
Schlüssel
Nystädtischen
Frieden,
Könige in Schweden und Czaren in Moscau,
Finnland, Ingermanland und Liefland,
Kriegs- und Friedens-Geschichte der beiden Reiche,

The peace treaty of Uusikaupunki (*Nystad*) in 1721 confirmed Russia's newly-won hegemony over Sweden in the Baltic world. Nonetheless, Sweden managed to retain Pomerania and the provinces taken over from Denmark, and remained a major force in the region. The new order stirred interest throughout Europe: the illustration shows the title page of a book published the following year in Nuremberg.

POLAND, DENMARK AND SWEDEN IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Although the treaty of 1721 deprived Sweden of its provinces near St. Petersburg, including Viborgian Karelia, Kexholm province, Ingria, Estonia and Livonia, it was still a major regional power. The entire west coast from Scania to Stockholm, all of the Bothnian coast and the northern Baltic and Gulf of Finland remained under Swedish control. Sweden's relationship with Denmark (-Norway) and Russia was problematical throughout the 18th century, right up to the post-Napoleonic settlement. Sweden resigned itself to the loss of the Baltic provinces and Ingria fairly quickly, but it was more important to hold on to Finland, which had been part of the Swedish kingdom ever since its inception, and to push the border back eastward. In an attempt to profit from the War of the Austrian Succession, Sweden declared war on Russia in 1741, seeking to wrest back the parts of Finland it had lost. France supported Sweden in the hope of tying up Russia on the northern front. Sweden's war was cut short, however, and Russia, proving overwhelmingly superior both on land and at sea, invaded the whole of Finland; in the peace treaty of 1743, the border was again moved west, all the way to the River Kymijoki.

Sweden concluded peace treaties in Stockholm with Prussia, Hanover and Britain in 1719 and 1720, ceding parts of Pomerania (including Stettin) to Prussia and the secular dioceses of Bremen and Verden to Hanover. In the Swedish-Danish peace treaty of Fredriksborg, Scania, Blekinge and Halland remained Swedish, Denmark gaining the toll rights for the Sound and other compensation. Denmark also took over the Gottorp half of Schleswig, and

the mediating powers, Britain and France, guaranteed its new southern border. The Gottorp family had traditionally allied itself with Sweden, thus encircling Denmark with enemies, but this danger now seemed a thing of the past. Denmark sought support from Britain, Sweden from France.

The importance of the Holstein-Gottorp family was related to the impact of Schleswig-Holstein's eventful history on the Baltic region. Christian I of Denmark, elected ruler of both Schleswig and Holstein in 1460, issued a solemn declaration that these lands would remain united forever. A real union between Schleswig and Holstein had thus arisen, and they jