchanged the *Aleksandr Nevskii*, *Pobyedonosets*, and *Boleslav* for the *Sv. Petr*, *Vseslav*, and *Maksim Ispoviednik*.

† *Neptunus* 80; *Odin* 70; *Sjælland* 70; *Kronprinds Frederik* 70; *Fyen* 70; *Mars* 60.

‡ *Boris* 74; *Glyeb* 74; *Petr* 74; *Nikanor* 66; *Pimen* 66; *Parmen* 66.

§ *Ioann Krestitel* 100†; *Dvynadtsat Apostolov* 100†; *Evsevi* 100†; *Knyaz Vladimir* 100†; *Nikolai* 100†; *Petr* 74; *Glyeb* 74§†; *Sysoi Velikii* 74; *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74; *Emgeiten* 66§†; *Tri Sevatielci* 66§; *Nikanor* 66§; *Pimen* 66§†; *Parmen* 66§†; *Pobyedonosets* 66.

¶ *Rostislav* 100; *Saratov* 100; *Tri Ierarcha* 100; *Sv. Elena* 74§; *Maksim Ispoviednik* 74; *Sv. Petr* 74; *Mstislav* 74; *Yaroslav* 74; *Gavriil* 74; *Vseslav* 74; *Prochor* 66. The *Gavriil* does not appear in Veselago's list. The *Maksim Ispoviednik* was replaced by the *Sofia Magdalina* 74 early in August.

¶ Those marked § in the previous lists, with the *Boris* 74, and *Kir Ioann* 74, which seem to have joined the fleet.

for Kronstadt with ten battleships,* while the rest were laid up at Revel. Denmark sent out a few frigates on convoy duty, but took no further steps.

Next year, however, the naval war in the west and south of Europe brought about the usual result. Denmark and Sweden combined to protect their trade from molestation.

A Danish squadron of eight battleships and two frigates was joined in the Sound on June 19th by a Swedish squadron of the same strength. Vice-Admiral Krieger, the Danish Commander, and Vice-Admiral Count Wachtmeister, the Swedish, drew lots to decide which of them should command for the first three months, and as the result of this Krieger took command. On August 20th he sent out four battleships and three frigates from the combined squadron to cruise in the North Sea. This detachment returned on October 10th, and on the same day the Swedish fleet left for Karlskrona. The two fleets were as follows:—

Danes.—*Neptunus* 70, *Kronprinds Frederik* 70,† *Tre Kroner* 70,† *Kronprindsesse Maria* 70, *Pr. Sophia Frederica* 70, *Pr. Louise Augusta* 60, *Indfødsret* 60, *Holsteen* 60, *Thetis* 40,† *Havfru* 40.†

Swedes.—*Manlighet* 62,† *Åra* 62,† *Camilla* 40,† and several others.

The Danes had also commissioned a Reserve Squadron of seven battleships and a frigate, but only two of these ships left Copenhagen, and that merely for training purposes.‡ The Russian squadrons this year comprised 9 battleships at Kronstadt, 8 at Revel, and 6 at Archangel,§ besides two flotillas of gunboats. The Kronstadt ships reached Revel on June 17th and the resulting fleet proceeded to Nargen. Detachments of four or five battleships were sent out cruising, and on September 19th eight battleships returned to Kronstadt. The Archangel fleet reached Kronstadt early in October, after a visit to Leith.

As far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, the operations of 1795 were very much the same as those of the previous year. The two squadrons of eight battleships and three frigates combined at Copenhagen on June 10th; four battle-

* Those marked † in the Kronstadt list, and the *Kir Ioann*.

† These ships cruised in the North Sea.

‡ *Prægtige* 80‡; *Odin* 70; *Sjælland* 70; *Nordstjern* 70‡; *Elephant* 70; *Mars* 60; *Dannebrog* 60; *Cronborg* 36. The two marked ‡ cruised in the Baltic in September.

§ Kronstadt:—*Dvynadtsat Apostolov* 100; *Sv. Nikolai* 100; *Sysoi Velikii* 74; *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74; *Pobyedoslav* 74; *Seyatoslav* 66; *Prints Karl* 66; *Metcheslav* 66; *Emgeiten* 66. Revel:—*Rostislav* 100; *Saratov* 100; *Sofia Magdalina* 74; *Sv. Elena* 74; *Vseslav* 74; *Petr* 74; *Sv. Petr* 74; *Boris* 74. Archangel:—*Pamyat Evstafia* 74; *Aleksyei* 74; *Filipp* 66; *Iona* 66; *Graf Orlov* 66; *Evropa* 66.

ships and two frigates of each nation cruised together in the North Sea from the middle of August to the middle of September, and on October 2nd the Swedes went home. The following were the two fleets:—

Danes.—*Kronprindsesse Maria* 70, *Tre Kroner* 70,* *Sjælland* 70, *Pr. Sophia Frederica* 70,* *Nordstjern* 70, *Dannebrog* 60, *Indfødsret* 60,* *Holsteen* 60,* *Thetis* 40,* *Havfru* 40, *Triton* 24.*

Swedes.—(No list available.)

Russia, however, joined actively in the war against France, and sent a large squadron to join the English North Sea fleet. This year also came the final partition of Poland by its three neighbours, and to enforce her claims in this matter Ekaterina equipped a large fleet in the Baltic as well. Twelve battleships were commissioned to form the Kronstadt fleet and nine at Revel, but neither fleet went to sea, though a few ships were exchanged between the two ports.† In May Holland was forced to go over to the side of France, and a month later a Russian fleet was sent, under Vice-Admiral Chanykov, to co-operate with the English in a blockade of Dutch ports. Chanykov left Kronstadt on June 12th, picked up a few ships at Revel, and reached Copenhagen on July 12th. He was in command of the following twelve battleships and eight frigates:—

Pamyat Evstafia 74, *Petr* 74, *Glyeb* 74, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Iona* 66, *Pimen* 66, *Graf Orlov* 66, *Parmen* 66, *Evropa* 66, *Retvizan* 66, *Nikanor* 66, *Filipp* 66, *Venus* 44, *Kronshtadt* 44, *Archipelag* 44, *Riga* 44, *Michail* 44. Revel 44, *Narva* 44, *Rafail* 44,

From Copenhagen he sent the three frigates *Riga*, *Michail*, and *Archipelag* to convoy English homeward-bound ships, and, leaving Copenhagen on July 22nd, he anchored in the Downs on August 7th. The Russian fleet then came under the orders of Admiral Duncan, the commander of the small English North Sea squadron,‡ and on August 21st the combined fleet put to sea to cruise off the Texel, but a month later the Russian ships were sent to English ports for the winter.§

Next year they did little to influence the course of the war. Detached ships cruised with the English fleet, which consisted this year of eight battleships, but as a fleet the Russians did

* Cruised in the North Sea.

† Revel: *Saratov* 100; *Trech Ierarchov* 100; *Rostislav* 100; *Boris* 74; *Sofia Magdalina* 74; *Sv. Petr* 74‡; *Vseslav* 74‡; *Yaroslav* 74‡; *Prochor* 66‡. Kronstadt:—*Evseii* 100; *Vladimir* 100; *Nikolai* 100; *Maksim Isposvednik* 74‡; *Sysoi Velikii* 74‡; *Prints Gustav* 74; *Konstantin* 74‡; *Pobyedoslav* 74; *Aleksyei* 74; *Svyatoslav* 66; *Emgeiten* 66‡; *Prints Karl* 66. Ships marked ‡ were exchanged in July, and those marked † in September.

‡ *Venerable* 74; *Asia* 64; *Calcutta* 54; *Leopard* 50.

§ The *Iona* 66 had to winter in the Elbe.

nothing. The *Pamyat Evstafia* 74 left Copenhagen for Kronstadt at the end of July, and early in October the rest of the squadron reached Copenhagen. Chanykov with the bulk of the fleet left for Kronstadt on October 17th, but Vice-Admiral Makarov, with the *Petr* 74, *Evropa* 66, *Filipp* 66, and four frigates sailed from Helsingør on November 4th, and reached the Nore again on the 26th. The Russian Baltic squadrons* had merely cruised in home waters, but the Swedes and Danes had continued their system of joint action.

Their fleets this year were as follows:—

Danes: *Kronprindsesse Marie* 70, *Pr. Sophia Frederica* 70,† *Skjöld* 70, *Sjaelland* 70, *Odin* 70, *Dannebrog* 60, *Indfødsret* 60, *Oldenborg* 60,† *Havfru* 40,† *Thetis* 40, *Store Belt* 36.

Swedes: *Kung Gustaf III.* 70,† *Prins Fredrik Adolf* 62,† *Jarramas* 34,† *Höök* 12,† and others.

The Swedes reached Copenhagen on June 9th, and Kaas, the Danish Vice-Admiral, took command of the combined fleet for the first part of their combined operations, while the Swedish Vice-Admiral, Nordenskjöld, superseded him on August 12th. Four battleships and some smaller ships cruised in the North Sea from July 17th to September 6th, and in August the Danish *Thetis* 40 was sent to the Mediterranean. On September 9th the Swedes sailed for home, and a month later the Danish ships were laid up.

The Tsarina Ekaterina II. died in November, 1796, and was succeeded by her son, Pavel. For the moment this made Russia less active against France, but this change did not last long. The three Russian battleships in English ports joined Duncan off the Texel on June 12th, 1797, but left him again on the 23rd, and were back at Kronstadt on July 27th. The new Tsar visited the combined squadron of thirteen battleships from Kronstadt and ten from Revel,‡ but the Kronstadt ships were only at sea for two days at the end of July, and those from Revel returned at once to their home port. The Danish and Swedish combined fleets were reduced to three frigates from each country, and no battleships were commissioned. The Danish *Najad* 40 was sent to the Mediterranean to relieve the *Thetis* 40. Difficulties arose with Tripoli, and on May 16th the

* Kronstadt: *Eusevii* 100; *Sv. Nikolai* 100; *Alekseyei* 74; *Elizaveta* 74; *Netron menya* 66; *Panteleimon* 66; *Iziaslav* 66. Revel:—*Rostislav* 100; *Trech Ierarchov* 100; *Tsar Konstantin* 74; *Maksim Ispovyednik* 74; *Emgeiten* 66.

† Cruised in North Sea.

‡ Kronstadt:—*Sv. Nikolai* 100; *Tchesma* 100; *Dryenaditsat Apostolov* 100; *Knyaz Vladimir* 100; *Pobyedoslav* 74; *Pamyat Evstafia* 74; *Konstantin* 74; *Prints Gustav* 74; *Iziaslav* 66; *Prints Karl* 66; *Pobyedonosets* 66; *Netron menya* 66; *Retvizan* 66. Revel:—*Rostislav* 100; *Saratov* 100; *Eusevii* 100; *Sysoi Velikii* 100; *Alekseyei* 74; *Boris* 74; *Maksim Ispovyednik* 74; *Sofia Magdalina* 74; *Elizaveta* 74; *Emgeiten* 66.

Najad with the brig *Sarp* 18 and a hired Maltese vessel of six guns fought a brisk action with six Tripolitan ships carrying 120 guns; the Danes had the best of the fight, but took no prize, and an agreement was presently made by which Denmark practically gave in to the Tripolitan demands.

The two Danish battleships, *Oldenborg* 60 and *Ditmarschen* 60, were sent in the spring of 1798 on convoy work as far as St. Helena, but otherwise only a few frigates were commissioned in either Denmark or Sweden. Russia, on the other hand, was more active than ever, and mobilised as many as forty battleships. Vice-Admiral Makarov left Kronstadt on June 2nd with a new North Sea squadron. At Revel his fleet was raised to a force of five battleships and a frigate, on June 30th it entered the North Sea, and a fortnight later it joined the English fleet off the Texel. The Kronstadt fleet of eleven battleships, under Admiral Kruse, put to sea on June 13th, and reached Revel on the 15th. A week later it put to sea with the Revel fleet of seven battleships, but these were left off Dagerort, while the other squadron went on to Kjöge Bay, and anchored there on July 6th. Four battleships were sent on a visit to Lübeck, but the rest of the fleet lay in Kjöge Bay till August 7th. On the 13th it picked up the Revel ships, and next day it reached Revel; five battleships were chosen to form a second division of the North Sea squadron, and the other ships were laid up. Rear-Admiral Kartsev, commander of the new squadron, left Revel on August 31st, and passed Helsingør on September 28th. Makarov's ships had sailed for various English ports in August or September, but a further squadron of five battleships from Archangel had reached Yarmouth on September 10th, and put to sea with the English fleet on October 1st. Kartsev's squadron suffered severely from bad weather, and most of his ships had to be repaired in Danish and Norwegian ports. Finally, on November 15th the *Prints Gustav* 74 had to be abandoned, but during the month the rest of the squadron arrived in English ports. The other Russian squadron was more lucky; it cruised off the Dutch coast till the middle of November, and returned to Yarmouth on the 14th of that month with the English ships.

The following are lists of the various Russian fleets:—

First North Sea Fleet.—*Mstislav* 74, *Boleslav* 74, *Elizaveta* 74, *Evropa* 66, *Retvizan* 66.

Kronstadt Fleet.—*Sv. Nikolai* 100, *Ioann Krestitel* 100, *Prints Gustav* 74,† *Pamyat Evstafia* 74, *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74, *Sv. Petr* 74† *Netron menya* 66, *Iona* 66, *Iziaslav* 66,† *Filipp* 66, *Prints Karl* 66.

Revel Fleet.—*Rostislav* 100, *Sofia Magdalina* 74,† *Boris* 74, *Alekseyei* 74,† *Maksim Ispovyednik* 74, *Sysoi Velikii* 74, *Emgeiten* 66.

Second North Sea Fleet.—The ships marked † in the two preceding lists.

Archangel Fleet.—*Vsevolod* 74, *Isidor* 74, *Syevernyi Orel* 74, *Azia* 66, *Pobyeda* 66.

Besides the operations of the Russian fleets from the Baltic and the White Sea the Black Sea Fleet had found scope for activity. The Tsar Pavel at first feared that the French Egyptian expedition might be directed against him, and he therefore formed an anti-French alliance with Turkey. The French conquest of the Ionian Islands was naturally distasteful to both countries, and as soon as the French fleet had been annihilated by Nelson they sent a joint fleet into the Mediterranean. The Battle of the Nile was fought on August 1st, and on the 24th a Russian fleet of six battleships left Sevastopol for Constantinople, under Vice Admiral Ushakov. After being joined by four Turkish battleships and some smaller ships, the fleet entered the Mediterranean on October 1st,* and soon took all the Ionian Islands. Corfu, the last French position, fell in March, 1799,† and Ushakov then turned his attention to the Italian fortress of Ancona, which was held by a French garrison. A detachment of one Turkish and two Russian battleships, with four frigates, appeared off the harbour and bombarded it on May 18th. but without effect.‡ After this the Allies contented themselves with a blockade of the Italian coast, and Ancona was taken in November by an Austrian Army. Ushakov's fleet visited Naples, Genoa, and other Mediterranean ports, and finally, in October, 1800, it returned to the Black Sea.§

Meanwhile in northern waters the Russian Navy had been to some extent active. Fourteen battleships had wintered in England, and these were the first ships to move. Early in May three battleships|| and a frigate left Sheerness to join Ushakov in the Mediterranean, and eventually went into the Black Sea with the rest of his fleet. Later in the month five battleships went to Yarmouth, and in June this division cruised with the English on the coast of Holland. In the middle of July two battleships¶ and a frigate sailed for the Baltic, and on August 1st the rest of the Russian fleet left Yarmouth for the Dutch coast. Three battleships, the *Mstislav* 74, *Retvizan* 66, and *Evropa* 66, joined Vice-Admiral

* Two more Russian battleships joined in January, 1799.

† The *Leander*, an English ship taken by the French in 1798, was captured by the Russians at the fall of Corfu, and eventually given back to the English.

‡ Three French (ex Venetian) battleships took part in the defence.

§ Seven frigates were left in the Mediterranean. Three were transferred to the Neapolitan Navy in 1801, and four returned to the Black Sea in 1802.

|| *Isidor* 74; *Azia* 66; *Pobyeda* 66.

¶ *Aleksyei* 74; *Iziaslav* 66.

Mitchell's squadron, and took part in the attack on the Dutch ships in the Vlieter on August 30th. Of the eight Dutch battleships which were taken, two, the *Washington* 70 and *Beschermmer* 56 were in theory Russian prizes, but were transferred to the English at once. The rest of the Russian fleet returned to Yarmouth, and on September 7th they were joined there by a squadron of five battleships,* five frigates, and two transports, under Admiral Tchitchagov. This fleet had left Revel on August 1st, with 17,000 troops, and on September 16th these were duly landed on the Dutch coast, but the Anglo-Russian expedition was a failure, and the troops had to be re-embarked. On November 18th Tchitchagov's fleet reached Portsmouth for the winter. A few ships of the original North Sea Fleet left Yarmouth at the same time as Tchitchagov, but by the middle of November they, too, were laid up in English ports. Another fleet of nine battleships† cruised in the Baltic during July and August. Three battleships left Archangel in September, and two of these, the *Yaroslav* 74 and *Moskva* 74 reached England at the end of November, but the third, the *Sv. Petr* 74, had to winter at Bergen.‡

This year the Danes had a small squadron of five battleships§ in the Sound and the Kattegat. They also sent out various ships on convoy work, and one of these, the *Oldenborg* 60 was wrecked in Table Bay in November. Several other Danish ships came to blows with the English. A small English privateer, the *Experiment* 18 was twice engaged by Danish warships in the West Indies, and at the end of the year, on December 24th, 1799, the *Havfru* 40 opened fire on the boats of the English frigates *Emerald* 32 and *Flora* 36, near Gibraltar, and forced them to abandon their search of her convoy.

In 1800 the Russians were much less active than usual. Their sixteen battleships in English harbours left for the Baltic at the end of July, and the eleven battleships|| at Revel and Kronstadt hardly left their own ports. On the other hand, a crisis arose between England and Denmark. The *Freja* 40, conveying six merchantmen, was met off Ostend by five English ships, the *Prevoyante* 40, *Terpsichore* 32, *Nemesis* 28, *Arrow* 20, and *Nile* 10. Krabbe, the Danish captain, refused to allow his convoy to be searched, and fired on a

* *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74; *Michail* 66; *Iona* 66; *Ianuarii* 66; *Emgeiten* 66.

† *Deyenadtsat Apostolov* 100; *Petr* 74; *Glyeb* 74; *Boris* 74; *Aleksyei* 74; *Iziaslav* 66; *Netron menyia* 66; *Prints Karl* 66; *Filipp* 66.

‡ She stayed there all through 1800.

§ *Danmark* 76; *Kronprindsesse Marie* 70; *Skjold* 70; *Pr. Sophia Frederica* 70; *Ditmarschen* 60.

|| *Sv. Nikolai* 100; *Rostislav* 100; *Petr* 74; *Pamyat Evstafia* 74; *Aleksyei* 74; *Boris* 74; *Glyeb* 74; *Iziaslav* 66; *Netron menyia* 66; *Filipp* 66; *Prints Karl* 66.

boat from the *Nemesis*. An action at once began, and after half-an-hour the *Freja* struck with a loss of six men. She was taken with her convoy into the Downs, but was left under the Danish flag. This action raised the whole question of the rights of neutrals. The English Government at once sent a special envoy, Lord Whitworth, to Copenhagen, and backed up his representations by a small squadron of seven battleships,* under Vice-Admiral Dickson. These ships reached the Sound on August 20th, and on the 29th an agreement was reached whereby the *Freja* was to be repaired by the English and released with her convoy; the whole question of the "right of search" was to be discussed at a conference in London, and meanwhile Danish ships were only to have convoy in the Mediterranean, where the activity of the Barbary corsairs made this necessary. Four Danish battleships† had been in the Sound since June, and on Dickson's arrival four more‡ were sent out, while two blockships§ and other vessels were stationed for the defence of Copenhagen. Hostilities were, however, avoided, and the English fleet returned home. Two Danish ships, the *Sejer* 64, and *Thetis* 40 were sent to the Mediterranean in October.

Peace had been preserved for the moment, but it was not destined to last long. Russia was the moving spirit of the anti-English coalition that soon took shape, though it was Denmark that had to bear the brunt of the English attack. The Tsar Pavel I. had begun to feel an intense admiration for Bonaparte's military genius. Bonaparte took advantage of this, and by sending back to Russia the prisoners he had taken in Switzerland, he soon brought the Tsar to the side of France. Pavel had become Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, and had at first been furious at the seizure of that island by the French, but Bonaparte, seeing that Malta must soon surrender to the English, offered to transfer it to the Tsar. Pavel accepted gladly, but on September 5th, 1800, the island fell into the hands of the English, and the Tsar's plans were thus frustrated. Taking this as a personal insult, Pavel seized all English ships in Russian ports, and in December he revived the Armed Neutrality in conjunction with Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia. The chief feature of the claims of these four countries was the abolition of the "right of

* *Monarch* 74; *Polyphemus* 64; *Ardent* 64; *Veteran* 64; *Glatton* 54; *Romney* 54; *Isis* 50. The following ships were sent later to join Dickson:—*Cumberland* 74; *Terrible* 74; *Resolution* 74; *Agamemnon* 64; *Raisonné* 64; *Monmouth* 64.

† *Pr. Sophia Frederica* 70; *Arveprinds Frederick* 70; *Skjold* 70; *Danmark* 76.

‡ *Neptunus* 80; *Justitia* 70; *Pr. Louise Augusta* 60; *Odin* 70.

§ *Jylland* 54; *Mars* 64.

search," and as this was a point on which England could not be expected to give way, the renewal of the Armed Neutrality was practically equivalent to a declaration of war against England by the Powers concerned. Accordingly, on March 12th, 1801, a fleet of twenty battleships left Yarmouth for the Baltic, under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker.*

At this time Russia had in theory forty-eight battleships in the Baltic, Denmark twenty-eight, and Sweden twelve, but the numbers actually available for service were very different. Russia set to work to commission eighteen, Denmark ten, and Sweden seven, but before even this reduced force could be concentrated the English fleet had reached the Baltic. On March 21st Parker anchored just outside the Sound.† A special envoy had been sent ahead in the *Blanche* 32 to endeavour to detach Denmark from her allies, but on the 23rd she returned with the news that the attempt had proved useless. Still, it was not until the 30th that the English fleet passed the Sound. Parker had been informed by the Governor of Kronborg, in answer to his enquiry that he would resist the passage, and at 7 a.m. the Danish guns opened fire. A few of the leading English ships replied, and the bomb-vessels fired into Helsingør, but no great harm was done on either side. The Swedish fortress of Helsingborg, having only a few inferior guns, did not fire, and the bulk of the fleet passed accordingly on that side of the straits. About noon the English fleet anchored near Hven.

As soon as it became obvious that the English fleet would reach the Baltic before the Allies could combine, the Danes had postponed the commissioning of their active battleship fleet and had devoted their attention to the equipment of a stationary force for the defence of Copenhagen. Eighteen ships of varying strength had been moored in a line stretching southwards from the Tre Krøner battery along the coast of Amager Island; while in the actual harbour were two blockships or mastless battleships and the nucleus of the active fleet, two battleships, one frigate, and fourteen small craft. The Danish defences were reconnoitred by Parker and his subordinates, Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson and Rear-Admiral Graves, in the afternoon of the 30th, and as a result of this inspection Nelson offered to attack from the south with ten

* *London* 98; *St. George* 98; *Defiance* 74; *Edgar* 74; *Elephant* 74; *Bellona* 74; *Defence* 74; *Ganges* 74; *Monarch* 74; *Ramillies* 74; *Russell* 74; *Saturn* 74; *Warrior* 74; *Ardent* 64; *Agamemnon* 64; *Polyphemus* 64; *Raisonné* 64; *Veteran* 64; *Glatton* 54; *Isis* 50, seven frigates and twenty-three smaller vessels. The *Zealous* 74, *Vengeance* 74, and *Brunswick* 74 joined the fleet later in the year.

† The *Blazer* 12 drifted to the Swedish coast and was captured, though eventually she was returned.

battleships and all the smaller ships. Parker accepted this proposal and gave him another two battleships, so that Nelson's fleet, as finally arranged, consisted of the following ships:—

Elephant 74 (V.-Ad. Nelson), *Defiance* 74 (R.-Ad. Graves), *Edgar* 74, *Monarch* 74, *Bellona* 74, *Ganges* 74, *Russell* 74, *Agamemnon* 64, *Ardent* 64, *Polyphemus* 64, *Glatton* 54, *Isis* 50, *Amazon* 38, *Desirée* 40, *Blanche* 36, *Alcmene* 32, *Arrow* 30, *Dart* 30, *Jamaica* 26; two sloops, seven bombs, six gun-brigs, two fireships.

With Parker were left the following eight battleships:—

London 98, *St. George* 98, *Warrior* 74, *Defence* 74, *Saturn* 74, *Ramillies* 74, *Raisonnéable* 64, *Veteran* 64.

The Danish line of defence was composed as follows, beginning from its southern end:—

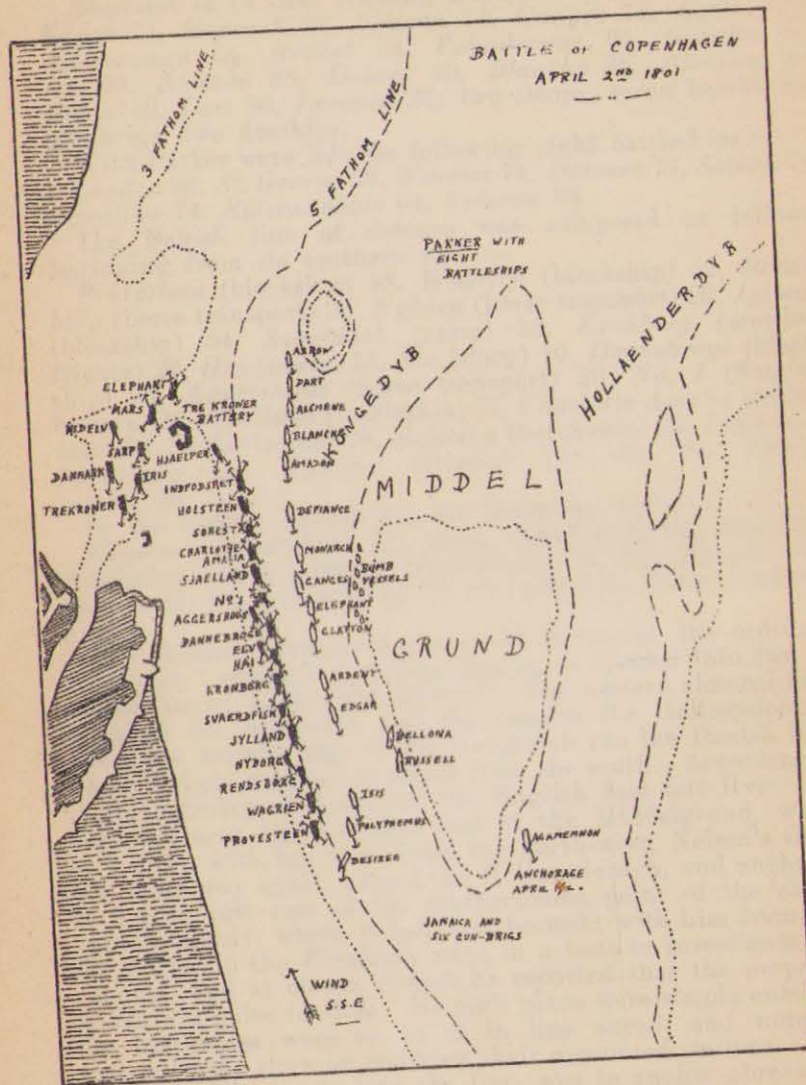
Provesteen (blockship) 58, *Wagrien* (blockship) 52, *Rendsborg* (horse transport) 20, *Nyborg* (horse transport) 20, *Jylland* (blockship) 54, *Svaerdfisk* (pram) 18, *Kronborg* (mastless frigate) 22, *Høj* (pram) 18, *Elv* (sloop) 10, *Dannebrog* (blockship) 60, *Aggershuus* (horse transport) 20, *No. 1* (floating battery) 20, *Sjælland* (battleship) 74, *Charlotte Amalia* (Indiaman) 26, *Søhest* (pram) 18, *Holsteen* (battleship) 60, *Indfødsret* (blockship) 64, *Hjælper* (frigate) 16; the *Tre Kroner* battery 66.

In the harbour mouth lay the following ships:—

Elephant (blockship) 74, *Mars* (blockship) 64, *Danmark* (battleship) 74, *Trekroner* (battleship) 74, *Iris* (frigate) 40, *Sarp* (brig) 18, *Nidelv* (brig) 18, one cutter 6, eleven gunboats 2 each.

The channel between Amager and Saltholm, the ordinary "Drogden" channel past Copenhagen, is divided into two by a shoal known as the Middelgrund. The western channel here is called the Kongedyb and the eastern the Hollaenderdyb. Along the western edge of the Kongedyb ran the Danish line, which Nelson proposed to attack from the south. Accordingly, in the morning of April 1st, the English fleet left Hven and anchored near the northern end of the Middelgrund, while at 1 p.m., with the wind from the north-west, Nelson's ships got under way again, passed the Hollaenderdyb, and anchored at 8 p.m. just east of the southernmost point of the shoal. Captain Hardy, whom Nelson had brought with him from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, went in a boat to investigate the channel, and at eleven o'clock he reported that the proposed attack was quite feasible. Nelson's plans were simple enough: the battleships were to go in in line ahead, and were to anchor by the stern on reaching their appointed stations. The *Edgar*, which was to lead the line, was to anchor abreast of the *Jylland*, the fifth ship in the Danish line. The next two

PLATE XVII.



[To face page 305.]

ships were to pass the *Edgar* (passing to starboard) and anchor opposite the *Kronborg* and *Dannebrog* respectively. After this two battleships and a frigate were to attack the two southernmost Danes. The remaining battleships were then to take up their positions opposite the northern ships of the Danish line; two of them, the *Russell* and *Polyphemus*, were, in fact, to engage the Danish ships in the harbour mouth and the Tre Kroner battery, while the frigates, under Riou, of the *Amazon*, were to assist in the attack on the northern ships of the main Danish line. The bombs were to take station to starboard of the battleships in the centre of the line, and the gun-brigs were to fire on the southernmost Danish ships.

All that now remained was to wait for a fair wind, and, with Nelson's usual luck, this came at once. At 9.30 a.m. on April 2nd, with a south-easterly breeze, the English ships got under way and advanced to the attack. At 10.30 the *Provesteen* 58 opened fire on the *Edgar* 74 and the action began. The first four ships of the English line took up their stations exactly enough. The *Edgar* anchored opposite the *Jylland* 54, the *Ardent* 64 passed her and engaged the *Kronborg* 22 and *Svaerdfisk* 18, the *Glatton* went further and took up her position opposite the *Hai* 18, the *Dannebrog* 60, and the *Elv* 10, which was well behind the line, while the *Isis* 50 anchored so as to engage the *Wagrien* 52 and *Provesteen* 58. The *Agamemnon* 64 should have followed and should have also engaged the *Provesteen*, but she had been unable to weather the end of the *Middelgrund*, and had had to anchor again. Nelson therefore signalled to the *Polyphemus* 64, which was originally to have been the last ship in the line, to take station astern of the *Isis* instead of proceeding to her pre-arranged station off the harbour mouth. The *Bellona* 74, which was to take station ahead of the *Glatton*, kept too far to starboard, and ran aground abreast of the *Isis*, and the *Russell* 74, following her closely, did the same; but Nelson, in the *Elephant* 74, seeing what had happened, went to port of these two ships and so indicated a safe course for the rest of his fleet. In the absence of the *Bellona* Nelson anchored somewhat astern of his intended station, and, in fact, all the rest of the English fleet had to take up positions rather to the south of those arranged. The last three battleships were the *Ganges* 74, *Monarch* 74, and *Defiance* 74; the first of these was hailed by Nelson and ordered to anchor as close as possible ahead of the *Elephant*, and she therefore took up her position a little south of the station originally intended for Nelson's flagship. The *Monarch* should have anchored opposite the *Holsteen* 60; but this would have put her too far ahead of the *Ganges*, so she stopped opposite

the *Charlotte Amalia* 26 in such a position that she could help the *Ganges* to engage the *Sjaelland* 74. Finally, the *Defiance*, instead of attacking the *Indfødsret* 64, had to anchor, if anything, a little to the south of the *Monarch's* original station, opposite the *Holsteen* 60.

The *Russell* was aground, and the *Polyphemus* employed elsewhere, so that there were no English battleships left to engage the *Indfødsret* and the *Tre Kroner* battery, much less the ships in the harbour mouth. Riou accordingly, with his five frigates, attempted to fill the place of the missing battleships. He anchored his own ship, the *Amazon* 38, opposite the *Indfødsret* 64, and the rest of his ships, anchoring by the stern, like the battleships, took up their positions in succession ahead of him. The result of this was that the *Arrow* 30 and *Dart* 30 found themselves required to take the place of the *Russell* 74 and *Polyphemus* 64, and engage not only the *Tre Kroner* battery, but also the *Elephant* 74 and *Mars* 64; but, naturally enough, they kept at long range, and were never really thoroughly engaged. The *Desirée* 40 took station as arranged to rake the *Provesteen* at the southern end of the Danish line, and the bombs from abreast of the *Elephant* and *Ganges* took some little part in the action; but the *Jamaica* 26 and the six gun-brigs could not weather the *Middelgrund*, and never got within range of the enemy.

The action had begun at 10.30, and by about noon the last of the English ships was in position. From now onwards the battle became simply a matter of "downright fighting," as Nelson called it. Gradually the Danish fire was overwhelmed; but it was a slow business, and before much impression had been made there came the famous incident of Parker's signal.

At the same time as Nelson's ships weighed to attack, Parker's eight battleships had also got under way, and had begun to beat up towards the northern end of the Danish line. Their progress was, however, slow, and it was evident meanwhile that Nelson was finding more resistance than had been expected. The *Agamemnon* could be seen unable to get into action, the *Bellona* and *Russell* were flying signals of distress, and altogether it looked as if Nelson's fleet was doing badly. Accordingly, at about 1.15, Parker signalled to Nelson "Discontinue the action." To what extent this signal was intended to be merely permissive, or to what extent, if so, Nelson was aware of this, is uncertain and will probably remain so, but the fact remains that Nelson did not repeat the signal and the battle went on. The frigates, however, obeyed the order, and were probably saved thereby from destruction. They cut their cables and steered north-east towards Parker's division, but

just as they were drawing out of range Riou, the captain of the *Amazon*, was killed.

The rest of the fleet kept their positions and continued the action, and it was not long before the Danish defence began to weaken. Early in the action the *Rendsborg* 20 had her cables shot away and drifted ashore behind the Danish line, though she was still able to keep up the fight at long range. A little later, at 11.30, the *Dannebrog* 60 took fire. Commodore Fischer, the commander of the Danish fleet, left her for the *Holsteen* 60, but her captain, Braun, continued the action with great determination until he was wounded and had to give over the command. The fire spread, and at about 12.30, with 104 killed and wounded out of a crew of 357 and only three guns able to fire, Lemming, her new commander, sent ashore as many men as his boats would hold and hauled down the flag. This left the *Elv* 10 and *Aggershuus* 20 to face an overpowering fire, and they soon had to abandon their posts. The *Elv* cut her cables at one o'clock and got away into the harbour, and half an hour later the *Aggershuus* followed suit. This latter would, however, have been unable to escape if she had not been taken in tow by the *Nyborg* 20, which had been deprived of the support of the *Rendsborg* and had left the line in a sinking condition at 1.30. Both ships got into harbour, but the *Nyborg* sank there and the *Aggershuus* had to be put ashore to save her from a similar fate. The *Svaerdfisk* 18 and *Kronborg* 22 had already surrendered, and the *Jylland* 54 was soon obliged to do the same. The retirement or surrender of these ships exposed the *Hai* 18 and the floating battery to a very heavy fire. At two o'clock the *Hai* struck her flag; but Willemoes, the seventeen-year-old commander of the floating battery, cut his cables in the hope of drifting out of action. Instead of this he ran foul of the *Sjaelland* 74 and compelled her also to cut her cables. Together the two vessels drifted to the northern end of the line, and here the *Sjaelland* anchored again to prevent drifting down into Parker's division, while the floating battery managed to work round the *Tre Kroner* battery into the harbour. All the Danish ships from the fourth to the thirteenth in the line were thus out of action, and at about 2.30 the two southernmost ships, *Wagrien* 52 and *Provesteen* 58, with only two or three serviceable guns each, were forced to strike their flags. At about the same time the *Rendsborg*, ashore in the background, also surrendered. The five northernmost ships and the *Sjaelland* were naturally unable to resist the fire that was brought to bear on them on the withdrawal or surrender of the ships of the south. Danish accounts state that the *Ganges*, *Monarch*, and *Elephant* took up new stations to attack

them, but there is no trace of this in the English logs, though they may very well have used their springs to bring their broadsides to bear along the line of these last Danish ships. At any rate, the Danes were soon silenced. The *Indfødsret* 64, *Charlotte Amalia* 26, and *Søhest* 18 surrendered one by one, and at 2.30 Fischer left his second flagship, the *Holsteen* 60, and went to the Tre Kroner battery as the ship struck. The *Hjaelper* 16 cut her cables and ran into the harbour, and finally, at about three o'clock, the *Sjælland* 74 hauled down the last flag of the Danish line.

The Tre Kroner batteries were still firing, and even the surrendered Danish ships resisted in many cases the attempts of the English to take possession. A little after two, therefore, Nelson sent in a letter to the Danish Crown Prince demanding to be allowed to take possession of his prizes, and threatening that unless he were allowed to do so he would have to burn them without removing their crews. The Crown Prince replied by sending his adjutant-general, Captain Lindholm, to enquire Nelson's object in sending in a flag of truce. Nelson at once hoisted a white flag in the *Elephant*,* and wrote again saying that he *consented* to an armistice until he could remove or burn his prizes, and that he would on these conditions land the wounded Danes. At the same time he sent Lindholm for a more definite agreement to Sir Hyde Parker in the *London*, then four miles distant. Seeing the flag of truce hoisted on Lindholm's arrival on board the *Elephant*, the Crown Prince ordered a cessation of firing, and a little after three o'clock the action ended.

The losses had been very great. Out of 5,234 men in the eighteen Danish ships engaged, 370 had been killed, 665 wounded, and 205 were missing and had presumably been killed or drowned, while 1,779 were taken prisoners and 2,215 escaped. In the same number of ships the English had lost 255 killed and 688 wounded out of a total complement of about 7,280. The heaviest loss suffered by any single ship was in the English *Monarch*, which lost 220 men out of 660, and next came the Danish *Sjælland*, with 182 out of 533; but relatively speaking Willemoes' floating battery with a loss of forty-nine out of 129, suffered more severely than either of these. The loss in the Tre Kroner battery is not known, but was probably not great. In ships the Danes lost one burnt (the *Dannebrog* 60, which blew up at 3.30) and twelve captured, while of the southern line five ships escaped into the harbour.† No English ship was lost.

A good deal of discussion took place after the battle as to

* Garde Hist. ii. 387, from the logs of the *Mars* and *Danmark*.

† The *Nyborg* sank in the harbour, but was refloated.

the relative forces of the two sides. The extreme statement on the Danish side was that 640 Danish guns fought against 1,296 English, while Nelson himself estimated that the Danes had a superiority of 800 guns to 692. The whole question rests on the inclusion or omission of various ships and batteries that were only partially engaged, or perhaps not engaged at all. It seems fairest to count on the Danish side the 630 guns of the southern line of ships and to add to these the 66 guns of the Tre Kroner battery, but to omit the ships in the harbour mouth and the other batteries. On the English side the *Agamemnon* 64, the *Jamaica* 26, with the six gun-brigs and the two sloops, must be omitted, though the *Bellona* 74 and *Russell* 74 should undoubtedly be counted. With regard to the bombs it is harder to decide. They certainly opened fire, but only from their mortars, and they fired not on the Danish ships, but on the Arsenal in the background. On the whole, it seems more reasonable to omit them, especially as the Danish gunboats have also been omitted, and they certainly were in action early in the day before retiring into the harbour again. The final result, then, is that 696 Danish guns fought against 956 English. Possibly the *Mars* 64 and *Elephant* 74 should be included on the Danish side, or the *Arrow* 30 and *Dart* 30 omitted on the English, but this is very doubtful, and at any rate it would still leave the English with a decided superiority.

As soon as the action ended Nelson set to work to get his ships out of range of the Danish batteries. Parker's division was coming up slowly, and three ships—the *Defence* 74, *Ramillies* 74, and *Veteran* 74—were almost close enough to have joined in the action. Most of Nelson's ships got under way again safely and anchored with the Admiral's division at the northern end of the Kongedyb, but both flagships, the *Elephant* 74 and *Defiance* 74, went hard aground within easy range of the Tre Kroner battery. The *Desirée* 40 went to the assistance of the *Bellona* and *Russell*, and went aground in her turn, so that for the moment four battleships and a frigate of the English force were helpless. They were, however, protected by the flag of truce, and before evening, on Nelson's following Lindholm to the *London*, it was agreed that hostilities should be suspended for twenty-four hours, that the English should take possession of their prizes, and that the Danish wounded should be sent ashore. All night the English crews were at work bringing out the prizes and refloating the grounded ships, and by daybreak on the 3rd the work was complete.* Negotiations then began, and eventually, on April 9th, an armistice was arranged for fourteen weeks on

* The *Desirée* was not got off until the morning of the 4th.

the terms that the Danes should during that period give no assistance to Sweden or Russia, and should allow the English to get water and supplies from the shore. The Danish prisoners were landed, but in case of a renewal of hostilities at the end of the armistice they were to count towards exchanging for any English who might be taken.

Denmark was thus temporarily detached from the Armed Neutrality, and it remained to deal with Sweden and Russia. With this object Parker left Copenhagen for the Baltic on April 12th. He sent home the *Monarch* 74, *Isis* 50, and the *Holsteen* 60, the only one of the prizes that had been worth keeping,* and with the rest of his fleet he passed the Drogden Channel. The larger vessels had to unship their guns to a great extent and the passage was a slow business, but by the 18th the fleet was in Kjöge Bay.

The Swedes had agreed to send a squadron to help in the defence of Copenhagen, and had begun mobilisation in February.

Their fleet was as followst:—

Gustaf III. 70, *Wladislav* 64, *Dristighet* 62, *Manlighet* 62, *Tapperhet* 62, *Försigtighet* 62, *Wasa* 60, *Fröja* 40, *Bellona* 40, *Camilla* 40; two brigs, two cutters.

On April 3rd Palmquist, the commander of this squadron, received the news that war had begun between Sweden and England, and was ordered to go to Copenhagen to join the Danes. Before he could sail came the news of the destruction of the Danish fleet on the 2nd, but even so he was ordered to sail for Copenhagen and attack the English. On the 13th he put to sea, and on the 15th off Bornholm he got in touch with the English cruisers. The destruction of his little fleet seemed inevitable, but at this moment orders reached him to return, and that evening he arrived safely at Karlskrona and moored his ships in a line across the harbour.

Parker had, as a matter of fact, started with the idea of proceeding to Revel to attack the Russian ships there before they could sail for Kronstadt, but finding that the Swedes were at sea he followed them to Karlskrona. Arriving off the harbour on the 20th, he sent in to enquire their intentions, and two days later he received assurances that the King of Sweden, though not prepared to abandon his allies, was ready to come to terms if a satisfactory agreement could be reached. Parker accordingly started for Revel, but on the 23rd he received a letter from the Russian Minister at Copenhagen

* The *Sjælland* 74 was unrigged, and was therefore not fit to cross to England, though she was only fourteen years old as compared to twenty-nine for the *Holsteen*.

† Guns from Bäckström Aps. 21 and 24; lists for 1790 and 1809.

to inform him that the Tsar Pavel had been murdered on March 23rd, and that his successor, Aleksandr I., had ordered his fleet to abstain from all hostilities. On April 25th Parker anchored again in Kjöge Bay, and on May 5th he received orders to give up the command to Nelson and return home.

The new commander wasted little time. He was by no means certain of the Tsar's intentions, and he considered it essential to prevent the ships from Revel from reaching Kronstadt. He therefore weighed anchor on May 7th and steered for Revel. Leaving his small craft off Bornholm, he sent the *Edgar* 74, *Saturn* 74, *Russell* 74, *Raisonné* 64, *Agamemnon* 64, *Glatton* 54, and a frigate to cruise off Karlskrona, and wrote at the same time to Palmquist that the Swedish squadron would be attacked if it put to sea. With the rest of the fleet, twelve battleships,* one frigate, and two sloops, he proceeded to Revel, and arrived there on the 14th, to find that the Russian fleet had got away to Kronstadt a fortnight before.

The Russian Revel fleet had consisted of the following eighteen battleships:—

Blagodat 130, *Rostislav* 100, *Saratov* 100, *Evsevii* 100, *Syeveryni Orel* 74, *Sofia Magdalina* 74, *Aleksyei* 74, *Vsevolod* 74, *Sysoi Velikii* 74, *Maksim Ispovjednik* 74, *Glyeb* 74, *Moskva* 74, *Zatchatie Sv. Anny* 74, *Yaroslav* 74, *Izyslav* 74, *Ianuarii* 66, *Archiistratig Mikhail* 72, *Neron menya* 66.

On May 2nd it had left Revel, and on the 6th it had reached Kronstadt, where a miscellaneous squadron had been stationed to defend the approaches to the harbour. This squadron consisted of two unrigged battleships, nine frigates, two bomb vessels, four bomb cutters, twenty-three floating batteries, and a few rowing vessels, but as it proved there was no need for these preparations.

On arriving at Revel, Nelson announced that he had come on a friendly visit, but the Tsar failed to see things in this light, and on the 16th Nelson was informed that the Tsar considered his presence as a threat and an insult. Nothing was to be gained by staying where he could only cause friction, and on May 17th he put to sea. Off Bornholm he was re-joined by the rest of his fleet, and on the 24th he arrived for provisions at Rostock with some ships, while others went to Danzig or to Kjöge Bay, and a few remained off Bornholm under Rear-Admiral Totty, who had recently arrived from England with three battleships. Nelson had already applied to be relieved on the ground of ill-health, and on the 13th he heard that his application had been granted. He had arrived

* *London* 98; *St. George* 98; *Defiance* 74; *Defence* 74; *Bellona* 74; *Ganges* 74; *Ramillies* 74; *Warrior* 74; *Edgar* 74; *Elephant* 74; *Veteran* 64; *Ardent* 64.

in Kjöge Bay on the 6th, and there, on June 17th, Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Pole took over the command. Nelson left for home on the 18th in the brig *Kite*.

The dissolution of the Armed Neutrality was now a question of diplomacy rather than fighting. Russia had now released all English merchantmen on June 19th, and had signed an agreement acceding to the more important English claims. An English fleet was no longer required in the Baltic, and at the end of July Pole was ordered home. He brought his fleet through the Great Belt against a head-wind, and thoroughly vindicated the possibility of passing that channel with the largest ships. Denmark and Sweden delayed somewhat in coming to terms, but in October, 1801, and March, 1802, they also agreed to the English demands.*

* The Danish battleships, *Norge* 78 and *Danmark* 76, cruised in the Baltic in October. The *Sejer* 64, *Najad* 40, *Havfru* 40, and *Freja* 40 returned from the Mediterranean and were stationed at Christianssand.

SECTION XV.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS IN THE BALTIC.

1803-1815.

The next few years, though important enough in European history, saw few naval operations in the Baltic. The Peace of Amiens, in March, 1802, gave Europe a year's rest, and it was therefore only natural that Baltic mobilisations should be small. Neither Denmark nor Sweden had any considerable fleet in commission, but Russia equipped eight battleships,* which went as far as Bornholm on a training cruise. In 1803 war again began between France and England, and, in consequence, the Russian fleet was strengthened. Two fleets of thirteen battleships each† were commissioned, and on May 30th the Revel fleet arrived at Kronstadt, but no further movements were undertaken. Next year only twelve Russian battleships were in commission in the Baltic. A fleet of ten battleships,‡ under Vice-Admiral Crown, left Kronstadt on July 19th, cruised off Bornholm for the first fortnight of August, and was back by September 2nd. Three battleships and two frigates of this squadron were detached on August 12th to cruise in the North Sea, but these ships were continually forced back by heavy weather, and never got much beyond Skagen. They returned to Copenhagen on September 23rd, left again on August 5th, and reached Revel on the 9th. After the return of these ships two battleships and two frigates left Kronstadt for the Levant under Captain-Commodore Greig to join the ships which had already been sent from the Black Sea to Corfu to support Austria against the French. Greig's ships were the *Sv. Elena* 74, *Retvizan* 66, *Venus* 44, and *Aftroil* 24. They arrived at Portsmouth early in November, left again towards

* *Blagodat* 130; *Sv. Petr* 74; *Elizaveta* 74; *Petr* 74; *Aleksyei* 74; *Mstislav* 74; *Zatchatie Sv. Anny* 74; *Archistratig Michail* 72.

† Kronstadt:—*Sv. Nikolai* 100; *Saratov* 100†; *Ioann Krestitel* 100†; *Pamyat Evstafia* 74†; *Petr* 74†; *Boleslav* 74; *Mstislav* 74; *Aleksyei* 74; *Sv. Petr* 74; *Iona* 66†; *Evropa* 66; *Panteleimon* 66†; *Michail* 66. Revel:—*Blagodat* 130; *Rostislav* 100; *Vsevolod* 74; *Moskva* 74; *Glyeb* 74; *Yaroslav* 74; *Elizaveta* 74; *Zatchatie Sv. Anny* 74; *Syevernyi Orel* 74; *Izyaslav* 74; *Archistratig Michail* 72; *Ianuarii* 66; *Netron menya* 66. The ships marked † were sent to Revel in September.

‡ *Yaroslav* 74; *Sv. Petr* 74; *Boleslav* 74; *Zatchatie Sv. Anny* 74; *Izyaslav* 74; *Archistratig Michail* 72†; *Prints Karl* 66†; *Michail* 66; *Emgeiten* 66†; *Ianuarii* 66. The ships marked † went into the North Sea.

the end of December, and finally reached Corfu in February, 1805.

Two months later Russia joined England against France and Spain. Austria and Sweden also joined this new alliance, but Prussia tried to remain neutral. Save for the landing of troops at Stralsund to attack the French in Hanover, Sweden took no great part in the war, but the Russians were a little more active. A squadron of eleven battleships and ten frigates landed 18,000 men in Rügen to co-operate with the Swedes, and at the same time further detachments were sent to the Mediterranean. Three battleships were sent from the Black Sea, and in September Vice-Admiral Senyavin left Kronstadt with five others to take command in the Mediterranean. After the usual visit to Portsmouth he reached Corfu at the end of January, 1806, and soon began the capture of isolated French positions, but Napoleon's victories at Ulm and Austerlitz had upset the plans of the Allies on land, and soon compelled the Russo-Swedish force in Pomerania to retire to Stralsund.*

In 1806 two important changes took place; war broke out between France and Prussia in October, and between Russia and Turkey in December. Before this, Senyavin's fleet had been reinforced by two battleships from the Black Sea, and another five soon joined him from the Baltic. Hoping to mediate between Turkey and Russia, or, failing this, to destroy or capture the Turkish fleet, the English sent a fleet of eight battleships to the Dardanelles. One ship was accidentally burnt, but the rest passed the Dardanelles on February 18th, destroyed a Turkish battleship and some smaller ships, and appeared off Constantinople. Now, however, Duckworth, the English Vice-Admiral, hesitated and delayed, and on March 3rd he repassed the Dardanelles with nothing accomplished. Senyavin appeared on the scene and suggested a combined attack, but Duckworth refused. The Russians, however, did well enough by themselves; they twice defeated the Turkish fleet, and on the second occasion, on July 1st, they captured a Turkish battleship. On land, however, Napoleon carried everything before him. Prussia was crushed, and the French armies advanced steadily eastward. A few small English ships helped in the defence of Danzig, but in vain; Danzig fell on May 27th, 1807, and one of the English ships, the *Dauntless* 18, was taken by the French. Nothing could stop the French now. The Russians were defeated again at Friedland in June, and on July 7th and 9th the two treaties of Tilsit changed Russia and Prussia from enemies to allies of

* Several Russian ships had to winter in foreign ports. The *Gavril* 100 and *Zatchatie Sv. Anny* 74 had to be repaired at Copenhagen, and a battleship and a frigate wintered at Karlskrona.

France. England had intended to give some help against the French by landing an army at Stralsund, in Swedish Pomerania, but this force was delayed, and did not reach Rügen until July 16th, when peace had already been arranged. Still, King Gustaf IV. of Sweden thought he saw a chance of success in the support of this army of 10,000 men. He therefore renewed the war, but the English contingent was withdrawn almost at once, and the Swedes were soon crushed. At the end of August they evacuated Stralsund and retired to Rügen, and on September 7th they had to give up that island also to the victorious French and thus relinquish the last of their possessions south of the Baltic.

The reason for the withdrawal of the English troops from Stralsund had been that they were wanted for use against Denmark. It was supposed that the Danes intended to join the coalition against England and Sweden, and certainly it would have been possible for France and Prussia in combination to force them to do so. Napoleon would thus have at his disposal the Russian and Danish Navies, and this the English Government resolved to prevent at all costs. Accordingly, on July 26th, Admiral Gambier left Yarmouth with seventeen battleships, and at the same time Cathcart was ordered to bring his troops from Rügen to Copenhagen to join a further 17,000 which were sent out with Gambier. The English fleet arrived off Gothenburg on August 1st, and four battleships, three frigates, and ten brigs were sent at once under Commodore Keats to occupy the Great Belt, to prevent any of the Danish troops in Holstein from reaching Sjaelland. On the 3rd, Gambier entered the Sound and anchored off Helsingør. During the next few days eight battleships and a frigate joined, but one battleship was sent to join Keats. The troops from Rügen also arrived, and all was ready for the attack. Gambier's fleet was now composed as follows:—

Main fleet:—*Prince of Wales* 98, *Pompée* 74, *Minotaur* 74, *Centaur* 74, *Spencer* 74, *Valiant* 74, *Mars* 74, *Defence* 74, *Maida* 74, *Brunswick* 74, *Resolution* 74, *Hercule* 74, *Alfred* 74, *Goliath* 74, *Captain* 64, *Ruby* 64, *Dictator* 64, *Inflexible* 64, *Leyden* 64, *Agamemnon* 64, and about twenty-five smaller ships.

Keats' division:—*Superb* 74, *Ganges* 74, *Vanguard* 74, *Orion* 74, *Nassau* 64 (ex Danish *Holsteen*), and thirteen smaller ships.

The Danes had as yet no clue to the intentions of the English force, but they had as a precaution begun to put Copenhagen in a state of defence. As a matter of fact, it was not until August 8th that the English demands were presented. On that date—five days after Gambier had entered the Sound—Jackson, the English representative, explained to the Danish

Crown Prince at Kiel the purpose of the expedition. He pointed out that Denmark could undoubtedly be forced to go over to the French side, and demanded that the Danish fleet should be handed over to England until the conclusion of peace between England and France. On these conditions England would protect Denmark from a French attack, but in the event of a refusal the fleet would be taken by force and retained. Naturally enough the Crown Prince refused to accept such a humiliating proposal. The English demands were rejected at once, and the Crown Prince started for Copenhagen to organise the defence. On August 11th he arrived, and next day King Christian VII. left for Jylland. To gain time for preparations the Crown Prince ordered Jackson to be delayed as much as possible on his journey to Copenhagen, and it was therefore not until the 13th that he was able to authorise Gambier to proceed to active measures.

The Danish defences were hardly so formidable as in 1801. On shore were the Citadel, with twenty guns, and the Christianus Sextus battery, with forty-six, west and east respectively of the entrance to the inner harbour, and on the eastern side of Amager Island were a few small batteries. There were also the two advanced batteries Tre Kroner and Provsteen, the first armed as in 1801 with sixty-six guns, and the second somewhat to the south, formed of three old battleships,* which had been sunk in 1802, and armed with eighty-nine guns. Besides these fixed works there were the following ships and gunboats in the harbour mouth:—*Mars* 60 (blockship), *St. Thomas* 22 (blockship), *Hai* 20 (pram), *Svaerdisk* 20 (pram), *Kjaemp* 20 (pram), fifteen gunsloops of 6 each,† eleven gunboats of 8 each,‡ four bombs, and one gunboat of 5. There were also to the south, between Amager and the mainland, the *Mercurius* 18 and four small craft.

The other ships at Copenhagen were in the dockyard, and as yet unready for service.

At Helsingør was the Danish frigate *Fredricksvaern* 36,§ and her position was naturally critical. Her captain, Gerner, slipped his cable soon after midnight on August 12th-13th, with the intention of moving to Copenhagen, but the wind was foul and he had to shape a course for Norway. The English would in all probability have allowed him to proceed

* *Elephant* 70; *Oresund* 70; *Pr. Wilhelmine Caroline* 60.

† *Kallundborg*, *Helsingør*, *Nestved*, *Saltholm*, *Fredrikssund*, *Stubbekjøbing*, *Rødby*, *Assens*, *Kjerteminde*, *Holbek*, *Nysted*, *Svendborg*, *Faaborg*, *Middelfart*, *Roeskilde*.

‡ *Arendal*, *Aalborg*, *Wiborg*, *Nykjøbing*, *Odense*, *Flensborg*, *Stege*, *Langesund*, *Christiansund*, *Stavaern*.

§ Called in English accounts the *Fredrikscoarn*.

to Copenhagen, but his steering northwards was obviously an attempt to escape, and accordingly, at 2.30 p.m. on the 13th, Gambier sent in pursuit the *Defence* 74 and *Comus* 22.* The wind being very light, the *Comus* sailed much faster than the *Defence*, and at midnight on the 14th-15th she came up with the *Fredriksvaern* and summoned her to surrender. Gerner, of course, refused, and an action began. The *Comus* first raked her opponent and then boarded, and in less than an hour the Danish ship was taken. The *Fredriksvaern* lost twelve killed and twenty wounded, while the *Comus* had only one man wounded.

On August 15th the English fleet moved to Vedbaek, half way between Helsingør and Copenhagen, and next morning the greater part of the troops were landed here unopposed, while the fleet moved again nearer to Copenhagen. On the 16th, also, the Danish flotilla began to move. Commodore-Captain Krieger left the harbour with six gunboats to attack some English merchantmen and storeships which were working northwards through the Drogden channel. The wind got up and forced him back, but next morning he managed to take and burn an English timber-ship. He was engaged by the English "Advanced Squadron" of three sloops, four bombs, seven gun-brigs,† four armed storeships, and ten ships' boats carrying mortars, but was supported by his own bomb-vessels and by the shore batteries, and escaped unharmed. The same day the English fleet took up its position about four miles north-east of the harbour mouth. In the morning of the 18th the Danish gunsloops went northwards to prevent the landing of the English cavalry at Skovshoved, south of Vedbaek, but they were repulsed by the English flotilla with the aid of a battery which had been thrown up on the left flank of the English army at Svanemøllen. Five gunsloops were sent to attack this battery on the 19th, but were not supported by the Danish land forces, and had to withdraw. On the 20th, 1800, soldiers were sent against the battery, and nine gunsloops helped in the attack, but both by land and sea the Danes were repulsed. In the meantime a few shots had been exchanged on the 18th between the English bombs and the Provsteen and Christianus Quintus batteries, and on the 20th between the English and Danish bombs. On the 21st three English battleships went south through the Hollaenderdyb, and the same day some 9,000 men were landed in Kjøge Bay. The English army now began to throw up new batteries in advance of the Svanemøllen

* She carried really 32 guns.

† *Hebe* 18, *Cruiser* 18, *Mutine* 18 (sloops); *Thunder* 8, *Vesuvius* 10, *Aetna* 8, *Zebra* 12 (bombs); *Kite* 18; *Fearless* 14, *Pincher* 14, *Urgent* 14, *Safeguard* 14, *Desperate* 14, *Indignant* 12 (brigs).

position, and on the 22nd two Danish prams, the *Svaerdfisk* 20, and *Kjaemp* 20, moved out to prevent this. The English Advanced Squadron closed in, and at 10 a.m. on the 23rd a brisk action began. The English ships were attacked by the Tre Kroner battery and all the Danish flotilla, and eventually at 2 p.m. they had to retire. The Danes then attacked the English batteries, but were repulsed; the English ships lost four killed and thirteen wounded, the Danes seven killed and eleven wounded, and several ships on either side were somewhat damaged. On the 26th another combined sortie was made on the northern side. Eight gunsloops and five gunboats were engaged, but the English batteries were too strong and the Danes had to retreat. One gunsloop, the *Stubbekjøbing*, was blown up and several others damaged; the Danish flotilla lost thirty-two killed and eighteen wounded. On the 25th a few Danish small craft were sent to join the *Mercurius* 18 in Kallebostrand and attack the southern division of the English Army. They failed to accomplish much, and on the 27th a new English battery forced them to withdraw with six killed and five wounded. Three days passed without incident, but on August 31st the Danes again attacked the English positions north of the harbour. As before, they were repulsed, but the fire of the Danish forts did some damage to the English flotilla, and the armed storeship *Charles* was blown up. The English lost ten killed and twenty-one wounded, the Danes one killed and four wounded.

By September 1st the English batteries were ready for a bombardment, and on that day Gambier and Cathcart sent in to demand a surrender. General Peymann refused, and at 7.30 p.m. on the 2nd the bombardment began. The English bombs and gun-brigs moved in to join in the bombardment, but were driven off by the Danish gunboats. Firing stopped at 8 a.m. on the 3rd, but began again at 6 p.m., and went on through the night. Fires broke out everywhere, but for some time the Danes were able to keep these in check. At last the great timber-yard caught fire, but even then there was no sign of surrender. Accordingly, at 7 p.m. on the 4th, the bombardment was resumed and went on steadily. The fires in the city became more and more frequent and unmanageable, and at last, at 5 p.m. on September 5th, General Peymann sent to ask for a truce as a preliminary to capitulation. The English commanders insisted on the surrender of the Danish fleet as an essential of any arrangement, but stopped the bombardment, and sent their representatives to draw up an agreement, and in the morning of September 7th this was signed. The Danish fleet and its stores was ceded to England, and all hostilities were to cease. The English were to take possession of

the citadel and dockyard, but were to withdraw as soon as they had removed their prizes, and were allowed six weeks for this purpose.

The following were the ships thus surrendered:—

Battleships:—*Christian VII.* 90, *Neptunus* 80, *Waldemar* 80, *Pr. Sophia Friderica* 70, *Justitia* 70, *Arveprinds Friderich* 70, *Kronprinds Frederik* 70, *Fyen* 70, *Odin* 70, *Tre Kroner* 70, *Skjold* 70, *Kronprindsesse Maria* 70, *Danmark* 76, *Norge* 78, *Pr. Caroline* 66, *Seier* 64, *Mars* 60,* *Ditmarschen* 60.* Three 74's on the stocks were destroyed.

Frigates†:—*Perl* 46, *Freja* 40, *Iris* 40, *Rota* 40, *Havfru* 40, *Najad* 40, *Nymph* 36, *Venus* 36, *Frederiksteen* 26, *Triton* 22,* *St. Thomas* 22,* *Lille Belt* 20, *Fylla* 20, *Eider* 16, *Elv* 16, *Gluckstadt* 12.

Brigs, etc.:—*Sarp* 18, *Glommen* 18, *Nidelv* 18, *Delphin* 18, *Mercurius* 18, *Allart* 18, *Coureur* 18, *Brevdrager* 14, *Flyvende Fisk* 14, *Ørn* 10.

Gunboats:—*Odense*, *Arendal*, *Wiborg*, *Langesund*, *Aalborg*, *Christiansund*, *Stega*, *Flensborg*, *Naskov*, *Stavaern*, *Nykjøbing*, 8 each.

Gunsloops:—*Roeskilde*, *Helsingør*, *Frederiksbund*, *Saltholm*, *Nestved*, *Kallundborg*, *Holbek*, *Nysted*, *Rødby*, *Kierteminde*, *Svendborg*, *Assens*, *Middelfart*, *Faaborg*, 6 each.

Prams, etc.‡:—*Svaerdfisk* 20, *Lindorm* 20, *Hai* 20, *Kjaemp* 20, *Battery No. 1* 24, *Macrel* 4, *Wildand* 4, two bomb-vessels, one "gunyawl."

On October 20th the last of the English troops were embarked, and on the following day the fleet, with its prizes, sailed for England. The *Neptunus* 80 went aground on Hven and had to be burnt, and, finally, heavy weather made it necessary to abandon all save three of the gunboats and gunsloops, but the rest of the fleet reached the English coast in safety.

The Danish Navy had almost ceased to exist. It had two battleships in Norway and a few small craft either there or in southern waters, but in spite of the recovery of a few vessels which the English abandoned its total strength was now only thirty ships, and over half of these were very small. England,

* These ships were destroyed as useless. The *Mars* and *St. Thomas* were blockships, the *Ditmarschen* was in dock. The *Triton* was burnt on the Swedish coast.

† The *Fredriksvaern* 32 was also taken to England.

‡ These are not mentioned in the English accounts, and, as a matter of fact, most of them were recovered by the Danes. Of the four prams three had been sunk, and two of these were refloated, while the fourth was abandoned and retaken; the *Hai* could not be refloated. The floating battery, the two 4-gun yachts and one bomb-vessel were also recovered. The three gunsloops, *Nestved*, *Holbek*, and *Nysted* went ashore in Norway and were retaken, and the gunsloop *Faaborg* and gunboat *Nykjøbing* were recovered near Copenhagen.

however, gained little by her new acquisitions: fifteen battle-ships reached English ports, but only four of these* were considered worth fitting for sea, and the rest were never employed. Some of the frigates and brigs were used, but on the whole the Danish ships proved of little value to their captors. In spite of their losses the Danes were by no means prepared to accept the situation, and they therefore prepared to resume the war directly after the English had left Sjaelland. They formed an alliance with France, and by building an immense number of gunboats and other small craft they were soon in a position to cause England a good deal of trouble.

A few other incidents had, however, taken place during the English invasion of Sjaelland. The island of Heligoland had been taken from Denmark by the English *Quebec* 32, supported by the *Majestic* 74, on September 5th. It remained in English hands for eighty years, but was ceded in 1890 to Germany in return for concessions in Africa. The French capture of Stralsund made it necessary to prevent help reaching Copenhagen from thence, and Keats was therefore ordered to send some ships from the squadron in the Belt to establish a blockade. There were, as has been seen, two Danish battleships which escaped confiscation by being in Norwegian waters instead of at Copenhagen. One of these, the *Prins Christian Frederik* 66, was serving as a training ship, and reached Christiansand with the brig *Loug* 18 on August 10th. The crew of the battleship were transferred to the *Prinsesse Louisa Augusta* 60, which was laid up there, and this ship was ordered to sail with the *Loug* to Copenhagen for repairs, while the *Prins Christian Frederik* was laid up in her turn at Christiansand. The two ships were ready to sail on August 12th, but were delayed for two days by head winds. On the 14th news arrived of the presence of a large English fleet in the Sound, and on the 16th the Danish ships, instead of proceeding to Copenhagen, went to Frederiksvaern, a fortified harbour 100 miles N.E. of Christiansand. Every effort was now made to fit out the *Prins Christian Frederik* and the nine gunboats which were in Frederiksvaern. On September 6th, on hearing that an English battleship had been sighted, Commodore-Captain Sneedorff left Frederiksvaern with the *Pr. Louisa Augusta* and *Loug* to attack, but was driven back by heavy weather without sighting the enemy. The English, however, soon appeared off Christiansand, and were in time to prevent the *Pr. Christian Frederik* from leaving for Frederiksvaern. On September 11th the *Spencer* 74 arrived off the harbour with a frigate and three smaller ships. An attack was expected, and batteries were prepared, while three gunsloops and two gunyawls were sent

* *Christian* VII. 90; *Norge* 78; *Danmark* 76; *Pr. Caroline* 66.

from Frederiksvaern to help in the defence, but the English made no move, and it was not until September 27th that Captain Stopford, who had been joined by another battleship, sent in to demand the surrender of the Danish ships. A refusal was, of course, returned, and two days later the *Pr. Christian Frederik* managed to escape unnoticed to Frederiksvaern.

Expecting an English attack, the Danish ships prepared to leave Frederiksvaern for a safer harbour, and on October 7th the two battleships, the brig, and a few gunboats moved to Frederikstad, on the other side of the mouth of Christiania Fjord, 40 miles further east, to join the other ships there, but off Frederiksvaern they found the English brig *Nightingale*, and at dawn on October 25th the three gunsloops attacked her; the wind, however, freshened, and the English ship escaped. Now that the English fleet had left the Sound, the few remaining Danish ships were ordered to attack any detached English ships which they could find. The *Loug* 18 accordingly left Frederikstad for Frederiksvaern on November 5th, and on the 18th the *Pr. Louisa Augusta* 60 and *Pr. Christian Frederik* 66 also put to sea. The former ship soon proved unseaworthy, and had to go to Frederiksvaern for repairs on November 23rd. At once Sneedorff was ordered to take his three ships to attack an English battleship in the Sound, and on the 30th he put to sea again, but the *Loug* was out of reach at Christiansand, and he therefore went on with the two battleships only. In the night of December 2nd-3rd these two ships found themselves among the ships of an English convoy. Not knowing the force of the convoying warships, they slipped away, meaning to attack if possible next morning, but at daybreak the convoy was out of sight. They then chased an English brig without success, and on December 4th they reached Copenhagen. After a cruise as far as Falsterbo the *Pr. Louisa Augusta* was laid up on December 12th, but the *Pr. Christian Frederik* went back to Norway with a convoy and cruised with the *Loug* off the Norwegian coast all through the winter.

The only other action of this year took place in Kallebostrand, inside Amager. The Danish gunsloop *Faaborg* 6 was attacked by two English brigs on November 15th. One brig was damaged early in the action and withdrew, but the other closed in and damaged the *Faaborg* enough to necessitate her being run ashore. The enemy shewed signs of intending to board, but other Danish ships sent men to help, and the brig eventually retired. In spite of the war with Denmark, the only English ships which were left for the winter were the *Vanguard* 74 and a few small craft, and these for the most part stayed at Gothenburg.

The war in the Baltic soon spread to include Russia and

Sweden. On November 18th, 1807, the Tsar declared war on England, and at the end of February 1808 a Russian army entered Finland to attack Sweden, England's ally. On February 29th Denmark also declared war on Sweden, and French troops were allowed to enter Danish territory for the purpose of a combined attack on Skåne. The duties of the English Navy under these circumstances were many and various. It had to keep the Sound open for merchantmen, sever communications between Denmark and Norway, occupy the Belt to prevent the passage of French troops on their way to attack Sweden, support the Swedish fleet against the Russians, and blockade the French ports on the German coast. The fleet sent was, however, by no means excessively large for its duties. It was composed as follows:—

Victory 100, *Centaur* 74, *Superb* 74, *Implacable* 74, *Brunswick* 74, *Mars* 74, *Orion* 74, *Goliath* 74, *Vanguard* 74, *Dictator* 64, *Africa* 64, *Stately* 64, *Nassau* 64 (ex Danish *Holsteen*), five frigates, many small craft

Göthenburg was chosen as the rendezvous, and the English ships sailed thither as they got ready. The bulk of the fleet reached Göthenburg in April, and on May 17th there arrived an English army of 10,000 men under Sir John Moore. These troops were intended to help in the defence of Sweden, but owing to misunderstanding between Gustaf IV. and Sir John they were never even disembarked, and left again for home at the beginning of July. The fleet, however, showed considerable activity, and its operations must now be considered; but for this purpose it will be easier to consider separately the two parts of the war, firstly that in which England and Sweden were opposed to Denmark, and secondly that in which they were opposed to Russia.

The Danes were feverishly building gunboats in every possible harbour, and, in fact, completed during the year nearly 150 of these small craft. The object before them was to enable the French troops in Holstein to cross the Belt to Sjaelland, and then attack Skåne, but the presence of the English fleet proved an insuperable obstacle. Early in the year the *Pr. Christian Frederik* 68* nearly succeeded in taking the English frigate *Quebec* 32, on her way to Göthenburg with the subsidy paid by England to Sweden. Two English battleships, *Stately* 64 and *Nassau* 64, were therefore sent on in advance of the main fleet to check the Danes' activity, and early in March these reached Göthenburg and joined the *Vanguard* 74, which had wintered there. At the same time the *Pr. Christian Frederik* was recalled to cruise in the Belt, and on March 11th she anchored at Helsingør. The *Loug* 20* was left in Nor-

* Two guns had been added to the armament of each of these ships.

wegian waters, and on March 14th she engaged the English brig *Childers* 14. The English claim to have had the better of the encounter, but lost eleven men out of a crew of fifty-six, and were unable to effect anything decisive.

English cruisers had appeared in the Great Belt, and on March 18th the *Pr. Christian Frederik* was ordered to proceed thither to clear a passage for the French troops. She started on the 21st, and the same day the *Vanguard* 74, *Stately* 64, and *Nassau* 64 reached Helsingborg from Göthenburg. On hearing from the Swedes of the Danish ship's departure the two English 64's started in pursuit, while the *Vanguard* was left in the Sound. At 1.30 p.m. on March 21st the *Pr. Christian Frederik*, when off Sjaellands Rev, a point fifty miles west of the Sound, sighted two English frigates steering into the Belt from the north. Both sides kept on their course towards the Belt, and at six o'clock they anchored near Refsnaes, twenty-five miles south-west of Sjaellands Rev, the Danish ship being about five miles north of the two English. At eight o'clock next morning the frigates began to beat up towards the Dane and Jessen, her commander, retired northwards, with the intention of drawing them away from the Belt and then attacking. At first this plan went well enough. The three ships beat northwards with a wind from the N.N.E., and the English ships were joined by a sloop, but at about 2 p.m., when near Sjaellands Rev the *Pr. Christian Frederik* sighted the *Stately* and *Nassau* approaching from the north. After holding a council of war Jessen decided to retreat towards the Sound, and at 5.30 the *Pr. Christian Frederik* weathered Sjaellands Rev while the enemy were still three miles off. Now, however, the wind veered, and made it difficult to lie the course for the Sound, while the position of the English ships made tacking inadvisable. Jessen therefore kept close along the coast of Sjaelland ready to run ashore if necessary. At 7.30 the *Pr. Christian Frederik* opened fire on the *Nassau*, and a little later that ship came up to starboard, while the *Stately* took up her position on the port quarter of the Danish ship. Both sides suffered severely, and about nine o'clock the English ships hauled off for a few minutes for repairs. They soon returned, and now the *Quebec* 32* also joined in the action. The *Nassau* lay as before, to starboard of the *Pr. Christian Frederik*, the *Stately* on her port bow, and the *Quebec* on her port quarter. Naturally the Danes could not hold out long against such odds, and at 10.30 Jessen surrendered. He was then close to the shore, and hoped that the English ships would go aground; but they went about and

* Danish accounts give her 44 guns and the battleships 68 each. English ships nearly always carried more than their rated armament.

escaped, though the *Pr. Christian Frederik*, in spite of an anchor let go by her captors, went hard and fast on the rocks. She had suffered heavy loss, and had, in fact, 64 killed and 129 wounded out of a crew of 576—a loss of just one-third of her total complement. The *Stately* had 4 killed and 31 wounded; the *Nassau* 3 killed and 17 wounded. Among those killed on the Danish side was Willemoes, the hero of the *Floating Battery No. 1* in 1801. Next morning the *Prins Christian Frederik* was found to be hard aground, and all attempts to move her were in vain. The Danes ashore were bringing up artillery, and accordingly in the evening of March 23rd the English burnt her and withdrew.

A month later, on April 23rd, the English ships *Daphne* 20, *Tartarus* 18, and *Forward* 12 destroyed a Danish storeship off Fladstrand, in Jylland, and in the night of the 25th-26th their boats cut out five other Danish storeships from under the guns of the fort. On the 28th a force of twenty-four Danish gunboats from the Norwegian coast attempted an attack on Strömstad just south of Frederikshald, but were repulsed after two hours' fighting by four Swedish gunboats, one mortar boat, and three guns ashore. The Danes lost eleven men, and the Swedes nineteen. A little later in the year the Swedish force was joined by twenty gunboats from Gothenburg, and at the end of May some thirty Swedish vessels attacked six Danish gunboats among the islands south of Christiania Fjord, but were no more successful than the Danes had been at Strömstad. About the same time, on May 23rd, five Danish gunboats left Frederiksværn to attack the Swedish frigate *Fröja* 40, but the wind rose, and the frigate got away easily enough.

The English sloop *Falcon* 16 did some good work at the northern end of the Great Belt. On April 29th her boats destroyed fourteen Danish boats in the islands of Endelau and Thunö. On May 3rd she chased back into harbour a large Danish schooner, and on the 7th her boats discovered two Danish vessels laden with warlike stores under the guns of Lundholm, in the island of Samsö; one Danish ship was captured and the other destroyed. On May 15th the English frigate *Tartar* 32 (carrying in reality 40 guns) appeared off Bergen under the Dutch flag. Her object was to attack the Dutch frigate *Guelderland*, which had been there for repairs, but she had left a fortnight before. The *Tartar*, however, worked in towards the town, and during the night sent in her boats to attack the shipping in the harbour. They were discovered and forced to retreat. The frigate then advanced, but was attacked by the schooner *Odin* and three gunboats carrying two guns each. Her captain, Bettesworth, was killed at once, and after an hour the *Tartar* took advantage of an off-

shore wind to escape. She lost twelve men, while the Danish loss was only four. On May 24th the English hired cutter *Swan* 10 met and engaged a Danish privateer of eight or ten guns off Bornholm. After twenty minutes the Dane blew up. The *Swan* suffered no loss.

Now there began a series of English reverses. On June 4th the *Tickler* 14 was attacked in the Great Belt by four Danish gunboats. A calm enabled the Danish vessels to take up positions where the brig could not reply; but she held out for four hours, and then surrendered with 37 killed and wounded out of a crew of fifty. The Danes had one officer wounded. On June 8th two English frigates made an unsuccessful attack on Christiansand, and had to withdraw after two hours' fighting. Next day an English convoy of seventy merchantmen left Malmö, under the escort of the bomb-vessel *Thunder* and the brigs *Charger*, *Piercer*, and *Turbulent* 16. At 5 p.m., when the convoy was off Saltholm, the wind fell, and at the same moment it was attacked by twenty-one Danish gunboats and seven mortar boats from Copenhagen. Twelve of the merchantmen and the *Turbulent* were cut off from the rest of the convoy, and the brig was soon boarded and taken. The Danes now went after the *Thunder*, and opened fire on her at about six o'clock, but the wind rose again, and finally, fearing an attack by the Swedish gunboats in Malmö,* they ceased firing at about 10.30, and withdrew with their prizes. Five of the merchantmen went aground and were burnt, but the rest, with the *Turbulent*, were taken into Copenhagen. On June 11th, in the Great Belt, the boats of the *Euryalus* 36 and *Cruiser* 18 cut out a Danish gunboat carrying two 18-pounders and destroyed two transports, but this success was soon counterbalanced by other defeats. On the 19th, off Christiansand, the Danish *Loug* 20 attacked the *Seagull* 16. After an hour's action four Danish gunboats joined in, but even so the *Seagull* held out for nearly another hour before striking. She had lost eight killed and twenty wounded, while the *Loug* had lost one killed and thirteen wounded, but the gunboats had not been hit. The *Seagull* was taken inshore and sank, but was afterwards refloated.

On June 15th an indecisive action took place at the mouth of Kiel Fjord between three Danish gunboats and an English brig and three gunboats. On the 20th two Danish gunboats were attacked between Fyen and Langeland by two English brigs. One of the brigs went aground, but the action went on for four hours and a half. At last the Danes ran out of ammu-

* According to the Danish story there were twenty-one gunboats there. Mankell says there were twenty-nine in Malmö and Landskrona. It is strange that they made no attempt to help the English.

nition and retired. Next morning they returned with two more gunboats, but the brig had been refloated, and they found no enemy. In the night of June 25th-26th six Danish gunboats on their way to the southern end of the Great Belt were attacked by an English battleship, but after an hour she withdrew. On July 1st the *Exertion* 12 ran aground in the Belt, and was promptly attacked by a Danish schooner and two gunboats, but drove them off. A month later, in the evening of August 2nd, the *Tigress* 14 was captured by sixteen Danish gunboats after a short action near Agersö, in the Belt, and taken into Nakskov, with a loss of eight men. The same gunboats had on July 25th captured four Swedish merchantmen from a convoy in charge of a Swedish brig.

There was, as a matter of fact, a very considerable English force in the Belt at this time. Napoleon's Spanish troops had been told off for the invasion of Sweden, and were in consequence quartered in Denmark. Hearing of the rising in Spain against Napoleon, they were anxious to proceed thither to help, and here the English fleet was able to be of use. The Spaniards were, however, split up into several detachments, and it was not easy to unite them. Rear-Admiral Keats entered the Belt with the three 74-gun battleships *Superb*, *Brunswick*, and *Edgar*, besides many smaller ships, and he soon began to make the necessary arrangements. As the first step the three regiments in Fyen under the Marquis de la Romana seized the town of Nyborg on August 9th. They then proposed to go by sea to Langeland, but were kept back by two small Danish ships, the *Fama* 14 and *Soorm* 8. These two ships were, therefore, attacked and taken the same evening by the English brig *Kite* 16, the bombs *Hound* and *Devastation*, three gunboats, and two armed boats. This left the Spaniards free to move, and on the 11th they were embarked in fifty-seven small merchantmen and taken to Langeland. Some of those in Jylland also reached Langeland, but others, and particularly those in Sjaelland, failed to get away, and were disarmed and sent to France as prisoners. Still, some 7,600 men were thus enabled to escape, and, embarking in English transports on August 22nd, they reached Gothenburg safely on the 27th, and proceeded thence to Spain.

On August 18th the English battleship *Africa* 64 was attacked off Copenhagen by twelve gunboats, and had to retreat into Malmö. On September 3rd, at 10 p.m., twenty-one Danish gunboats attacked the English brigs *Kite* 16 and *Minx* 13, at anchor off Sprogö, in the Great Belt. The *Minx* escaped at once, but the *Kite* suffered severely, and lost fifteen men before getting away to the protection of an English battleship. On the other hand, the *Cruiser* 18, attacked on October

1st by twenty Danish gunboats near Gothenburg, managed to drive them off and took one of them, but a little later an English battleship nearly fell a victim to the Danish small craft. The *Africa* 64 left Karlskrona on October 15th with the bomb *Thunder* and two brigs, escorting a convoy of 137 homeward-bound merchantmen. Arriving at the southern end of the Flinterenden channel early on the 20th, the *Africa* anchored, while the three other ships, supported by the Swedish gunboats, accompanied the merchantmen to Malmö. Four merchantmen ran aground on the way, and one was taken and the other three burnt, but the rest of the convoy reached Malmö in safety. The Danish gunboats had put to sea on hearing of the approach of the convoy, and at 12.40 p.m. nineteen gunboats and three mortar boats were seen approaching the *Africa*. The wind gradually fell, and at 2.55, when the action began, the *Africa* was unable to move. The Danes were thus able to attack her from the bow and stern, where she could bring few guns to bear against them. She suffered severely, but kept up the action until 6.45, when, on the approach of darkness and the freshening of the breeze, the Danes left her and returned to Copenhagen. She had lost nine killed and fifty-three wounded, and was so much damaged that she had to go to Karlskrona to refit. The Danes had twenty-eight killed and thirty-six wounded. The only other action of 1808 in this part of the theatre of war took place off the Norwegian coast on November 26th, when the *Loug* 20, *Seagull* 18, and *Hemnaes* 14 met a Swedish convoy, and the *Seagull* took the *Grip* 4, a new Swedish cutter on her first voyage.

In the war of Sweden and England with Russia the operations were on a larger scale, and were carried out by fleets and flotillas rather than by detached ships. On land the war went all against Sweden; the Swedish army retreated from one position to another, and the divisions of the coast flotilla at Warkaus, Christina and Åbo had to be burnt to prevent their capture by the Russians. Seventy-one ships of the rowing fleet were lost in this way, but worse was to come. On April 6th Cronstedt, the commander of the fortress of Sveaborg, agreed to surrender on May 5th if not relieved before then; this agreement was duly carried out, and the Russians thus captured ninety-one ships.*

* Mankell's figures. Veselago (Hist. Russian Fleet) says 81, but his "List of Russian Ships" gives 101. Some of these were probably only transports. There were three hemmemas, seven turumas, a brig, twenty-five gunsloops, fifty-one gunyawls, and four gun-vessels; and of these, two hemmemas, twenty gunsloops, and forty-nine gunyawls were ready for service, and were at once commissioned by the Russians.

The first important naval movement consisted in a Russian attack on Gothland. A force of French and Russian troops 1,600 strong left Libau on April 21st in nine merchantmen and reached Gothland next day. Visby fell on the 24th, but the Russians were not left long undisturbed. The Swedish squadron of three battleships, two frigates, and three small craft, which had left Karlskrona on March 29th to cruise in the Southern Baltic under Rear-Admiral Cederström, was hastily recalled. It embarked 1,900 soldiers on May 11th, and landed them in Gothland on the 14th. Rear-Admiral Bodisko, the Russian commander, agreed to leave the island without fighting, and on the 18th he did so. Cederström was back at Karlskrona on May 20th. At the same time the Russians were driven out of the Åland Islands. They had reached them over the ice in March, and had occupied the eastern islands with a force of 600 men. As soon as the ice allowed three small ships left Stockholm with 450 men to retake these islands; on May 10th the Russians were defeated, and the greater part of their force made prisoners.

The loss of the Swedish flotillas in Finland made it necessary to send the battleship fleet eastward to protect Stockholm. On June 3rd, therefore, a fleet of ten battleships and six frigates left Karlskrona under Rear-Admiral Cederström. He reached Hangö on the 11th, and at once sent a detachment to Jungfrusund, twenty-five miles to the north-west, but in both cases he was too late to intercept the Russian gunboats. He then cruised in the Gulf of Finland, and finally took his fleet to Öro Roads, ten miles south of Jungfrusund, where he was superseded on July 11th by Rear-Admiral Nauckhoff. As a matter of fact, he had only just missed the Russians. Fifteen gunboats left Sveaborg on June 2nd, thirteen on the 9th, and on the 23rd they reached Bockholms Sund, the entrance to Åbo. On the way they must have been very near the Swedish flotilla, which had left Stockholm in three detachments early in June, assembled at Korpo Berghamn, thirty miles S.W. of Åbo, on the 13th, twenty-two ships strong, carried out an unsuccessful landing on the 19th five miles from Åbo, and returned to Korpo Berghamn on the 22nd. The Russians sent out half their force to reconnoitre, and on the 28th the Swedes moved to attack. The Swedish force had been reinforced on the 23rd and 24th by four galleys and four gunsloops, and was now under the orders of Admiral Hjelmstjerna; but eight gunsloops had been sent to Jungfrusund, so that its available force remained as before. The Russians who were at Hanga, twelve miles S.W. of Åbo, had twelve gunsloops and two gunyawls, and were attacked at 2 p.m. on June 30th by fifteen Swedish gunsloops and four galleys. Aided by the rising wind,

they beat off the Swedes and retired during the night to Bockholms Sund. Hjelmstjerna moved in half-way towards Åbo and established a blockade. He was joined on July 1st by four more galleys, and on the 4th the King, Gustaf IV., arrived on the scene. He at once ordered a reconnaissance, and eight gunsloops were therefore sent in towards the Russians. Selivanov, the Russian commander, came out with his full strength of twenty-two gunsloops and six gunyawls, and at six p.m. an action began between these ships and the Swedish force of six galleys and eighteen gunsloops. The Russians soon had to retire, but did so in good order, and finally reached the protection of their shore batteries. These inflicted a good deal of damage on the enemy, and at 11.30 the Swedes withdrew. Twenty-five men were lost on the Russian side, twelve on the Swedish.

The next operations took place further east, and were brought about by the movements of a third Russian detachment, which left Sveaborg on June 25th. This force consisted of one hémme, one brig, one yacht, two gunsloops, forty gunyawls, and twenty-four transports, and was under the orders of Captain Geiden (Hayden). Reaching Jungfrusund, Geiden found his way blocked by a force of three battleships, one frigate*, and eight gunboats, and therefore decided to try and work round the northern side of the large island of Kimito, which lies north of Jungfrusund. Kimito lies in the entrance to the town of Salo, and divides the channel into two very narrow passages, which run respectively south and south-west from the northern end of the island. Geiden left his larger ships near Jungfrusund, and arrived with the gunboats on July 14th at Stromma, on the eastern passage. Here Peter the Great had blockaded the channel a century ago, and it took two days to remove the obstructions; but at last, on July 15th, the Russian force reached the northern end of Kimito, and prepared to move out again by the western channel. Here, however, they found their way blocked by the eight Swedish gunsloops from Jungfrusund, which had reached Tallholmarne, on the western passage, on July 12th, and had at once begun to block the channel. Russian troops arrived, and batteries on either side made the Swedish position difficult, but Sölverarm, the Swedish commander, stuck to his post, and on the 19th he was reinforced by four gunsloops from the west. On the 21st, at 3 a.m., the Russians advanced. The work of blocking the channel was not quite finished, and after three and a half hours the Swedes had to retreat, but took up another position about two miles further west. They

* *Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Fädernesland* 62, *Åra* 62, *Bellona* 40. (The *Tapperhet* 62 joined later.)

had lost forty-six men and the Russians twenty. On July 23rd *Hjelmstjerna* arrived with eight galleys and twenty-seven gunboats at Holmö, six miles west of Sölverarm's new position at Sandö Ström. He at once sent Jönsson with ten gunboats to join Sölverarm and take over the command, and at the same time he sent four gunboats to watch the Russians in Bockholms Sund and four to cover a landing in Kimito. Jönsson did his best to hold the position at Sandö Ström. The island of Sandö lies about two-thirds of a mile west of the narrow passage of Sandö Ström, and between the two is the islet of Rövvarholm. This formed the centre of the Swedish position, and was fortified with four guns, while twelve ships were stationed in a line running south towards Kimito and eight north-eastwards to the mainland. On Sandö were sixty soldiers, and between that island and Kimito were the remaining two gunboats. The Russians, however, were able to post troops and construct batteries at both ends of the Swedish line, and thus obtained a very considerable advantage. They were joined on July 31st by nine gunboats and four yawls, which had left Sveaborg on the 6th, and on August 2nd, at 3 a.m., they began to advance. Supported by their land forces, they worked through the Sound and outflanked the southern end of the Swedish line. Jönsson was mortally wounded, and at eight o'clock Sölverarm began to retreat. An hour later *Hjelmstjerna* arrived with six galleys and the action began again, but the Russians would not leave the protection of their batteries, and at 11.30 the Swedes withdrew for good. Twelve of their gunboats and 22 Russians were completely disabled, while the loss in men on the Swedish side was 173 and on the Russian 330. Besides this the Swedes suffered severely on land, owing to the late arrival of their landing force in Kimito. The Russians were able to give their whole attention to this new enemy, and the Swedish force of 1,000 men had to re-embark with a loss of seventy-four killed and wounded, and 144 men and six guns captured.

After these defeats the Swedish flotilla had no alternative but to retreat. On August 3rd it left Holmö, and moved twenty miles west to Korpo Ström, where it was joined by its outlying detachments. On the 9th it reached Små Sattunga, a group of islands just east of the Åland Islands, and here it remained, sending its twelve disabled gunboats to Lemland for repairs. The Russians, on the other hand, joined the squadron at Bockholms Sund, and this division then proceeded to Nystad, forty miles to the north west, while the ships from Kimito took up a position in the skärgård, twenty miles south west of Åbo. On August 3rd a fifth division from Sveaborg reached Jungfrusund, and joined the ships there. It consisted of twenty-three ships, and its arrival brought up the Russian

force there to a strength of two *hemmemas*, two floating batteries, one brig, three yachts, one "geolette" (or "galet"), nine gunboats, and eight gunyawls. Novokshenov, the new Russian commander, began active operations on the night of August 16th-17th, when he sent one floating battery, three gunboats, and three gunyawls against the Swedish detachment of two battleships and two frigates. He was repulsed after an hour's action, but the following night he tried again with all his force except the two *hemmemas*, the brig, and two of the yachts. His idea was to take the Swedes in the rear, but the same night twenty-four Swedish boats were sent to attack the ships he had left. The *hemmemas* *Styrbjörn* and the brig were captured, but the return of Novokshenov forced the Swedes to retreat, and the *hemmemas* had to be abandoned. The Russians lost 180 men in this action. On the 18th, Rear-Admiral Myasoyedov took over the command of the Russian flotilla, and on the 25th the withdrawal of the Swedish sailing ships enabled him to move westward and join the ships near Åbo.

The Swedish sailing ships had to be recalled to join the fleet, which up to now had been lying quietly at Örö. Towards the end of July the position as far as the sailing fleets were concerned was somewhat as follows. At Örö and Jungfrusund was a Swedish fleet of eleven battleships* and five frigates. In Kronstadt a Russian fleet of nine battleships (two three-deckers), eleven frigates, and eighteen smaller craft was slowly being prepared for sea, while in Danish waters was an English fleet of eleven battle ships.† Some of the English ships had been as far as Danzig and Pillau, but the beginning of August saw them concentrated in the Belt to help in the removal of the Spanish troops. On July 26 the Russian fleet left Kronstadt under Admiral Chanykov and on August 9th it reached Hangö. Ships were sent out cruising, and brought in a Swedish brig and five transports, but for the moment nothing of importance was attempted. On August 16th Admiral Saumarez sent off two English battleships to join the Swedes. These were the *Centaur* 74, the flagship of Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, and the *Implacable* 74, under Captain Martin. On the 19th these ships sighted and chased three Russian frigates, and on the 20th they joined the Swedes in Örö Roads. Two days later the Russian fleet moved from Hangö and took up its position just south of the Allies; the Swedish commander therefore recalled his ships from Jungfrusund and prepared for sea. On the 24th these ships rejoined and on the 25th the combined fleet weighed anchor and put to sea to attack the Russians.

* One had joined from Karlskrona.

† The *Stately* 64 and *Nassau* 64 had been sent home with sick.

The two fleets were as follows* :—

Russians.—*Blagodat* 130, *Gavriil* 100, *Syevernaya Zvezda* 74, *Borei* 74, *Orel* 74, *Zatchatie Sv. Anny* 74, *Vsevolod* 74, *Archistratig Michail* 72, *Emgeiten* 66, *Geroi* 48, *Bystrii* 44, *Argus* 44, *Feodosii Totemskii* 44, *Stichastliivyi* 44, 6 small frigates, &c.—9 battleships with 738 guns, 5 big frigates with 224 guns.

Allies.†—Swedish: *Gustaf IV.* 78, *Gustaf III.* 70, *Adolf Fredrik* 70, *Wladislav* 64, *Försigtighet* 62, *Manlighet* 62, *Tapperhet* 62, *Fädernesland* 62, *Ara* 62, *Dristighet* 62, *Af Chapman* 44, *Bellona* 40, *Euredice* 40, *Camilla* 40, 2 smaller frigates, &c. English: *Centaur* 74, *Implacable* 74.—12 battleships with 802 guns, 4 big frigates with 164 guns.

They were therefore roughly equal in strength, but Admiral Chanykov retreated at once. He is said to have intended to attack next day, but he gave little sign of this, and continued to work to windward with a wind about E.N.E. The Swedish ships sailed badly, and the two English battleships soon drew ahead, but even the Swedes gained on the Russians. The chase began at about 8 a.m. on August 25th, and by the evening the *Implacable* and *Centaur* were five miles ahead of the foremost Swede, while at four o'clock in the morning of the 26th the *Implacable* was two miles to windward of the *Centaur* and about ten miles from the Swedes. The Russians were also in disorder, and one of their ships, the *Vsevolod* 74 was much to leeward of her fleet. At 5.20 a.m. she opened fire on the *Implacable* as the ships passed on opposite tacks. The *Implacable* tacked in her wake, and at 6.45 as the Russian again tacked she was badly cut up by the English raking fire. Tacking again, the *Implacable* came alongside the enemy to leeward at 7.20, and in half an hour the *Vsevolod* struck. At this moment, however, the Russian fleet bore up to her rescue, and at the same time Hood, in the *Centaur*, signalled to recall the *Implacable*. She therefore abandoned her prize, and the *Vsevolod* was taken in tow by a frigate. The *Implacable* had lost 32 men and the *Vsevolod* 128. About this time the Russian *Syevernaya Zvezda* 74 damaged her foretopmast, and this, together with the crippled state of the *Vsevolod*, induced Chanykov to take refuge in Råger Vik or Port Baltic. At about eleven o'clock the Russian fleet entered the harbour, but the approach of the *Centaur* and *Implacable* had forced the frigate to cast off the *Vsevolod*, and she therefore had to anchor

* Russians from a list in "Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin," p. 39, corrected from Veselago's "List of Russian ships." Swedes from a list *ibid.*, p. 48, and James IV. 299, corrected from Bäckström, Aps. 21 and 24.

† The *Prins Frederik Adolf* 62 was sent to Karlskrona with sick on the fleet's leaving Örö.

just outside. In the afternoon the Russian fleet sent its boats to tow the disabled ship into the harbour, but Hood, seeing this, pushed in with the *Centaur*, drove off the boats, and ran across the bow of the *Vsevolod* just as she was reaching the harbour. Lashing the bowsprit of the Russian ship to her mizzen, the *Centaur* open fire at 8 o'clock. Both ships went aground almost at once, but the action went on without interruption. Attempts at boarding were made in vain on both sides, and at 8.40, after the *Implacable* had also fired on her for ten minutes, the *Vsevolod* surrendered. The *Implacable* then succeeded in hauling the *Centaur* off, and was finally towed out by the boats of the two ships. The Russian fleet made sail, but soon returned to its anchorage, and the two English ships were thus left undisturbed to remove their prisoners and destroy the prize. At six o'clock in the morning of the 27th the English set fire to the *Vsevolod*, and a few hours later she blew up. In this second action the *Centaur* lost thirty men and the *Vsevolod* 124.*

The only Swedish ships which were anywhere near during this action were the *Tapperhet* 62 and the frigates, but during the course of the following day (August 27th) the rest came up and anchored. Three days later Admiral Saumarez arrived with the *Victory* 100, *Goliath* 74, *Mars* 74, *Africa* 64, and some smaller ships. On September 1st he went in close to the harbour mouth with the *Victory* and *Goliath*, and as a result of his observations decided to attack. All preparations were made, but during the night the wind shifted to the south and the attack had to be postponed. The wind, however, kept in that quarter for a week, and gave the Russians time to make such preparations for defence that an attack became impossible. The English bombs threw a few shells into the harbour, and a fire-ship attack was attempted, but little harm was done, and the Allies had to content themselves with a blockade, which they kept up for a month.

In the meantime there was more fighting in the Finnish skärgård. Hjelmstjerna, at Små Sattunga, had received eight new gunships to replace the twelve which were under repair, and he sent Brandt with the thirty-five gunships that this gave him to attack the Russians at Nystad. Arriving on August 30th at Lyperto, fifteen miles from Nystad, Brandt heard that the Russians were in Grönvikssund, ten miles south-east of him. At once he went towards them and at noon was engaged. The Russians, under Selivanov, had thirty gun-

* She had received 100 fresh men from other ships. English accounts give her "killed, wounded, and missing" as 180. According to the Russians (Nav. Chron. XXI. 101) 56 men swam ashore, and these were probably the missing.

sloops and gunyawls,* and were in a good position, with the majority of their boats covering the channel east of the little island of Isoluto and the remainder to the west. The Swedish force tried first to advance through the eastern channel, but was soon checked, and a detachment of ten gunsloops which was sent to try the western passage was also received with a heavy fire. A long action followed, and at last, at 7 p.m., the Russians retreated. The Swedes pursued for an hour and a half, and then returned to Grönvikssund. Two ships were lost on either side, and most of the rest were badly damaged†; the Swedes had 242 men killed and wounded, the Russians forty-five killed and many wounded.

The Russian flotilla went to Åbo for repairs, but the Swedes only went as far as Fiskö, some fifteen miles west of Grönvikssund, and were there joined by seven newly-repaired gunsloops. They then tried to take advantage of their victory by landing a force of 2,000 men north of Åbo, but though the troops left Bomarsund in the Åland Islands on September 9th they were delayed by heavy weather, and this gave the Russians time to get ready for them. To cover the landing, Brandt returned to Grönvikssund on the 11th, and five days later Admiral Rayalin, the new commander of the Swedish flotilla, took thirty-four gunsloops to Palwasund, six miles nearer Åbo. The first ships of the other Russian squadron from near Åbo were already in Palwasund, but Rayalin drove them out and took up a strong position. The landing took place on the 17th at Lokalax, twelve miles to the north, but the Swedes were soon repulsed, and had to re-embark on the 18th under cover of four gunsloops. On the same day a battle was fought near Palwasund. Rayalin had taken up a position a little south of the sound, among a number of small islands, with twenty-four boats west of the island of Laito and ten to the east. Myasoyedov, the Russian leader, had sixty-nine ships, six large vessels, and sixty-three gunboats;‡ he told off detachments to outflank the Swedes on both sides and attacked at 6 a.m. with about twenty boats. He was, of course, repulsed, but his reserves came to his help, and at the same time another Russian detachment came from behind the islands to the east and attacked the Swedish left wing. At about nine o'clock this part of the Swedish line had to retire, and by ten

* Swedish accounts say 44. The figures given are from Veselago's "Short Notes on Russian Naval Battles." In his "History of the Russian Fleet" he says 24.

† Each side claims that the other lost about 10 ships.

‡ According to the Swedes he had about 90 gunboats, but Veselago (Notes on Naval Battles) puts his whole force at 69 ships. Russian accounts give the Swedes 70 ships.

o'clock their whole force was in retreat. It re-formed north of Palwasund, but the Russian flanking parties appeared, and Rayalin ordered a retreat to Grönvikssund. One Swedish gunsloop was blown up and about 100 men killed and wounded, while the Russians are said to have lost 200 men.

In spite of the failure of his last landing, the Swedish king now ordered another attempt to be made, this time with 3,600 men at Helsing, a little south of Lokalax and six miles north of Grönvikssund. The channel to Helsing leads through Kahiluotosund, four miles east of Grönvikssund, and it became necessary to occupy both these positions. Still the Swedish flotilla was brought up to a strength of sixty-two ships, and it was therefore possible to hold Grönvikssund with thirty-three gunsloops and send eighteen gunsloops and a mortar-boat to Kahiluoto. There are here four passages, but two were easily blocked, and of the other two the eastern passage between Leiluoto and Asamaa was protected by eight gunsloops, and the last, between Kahiluoto and Koivima, was held by ten gunsloops and the mortar-boat. The landing took place on September 26th, but failed as before, and on the 28th the troops were re-embarked and returned to the Åland Islands. The Russians had meanwhile collected a force of about 100 ships in Palwasund. On September 26th they advanced as far as Lopo, close to Grönvikssund, and the same day Myasoyedov sent about forty gunboats against Kahiluotosund. These attacked the westernmost passage, but only one boat could pass at a time, and the concentrated fire of the Swedish ships was enough to make this impossible. For a week the Russians tried in vain to force a passage, but, finally, on October 2nd, they gave it up and returned to Lopo. Next day the Swedish force left Kahiluotosund, where it was no longer required, and, rounding the islands to the north, it rejoined its main body on October 4th. On the same day the Russians left Lopo, and on the 5th they reached Rimito, twelve miles south-west of Åbo.

No more actions were fought this year. Hjelmstjerna arrived with four galleys on October 11th and relieved Rayalin in the command of the Swedish flotilla, and a little later preparations for winter were begun. On October 21st a division of twenty-eight Swedish gunsloops left Grönvikssund for Degerby, in the Åland Islands; a few days later the Russians went back to Åbo for the winter, and on November 3rd Hjelmstjerna left for home with the last of the Swedish flotilla. He went near enough to Åbo to make sure that the Russians were no longer at sea, picked up the four remaining galleys at Små Sattunga, and reached Degerby on the 5th. The whole flotilla then

started for Stockholm, but suffered severely from heavy weather and lost three gunsloops on the way.*

The blockade of Råger Vik by the combined Anglo-Swedish fleet went on until September 30th, but on that date, in view of the impossibility of attacking with any hope of success, and of the sickly state of the Swedish squadron, the blockade was raised and the fleet sailed for Karlskrona, where it arrived on October 8th. The Russians, of course, took the opportunity of returning to Kronstadt, but two of their ships were wrecked on the way, one, the *Geroi* 48, in Råger Vik itself, and the other, the *Argus* 44, near Revel. The greater part of the English fleet left Karlskrona on October 25th, passed through the Great Belt, stayed at Gothenburg from November 29th to December 3rd, and reached the Downs on December 8th, but a few ships were left either at Karlskrona or Gothenburg to give convoy to homeward-bound merchantmen. One of these, the *Africa* 64, was engaged, as has been seen, by Danish gunboats, but in a general way they were unmolested in this duty. The last convoy of the year was, however, thoroughly unfortunate. The English ships *Salsette* 36 and *Magnet* 18, with two Swedish sloops, left Karlskrona on convoy work on December 23rd. They met with heavy weather, and only the *Salsette* escaped, and she only reached Karlshamn in March, after being frozen up near Bornholm for over two months.

Two other points require notice this year. The first is the fate of the Russian Mediterranean fleet. The Treaty of Tilsit left this fleet in an awkward position, since it was more or less obvious that war between Russia and England must soon come. Senyavin therefore hastened to get his ships back to Russian ports; five battleships belonging to the Black Sea Fleet were sent back through the Dardanelles, and the remaining thirteen were ordered to proceed to the Baltic. Senyavin himself left Corfu with nine battleships and two frigates, passed Gibraltar on October 20th, 1807, and entered the harbour of Lisbon on November 9th to repair damages sustained in the heavy weather which he had met. Four battleships, the *Uriil* 76, *Moskva* 74, *Sv. Petr* 74, and the Turkish prize *Sed-el-Bachr* 84, were at Venice, and these never attempted to leave the Mediterranean; they cruised for some time in the Adriatic, and finally surrendered to the Austrians. In 1809, on the capture of Trieste by the French, they were transferred to France, and the *Moskva* and *Sv. Petr* were taken to Toulon to join the French fleet there, but neither of the other ships seem to have been used by their new owners.† Senyavin's ships were no more

* Four had been left at Degerby and eight others were left in Furusund in the Stockholm skärgård.

† The two at Toulon were unfit for service by 1811. (N. C. xxv. 426.) The *Legkii* 38 and three smaller ships were also transferred to France.

fortunate. As soon as they were known to be in the Tagus they were blockaded by an English squadron which had just returned from escorting the Portuguese Royal Family on its flight to Brazil. War soon followed, and on September 3rd, 1808, Senyavin agreed to hand over his ships to England, to be retained until the conclusion of peace between England and Russia. The crews were to be allowed to return to Russia, and in the following year they reached Revel in English transports.

Senyavin's fleet was as follows*:—*Rafail* 80, *Yaroslav* 74, *Sv. Elena* 74, *Selafail* 74, *Tverdyi* 74, *Silnyi* 74, *Retvizan* 66, *Moshtchnyi* 66, *Skoryi* 60, *Kildyun* 32.

These ships were duly taken to England, with the exception of the *Rafail*, which was found unseaworthy and was sold at Lisbon,† but only the *Silnyi* and *Moshtchnyi* ever returned to Russia, and that not till 1813. The rest were sold in England in that year, as they were not fit for the voyage.‡

The second point of interest was the manning of French battleships in the Scheldt by Danish crews. By agreement between France and Denmark the two new battleships *Pulstuck* 86 and *Dantzick* 86 were to be transferred to Denmark. Crews were therefore recruited from Danish merchantmen, and officers were sent from Copenhagen in 1808 to bring the ships home. The Scheldt was, however, blockaded by an English force, and the French authorities used this as an excuse for keeping the ships for their own use. In 1809 the Danish crews were ordered to go by land to Brest to man two new ships there, but they refused, and the proposal was dropped. Their captains were arrested, but were replaced by two other Danish officers, and in 1811 crews were sent from Denmark for two more French battleships of the Scheldt fleet, the *Albanais* 82 and *Dalmate* 82. None of the ships in the Scheldt went further than the mouth of the river, and in 1813 the Danish crews were recalled to Denmark.

The war of 1809 did not produce many important actions at the western end of the Baltic. The English fleet arrived off Gothenburg on May 4th, but the greater part of it went east to act against Russia, and the small force left in Danish waters contented itself for the most part with convoy work. There were, however, a number of small actions which must be mentioned. On March 1st the Danish *Aalborg* 6 was captured in the Skaggerack by two English ships in a heroic attempt to

* The *Venus* 44 was sent from Lisbon to Palermo before the blockade. She was eventually transferred to the Neapolitan fleet.

† The *Yaroslav* was at first left behind, but reached England later.

‡ The *Spyeshnyi* 44 on her way to join Senyavin was at Portsmouth on the outbreak of the war and was captured.

protect a convoy. On April 5th an English sloop came into the harbour of Fladstrand, in Jylland and lowered her boats to capture some ships laden with corn, but was attacked by the Danish gunboats and driven off after an action lasting an hour and a half. At the end of this month, or early in May, three Danish privateers were taken in the Western Baltic; one, the *Edderkop* 2, by the boats of the *Majestic* 74*; and two, the *Fire Brødre* 4 and *Makrel* 2, by the *Earnest*. On May 11th a Danish cutter of six guns was driven ashore on the coast of Jylland and destroyed by the boats of the *Melpomene* 38; while four days later the *Tartar* 32 captured a Danish privateer of four guns in the Eastern Baltic, on the coast of Courland. On May 18th the Danish island of Anholt, in the Kattegat, was captured by a small English detachment consisting of the *Standard* 64, *Owen Glendower* 36, three sloops, and a gunboat; an English governor was at once appointed, and the island remained in English hands until 1814. On the 19th the English battleship *Ardent* 64 landed about eighty men for water in the island of Romsö, in the Great Belt, and this force was surprised and captured by the Danes. On May 23rd the *Melpomene* 38 was attacked off Omö, in the Great Belt,† by twenty Danish gunboats. The action began at 11 p.m., and after an hour the frigate cut her cable and made sail. There was, however, very little wind, and it was not until 1.15 that she could get away. She had thirty-four men killed and wounded, and was very badly damaged. The main English fleet passed through the Belt at the end of May, and this kept the Danes quiet for a little while, but it was necessary for convoys through the Belt to have as many as three or four battleships to protect them. On May 31st the English sloop *Cruiser* 18 took the Danish privateer *Christianborg* 6 off Bornholm; she also took the French privateer *Tilsit* 10. Another Danish privateer, the *Levigerna* 6, was taken about this time by the *Superb*, and in North Sea the English small craft‡ took three small Danish privateers, the *Courier* 5, *Sol Fugel* 6, and *Snap* 3.

The Swedes had a considerable force of gunboats in Danish waters, but made little use of them. At Malmö, in April and May, were thirty-one gunboats and three other vessels, while twenty-four others were at Gothenburg. On June 14th Hjelmstjerna left Malmö with the gunboats there to join the Stockholm flotilla, and on the 20th the Gothenburg vessels arrived to replace them. Twelve more gunboats were then mobilised

* The *Superb* 74 was then off Ystad under Rear-Admiral Keats.

† The *Temeraire* 98, *St. George* 98, and *Superb* 74 were in the Belt; the *Statel* 64 in the Sound.

‡ Some of these were the sloops *Mosquito* and *Briseis*, the gunboats *Bruiser* and *Patriot*, and the hired cutter *Alert*.

at Gothenburg, but neither of these squadrons made any move, and on November 25th they were laid up. Peace was concluded between Denmark and Sweden on December 10th.

On August 10th the English brig *Allart* 18 (a Dane taken in 1807) was taken near Frederiksvaern by eight Danish gunboats after an hour's action, in which each side lost five men. Two days later the English ships *Lynx* 18 and *Monkey* 12 captured three small Danish vessels, one of which carried eight guns, but another loss soon followed. The *Minx* 13, acting in place of the lightship off Skagen, was attacked on September 2nd by eight Danish gunboats. At 9 a.m., on the approach of the enemy the brig slipped her cable and stood out to sea, but the wind dropped, and at 5 p.m. she was engaged. She held out until 7.45, and then struck with twelve killed and wounded out of a crew of forty-seven. She was taken into Aalborg and eventually sold.

The Swedes, as has been seen, took, practically speaking, no part in the war against Denmark this year, but in self-defence they had to act vigorously against Russia. The situation was, however, complicated by the deposition of Gustaf IV. on March 9th, and his succession by his uncle Carl Duke of Södermanland. The new ruler tried to come to terms with Napoleon, but failed, and had therefore to beg for the continuation of English support against Russia. A great Russian plan for the invasion of Sweden in the winter had only just failed. Three armies were to advance simultaneously: one over the ice by way of the Åland Islands, one further north by the Qvarken Islands, and the third round the north of the Gulf of Bothnia. The first army got as far as the Åland Islands, but the ice broke up and left it there; the second crossed the Gulf and took Umeå, and the third, marching *via* Torneå, defeated and captured the remains of the Swedish army from Finland, at Kalix. Seven Swedish gunboats had to be burnt in the Åland Islands and twelve at Umeå to prevent their capture. Both the Swedish and Russian flotillas were strengthened during the winter, but the removal of the seat of war from Finland did away with much of the reason for their meeting, and as a result few actions took place between them. About 100 gunships and gunyaws were assembled near Stockholm at the end of May, while on June 5th a Russian squadron of two hemmemas, six floating batteries, three brigs, five yachts, one bomb, fifty-one gunships, and sixty-four gunyaws, left Åbo for the Åland Islands.

Admiral Saumarez, with the greater part of the English fleet, left Gothenburg on May 24th, and reached Karlskrona on June 4th.* With ten battleships he put to sea again on the

* The *Implacable* 74 arrived on the 10th after a visit to Danzig.

20th and steered eastward. Two battleships, the *Minotaur* 74 and *Bellerophon* 74, were already in the Gulf of Finland,* and in the night of June 19th-20th the latter ship sent in her boats to attack some Russian small craft off Hangö; the vessels were, however, found useless, and were abandoned. Eight Russian gunboats and four batteries opened fire, but one of the batteries was stormed and its guns spiked, and the English force re-embarked with only five men wounded. On June 29th Admiral Saumarez reached Hangö, and here he divided his fleet into several small squadrons, proceeding himself with four battleships and a frigate to the island of Nargen, in Revel Bay.† On June 30th the *Implacable* 74 and *Melpomene* 38 chased a Russian frigate into the skärgård at Aspö, near Fredrikshamn, and in the night of July 7th-8th these two ships, with the *Bellerophon* 74 and *Prometheus* 18, sent in their boats against the eight Russian gunboats and fourteen merchantmen at Porkala. Six of the gunboats and twelve merchantmen were captured, and one gunboat and one merchantman sunk. The English lost seventeen men killed, including Lieutenant Hawkey, the leader of the attack, and thirty-seven wounded; the Russians had sixty-three killed and 127 captured, including fifty-one wounded. Twenty-five Russian gunboats left Kronstadt on July 14th, intending to proceed west with seven storeships to join the squadron in the Åland Islands. On the 22nd, near Pitköpas, an English battleship attacked the rear of this force, but the rest of the Russians turned on her, and she had to put out to sea again. However, on the 25th, the boats of the *Princess Caroline* 74, *Minotaur* 74, *Cerberus* 32, and *Prometheus* 18, attacked the four aftermost gunboats and the transports near Svensksund, and took three gunboats and one storeship. The English lost sixty men, the Russians 150, and of these eighty-seven were killed and wounded. The Russian battleship fleet, which consisted this year of thirteen battleships, including four three-deckers, had taken up a position for the defence of Kronstadt at the end of May, but never left the harbour in spite of the fact that only three Swedish battleships were in commission, and that it was therefore quite equal to the forces of the Allies. The English fleet continued in its various detachments, and was

* They had been at Karlskrona on June 10th.

† The following were the battleships of the English Baltic Fleet:—*Victory* 100; *St. George* 98; *Temeraire* 98; *Plantaganet* 74; *Princess Caroline* 74; *Minotaur* 74; *Bellerophon* 74; *Implacable* 74; *Saturn* 74; *Ruby* 64; *Superb* 74; *Majestic* 74; *Stately* 64; *Ardent* 64; *Standard* 64. The *St. George* and *Temeraire* had been originally told off for service in the Belt, but went east with Saumarez, and apparently the ships left in Danish waters were the last five in the list. The first four battleships, with the *Owen Glendower* 36, were at Nargen in the middle of July.

disposed as follows at the end of July. Five battleships were at Nargen, two at Aspö, one at Porkala, one at Torsari, and one near Ösel.

The Swedish plan of action for the summer was to land an army north of Umeå and cut off the Russian army there. An army of 6,300 men was provided for this purpose, and a strong fleet of sailing and rowing vessels told off for its support. On July 15th the gunboats from Malmö reached Dalarö, and at the beginning of August Over-Admiral Puke arrived there from Karlskrona with three battleships* and some smaller ships. Both fleet and flotilla were concentrated at Tjockö, in the northern part of the Stockholm skärgård, and from there they moved to Hernosand, about 100 miles south of Umeå. The rowing vessels left Tjockö on August 3rd, the battleships on the 8th; the troops were embarked on the 13th, and on the 15th the expedition put to sea. It consisted of three battleships, five frigates†, and several small craft of the sailing fleet, with six galleys, forty gunsloops, and eight bomb-vessels. In the evening of August 16th the fleet reached Ratan, thirty miles north of Umeå, and next morning the troops were landed. Six gunsloops were sent on the 18th to destroy the floating bridge at Umeå, but were received with a heavy fire and had to withdraw. The Russians were therefore able to move northwards against the Swedish army, and on the 19th they defeated it and drove it back to Ratan. Here the Swedes retreated on to a small peninsula where they could be covered by their flotilla, and accordingly six galleys, twenty-four gunsloops, and two bomb-vessels took up a position to prevent the Russian advance. The Russians tried in vain to storm the Swedish position, and on the 21st the Swedish army was re-embarked; the flotilla lost over 100 men in these operations. At the same time another Swedish army had been advancing from the south, supported by two galleys and eighteen gunsloops. This army reached Umeå on August 22nd, but the Russians were already on their way north. A frigate and ten gunsloops were sent to Piteå, 120 miles north of Umeå, to destroy the bridge there and cut off the Russians' retreat; but the attempt, which was made on the 25th, was unsuccessful, and the Russians got away without further fighting. An armistice soon followed, and on September 17th the Treaty of Fredrikshamn put an end to the war as far as Sweden was concerned. Swedish Finland, the Åland Islands, and all Swedish territories east of the Gulf of Bothnia were ceded to

* His flagship was the *Adolf Fredrik* 70.

† Two of these had engaged the Russian frigate *Bogoyavlenie Gospodne* 38 near Qvarken on June 23rd, but had been beaten off after a long action.

Russia, and the eastern boundary of Sweden thus assumed its present form.

Even before the conclusion of peace the Swedish fleet had begun to retire from the Gulf of Bothnia. It left Holmö, off Umeå, on September 9th, and proceeded to the Stockholm skärgård, where the greater part of it was laid up, while ten gunsloops went on to Landskrona, in the Sound. The English fleet remained at Nargen until September 28th, and then started for England.

Admiral Saumarez reached Karlskrona with three battle-ships on October 5th, but the rest of the fleet went home at once either direct or via Gothenburg. Saumarez himself visited Gothenburg in December, and arrived in the Downs at the end of the month.

The year 1810 produced but few actions in or near the Baltic. A Treaty of Peace was signed between Sweden and France in January, and as one of the conditions of this all English ships had to be excluded from Swedish ports. Six months later the English representative was ordered to leave Stockholm and a state of war formally began, but the English fleet took no steps against either Sweden or Russia, and confined its attentions to Denmark. Sweden's difficulties were increased by the death, on May 28th, of Prince Christian, the Danish prince who had been chosen as heir to Carl XIII., the former Duke of Södermanland. It was essential that a new Crown Prince should be chosen at once, and on August 18th, after some hesitation and uncertainty, the choice fell on Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, one of Napoleon's most successful generals. In expectation of an English attack seven battle-ships were commissioned at Karlskrona and moored in a position to defend the harbour, while on May 11th thirty-two gunsloops left Stockholm for Karlskrona and were laid up there in October. Twenty-three gunsloops and four other vessels were sent in October from Malmö to Gothenburg, and three of them were wrecked off Varberg on the way.

The operations of the English fleet in Danish and Norwegian waters led to a few interesting actions. On April 13th the English gunboat *Grinder* was taken near Anholt by four Danish gunboats. On the 26th two Danish gunsloops captured three armed boats which had been sent ashore near Amrum by an English brig, and on the following day a brisk action was fought between four gunboats and an English frigate near Skagen, and was only ended by the springing up of a light breeze and the consequent reinforcement of the frigate by an English battleship. On May 12th, off Lindesnaes, in Norway, the English frigate *Tribune* 36 sighted and chased the Danish brigs *Samsø* 20 and *Seagull* 16. At 2.30 p.m. the Danes hove to inside the rocks, and were joined by the *Alsen* 20

and *Allart* 18. At 3.15 the four Danish brigs put to sea, and at 4.30 an engagement began; but at 6.45 they withdrew again and retreated into the skärgård, where several gunboats were lying ready to support them. On May 23rd seven gunboats attacked the *Raleigh*, *Princess of Wales*, and *Alban* off Skagen; one gunboat was blown up, and the rest retired.* On July 7th the boats of the *Edgar* 74 and *Dictator* 74 cut out three Danish armed luggers at Grenaa; but in contrast to this the Danish brigs *Samsø* 20, *Alsen* 20, *Kiel* 18, *Allart* 18, and *Seagull* 16 took no less than forty-eight English merchantmen in the Skaggerack on July 9th, though the *Forward*, the English convoying brig, managed to make good her escape. On July 22nd the *Belvidera* 36 and *Nemesis* 28† discovered three Danish vessels at anchor near Bergen, and next evening they sent in their boats to attack; the two Danish schooners, *Balder* 8 and *Thor* 8 were taken and a gunyawl burnt. On September 12th, at 2.30 p.m., two Danish gunsloops attacked the cutter *Alban* 12 off Skagen. After three hours four Danish gunyawls joined in the action, and the *Alban* struck. On October 10th Saumarez left Hanö, near Karlskrona, with a homeward-bound convoy of about 1,000 sail. Bernadotte was just then wishing to cross the Belt on his way to Sweden, and on October 14th, by permission of the English admiral, he passed right through the English fleet of seven battleships and six other warships. Reaching the neighbourhood of Gothenburg on October 18th, Saumarez sent off his convoy, but remained there with the fleet for some time in expectation of an attempt by the Franco-Dutch fleet from the Scheldt or the Russians from Archangel to enter the Baltic.‡ Nothing came of either of these ideas, and on November 28th the English fleet sailed for home.

Next year the position was much the same. England was officially at war with the three Baltic Powers, but only acted against Denmark. The first event was a Danish attack on Anholt. Twelve gunboats, a lugger, some small craft for scouting, and twelve transports left the coast of Jylland with 650 soldiers and four guns on March 26th, and at 3 a.m. on the 27th the troops were landed. The English had, however, heard of the proposed expedition early in February, and the very day before the Danes landed the *Tartar* 32 and *Sheldrake* 16 had arrived from England to help in the defence. As soon as the Danes were discovered the *Tartar* approached the gunboats, and they at once retreated from their position

* Danish accounts say that six gunboats attacked a brig and drove her off.

† According to Danish accounts they carried 46 and 36 guns.

‡ In the Scheldt were eight battleships ready for sea. At Archangel were six new Russian battleships, while at Kronstadt eight battleships had been in commission this year.

near the English fortifications to the place where the troops had been landed. An armed schooner, the *Anholt*, opened fire on the Danish troops, and they, thinking themselves deserted, promptly surrendered. The English thus took 543 prisoners, twenty-three of them wounded. A few of the survivors were re-embarked in the transports or the gunboats, and the Danish flotilla went off in full retreat at about 4 p.m. Eight gunboats and most of the transports steered for the coast of Jylland, and four gunboats, the lugger, and one transport ran for the Swedish coast. The *Tartar* went after the first division and took two transports, while the *Sheldrake* took one gunboat and the lugger and sank another gunboat.

On April 23rd three Danish gunboats attacked and sank the two English cutters *Hera* and *Swan* 10 near Udevala, on the Swedish coast north of Gothenburg; but, on the other hand, the Danish cutter *Alban* 12 (formerly English) was taken on May 11th by the *Rifleman* 8 after a twelve hours' chase, near the Shetland Islands. The English battleship fleet had arrived off Gothenburg on May 2nd, and here Saumarez remained in the *Victory* 100 all through the summer, acting more as a diplomat than an admiral, though part of his fleet of eleven battleships* was stationed in the Belt and part in the Baltic at Hanö, near Karlskrona. In the evening of June 29th the brig *Safeguard* 13 was attacked off the coast of Jylland by four Danish gunboats, and at midnight, after three and a half hours' fighting, she surrendered. She had lost eight men, the Danes two. A few days later, in the night of July 4th-5th, a Danish force of seventeen gunboats† and ten small fireships attacked an English convoy at anchor in the Great Belt. The attack was directed at the northern end of the convoy, which was guarded only by the *Sheldrake* 16, while at the other end were the *Cressy* 74, *Defiance* 74, and *Dictator* 74. The *Sheldrake* cut her cable and drifted towards the battleships, and the Danes were able to set on fire a number of the merchantmen, but the breeze suddenly freshened and the gunboats had to retire. A fog came on and helped to cover their retreat, but the three gunboats and one gun-yawl were captured. On July 31st the English brig *Brev-drageren* 12 (formerly Danish) and the cutter *Algerine* 10 sighted off the south coast of Norway the three Danish brigs *Langeland* 20, *Loug* 20, and *Kiel* 16. The two English ships naturally retreated, but about 11 a.m. on August 1st, seeing that the *Langeland* was well ahead of her consorts, they turned and attacked her. At noon the action began, and an hour

* *Victory* 100; *St. George* 98; *Dreadnought* 98; *Vigo* 74; *Cressy* 74; *Orion* 74; *Defence* 74; *Hero* 74; *Defiance* 74; *Dictator* 74; *Ardent* 64.

† Four gunsloops, three gunboats (English prizes), ten gunyaws.

later, as the *Loug* came up the *Algerine* retreated. The *Brev-drageren*,* however, made use of a lucky slant of wind to get away half an hour later, and though the Danes went in pursuit they never caught her, and at nine o'clock they gave up the chase. A very similar affair took place on September 2nd, when the English sloops *Chanticleer* 10 and *Manly* 12 were engaged by the *Lolland* 18, *Alsen* 18, and *Samsø* 18 near Arendal. The *Chanticleer* first attacked the *Samsø*, but soon withdrew altogether, pursued by the *Samsø* and *Alsen*. The *Manly* engaged the *Lolland* from 4 a.m. onwards, and after about two hours the two other Danish brigs also joined in this action. Against such odds the *Manly* could do nothing, and she soon struck her colours.

The year ended with a series of disasters for the English fleet. A convoy of 120 merchantmen left Hanö on November 9th under the escort of a number of warships. In the night of the 15th-16th, while at anchor off Laaland, the *St. George* 98, flagship of Rear-Admiral Reynolds, dragged her anchors and went ashore. Her masts were cut away and she lost her rudder, but next morning she was refloated and put under jury rig; a number of the merchantmen were lost at the same time. The *St. George* reached Vinga, near Gothenburg, on December 2nd, and on the 18th the fleet left for home in three divisions. The *Victory*, *Dreadnought*, *Vigo*, and *Orion* formed the first, the *St. George*, *Cressy*, and *Defence* the second, and the *Hero*, with the merchantmen, the third. The first division reached England in safety, but the other two were not so lucky. The *St. George* and *Defence* were lost a little beyond Skagen on December 24th, and the *Hero* off the Texel on the 25th. From the *St. George* only six men were saved out of 850, from the other two ships 12 each.†

The most important event of 1812 was of course the outbreak of war between France and Russia on March 19th. As a natural result there followed on June 18th the conclusion of peace between England on the one hand and Russia and Sweden on the other. Part of the English fleet reached Vinga in April, and Admiral Saumarez with the rest arrived on May 3rd. The English fleet then consisted of ten battleships, and two of these were sent under Rear-Admiral Martin to co-operate with the Russians, while the rest either remained at Gothenburg or cruised in Danish and Norwegian waters.

The first large ship of the new Danish fleet, the *Najad* 42, had gone in February to join the Norwegian squadron. In the evening of July 6th she was at anchor near Arendal

* The English had kept the article "en" at the end of her name.

† The *Grasshopper* 18, which was with the *Hero*, was driven over the shoals, and surrendered to the Dutch.

with the *Lolland* 18, *Samsø* 18, and *Kiel* 18, when a force of four English ships appeared and sailed straight into the skärgård to attack. The ships were the *Dictator* 64, *Calypso* 18, *Podargus* 14, and *Flamer* 14. The *Podargus* went ashore, and Stewart, the captain of the *Dictator*, left the *Flamer* to help her and went on with the *Calypso*. The two smaller English ships were engaged by Danish batteries, and the *Flamer* also went aground; but eventually they got off and worked out again, though they were attacked by a number of gunboats. At about 7.30 the *Dictator* and *Calypso* were close to the enemy when the latter ship also went aground. Danish gunboats appeared, but the *Dictator* pushed on, and at 9.30, with his bows aground, Stewart opened fire on the four Danish ships. A little later the *Calypso* rejoined, and the *Najad* was soon completely destroyed. The *Samsø* escaped, but the other brigs struck; one gunboat was sunk.* Next morning the two English ships and their prizes were attacked on their way out of the skärgård by the Danish gunboats, and the *Lolland* and *Kiel* had to be abandoned, though the *Dictator* and *Calypso* got away to sea easily enough. The losses in the action were heavy, and were distributed as follows:—

Danes.—*Najad*, one hundred and twenty-seven killed, eighty-eight wounded; *Lolland*, one killed, two wounded; *Kiel*, three killed, seven wounded; *Samsø*, two killed, five wounded. Total: one hundred and thirty-three killed, one hundred and two wounded, four prisoners.

English.—*Dictator*, five killed, twenty-four wounded; *Calypso*, three killed, one wounded, two missing; *Podargus*, nine wounded; *Flamer*, one killed, one wounded. Total, nine killed, thirty-five wounded, two missing.

On August 2nd the boats of the *Horatio* 44, captured two small Danish vessels of three guns each near Tromsø, but on the 19th the English fleet lost yet another brig, the *Attack* 13. She was engaged in the Kattegat by fourteen Danish gunboats at 11.20 p.m. on the 18th; at 1.40 a.m. she got away from her enemies, and started to join the brig *Wangler*, which had been attacked by another division of fourteen gunboats. The wind, however, dropped, and at 2.10 the Danes opened fire again. The *Attack* fought well, but at 3.30, with fourteen men killed and wounded, she had to surrender. The *Wangler* escaped.

At the other end of the Baltic but little of interest had taken place. Martin had passed the Belt on June 10th with the *Aboukir* 74 and *Orion* 74, and on the 20th he was off Danzig, which was then in French hands. Here he met a Russian frigate, and at Libau, on July 1st, he found a Swedish

* She was refloated later.

frigate. On July 5th he arrived off Dünamünde, near Riga. Here he fitted out some gunboats to help in the defence of Riga, and on August 12th a Russian frigate arrived with thirty-three gunboats, under Rear-Admiral Möller. On August 22nd Martin put to sea, escorting thirteen Russian transports; on September 3rd the fleet reached Heel, near Danzig, and the troops were put ashore. On the 16th Martin left to rejoin Saumarez.

The advance of the French made it necessary to see about measures for saving the Russian fleet, and the Tsar accordingly decided to send it to England. Ten battleships under Admiral Tate were to sail from Kronstadt, and at Gothenburg they were to meet eight from Archangel, under Vice-Admiral Crown. The latter, however, missed his instructions, and brought his ships to Sveaborg, where he arrived on October 21st. The two fleets were composed as follows:—

Archangel Fleet.—*Nord-Adler* 74, *Prints Gustav* 74, *Netron menya* 74, *Trech Ierarchov* 74, *Svyatoslav* 74, *Vsevolod* 66, *Saratov* 66, *Pobyedonosets* 64.

Kronstadt Fleet.—*Chrabryi* 74, *Smyelyi* 74, *Trech Svyatitelei* 74, *Borei* 74, *Syevernaya Zvyezda* 74, *Pamyat Evstafia* 74, *Orel* 74, *Yupiter* 74, *Tchesma* 74, *Mironosets* 74, five frigates.

Tate's squadron left Kronstadt at the end of October, and Crown with six ships sailed from Sveaborg on November 8th. The *Vsevolod* of his squadron had separated from him in the North Sea, and wintered in Norway; while the *Saratov* went aground on leaving Sveaborg, and had to be destroyed.* Escorted through the Belt by the English, the Russian ships were repaired at Gothenburg, and eventually arrived at the Nore on December 13th.

Driven by circumstances Napoleon had invaded Pomerania, which had been restored to Sweden in 1810; the year 1813, therefore, saw the outbreak of another war between Sweden and France, and the consequent outbreak of hostilities, though without declaration of war, between Sweden and Denmark. The last-named country was, however, treating for peace with England, and as a result very few actions took place this year between English and Danish ships. Such as did occur were nearly all on the west coast of Holstein or in the Elbe. In the night of March 20-21st the Danish hired ships, *Junge Trautmann* and *Liebe*, carrying two guns and some howitzers each, were captured by the boats of the English brigs, *Blazer* and *Brevdrageren*. On September 3rd an action took place at Büsum, just north of the mouth of the Elbe. Six Danish gunboats had come from the Baltic by the Slesvig-Holstein canal,

* Apparently the *Prints Gustav* never came to England.

but were unable to reach Glückstadt, because of the English blockading squadron. Another gunsloop arrived from Rendsborg, and brought the Danish force up to seven gunsloops, while the English had ten gunboats and seven armed ship's boats. The action lasted four and a half hours, and ended with the retreat of the English; the Danes lost twenty-three men. Later in the year the advance of the allied troops under the Swedish Crown Prince (Bernadotte) forced the Danish gunboats on either side of the peninsula to retire northwards. Those on the west concentrated at Föhr, and those on the east in the Little Belt.*

Swedish flotillas were employed this year in three distinct districts, the Norwegian frontier, the Sound, and the coast of Pomerania. In the first no actions took place. Twenty-four gunsloops, two bomb-vessels, and two gun-vessels left Gothenburg in May, but this flotilla did not advance as far as the frontier until October 27th, and it was back at Gothenburg early in December. In the Sound there were twelve "gun-schooners," and various detachments were sent to join these. Two new hemmemas left Karlskrona at the end of April for the Sound, but one of them sank off Falsterbo on her way thither. Twelve gunsloops from Stockholm and twelve from Karlskrona arrived in May or June, and about the same time two battleships and two frigates were also sent to the Sound. The gunsloops lay for the most part at Landskrona and Malmö ready to support the schooners which did most of the convoy work. On July 24th a Swedish cutter was attacked off Bornholm by four Danish gunboats, but drove them back to port after an hour's fighting. On September 2nd fourteen Danish gunboats from Helsingør attacked a convoy of 49 ships under the protection of the *Camilla* 40 and three gun-schooners. At first the schooners had to retire, but twelve gunsloops and two schooners put out from Helsingborg, and the Danes then withdrew. On October 5th four Danish gunboats and four armed boats attacked a Swedish schooner and two cutters, and were driven off. On the 6th the Danes, who had been reinforced by eight more gunboats were attacked by seven gunsloops from Helsingborg; at first the Swedes were repulsed, but they were soon reinforced, and finally the Danes had to withdraw. On November 28th the Danish flotilla attacked an English convoy in the Sound, but were driven off by the two frigates escorting it and by eight Swedish gunsloops from Helsingborg. In Pomerania no very important actions took place. Six galleys from Stockholm reached Stralsund on May 8th, and six gunboats from Karlskrona on the 10th and 17th. These latter were sent to Stettin in August to help the Russians in the

* The old brig *Tønning* was captured by the allies at Husum.

siege of that town. On October 5th the Swedish vessels engaged and silenced a French battery at Damm, but the Prussians failed to support them. After Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig on October 28th Stettin surrendered, and the Swedish gunboats went back to Stralsund. A Russian flotilla of 63 gunboats and thirteen other vessels under Rear-Admiral Greig blockaded Danzig all the summer, and bombarded the forts at the mouth of the Vistula on September 2nd, 4th, and 16th; two gunboats were blown up in these operations. Danzig surrendered on November 25th.

Denmark could hold out no longer, and had to conclude peace with the allies at Kiel on January 14th, 1814. Russia and England insisted on the cession of Norway to Sweden, and the Danes had to give in. The Norwegians, however, refused to accept these terms, and it became necessary for Sweden to employ force against them. A fleet was accordingly assembled at Strömstad to support the invading army, and by the end of July this consisted of four battleships, five frigates, one brig, three luggers, two schooners, twelve gun-schooners, sixty gunsloops, and six bomb-vessels. This force moved on July 26th to attack the Norwegian flotilla of forty-seven gunsloops and four gunyawls, which was stationed in the islands just east of Christiania Fjord, but the Norwegians retreated in time, and took up another position to the west of the Fjord. On August 3rd 5,500 men were landed in the island of Kragerö close to Frederikstad; next day a bombardment began, and the town surrendered. The Swedes now turned their attention to Frederikssten, the citadel of Frederikshald, but on August 14th the Convention of Moss put an end to the war, and united Norway definitely with Sweden.

The Great War was, practically speaking, at an end. The allies had entered Paris on March 31st, and Napoleon had signed his act of abdication on April 11th. The "Hundred Days" brought about no naval operations in the Baltic, and, therefore, the Convention of Moss marked the end of the war in that part of Europe. Five of the Russian battleships in England served early in the year on the Dutch coast, but on the conclusion of peace the whole fleet returned to Russia, accompanied by the only two ships of Senyavin's fleet of 1807 which were fit for the journey, the *Silnyi* 74 and *Moshtchnyi* 66. The state of the three Baltic Navies in 1815 shows clearly enough the effect of the war on Denmark. Russia had twenty-six battleships, the seventeen that had returned from England, the two others of Crown's Archangel fleet, and seven others just completed at Archangel or Petersburg; Sweden had thirteen, and Denmark one, the *Phœnix* 60, launched in 1810.

CONCLUSION, 1815-1850.

The end of the Napoleonic wars saw the last purely sailing-ship fighting in the Baltic or adjacent seas. Sailing-ships served in the Slesvig-Holstein war of 1848-1850, but steam was already well established, and the sailing battleship was a mere survival. There are, however, several points that need consideration in finishing up an account of sailing-ship wars in these waters, and these will now be dealt with.

The Danish Navy never recovered its position; an establishment of six battleships, eight frigates, eight corvettes, and eighty gunboats was laid down in 1815, but this was only reached for a very few years, between 1840 and 1848. The battleships built during this period were as follows:—

Phœnix 60, built 1810, condemned 1832; *Danmark* 66, built 1817, blockship 1848; *Dronning Marie* 84, built 1824, frigate 1849; *Waldemar* 84, built 1828; *Frederik VII.*, built 1831; *Skjold* 84, built 1833; *Christian VIII.* 84, built 1840, lost in action 1849; *Danebrog* 72, built 1850, armoured frigate 1863.

The Swedish Navy at the same time gradually became weaker. Of the thirteen battleships which it possessed in 1815 four were still in service in 1841, and six others had been built. The ships condemned were the *Göta Lejon* (1817), *Wladislaw* (1819), *Adolf Fredrik*, *Gustaf III.*, *Fredrik Adolf*, *Tapperhet*, and *Gustaf IV.* (1825), and *Wasa* (1830), while the *Ara* was cut down to a frigate in 1839. The new ships built were as follows:—

Carl XIII. 85, built 1819, condemned 1865; *Carl Johan* 85, built 1824, steamship 1852; *Prins Oscar* 76, built 1828; *Gustaf den Store* 76, built 1832; *Skandinavien* 76, built 1840; *Stockholm* 84, built 1856, altered to steamship before completion.

Neither the Swedish nor the Danish Navy, therefore, reached any considerable strength during the rest of the sailing-ship epoch. The Russian fleet, however, expanded rapidly, and was soon second only to the English. No less than sixty-five battleships were built in the Baltic between 1815 and 1855, and though most of these had only a short life, the fleet was kept at a high total. English accounts give it twenty-seven battleships in commission in 1838, and the Baltic fleet at the outbreak of war with England in 1854 is said to have consisted of thirty battleships. Six of its battleships were removed from the list in a somewhat remarkable way, five being sold to Spain in 1818 and one to Greece in 1830. These were as follows:—

Sold to Spain.—*Lyubek* 74, renamed *Numancia*; *Dresden* 74,

renamed *Alejandro I.*; *Nord-Adler* 74, renamed *Espana*; *Neptunus* 74, renamed *Fernando VII.*; *Trech Svyatitelei* 74, renamed *Velasco*.

Sold to Greece.—*Emmanuil* 64.

No fighting took place in the Baltic before the outbreak of the Slesvig-Holstein war in 1848, but a Russian squadron was sent to the Mediterranean in 1827, and took part in the battle of Navarino and the consequent Russo-Turkish war. On June 23rd, 1827, the following squadron left Kronstadt:—

Azov 80, *Tsar Konstantin* 74, *Aleksandr Nevskii* 74, *Iezekiil* 80, *Sysoi Velikii* 74, *Knyaz Vladimir* 74, *Gangut* 84, *Sv. Andrei* 74, *Emmanuil* 64.

On August 7th it reached Portsmouth, and from here the *Azov*, *Gangut*, *Iezekiil*, and *Aleksandr Nevskii* were sent on into the Mediterranean, while the other ships returned to Russia.* On October 13th the Russian squadron of four battleships and five frigates joined the combined Anglo-French fleet of seven battleships and five frigates under Admiral Codrington, and on October 20th the Turkish fleet was annihilated at Navarino. A Russo-Turkish war followed, but few naval operations took place, and the Russian ships soon returned to the Baltic.

Steam had already begun to find a place in the Russian Navy. A small steamer, the *Skoryi*, had been built in 1817, and Sweden launched the *Oden* in 1828; but it was not until 1842 that the Danes followed suit with the *Hekla*. Still, steamers were employed in the war of 1848-50 side by side with sailing-ships. This war began with a revolution in Slesvig-Holstein, and was soon extended by the intervention of Prussia in favour of the Duchies. Neither Slesvig-Holstein nor Prussia had any navy, and though a few small steamers were fitted out these had no influence on the course of the war. The only actions were those between Danish ships and batteries on shore, and in one of these the Danish Navy lost two of its best ships. The *Christian VIII.* 84, *Gefion* 46, and two steamers were sent into Eckernförde Fjord to cover a landing on April 5th, 1849. They were engaged by two batteries armed with twelve guns, and, an action lasting the whole day, ended in the capture of the two sailing-ships. The battleship had to be destroyed, but the frigate was transferred later to the new German Navy under the name of *Eckernförde*. The Danes had 105 men killed and 61 wounded in this disastrous action.

Peace was restored in 1850 by the withdrawal of Prussia, but four years later the Baltic was again the scene of fighting. Here, however, this account must end. The sailing-ship had

* The *Emmanuil* presumably went to the Mediterranean also, since she was sold to Greece in 1830.

had her day, the great Russian Baltic fleet attempted nothing against the English and French, and the introduction of steam and iron put an end for ever to the sailing-ship epoch. Even after the Crimean War the Russian Navy was probably the strongest in the Baltic, but a new Power was shortly to appear. In 1864 the Prussian Navy was able to face the Danes, and ever since Germany has been gradually advancing as a sea Power. The Russian Navy was at one time a close second to the German, but the disasters of the Russo-Japanese war have almost destroyed the Russian Baltic fleet, and at the moment the Swedish Navy is probably superior to the Russian in the Baltic, though, of course, in no way to be compared with the German, which is now the second fleet in Europe.

[THE END.]

APPENDIX I.

SHIPS LOST, 1563-70.

SWEDISH.

<i>Jomfru</i>	Captured by Danes while building, 4/9/1563	
	Elfsborg.	
<i>Krabatt</i>	Burnt in action	4/9/1563
<i>Mars</i> 173	Burnt in action	31/5/1564
<i>Hvita Falk</i>	Blown up to prevent capture	12/6/1564
<i>Elefant</i> 65	Wrecked in Kalmar Sound	16/8/1564
<i>Sankt Göran</i>	(ex Livonian.) Captured by Danes	7/7/1565
<i>Forgylta Lejon</i>	Burnt in action	7/7/1565
<i>Grip</i>	Sunk in action	7/7/1565
<i>Soldan</i>	Captured by Danes	1565
<i>Langa Bark</i>	Lost at sea	1565
<i>Ulfve</i>	"	1565
<i>Nya Viborgsbark</i>	"	1566
	Captured by Danes at Varberg	April, 1568
	Burnt by Danes at Varberg	April, 1568
<i>Skotska Pincka</i> 56	(ex Danish.) Captured by Danes	Aug., 1569
<i>Fliegende Geist</i>	Captured by Danes	1570
<i>Hector</i> 38	(ex Danish.) Sunk	—

DANISH.

<i>Hercules</i> 81	Captured by Swedes	30/5/1563
<i>Hjort</i> 46	"	30/5/1563
<i>Hector</i> 38	"	30/5/1563
<i>Byens Løffue</i> 56	"	13/8/1564
<i>Morian</i> 47	"	13/8/1564
<i>David</i> 42	"	13/8/1564
<i>Skotske Pink</i> 56	"	8/9/1564
<i>Flygande Serpent</i> 8	"	Aug., 1564
<i>Arck</i>	Burnt to avoid capture, Rügen	22/5/1565
<i>Nachtergal</i>	"	22/5/1565
<i>Björn</i>	"	22/5/1565
<i>Hamborger Jegere</i>	"	22/5/1565
<i>Enkhusiske Jungfrau</i>	Interned, Pomerania	May, 1565
<i>Danske Falk</i>	"	May, 1565
<i>Jegermesther</i> 90	Captured by Swedes	7/7/1565
<i>Danske Christopher</i>	Sunk in action	7/7/1565
<i>Samson</i>	Wrecked off Gothland	28/7/1566
<i>Hannibal</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Merkurius</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Engel</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Flores</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Solen</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Høyenhald</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Papegoye</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Griffe</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Engelske Fortuna</i>	"	28/7/1566
<i>Hertug Olufs Pincke</i>	"	28/7/1566
	Lost at sea	July, 1570
<i>Björn</i>	Captured by Swedes	July, 1570

LÜBECK.				
<i>Lybska Bojort</i> 25	..	Captured by Swedes	..	1562
<i>Späckhök</i> ..	..	"	..	1563
<i>Lybske Necka</i> 21	..	"	..	1563
<i>Hafsfru</i> ..	..	"	..	1563
<i>Jonas</i> 4	..	"	..	1563
<i>Lange Bark</i> ..	..	Sunk in action	..	30/5/1564
<i>Lybske Svan</i> 50	..	Captured by Swedes	..	1564
<i>Gyllenedufva</i> 48	..	"	..	1564
<i>Vändakapa</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybske Kristopher</i> 26	..	"	..	1564
<i>Röda Lejon</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Uggla</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska Hjort</i> 40	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lilla Bojort</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Svaria Ko</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska Maria</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Flygande Drake</i> 14	..	"	..	1564
<i>Klosterko</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Misericord</i> 10	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska David</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybske Morian</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska Engel</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lilla Sankt Göran</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lam</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska Pincka</i> 25	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska Ko</i> 12	..	"	..	1564
<i>Röda Ko</i> ..	..	"	..	1564
<i>Lybska Stangekrejare</i> 8	..	"	..	1564
<i>Syrig</i> ..	..	Interned, Pomerania	..	May, 1565
<i>Lybsche Trotz</i> ..	..	"	..	May, 1565
<i>Fuchs</i> ..	..	Captured by Swedes, Rügen	..	May, 1565
<i>Engel</i> ..	..	Accidentally burnt	..	May, 1565
	..	Sunk in action	..	7/7/1565
<i>Morian</i> ..	..	Wrecked off Gothland	..	28/7/1565
<i>Josua</i> ..	..	"	..	28/7/1565
<i>Havfru</i> ..	..	"	..	28/7/1565

LIVONIAN.				
<i>Röda Hund</i> 44	..	Captured by Swedes	..	1563
<i>Bruna Lejon</i> 40	..	"	..	1563
<i>Röda Grippa</i> 37	..	"	..	1563
<i>Forgylda Lejon</i> ..	..	"	..	1563
<i>Sankt Göran</i> ..	..	"	..	1563

APPENDIX II.

SHIPS LOST, 1571-1613.

SWEDISH.				
<i>Röda Lejon</i> 40	..	Wrecked near Åland	..	1572
<i>Stora Fördel</i> ..	..	Wrecked, Finland	..	1572
<i>Finska Memnon</i> 46	..	Wrecked, Narva (refloated and condemned).	..	1574

APPENDIX.

<i>Delfin</i> ..	..	Wrecked, Narva	..	1574
<i>Halfmåne</i> ..	..	Captured by Russians and wrecked	..	1575
<i>Nya Galeja</i> ..	..	Wrecked, Finland	..	1575
<i>Rose</i> (galley) ..	..	Wrecked, Bornholm	..	1576
<i>Örn</i> ..	..	Wrecked, Elfsnabben	..	1576
<i>Röda Pinka</i> ..	..	Wrecked	..	1578
<i>Häger</i> ..	..	Captured by Russians	..	1578
<i>Lilla Svan</i> 21	..	Accidentally burnt	..	Aug., 1578
<i>Gyllende Vasa</i> ..	..	Sunk outside Kalmar	..	1579
<i>Vesterbottensskuta</i> ..	..	Sunk, Gefle	..	1583
<i>Uroz</i> ..	..	Wrecked, Öland	..	1586
<i>Kongsörssjakt</i> ..	..	Burnt by Russians off Narva	..	1591
<i>Herkules</i> ..	..	Wrecked, Gothland	..	1602
<i>Blå Falk</i> ..	..	"	..	1608
<i>Mjölkepigga</i> 18	..	Captured by Danes	..	22/6/1611
<i>Salvator</i> ..	..	Captured by Danes near or at Kalmar.	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>S. Peter</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Jonas</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Smäländs Hjort</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Scepter</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Hannibal</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Spegel</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Orpheus</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Krannij</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Lejon</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Obekante</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Tigar</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Lejonvina</i> ..	..	"	24/6/1611 or 3/8/1611	
<i>Summa Summarum</i> 6	..	Captured by Danes at Kalmar	..	3/8/1611
<i>Forgylda Stjerna</i> ..	..	Captured by Danes in Kalmar Sound	..	Aug., 1611
<i>Röda Lejon</i> ..	..	Captured or sunk	..	Sept., 1611
<i>Krabbe</i> ..	..	Captured by Danes at Elfsborg	..	24/5/1612
<i>Hektor</i> ..	..	"	..	24/5/1612
<i>Blå Orm</i> ..	..	"	..	24/5/1612
<i>Lampret</i> ..	..	"	..	24/5/1612
<i>Jonas</i> ..	..	"	..	24/5/1612
<i>Fransiskus</i> ..	..	"	..	24/5/1612
— (galley) ..	..	Sunk in action, Barösund	..	June, 1612
Several small craft	..	Captured by Danes near Stockholm	..	Aug., 1612
Three fireships	..	Destroyed by Danes near Stockholm	..	Aug., 1612
	..	Captured by Danes near Stockholm	..	5/9/1612

DANISH.

<i>Lilie</i> ..	..	Lost at sea	..	1599
<i>Stjern</i> 22	..	Captured by Swedes	..	30/7/1611

KING SIGISMUND'S AND POLISH.

Several ships	..	Captured by Swedes at Åbo	..	1597
Several ships and boats	..	Captured by Swedes in Åland	..	1598
Forty armed merchantmen.	..	Captured by Swedes at Stegeborg	..	19-21/9/1598
<i>Hvita Örn</i> ..	..	"	..	19-21/9/1598

<i>Engelska Drake</i> ..	Captured by Swedes at Stegeborg ..	19-21/9/1598
These last were returned to Sigismund and the :—		
<i>Hvita Örn</i> ..	Wrecked at Kalmar ..	Oct., 1598
— 39 ..	Refloated " by Swedes and named <i>Trekronor</i> .	Oct., 1598
Several ships ..	Captured by Swedes at Helsingfors ..	Sept., 1599
— 48.. ..	Wrecked ..	1599
LÜBECK.		
Three ships ..	Captured by Swedes ..	1574

APPENDIX III.

SHIPS LOST, 1620-40.

SWEDISH.

Several small craft ..	Captured by Poles off Riga ..	2/8/1621
<i>Engel</i> 18 ..	Wrecked, Domesness ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Gustavus</i> ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Maria</i> ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Mars</i> 18 ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Hektor</i> ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Orfeus</i> 28 ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Perseus</i> 28 ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Harbolejon</i> ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Hannibal</i> 22 ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Elefant</i> 30 ..	" ..	Sept., 1625
<i>Östgöta Lejon</i> 18 ..	Wrecked ..	Sept., 1626
<i>Trekronor</i> 28 ..	Wrecked, Domesness ..	Sept., 1626
<i>Oranienbom</i> 28 ..	Wrecked near Pillau ..	1626
<i>Stjerna</i> 28 ..	" ..	1626
<i>Salvator</i> 12 ..	" ..	1626
<i>Jägare</i> ..	Wrecked ..	1626
<i>Tiger</i> ..	Captured by Poles ..	18/11/1627
<i>Sol</i> ..	Blown up to prevent capture ..	18/11/1627
<i>Vasa</i> 32 ..	Capsized near Stockholm ..	10/8/1628
<i>Kristina</i> 36 ..	Wrecked near Danzig ..	3/9/1628
<i>Riksnjckel</i> 22 ..	Wrecked near Landsort ..	6/9/1628

IMPERIAL.

<i>Salvator</i> 26 ..	Captured by Swedes at Wismar ..	1631
<i>Maria Rekompens</i> 26..	" ..	1631
<i>Hans von Wismar</i> 18	" ..	1631
<i>Wismars Meerman</i> 18	" ..	1631
<i>St. Mikael</i> 18 ..	" ..	1631
<i>Tiger</i> 12 ..	(ex Swedish ?) Captured by Swedes at Wismar.	1631
<i>Meerweiß</i> 12 ..	Captured by Swedes at Wismar ..	1631
<i>Delfin</i> 12 ..	" ..	1631
<i>St. Jakob</i> 10 ..	" ..	1631

<i>Forlångare</i> 10 ..	Captured by Swedes at Wismar ..	1631
<i>Hvita Hund</i> 8 ..	" ..	1631
<i>Fenix</i> 7 ..	" ..	1631
<i>Noahs Ark</i> 6 ..	" ..	1631
<i>Muskijl</i> ..	" ..	1631

APPENDIX IV.

SHIPS LOST, 1643-45.

SWEDISH.

<i>Papegoja</i> 12 ..	Scuttled in Kiel Fjord ..	10/7/1644
<i>Uggla</i> ..	Captured by Danes ..	1644
Two ships, thirty small craft.	(ex Danish ?) Captured by Danes at Aalborg and recaptured.	1644
Three small craft ..	Captured by Danes, Ystad ..	28/7/1644
Six small craft, two storeships.	" ..	6/8/1644
Seven small craft ..	Wrecked ..	17/8/1644
<i>Fortuna</i> 18 ..	" ..	29/6/1645
<i>Stormar</i> 32 ..	(ex Danish.) Wrecked ..	29/6/1645
<i>Vestervik</i> 26 ..	Wrecked ..	29/6/1645
Two fireships ..	(Hired Dutch.) Wrecked ..	May, 1644
<i>Arent</i> or <i>Adelaar</i> 22 ..	" Sunk in action ..	13/10/1644

DANISH.

<i>Örn</i> 40 ..	Captured by Swedes while building, Neustadt.	June, 1644
<i>St. Jakob</i> 34 ..	Captured by Swedes at Kiel ..	1644
Two ships, thirty small craft.	Fitted by Swedes, captured by Danes and recaptured by Swedes at Aalborg.	1644
— 24 ..	Captured by Thijssen's fleet, Lim Fjord	July, 1644
— 12 ..	Captured by Thijssen's fleet, near Gothenburg.	July, 1644
<i>Prinds</i> 6 ..	Captured by Thijssen's fleet, Bornholm	Aug., 1644
<i>Patientia</i> 48 ..	Captured by Swedes ..	13/10/1644
<i>Oldenborg</i> 42 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Tre Löver</i> 46 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Stormar</i> 32 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Neptunus</i> 28 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Nelleblad</i> 24 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>To Löver</i> 22 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Fides</i> 20 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Kronfisk</i> 20 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Havhest</i> or <i>Søhest</i> 14 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Lindorm</i> 38 ..	Burnt in action ..	13/10/1644
<i>Delmenhorst</i> 28 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Højenhald</i> 8 ..	Run aground in action and wrecked ..	13/10/1644
— (galley) 2 ..	" ..	13/10/1644
<i>Rose</i> (galley) 10 ..	Captured by Swedes near Gothenburg	19/6/1645
<i>Samsons Galley</i> 9 ..	Captured by Swedes near Dragor ..	11/7/1645
<i>S. Peter</i> 22 ..	Captured by Swedes near Malmö ..	7/8/1645
<i>Jutekrejare</i> (fireship) ..	Captured by Swedes ..	1645

APPENDIX V.

SHIPS LOST, 1652-60.

SWEDISH.

<i>Kronfisk</i> 16 ..	(ex Danish.)	Lost at sea	..	Sept., 1655
<i>Forgylde Lejon</i> ..	Wrecked	..	..	Oct., 1655
<i>Svin</i> ..	"	..	..	Oct., 1655
<i>Andromeda</i> 44 ..	"	..	..	Nov., 1655
<i>Svenske Lam</i> (M.) ..	Captured by Danes	..	..	1657
<i>Svenske Love</i> (M.) ..	"	..	..	1657
<i>Svenske Grib</i> (M.) ..	"	..	..	1657
Two small craft ..	Captured by Danes in Little Belt	..	Nov., 1657	
<i>Wrangels Jagt</i> 10 ..	Captured and burnt by Danes	off	23/8/1658	
	Copenhagen.			
— 4 ..	"	"	"	23/8/1658
<i>Jonas</i> (M.) 20 ..	Captured by Danes off Copenhagen	..	27/10/1658	
<i>Fortuna</i> 8 ..	Wrecked	..	29/10/1658	
<i>Morgonstjerna</i> (M.) 44 ..	Sunk in action	..	29/10/1658	
<i>Pelikan</i> 40 ..	(ex Danish.) Captured by Dutch	..	29/10/1658	
<i>Rose</i> (M.) 40 ..	Captured by Dutch	..	29/10/1658	
<i>Delmenhorst</i> 36 ..	(ex Danish.) Captured by Dutch	..	29/10/1658	
<i>Leopard</i> 36 ..	Burnt to avoid capture	..	29/10/1658	
<i>Svärd</i> 44 ..	Wrecked in harbour, Landskrona	..	31/10/1658	
<i>Gotland</i> (M.) or <i>Lam</i> ..	Captured by Danes at Trondhjem	..	11/12/1658	
<i>Kalmkastell</i> (M.) 32 ..	Wrecked at Marstrand	..	Jan., 1659	
<i>Samson</i> 32 ..	Wrecked in harbour, Landskrona	..	16/3/1659	
<i>Svan</i> 36 ..	Captured by Danes	..	30/3/1659	
<i>Fenix</i> (M.) 30 ..	Sunk in action	..	12/4/1659	
<i>Fama</i> (fireship) ..	Wrecked, Bornholm	..	4/7/1659	
<i>Konung David</i> (M.) 19 ..	Captured by Dutch	..	Aug., 1659	
<i>Hopp</i> (M.) 20 ..	Captured by Danes and Dutch, Little Belt.	..	Nov., 1659	
<i>Sorte Hund</i> 10 ..	(ex Danish.) Captured by Danes and Dutch, Little Belt.	..	Nov., 1659	
<i>Vaegtare</i> 4 ..	Captured by Danes and Dutch, Little Belt.	..	Nov., 1659	

DANISH.

<i>Flyvende Hjort</i> (P.) 6 ..	Wrecked off Gothenburg	..	11/11/1657	
<i>Gribbe</i> 12 ..	Captured by Swedes	..	Nov., 1657	
<i>Delmenhorst</i> 44 ..	Captured by Swedes at Korsør	..	Feb., 1658	
<i>Sælhund</i> ..	Wrecked	..	1658	
<i>Falk</i> 16 ..	Captured by Swedes at Nyborg	..	Aug., 1658	
<i>Pelikan</i> 36 ..	Captured by Swedes	..	Aug., 1658	
<i>Snarensvend</i> 30 ..	Captured by Swedes, Helsingør, and sunk by fort.	..	Sept., 1658	
<i>Søblad</i> 12 ..	Captured by Swedes	..	1658	
<i>Haab</i> ..	"	..	1658	
<i>St. Jürgen</i> (fireship) ..	"	..	1658	
<i>Jaegeren</i> (fireship) ..	"	..	1658	
<i>Dynkerker Bojort</i> (fireship) ..	"	..	1658	
<i>Hvide Bjørn</i> 40 ..	Lost at sea	..	1659	
<i>Graa Ulv</i> 36 ..	Captured by Swedes at Ebeltoft	..	23/7/1659	

APPENDIX.

<i>Johannes</i> 20 ..	(ex Swedish <i>Jonas</i> ?)	Captured by Swedes at Ebeltoft.	23/7/1659
<i>Feniks</i> 40 ..	Captured by Swedes	..	9/11/1659

DUTCH.

<i>Brederode</i> 59 ..	Captured and sunk in action with Swedes.	29/10/1658
— (galiot) ..	Sunk in action	29/10/1658
<i>Frankrike</i> ..	Captured by Swedes	31/3/1659
<i>Munnickendam</i> 32 ..	"	23/7/1659
<i>Prins Wilhelm</i> 28 ..	"	23/7/1659
<i>Wapen van Enckhuysen</i> 27 ..	Blown up in action	23/7/1659
<i>Hollands Tuin</i> 12 ..	Captured by Swedes	1659

ENGLISH.

<i>Antelope</i> 56 ..	Wrecked on coast of Jylland	30/9/1652
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APPENDIX VI.

SHIPS LOST, 1675-95.

SWEDISH.

<i>Elefant</i> 20 ..	Wrecked	..	16/10/1675
<i>Saltsack</i> 12 ..	"	..	16/10/1675
<i>Falk</i> 40 ..	Captured by Danes at Wismar	..	13/12/1675
<i>Vestervik</i> 44 ..	Accidentally burnt	..	9/4/1676
<i>Constantia</i> (M.) 48 ..	Burnt to avoid capture	..	23/4/1676
<i>Caritas</i> (M.) 32 ..	Captured by Danes	..	23/4/1676
<i>Konung David</i> (10) ..	Captured by Dutch and burnt	..	26/5/1676
<i>Leopard</i> (fireship) 22 ..	Captured by Brandenburgers	..	26/5/1676
<i>Krona</i> 126 ..	Capsized and blown up in action	..	1/6/1676
<i>Svärd</i> 94 ..	Burnt in action	..	1/6/1676
<i>Neptunus</i> 44 ..	Captured by Dutch	..	1/6/1676
<i>Enhorn</i> 16 ..	"	..	1/6/1676
<i>Jernvåg</i> (M.) 24 ..	Captured by Danes	..	1/6/1676
<i>Ekhorre</i> 8 ..	"	..	1/6/1676
<i>Rödkrita</i> (fireship) ..	Burnt to avoid capture	..	1/6/1676
<i>Apple</i> 86 ..	Wrecked, Dalarö	..	5/6/1676
<i>Jägare</i> 22 ..	Accidentally burnt	..	21/8/1676
<i>Sundsvall</i> 32 ..	Wrecked, Riga	..	Oct., 1676
<i>Maria</i> ..	Captured by Brandenburgers	..	12/11/1676
<i>Kalmkastell</i> (M.) 72 ..	Captured by Danes and destroyed	..	1/6/1677
<i>Amarant</i> 46 ..	Captured by Danes	..	1/6/1677
<i>Hafsfu</i> (M.) 46 ..	"	..	1/6/1677
<i>Wrangels Pallats</i> 44 ..	"	..	1/6/1677
<i>Engel Gabriel</i> (M.) 32 ..	"	..	1/6/1677
<i>Diana</i> 6 ..	"	..	1/6/1677
<i>Venus</i> 4 ..	"	..	1/6/1677
<i>Mars</i> 72 ..	"	..	1/7/1677
<i>Drake</i> 64 ..	"	..	1/7/1677
<i>Cesar</i> 60 ..	"	..	1/7/1677
<i>Svenska Lejon</i> 52 ..	"	..	1/7/1677
<i>Flygande Varg</i> (M.) 56 ..	"	..	1/7/1677
<i>Gröna Drake</i> 8 ..	"	..	1/7/1677

<i>Grip</i> 8	Burnt in action	1/7/1677
<i>Hieronymus</i> 72	Captured by Dutch	2/7/1677
<i>Mercurius</i> 66	"	2/7/1677
<i>Kalmar</i> 62	Burnt in action	2/7/1677
<i>Ekorre</i> 12	Captured by Brandenburgers	1677
<i>Rose</i>	Wrecked	Nov., 1677
<i>Spes</i>	"	4/1/1678
<i>Baner</i> (M.)	Burnt to avoid capture	1/7/1678
<i>Kronholm</i>	Wrecked	3/10/1678
<i>Bödekull</i>	"	Oct., 1678
<i>Kronolund</i>	"	Oct., 1678
<i>Pollux</i>	"	Jan., 1679
<i>Karlshamn</i>	"	1679
<i>Laz</i> 50	Captured by Danes	25/6/1679
<i>Nyckel</i> 84	Burnt in action	20/7/1679
<i>Lilla Konung David</i> 10	Wrecked	Nov., 1679
<i>Posthorn</i> 8	"	Dec., 1679

DANISH.

<i>Kjøbenhavn</i> 50	Run aground or burnt	July, 1676
<i>Enighed</i> 62	Sunk as blockade, Kalmar	2/7/1679
<i>Norske Love</i> 86	Wrecked, Bornholm	Sept., 1679
<i>Loss</i> 30	Accidentally burnt	9/9/1679
<i>Gyldenløve</i> 56	Captured by English but released later	12/8/1694

DUTCH.

<i>Isabella</i>	Captured by Swedes	1675
<i>Westfriesland</i> 80	Wrecked	Nov., 1683
<i>Hollandia</i> 76	"	Nov., 1683
<i>Wapen van Monnikendam</i> 72	"	Nov., 1683
<i>Woerden</i> 70	"	Nov., 1683
<i>Tijdverdrijf</i> 52	"	Nov., 1683
<i>Prins te Paard</i> 52	"	Nov., 1683
<i>Leeuwen</i> 50	"	Nov., 1683
<i>Gouda</i> 42	"	Nov., 1683

BRANDENBURG.

— 6	Captured by Swedes	4/8/1677
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SPANISH.

<i>Carolus II.</i>	Captured by Brandenburgers	18/9/1680
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APPENDIX VII.

SHIPS LOST, 1700-21

SWEDISH.

<i>Mjöhund</i> 6	Captured by Russians, Archangel	7/7/1701
<i>Falk</i> 6	"	7/7/1701
<i>Flundra</i> 4	Captured by Russians, L. Peipus	10/6/1702
<i>Vivat</i> 12 (or 4)	"	21/7/1702
—	"	July, 1702

Two boats	Captured by Russians, L. Ladoga	16/8/1702
<i>Gädda</i> 10 (or 6)	Captured by Russians, R. Neva	17/5/1703
<i>Astrild</i> 8 (or 5)	"	17/5/1703
<i>Carolus</i> 12	Captured by Russians, L. Peipus	17/5/1704
<i>Wachtmeister</i> 14	"	17/5/1704
<i>Ulrika</i> 10	"	17/5/1704
<i>Dorpat</i> 10	"	17/5/1704
<i>Victoria Vatlat</i> 10	"	17/5/1704
<i>Vivat</i> 10	"	17/5/1704
<i>Elephant</i> 8	"	17/5/1704
<i>Narva</i> 8	"	17/5/1704
<i>Horn</i> 4	"	17/5/1704
<i>Nummers</i> 4	"	17/5/1704
<i>Shlipenbach</i> 4	"	17/5/1704
<i>Strofeld</i> 2	"	17/5/1704
<i>Shutte</i> 2	"	17/5/1704
Two boats	Captured by Russians, Narva	11/6/1704
<i>Jungfrau Maria</i>	(Russian name ?) Captured by Russians, Narva	6/8/1704
<i>Santa Anna</i>	"	6/8/1704
<i>Sv. Petr</i>	"	6/8/1704
<i>Mozas</i>	"	6/8/1704
<i>Prorok Daniel</i>	"	6/8/1704
<i>Aleksandr</i>	"	6/8/1704
Four galiots	"	6/8/1704
<i>Öland</i> 50	Captured by English, 6/8/1704; released; wrecked	15/1/1706
<i>Esper</i> 4	Captured by Russians off Viborg	23/10/1706
<i>Tre Kronor</i> 86	Run aground and burnt, Kjöge Bay	4/10/1710
<i>Prinsessa Ulrika</i> 80	"	4/10/1710
A schooner	Captured by Russian prisoners	1711
— (P.) 11	Captured by Russians, North Sea	1711
<i>Svenske Sophia</i> 20	Captured by Danes	1711
<i>Flyvende Mercurius</i> 6	"	1711
<i>Ulv</i> 2	"	1712
<i>Sorte Adler</i> 8	"	1712
<i>Guldenstern</i> 4	"	1712
A boat	Captured by Russians	27/8/1712
<i>Kreft</i> 25 (or 14)	"	30/8/1712
Two boats 8 each	"	30/8/1712
<i>Göta Lejon</i> (P.) 18	Captured by Danes	31/3/1713
<i>Pacha</i> (P.) 16	"	16/6/1713
<i>Rev</i> 8	"	1713
<i>Eleonora</i>	Captured by Russians, Stettin	1713
<i>Viborg</i> 36	Wrecked	1713
<i>Elefant</i> 18	Captured or destroyed by Russians, Hangö	28/7/1714
<i>Örn</i> 16	"	28/7/1714
<i>Trana</i> 16	"	28/7/1714
<i>Grip</i> 16	"	28/7/1714
<i>Laza</i> 12	"	28/7/1714
<i>Gädda</i> 12	"	28/7/1714
<i>Hvalfisk</i> 2	"	28/7/1714
<i>Flundra</i> 6	"	28/7/1714
<i>Mort</i> 4	"	28/7/1714
<i>Guldende Ulv</i> 4	Captured by Danes	1714
Three privateers	Captured by Russians, Ösel	1714

<i>Enhörning</i> (P.) 18 ..	Captured by Russians ..	11/4/1715
<i>Esperance</i> (P.) 11 ..	" ..	12/4/1715
<i>Stockholm Galley</i> (P.) 10 ..	" ..	16/4/1715
<i>Pr. Hedvig Sophia</i> 75 ..	Captured by Danes and destroyed ..	25/4/1715
<i>Nordstjerna</i> 76 ..	Captured by Danes ..	25/4/1715
<i>Södermanland</i> 56 ..	" ..	25/4/1715
<i>Göteborg</i> 50 ..	" ..	25/4/1715
<i>Hvita Örn</i> 30 ..	" ..	25/4/1715
<i>Falk</i> 26 ..	" ..	25/4/1715
Three frigates ..	Run ashore and burnt, Rügen ..	Sept., 1715
Four frigates ..	Destroyed (?) near Stralsund ..	Nov., 1715
— (P.) 4 ..	Captured by Russians ..	1715
<i>Putzweck</i> 4 ..	" ..	1715
<i>Snapop</i> 2 ..	" ..	1715
<i>Røde Hommer</i> 8 ..	" ..	1715
<i>Hummer</i> 8 ..	" ..	1715
<i>Landsorth</i> 14 ..	" ..	1715
— 36 ..	Captured by Allies, Stralsund; Danish Navy as <i>Stralsund</i> .	Jan., 1716
<i>Stenbock</i> 24 ..	Captured by Danes, Dynekil ..	8/7/1716
<i>Proserpina</i> 14 ..	" ..	8/7/1716
<i>Ulysses</i> 6 ..	" ..	8/7/1716
<i>Lucretia</i> 12 ..	" ..	8/7/1716
<i>Pollux</i> 5 ..	" ..	8/7/1716
— 1 ..	" ..	8/7/1716
<i>Hecla</i> ..	Destroyed, Dynekil ..	8/7/1716
<i>Hector</i> ..	" ..	8/7/1716
<i>Ilderim</i> 36 ..	Captured by English; sold to Danes; renamed <i>Pommern</i> .	Oct., 1716
<i>Fortuna</i> 8 ..	Captured by Danes ..	1716
<i>Triumphant</i> (P.) 8 ..	Captured by Danes off Gothenburg ..	May, 1717
<i>Hvalfisk</i> (P.) 12 ..	" ..	May, 1717
<i>Du Gala Galley</i> (P.) 8 ..	" ..	May, 1717
<i>Andromeda</i> (P.) 10 ..	" ..	May, 1717
<i>Island</i> or <i>Islands-fahrere</i> 28 ..	Captured by Danes ..	May or June, 1717
— 16 ..	Captured by Russians ..	1717
<i>Pollux</i> 24 ..	" ..	31/7/1717
<i>Riga</i> 50 ..	Accidentally blown up, Karlskrona ..	27/11/1717
— (P.) 14 ..	Captured by Russians ..	1718
Several small craft ..	" ..	1718
Two small craft ..	Destroyed by Danes (?) Idefjord ..	22/7/1718
<i>La Revange</i> (P.) 8 ..	Captured by Danes ..	1718
— 6 ..	" ..	1718
<i>Gå På</i> 20 (pram) ..	Destroyed to prevent capture, Strömstad.	July, 1719
<i>Bellona</i> 14 (galley) ..	" ..	July, 1719
<i>Viktoria</i> 10 (galley) ..	" ..	July, 1719
<i>Louisa</i> 4 (galley) ..	(ex Danish) ..	July, 1719
<i>Lucretia</i> 12 (galley) ..	(ex Danish; ex Swedish) ..	July, 1719
<i>Pollux</i> 5 (half galley) ..	" ..	July, 1719
<i>Luhr</i> 22 (half galley) ..	Destroyed to prevent capture, Strömstad.	July, 1719
<i>Norske Mercurius</i> 8 ..	Captured by Danes ..	1719
<i>Lykkens Post</i> 6 ..	" ..	1719
<i>Hvita Örn</i> 6 ..	" ..	1719
<i>Calmar</i> 58 ..	Sunk to avoid capture, Marstrand ..	24/7/1719

<i>Stettin</i> 58 ..	Sunk to avoid capture, Marstrand ..	24/7/1719
<i>Halmstad</i> 54 ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>Fredrika</i> 52 ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>Warberg</i> 52 ..	Captured by Danes, Marstrand ..	24/7/1719
<i>Pr. Fred. v. Hessen</i> (M) 49 ..	Sunk, but raised by Danes, Marstrand ..	24/7/1719
<i>Gref Mörner</i> (M) 49 ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>Ståbell</i> (M) 49 ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>Charlotta</i> 38 ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>William Galley</i> 14 ..	Captured by Danes ..	24/7/1719
<i>Ge på</i> 18 (pram) ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>Castor</i> 6 (galley) ..	Sunk to avoid capture (?) ..	24/7/1719
<i>Diana</i> 4 ..	" ..	24/7/1719
Two fireships ..	" ..	24/7/1719
<i>Prins Carl</i> 7 ..	(ex Danish.) Captured by Danes, Gothenburg.	8/10/1719
<i>Carolus XII</i> (M) 49 ..	Burnt by Danes, Gothenburg ..	8/10/1719
<i>Mörner</i> (P.) ..	" ..	8/10/1719
<i>Wrede</i> 22 (galley) ..	" ..	8/10/1719
<i>Johannes den Gamle</i> ..	(ex Danish.) Burnt by Danes, Gothenburg.	8/10/1719
A transport ..	" ..	8/10/1719
<i>Wachtmeister</i> 48 ..	Captured by Russians ..	4/5/1719
<i>Karlskrona Wapen</i> 30 ..	" ..	4/5/1719
<i>Bernhardus</i> 10 ..	" ..	4/5/1719
<i>Stora Phoenix</i> 34 ..	Captured by Russian galleys, Åland ..	27/7/1720
<i>Vainqueur</i> 30 ..	" ..	27/7/1720
<i>Kiskin</i> 22 ..	" ..	27/7/1720
<i>Danska Örn</i> 18 ..	(ex Danish.) Captured by Russian galleys, Åland.	27/7/1720
Six galleys ..	Burnt to prevent capture by Russians ..	June, 1721
DANISH.		
<i>Hummer</i> 32 ..	Captured by Swedes in the Elbe ..	1700
<i>Postillion</i> 20 ..	Wrecked, west coast of Jylland ..	3/9/1706
<i>Dannebrog</i> 82 ..	Burnt in action ..	4/10/1710
<i>Svermer</i> 16 ..	Wrecked, Anholt ..	1711
<i>Slesvig</i> 50 ..	Lost at sea ..	Oct., 1711
<i>Flyvende Dragon</i> 16 ..	Wrecked, west coast of Jylland ..	3/1/1712
— 16 ..	Captured by Swedes ..	June, 1712
A hospital ship ..	" ..	4/9/1712
<i>Heyre</i> 24 ..	Sunk in action ..	8/9/1712
<i>Forgylde Abhorre</i> 4 ..	Wrecked, Jylland ..	1714
<i>Fredericus III.</i> 56 ..	Wrecked, Bergen ..	2/4/1714
<i>Lindorm</i> 6 ..	Wrecked, Norway ..	4/4/1714
<i>Scorm</i> 20 ..	(ex Swedish <i>Göta Lejon</i> .) Wrecked North Sea.	1714
<i>Örn</i> 20 ..	Captured by Swedes ..	April, 1715
— ..	(ex Swedish P.) Run aground in action and destroyed.	1716
<i>Packa</i> 16 ..	Wrecked, Anholt ..	1717
<i>Louisa</i> 7 (galley) ..	Captured by Swedes, Gothenburg ..	15/5/1717
<i>Lucretia</i> 13 (galley) ..	(ex Swedish.) Captured by Swedes, Gothenburg.	15/5/1717
<i>Andrikt</i> 12 ..	Wrecked, Jylland ..	20/9/1717
<i>Pollux</i> 5 (galley) ..	(ex Swedish.) Captured by Swedes ..	Sept., 1717
A boat ..	Captured by Swedes ..	Sept., 1717

<i>Snarensvend</i> 12 ..	Burnt to avoid capture ..	Mar., 1718
<i>Giöteborg</i> 42 ..	(ex Swedish.) Wrecked, Iceland ..	7/11/1718
<i>Prinds Christian</i> 7 (galley).	Captured by Swedes ..	14/7/1719
<i>Prinds Carl</i> 7 (galley)	" ..	12/9/1719
<i>Langemar</i> (battery) ..	" ..	12/9/1719
<i>Spydstag</i> (battery) ..	" ..	12/9/1719
<i>Johannes den Gamle</i> (bomb).	" ..	12/9/1719
A boat 12 ..	Wrecked ..	1719

RUSSIAN.

<i>Falk</i> ..	(ex Swedish ?) Captured by Swedes ..	May, 1709
— 50 ..	Wrecked on Lake Ladoga before completion.	1711
<i>Sv. Ilya</i> 28 ..	Wrecked ..	Sept., 1712
<i>Vyborg</i> 50 ..	Run aground and burnt ..	22/7/1713
<i>Bulinbruk</i> 52 ..	Captured by Swedes on way to Russia ..	1713
<i>Sazan</i> (galley) ..	Aground and captured by Swedes, Hangö.	6/8/1714
— (galley) ..	Broken up in transport overland, Hangö.	6/8/1714
Two galleys ..	Lost in Åbo skärgård ..	Sept., 1714
Five galleys ..	Lost on expedition to Sweden ..	Oct., 1714
Six galleys ..	Lost on west of Finland ..	Oct., 1714
<i>Transport Royal</i> 20 ..	Wrecked near Gothenburg ..	Nov., 1715
<i>Fortuna</i> 48 ..	Wrecked, Revel ..	21/11/1716
<i>Antonii</i> 50 ..	" ..	21/11/1716
<i>Lizet</i> 16 ..	Wrecked, Norway ..	1716
<i>Printses</i> 18 ..	Wrecked, West Baltic ..	1716
<i>London</i> 58 ..	Wrecked near Kronstadt ..	9/10/1719
<i>Portsmut</i> 52 ..	" ..	9/10/1719
Two galleys ..	Sunk in action with Swedish frigates ..	7/8/1720
Forty-three galleys ..	Burnt after action with Swedish frigates.	7/8/1720
<i>Endracht</i> 32 ..	Captured by Swedes on way to Russia ..	July, 1720
<i>Nishtat</i> 56 ..	Wrecked, Ösel ..	23/11/1721

ENGLISH.

<i>Auguste</i> 60 ..	Wrecked on Danish coast ..	10/11/1716
<i>Monk</i> 50 ..	Wrecked near Yarmouth ..	24/11/1720

APPENDIX VIII.

SHIPS LOST, 1722-87.*

SWEDISH.

<i>Sverige</i> 80 ..	Wrecked on Spanish coast ..	1738
<i>Svarta Örn</i> 34 ..	Wrecked on Finnish coast ..	1741
<i>Öland</i> 60 ..	Wrecked on Bornholm ..	1742
Several boats ..	Captured by Prussians near Stettin ..	5/9/1761
<i>Sophia Albertina</i> 62 ..	Wrecked on Dutch coast ..	1781

* The lists are probably fairly complete for the wars of 1733-4, 1741-3, 1756-63, and the operations of 1779-84, but are not necessarily complete for the periods of peace.

DANISH.

<i>Charlotte</i> 24 ..	(ex Swedish.) Wrecked on Saltholm ..	21/1/1737
<i>Fortuna</i> 30 ..	Wrecked ..	1752
<i>Neptunus</i> 12 ..	" ..	1752
<i>Falster</i> 40 ..	Accidentally burnt ..	3/6/1753
<i>Forskrækkelse</i> 6 ..	Wrecked, Warberg ..	1773
<i>Prins Friderich</i> 70 ..	Wrecked on Laesö ..	30/9/1780
<i>Cronborg</i> 36 ..	Wrecked, coast of Jylland ..	24/11/1780
<i>Echo</i> 12 ..	Wrecked, Grönsund ..	28/12/1782
<i>Indfødsret</i> 60 ..	Lost at sea ..	1783
<i>Laerk</i> 12 ..	Wrecked, Wangerøog ..	1/9/1786

RUSSIAN.

<i>Merkurii</i> ..	Wrecked ..	1732
<i>Mitau</i> 32 ..	Captured by French ..	May or June, 1734
<i>Amsterdam Galei</i> 32 ..	Wrecked ..	1740
<i>Novyi Kurier</i> (galiot) ..	Wrecked, coast of Finland ..	1740
<i>Favoritka</i> 16 ..	" ..	1741
<i>Gektor</i> 32 ..	Wrecked, Gothland ..	1742
<i>Tosna</i> (galley) ..	Wrecked, coast of Finland ..	1742
<i>Stchastlivaya</i> (galley) ..	Blown up in action ..	1742
<i>Vutsejal</i> (galley) ..	Wrecked ..	1742
<i>Gotland</i> (galley) ..	" ..	1743
<i>Golub</i> (galley) 13 ..	" ..	1743
<i>Pustelga</i> (galley) 11 ..	" ..	1743
<i>Krokodil</i> (galley) 11 ..	" ..	1743
<i>Don</i> (galley) ..	" ..	1743
<i>Narova</i> (galley) ..	" ..	1743
<i>Veselaya</i> (galley) ..	" ..	1743
<i>Sv. Nikolai</i> (galley) ..	" ..	1743
<i>Nadezhdaya</i> (galley) ..	" ..	1743
<i>Merkurius</i> 32 ..	Wrecked in the Kattegat ..	1743
<i>Ladoga</i> (galley) 11 ..	Wrecked ..	1747
<i>Varachail</i> 54 ..	Wrecked near Archangel ..	1749
<i>Gotland</i> ..	Wrecked near Memel ..	1757
<i>Stchastlivaya</i> (galley) ..	Wrecked near Windau ..	1757
Two galleys (?) ..	Wrecked ..	June, 1757
<i>Vachmeister</i> 32 ..	Wrecked near Revel ..	14/10/1757
<i>Moskva</i> 66 ..	Wrecked near Libau ..	Sept., 1758
— 54 ..	Wrecked in North Sea ..	Sept., 1758
<i>Lyesnoi</i> 66 ..	Wrecked ..	1759
<i>Kurier</i> 16 ..	Wrecked, Danzig ..	1759
<i>Edinorog</i> 22 ..	Wrecked, coast of Norway ..	1760
<i>Astrachan</i> 66 ..	Wrecked, Dagö ..	1761
<i>Archangel Michail</i> 32 ..	Wrecked on Gothland ..	1762
<i>Sv. Petr</i> 66 ..	Accidentally burnt at Revel ..	1764
<i>Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii</i> 66 ..	" ..	1764
<i>No. 3</i> (galiot) ..	Wrecked ..	1768
<i>Tchitchagov</i> ..	" ..	1769
<i>Lapomnik</i> 22 ..	Wrecked, Skagen ..	1769
<i>Poltava</i> 66 ..	Sunk at Kronstadt ..	1770
<i>Sv. Evstafie</i> 66 ..	Burnt in action in Mediterranean ..	1770
<i>Svyatoslav</i> 80 ..	Wrecked in Mediterranean ..	1770
<i>Rhodos</i> 60 ..	(ex Turkish.) Wrecked in Mediterranean ..	1770

<i>Letutchii</i> 16	(ex Turkish.) Wrecked in Mediter- ranean.	1770
<i>Enge Tobias</i> (galiot) ..	Wrecked	1771
Twenty-two galleys ..	Burnt by lightning, Petersburg	1771
Four half galleys ..	"	1771
Three double sloops ..	"	1771
<i>Sv. Pavel</i>	Burnt, Leghorn	1772
<i>Stryelna</i> (galley) ..	Wrecked	1773
<i>Minerva</i> 32	Wrecked in Gulf of Finland ..	1774
<i>Natalia</i> 32	Wrecked in North Sea	1779
<i>Vsevolod</i> 66	Accidentally burnt at Revel ..	1779
<i>Evsstafie</i> 38	Wrecked	1780
<i>Slava Rosii</i> 66	Wrecked in the Mediterranean ..	3/11/1780
<i>Molnia</i> (bomb)	Wrecked	1787

PRUSSIAN.

<i>König von Preussen</i> (galiot) 14.	Captured by Swedes near Stettin ..	10/9/1759
<i>Prinz von Preussen</i> (galiot) 14.	"	10/9/1759
<i>Prinz Heinrich</i> (galiot) 14.	"	10/9/1759
<i>Prinz Wilhelm</i> (galiot) 14.	"	10/9/1759
<i>Jupiter</i> (galley) 11 ..	"	10/9/1759
<i>Mars</i> (galley) 11 ..	"	10/9/1759
<i>Neptunus</i> (galley) 10 ..	"	10/9/1759
<i>Mercurius</i> (galley) 10 ..	"	10/9/1759

FRENCH.

<i>Brillant</i> 30	Captured by Russians, Weichselmünde	23/6/1734
— 14	"	23/6/1734
— 8	"	23/6/1734

APPENDIX IX.

SHIPS LOST, 1788-90.*

SWEDISH.

<i>Prins Gustaf</i> 70 ..	Captured by Russians, Hogland ..	17/7/1788
<i>Prins Gustaf Adolf</i> 62 ..	Captured by Russians, Sveaborg ..	6/8/1788
Fifteen storeships ..	Captured or destroyed at Hangö ..	1788
A yacht 12	Captured by Russians	1788
<i>Snapupp</i> 12	Captured near Karlskrona	10/5/1789
<i>Venus</i> 44	Captured in Christiania Fjord ..	31/5/1789
A yacht 12	Captured in Kattegat	1789
A yacht	Captured by Russians	1/7/1789
<i>Sällan Värre</i> (turuma) 48.	Captured by Russians, Svensksund ..	24/8/1789
<i>Rogvald</i> (turuma) 48 ..	"	24/8/1789
<i>Björn Jernsida</i> (turuma) 48	"	24/8/1789

* For the smaller craft these lists are only approximate.

<i>af Trolle</i> (frigate) 24 ..	Captured by Russians, Svensksund ..	24/8/1789
<i>Oden</i> (hemmema) 26 ..	"	24/8/1789
<i>Cederkreutz</i> (galley) 14 ..	"	24/8/1789
A gunboat 6	"	24/8/1789
"	Sunk in action	24/8/1789
Fourteen transports ..	Burnt to prevent capture	24/8/1789
Two hospital ships ..	Captured by Russians	24/8/1789
Two boats	"	2/9/1789
Four boats	Captured by Russians, L. Saima ..	7/9/1789
— (galley)	Run aground and burnt, Barösund ..	18/9/1789
<i>Minerva</i> 40	Accidentally burnt, Karlskrona ..	6/12/1789
<i>Örn</i> (cutter)	Wrecked	1789
<i>Prins Carl</i> 64	Captured by Russians, Revel ..	13/5/1790
<i>Riksens Ständer</i> 60 ..	Run aground and burnt, Revel ..	13/5/1790
A gunboat	Sunk in action	15/5/1790
Two bomb-vessels ..	Blown up in action	2/7/1790
A gunboat	Captured by Russians	2/7/1790
A fireship	"	2/7/1790
<i>Finland</i> 56	Run aground and captured by Russians, Viborg Bay.	3/7/1790
<i>Hed. Elis. Charlotta</i> 64 ..	"	3/7/1790
<i>Ömhjet</i> 62	"	3/7/1790
<i>Louisa Ulrika</i> 70	"	3/7/1790
<i>Uppland</i> 44	"	3/7/1790
<i>Jarislavitz</i> 32	(ex Russian.) Run aground and captured by Russians, Viborg Bay.	3/7/1790
<i>Enighet</i> 70	Burnt in action, Viborg Bay ..	3/7/1790
<i>Zemire</i> 42	"	3/7/1790
<i>Sophia Magdalena</i> 74 ..	Captured by Russians, Hogland ..	3/7/1790
<i>Rattvisa</i> 62	Captured by Russians, Sveaborg ..	4/7/1790
A schooner	Run aground and captured by Russians, Viborg.	3/7/1790
<i>Öster Götdland</i> (galley) 29.	Captured by Russians, Viborg ..	3/7/1790
<i>Etkeblas</i> (galley) 28 ..	Captured by Russians	3/7/1790
<i>Dallarna</i> (galley) 22 ..	"	3/7/1790
<i>Nordöstei-norden</i> (galley) 9.	"	3/7/1790
<i>Palmstjerna</i> (galley) 3 ..	"	3/7/1790
Two other galleys ..	Wrecked or destroyed	3/7/1790
Eleven gunboats ..	Captured or lost	3/7/1790
Thirty transports ..	"	3/7/1790
A yacht	Captured by Russians	3/7/1790

RUSSIANS.

<i>Yaroslavets</i> 36	Captured by Swedes, Nargen ..	8/7/1788
<i>Gektor</i> 26	"	8/7/1788
<i>Vladislav</i> 74	Captured by Swedes, Hogland ..	17/7/1788
— 12	Captured by Swedes near Fredrikshamn.	18/7/1788
<i>Kilduin</i> 26	Captured by Swedes, North Sea ..	15/8/1788
<i>Vosmislav</i> 38	Wrecked, Nargen	1788
Ten storeships ..	Captured by Swedes	1789
<i>Tsyvilsk</i> (galley) 16 ..	Blown up in action	24/8/1789
<i>Oka</i> (galley) 16	Wrecked	1789
<i>Veselaya</i> (galley)	"	1789

<i>Syeveryni Orel</i> 66 ..	Run aground and burnt, Barösund ..	18/9/1789
<i>Rodislav</i> 66 ..	Run aground and burnt, Nargen ..	26/10/1789
<i>Vysheslav</i> 66 ..	Lost at sea	Nov., 1789
<i>Delfin</i> (cutter) ..	Wrecked, Bornholm	1789
<i>Leopard</i> (pram) 28 ..	Captured by Swedes	15/5/1790
<i>Bars</i> (pram) 26 ..	"	15/5/1790
<i>Sällan Värre</i> (turuma) 48.	(ex Swedish.) Captured by Swedes ..	15/5/1790
Seven gunboats ..	Captured by Swedes	15/5/1790
Six gunboats ..	Sunk	15/5/1790
Ten gunboats ..	Burnt to prevent capture	15/5/1790
<i>Slon</i> (schooner) ..	Blown up in action	1/7/1790
<i>Ekaterina</i> (frigate) 38	Captured by Swedes, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
<i>Aleksandr</i> (frigate) 38	"	9/7/1790
<i>Konstantin</i> (frigate) 38	"	9/7/1790
<i>Maria</i> (frigate) 38 ..	Sunk or destroyed by Swedes, Svensund.	9/7/1790
<i>Nikolai</i> (frigate) 38 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Minerva</i> (shebek) 32 ..	One captured by Swedes, three sunk or destroyed, Svensund.	9/7/1790
<i>Bellona</i> (shebek) 32 ..		
<i>Proserpina</i> (shebek) 32		
<i>Diana</i> (shebek) 32 ..		
<i>Oden</i> (hemmema) 26 ..	(ex Swede.) Captured by Swedes, Svensund.	9/7/1790
<i>Lev</i> (half pram) ..	Sunk or destroyed by Swedes, Svensund.	9/7/1790
<i>Verblyud</i> (half pram) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>No. 1</i> (floating battery)	Captured by Swedes, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
<i>No. 2</i> (floating battery)	"	9/7/1790
<i>Medved</i> (schooner) ..	Sunk or destroyed, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
<i>Lev</i> (schooner) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Bars</i> (schooner) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Kit</i> (schooner) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Orel</i> (schooner) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Tiger</i> (schooner) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Rys</i> (schooner) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Tichwin</i> (galley) 16 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Nerva</i> (galley) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Kulik</i> (galley) 15 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Pustelga</i> (galley) 16 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Ustyuzhna</i> (galley) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Bezdyelka</i> (galley) 15 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Chitraya</i> (galley) 19 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Tver</i> (galley) 15 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Narva</i> (galley) 16 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Orel</i> (galley) 15 ..	Captured by Swedes, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
<i>Tyuters</i> (galley) 16 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Peni</i> (galley) 16 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Seskar</i> (galley) 16 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Vorona</i> (galley) 15 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Soroka</i> (galley) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Peterburg</i> (galley) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Louisa</i> (bomb) ..	Sunk or destroyed, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
<i>Gonets</i> (bomb) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Strazh</i> (bomb) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Vyestnik</i> (bomb) ..	"	9/7/1790

<i>Gekla</i> (bomb) ..	Sunk or destroyed, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
— (bomb) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Pluto</i> (bomb) ..	Captured by Swedes, Svensund ..	9/7/1790
— (bomb) ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Yasnaya</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Prigozhaya</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Krasnaya</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Perechvat</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Svyetlaya</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Zalet</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Veselaya</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Prilyezhnaya</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Prolet</i> (kaik) 17 ..	"	9/7/1790
<i>Zlobnaya</i> (kaik) 12 ..	"	9/7/1790
Six gunboats ..	"	9/7/1790
Four double-sloops ..	"	9/7/1790
— 38 ..	Captured by Swedes	1790

DANISH.

<i>Hvide Orn</i> 24 ..	Wrecked in Mediterranean	1789
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APPENDIX X.

SHIPS LOST, 1791–1815.

SWEDISH.

<i>Dydd</i> 62 ..	Accidentally blown up	1793
<i>Dragon</i> 20 ..	Wrecked, England	1799
<i>Husar</i> 20 ..	Wrecked, Kattegat	1801
<i>Ulla Fersen</i> 18 ..	Wrecked, Pomerania	1807
<i>Hök</i> 12 ..	Wrecked	1808
Seventy-one rowing vessels.	Destroyed to prevent capture ..	1808
<i>Styrbjörn</i> 26 ..	Captured by Russians, Sveaborg ..	5/5/1808
<i>Hjälmar</i> 26 ..	"	5/5/1808
<i>Odin</i> ..	"	5/5/1808
<i>Ivar Benlös</i> (turuma) 48	"	5/5/1808
Six turumas ..	"	5/5/1808
<i>Kommar Strax</i> 14 ..	"	5/5/1808
Twenty-five gunsloops	"	5/5/1808
Fifty-one gunyawls ..	"	5/5/1808
Four gunvessels ..	"	5/5/1808
Two gunboats ..	Lost in action	30/7/1808
<i>Atis(?)</i> 18 ..	Captured by Russians	1808
<i>Falk</i> 20 ..	"	14/8/1808
One gunboat ..	Blown up in action	18/9/1808
<i>Grip</i> 4 ..	Captured by Danes	26/11/1808
Three gunboats ..	Lost at sea	Nov., 1808
Two "sloops" ..	"	Dec., 1808
Seven gunboats ..	Destroyed to prevent capture, Degerby	1809

Twelve gunboats	..	Destroyed to prevent capture, Umeå	1809
<i>Bellona</i> 40	..	Wrecked	1809
<i>Fortuna</i> 4	..	"	1810
DANISH.			
<i>Christiania</i> 20	..	Wrecked	15/9/1793
<i>Oldenborg</i> 60	..	Wrecked in Table Bay	1799
<i>Stor</i> 8	..	Wrecked off Ösel	1800
<i>Dannebrog</i> 60	..	Burnt in action .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Sjælland</i> 74	..	Captured by English and burnt	2/3/1801
<i>Indfødsret</i> 64	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Provsteen</i> 58	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Jylland</i> 54	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Wagrien</i> 52	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Charlotte Amalia</i> 26	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Kronborg</i> 22	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Rendsborg</i> 20	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>No. 1 Battery</i> 20	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Svaerdfisk</i> 18	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Hai</i> 18	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Søhest</i> 18	..	" .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Holsteen</i> 68	..	Captured by English .. .	2/3/1801
<i>Fredriksvaern</i> 36	..	" .. .	15/8/1807
<i>Stubbekjøbing</i> 6	..	Blown up in action .. .	26/8/1807
<i>Christian VII.</i> 90	..	Captured by English, Copenhagen	7/9/1807
<i>Neptunus</i> 80	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Waldemar</i> 80	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Pr. Sophia Frederica</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Justitia</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Arveprinds Friderich</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Kronprinds Frederik</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Fyen</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Odin</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Tre Kroner</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Skjold</i> 70	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Kronprinsesse Maria</i> 70.	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Danmark</i> 76	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Norge</i> 78	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Prinsesse Caroline</i> 66	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Sejer</i> 64	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Mars</i> 60	..	Captured by English and destroyed, Copenhagen.	7/9/1807
<i>Ditmarschen</i> 60	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Perl</i> 46	..	Captured by English, Copenhagen	7/9/1807
<i>Freja</i> 40	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Iris</i> 40	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Rota</i> 40	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Havfru</i> 40	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Najad</i> 40	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Nymph</i> 36	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Venus</i> 36	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Frederiksteen</i> 26	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Triton</i> 22	..	Captured by English and destroyed, Copenhagen.	7/9/1807
<i>St. Thomas</i> 22	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Lille Belt</i> 20	..	Captured by English, Copenhagen	7/9/1807

<i>Fylla</i> 20	..	Captured by English, Copenhagen	7/9/1807
<i>Eider</i> 16	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Elv</i> 16	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Gluckstadt</i> 12	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Sarp</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Glommen</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Nidelv</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Delphin</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Mercurius</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Allart</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Coureur</i> 18	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Brevdrager</i> 14	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Flyvende Fisk</i> 14	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Orn</i> 10	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Odense</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Arendal</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Wiborg</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Langesund</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Aalborg</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Christiansund</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Stege</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Flensborg</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Naskov</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Stavaern</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Nykjøbing</i> 8	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Roeskilde</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Helsingør</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Frederiksund</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Salholm</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Nestved</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Kallundborg</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Holbek</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Nysted</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Redby</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Kierteminde</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Svendborg</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Assens</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Middelbart</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Faaborg</i> 6	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Hai</i> 20	..	Captured by English and sunk	7/9/1807
A bomb vessel	..	Captured by English .. .	7/9/1807
A gunyawl	..	" .. .	7/9/1807
<i>Admiral Jawl</i> 28	..	Captured by English and destroyed	2/2/1808
<i>Pr. Christian Frederik</i> 68.	..	" .. .	23/3/1808
<i>Tordenskjold</i> (P.) 10	..	Captured by English .. .	30/3/1808
A gunboat 2	..	Sunk in action, Bergen (?)	15/5/1808
— (P.) 8	..	Blown up in action .. .	24/5/1808
<i>Kjølke</i> (P.) 6	..	Captured by English .. .	29/5/1808
<i>E 3</i> (gunboat) 2	..	" .. .	12/6/1808
<i>Aristides</i> (P.) 6	..	" .. .	July, 1808
<i>Christiania</i> (P.) 14	..	" .. .	July, 1808
<i>Fama</i> 14	..	" .. .	9/8/1808
<i>Søorm</i> 8	..	" .. .	9/8/1808
<i>Acertif</i> (P.) 8	..	" .. .	11/8/1808
— (P.) 6	..	" .. .	21/9/1808
— (P.) 10	..	" .. .	1/10/1808

<i>Hoernesen</i> (?) (P.) 4 ..	Captured by English ..	4/10/1808
<i>Gjengjelder</i> (P.) 4 ..	" ..	4/10/1808
<i>Lykkeleg</i> 6 ..	" ..	1808
<i>Aalborg</i> 6 ..	" ..	1/3/1809
<i>Courier</i> (P.) 5 ..	" ..	May, 1809
<i>Edderkop</i> (P.) 2 ..	" ..	May, 1809
<i>Fire Brødre</i> (P.) 4 ..	" ..	May, 1809
<i>Makrel</i> (P.) 2 ..	" ..	May, 1809
<i>Snap</i> (P.) 3 ..	" ..	May, 1809
<i>Christianborg</i> (P.) 6 ..	" ..	May, 1809
— 6 ..	Destroyed by English ..	May, 1809
<i>Sol Fugel</i> (P.) 6 ..	Captured by English ..	May, 1809
<i>Levigerna</i> (P.) 6 ..	" ..	May, 1809
— (P.) 7 ..	" ..	June, 1809
<i>Løve</i> (P.) 2 ..	" ..	13/6/1809
<i>Kaptein Jøpen</i> (P.) 8 ..	" ..	12/8/1809
— (P.) 4 ..	" ..	12/8/1809
<i>Spekulation</i> (P.) 3 ..	" ..	12/8/1809
<i>Dorothea Catherine</i> (P.) 6 ..	" ..	Sept., 1809
<i>Christiania</i> (P.) 8 ..	" ..	Oct., 1809
<i>Réciprocité</i> (P.) 4 ..	" ..	Nov., 1809
<i>Diana</i> 20 ..	Taken by English, Carthagera ..	1809
<i>Tønsberg</i> No. 2, 3 ..	Wrecked ..	1810
<i>G.B. No. 3, 2</i> ..	(ex English.) Wrecked ..	1810
<i>Juliana</i> (P.) 6 ..	Captured by English ..	29/4/1810
<i>Ziska</i> (P.) 6 ..	" ..	30/4/1810
— (P.) 1 ..	" ..	30/4/1810
(1 gunboat) ..	Blown up in action (?) ..	23/5/1810
— (P.) 3 ..	Captured by English ..	24/5/1810
— (P.) 3 ..	" ..	24/5/1810
<i>Svan</i> (P.) 6 ..	" ..	27/5/1810
<i>Husar</i> 1 ..	" ..	8/7/1810
<i>Flink</i> 1 ..	" ..	8/7/1810
<i>Løber</i> 1 ..	" ..	8/7/1810
<i>Thor</i> 2 ..	" ..	23/7/1810
<i>Balder</i> 2 ..	" ..	23/7/1810
<i>No. 5</i> (gunyawl) 3 ..	Captured by English and destroyed ..	23/7/1810
— (P.) 2 ..	Captured by English ..	28/7/1810
— (P.) 4 ..	" ..	10/11/1810
— (P.) 2 ..	" ..	14/11/1810
<i>Melampe</i> (P.) 3 ..	Destroyed by English ..	Nov., 1810
— (P.) 4 ..	Captured by English ..	13/12/1810
— (P.) 3 ..	" ..	13/12/1810
<i>Restorateur</i> (P.) 6 ..	" ..	2/1/1811
<i>D 1</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	27/3/1811
<i>E 7</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	27/3/1811
<i>Alban</i> 12 ..	(ex English.) Captured by English ..	11/5/1811
— (P.) 2 ..	Captured by English ..	14/5/1811
(3 boats) ..	" ..	May/June, 1811
— (P.) 10 ..	" ..	14/6/1811
— (P.) ..	Destroyed by English ..	14/6/1811
— (P.) 6 ..	" ..	28/6/1811
<i>No. 15</i> (gunyawl) 3 ..	Destroyed to prevent capture ..	5/7/1811
Four gunboats ..	Captured by English ..	5/7/1811
<i>G.B. No. 1, 2</i> ..	(ex English.) Captured by English ..	2/8/1811

<i>G.B. No. 2, 2</i> ..	(ex English.) Captured by English ..	2/8/1811
<i>G.B. No. 5, 2</i> ..	" ..	2/8/1811
Two gunboats ..	Captured by English ..	20/9/1811
— (P.) 2 ..	Captured by English ..	9/10/1811
<i>Skanderbeik</i> (P. 10) ..	" ..	14/11/1811
<i>Commander Sullen</i> (P.) 4 ..	" ..	29/11/1811
<i>Alvor</i> (P.) 14 ..	" ..	31/12/1811
<i>Rap</i> (P.) 14 ..	" ..	26/4/1812
<i>Najad</i> 42 ..	Destroyed by English ..	6/7/1812
<i>No. 104</i> (schooner) 3 ..	Captured by English ..	2/8/1812
<i>No. 97</i> (cutter) 3 ..	" ..	2/8/1812
<i>No. 28</i> (lugger) ..	" ..	Aug., 1812
<i>Abigail</i> (P.) 3 ..	" ..	12/12/1812
<i>Falk</i> (lugger) 1 ..	Wrecked ..	1812
<i>Junge Trautmann</i> 5 ..	Captured by English ..	21/3/1813
<i>Liebe</i> 5 ..	" ..	21/3/1813
<i>Tiger</i> (lugger) 1 ..	" ..	1813
<i>Nissen</i> 2 ..	Capsized ..	1813
<i>Tønning</i> 14 ..	Captured by Allies, Husum ..	1813
<i>Femern</i> 14 ..	Captured by Allies, Glückstadt ..	1814
<i>F 9</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	1814
<i>F 10</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	1814
<i>G 1</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	1814
<i>G 2</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	1814
<i>G 3</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	1814
<i>G 4</i> (gunship) 6 ..	" ..	1814
<i>Peri</i> 36 ..	Wrecked on Skagen ..	5/12/1814

RUSSIAN.

<i>Archangel Michail</i> 44 ..	Wrecked, Porkala ..	1796
<i>Maria</i> 38 ..	Wrecked ..	1796
Seven batteries ..	Destroyed by lightning ..	6/6/1796
Seventy-three galleys ..	" ..	6/6/1796
Nine gunboats ..	" ..	6/6/1796
<i>Prints Gustav</i> 74 ..	(ex Swedish.) Lost at sea ..	15/11/1797
<i>Dispatch</i> 20 ..	Wrecked, Rügen ..	1805
Two gunboats ..	Wrecked ..	1805
<i>Flora</i> 22 ..	Wrecked, Mediterranean ..	1807
<i>Opyt</i> 14 ..	Captured by English ..	24/6/1808
<i>Vyetryanitsa</i> ..	Burnt by English ..	1808
<i>Kommer Strax</i> 14 ..	(ex Swedish.) Captured by Swedes ..	17/7/1808
<i>Vsevolod</i> 74 ..	Burnt by English ..	26/7/1808
Two gunboats ..	Lost in action with Swedes ..	30/8/1808
<i>Geroi</i> 48 ..	Wrecked, Råger Vik ..	Oct., 1808
<i>Argus</i> 44 ..	Wrecked, Revel ..	Oct., 1808
<i>Spyeshnyi</i> 44 ..	Detained at Plymouth ..	1808
<i>Vilgelmina</i> 30 ..	" ..	1808
<i>Rafail</i> 80 ..	Captured by English, Lisbon (sold there). ..	3/9/1808
<i>Yaroslav</i> 74 ..	Captured by English, Lisbon (sold England, 1813). ..	3/9/1808
<i>Sv. Elena</i> 74 ..	" ..	3/9/1808
<i>Selafail</i> 74 ..	" ..	3/9/1808
<i>Tverdyi</i> 74 ..	" ..	3/9/1808

<i>Retvizan</i> 66	Captured by English, Lisbon (sold England, 1813).	3/9/1808
<i>Skoryi</i> 60	"	3/9/1808
<i>Kildygn</i> 32	"	3/9/1808
<i>Silnyi</i> 74	Captured by English, Lisbon (restored 1813).	3/9/1808
<i>Moshichnyi</i> 66	"	3/9/1808
<i>Venus</i> 44	(ex Swedish.) Transferred to Naples..	1808
<i>Uriil</i> 76	Captured by Austrians (ceded to France).	1809
<i>Moskva</i> 74	"	1809
<i>Sv. Petr</i> 74	"	1809
<i>Sed-el-Bachr</i> 84	(ex Turkish.) Captured by Austrians (ceded to France).	1809
<i>Legkii</i> 38	Captured by Austrians (ceded to France).	1809
<i>Stryela</i> 20	"	1809
<i>Feniks</i> 18	"	1809
<i>Letun</i> 12	"	1809
<i>Poluks</i> 36	Wrecked	1809
Six gunboats	Captured by English, Porkala..	8/7/1809
One gunboat	Sunk in action, Porkala	8/7/1809
Three gunboats	Captured by English, Svensund	25/7/1809
One gun vessel 17	Captured by English (sold to Sweden)	1809
One gunboat	Wrecked	1810
<i>Saratov</i> 66	Aground and destroyed, Sveaborg	1812
<i>Edinorog</i> 18	Wrecked off Domesness	1812
Two gunboats	Wrecked	1812
Five gunboats	Wrecked, Nargen	1813
One gunboat	Wrecked, Danzig	1813
Two gunboats	Blown up in action, Danzig	Sept., 1813
Thirty transports, etc.	Wrecked between 1794 and 1814.	

ENGLISH.

<i>Invincible</i> 74	Wrecked on way to join Baltic Fleet..	16/3/1801
<i>Blazer</i> 12	Captured by Swedes (restored later) ..	23/3/1801
<i>Charles</i>	Blown up in action	31/8/1807
<i>Nykjoberg</i> 8	(ex Danish.) Abandoned and re-captured.	Oct., 1807
<i>Faaborg</i> 6	"	Oct., 1807
<i>Nestved</i> 6	"	Oct., 1807
<i>Holbek</i> 6	"	Oct., 1807
<i>Nysted</i> 6	"	Oct., 1807
Seventeen gunboats	(ex Danish.) Abandoned and lost ..	Oct., 1807
<i>Dauntless</i> 18	Captured by French, Danzig	26/5/1807
<i>Lord Keith</i> 10	Captured by Danes	15/1/1808
<i>Tickler</i> 14	"	4/6/1808
<i>Turbulent</i> 16	"	9/6/1808
<i>Seagull</i> 16	"	19/6/1808
<i>Tigress</i> 14	"	2/8/1808
A gunboat 2	"	27/9/1808
<i>Crescent</i> 36	Wrecked, Jylland	6/12/1808
<i>Fama</i> 16	Wrecked	23/12/1808
<i>Magnet</i> 18	"	11/1/1809
<i>Claudia</i> 10	"	20/1/1809

<i>Proselyte</i> (bomb) 4	Wrecked	Jan., 1809
A gunboat 2	Captured by Danes	19/6/1809
<i>Allart</i> 18	(ex Danish.) Captured by Danes ..	10/8/1809
<i>Minx</i> 13	Captured by Danes	2/9/1809
A gunboat 2	"	15/10/1809
<i>Salorman</i> 10	(ex Danish " <i>Sæorm</i> .) Wrecked ..	22/12/1809
<i>Grinder</i>	Captured by Danes	13/4/1810
<i>Alban</i> 12	"	12/9/1810
<i>Pandora</i> 18	Wrecked, Kattegat	13/2/1811
<i>Hero</i>	Sunk in action, Udevala (?)	23/4/1811
<i>Swan</i>	"	23/4/1811
<i>Safeguard</i> 13	Captured by Danes	29/6/1811
<i>Manly</i> 12	"	2/9/1811
<i>Swan</i> 10	"	Sept., 1811
<i>Fancy</i> 12	Lost at sea, Baltic	24/12/1811
<i>St. George</i> 98	Wrecked, Jylland	24/12/1811
<i>Defence</i> 74	"	24/12/1811
<i>Hero</i> 74	Wrecked on Dutch coast	25/12/1811
<i>Grasshopper</i> 18	Captured by Dutch	25/12/1811
Two gunboats, 2 each	Captured by Danes	1811
<i>Fly</i> 16	Wrecked, Anholt	29/2/1812
<i>Exertion</i> 12	Aground and destroyed, Elbe ..	8/7/1812
<i>Attack</i> 13	Captured by Danes	19/8/1812
<i>Sentinel</i> 12	Wrecked, Rügen	10/10/1812
<i>Nimble</i> 10	Lost in Kattegat	6/11/1812
<i>Bellette</i> 18	Wrecked, Kattegat	24/11/1812

FRENCH.

<i>Tilsit</i> (P.) 10	Captured by English	June, 1809
— (P.) 4	"	25/7/1810
<i>Messalina</i> (P.) 6	Destroyed by English	2/8/1810
— (P.) 4	"	30/5/1811
— (P.) 6	Captured by English	15/6/1811
<i>Fegero</i> (P.) 10	"	6/7/1811
<i>Hirondelle</i> (P.) 6	"	14/10/1811
<i>Grand Diable</i> (P.) 4	"	17/10/1811
<i>Petit Edouard</i> (P.) 6	"	23/10/1811
<i>Heureuse Etoile</i> (P.) 4	"	11/11/1811
<i>Petit Poucet</i> (P.) 8	"	9/10/1812
(3 privateers)	Destroyed by English	11/10/1812
<i>Pilotin</i> (P.) 4	Captured by English	Oct., 1812
<i>D'Hervilly</i> (P.) 4	"	Oct., 1812

APPENDIX XI.

THE COAST FLOTILLAS.

In the wars of 1788–90 and 1807–14 the operations of the coast flotillas were of the greatest importance. Previously the only vessels of this kind had been "prams," which were flat bottomed sailing ships carrying heavy guns, and "galleys," but in these two wars there appeared a great variety of

types intended for use in shallow and confined waters and accordingly an attempt has been made in the following tables to give the salient features of the more important vessels:—

Name of Type.	Date of Building.	Average Length, Beam and Draught in English Feet.	Pairs of Oars.	Armament.	Total.
SWEDISH NAVY.					
Hemmema ..	1760	142½ by 36 by 10	20	24 36's, 2 12's	26
Turuma ..	1760	123 by 30 by 11	19	24 18's, 16 3's	40
Udema ..	1760	120 by 28 by 8½	18	9 12's, 2 18's ..	11
Pojama ..	1760	90 by 26 by 6	16	4 24's, 12 3's ..	16
Galley ..	1748-49	137 by 20 by 8 ..	20-22	1 24, 2 12's or 6's, 7-11 3's ..	10-14
Gunsloop ..	1789	66 by 14½ by 4½	14-15	2 24's, 4 3's ..	6
Guniawl ..	1789	41 by 10 by 2½ ..	5	1 18 or 24 ..	1
RUSSIAN NAVY.					
Rowing frigate ..	..	130 by 32 by 11	..	20-24 6's or 12's, 12-26 swivels	38
Shebek ..	..	120 by 30-34 by 8-11	..	..	32-50
Secret boat ..	..	120 by 28 by 9 ..	..	38 big	44
Pram ..	..	120 by 35 by 9½	..	26 " ..	38
Half pram ..	..	110 by 33 by 8 ..	..	8 " ..	26
Battery ..	..	106 by 31 by 7½	..	4 18's, etc. ..	8
Half shebek ..	..	76 by 19 by 8 ..	..	1 36, 4 6's, etc. ..	15-17
Galley ..	1700	140 by 20 by 6½	20-22	— ..	11
Kaik ..	..	70 by 14 by 6 ..	17	— ..	8
Double sloop ..	..	70 by 14 by 5 ..	10	— ..	2
Gunboat ..	..	68 by 15 by 5 ..	15	— ..	1
" ..	..	63 by 15 by 5 ..	10	1 12 or 24 ..	..
DANISH NAVY.					
Pram ..	1802	102 by 31 by 5 ..	..	20 24's ..	24
Coast boat ..	1786	64 by 17 by 16 ..	..	2 18's, 6 howitzers	8
Gunsloop ..	1805	66 by 14½ by 15-18	..	2 24's, 4 "	6
Guniawl ..	1805	37½ by 10 by —	..	1 24, 2 howitzers	3

Most of the Swedish vessels had their armaments increased in the course of the war of 1788-90. The turumas seem to have carried at one time forty-eight guns. Gunsloops and gunyawls were given 36 prs. A udema could fire her nine 12's on either broadside; her two 18's were forward. Galleys also carried their big guns forward. Three Swedish hemmemas built in 1790 were almost identical with the previous type. The Russians built in 1808 gemamas or hemmemas which were 144 feet by 35½ feet by 8½ feet and carried thirty-two guns.

What have been sometimes called "gun-vessels" were boats belonging to the bigger vessels and armed with a number of small guns.

APPENDIX XII.

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INDEX TO NAVAL OFFICERS.

Note on abbreviations:—

B.	=	Brandenburg.
D.	=	Danish.
Du.	=	Dutch.
E.	=	English.
F.	=	French.
L.	=	Lübeck.
P.	=	Polish.
R.	=	Russian.
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Note on abbreviations:—

B.	=	Brandenburg.
D.	=	Danish.
Du.	=	Dutch.
E.	=	English.
F.	=	French.
G.	=	German.
I.	=	Imperial.
L.	=	Lübeck.
Li.	=	Livonian.
R.	=	Russian.
S.	=	Swedish.
S.S.	=	King Sigismund's.
Sp.	=	Spanish.

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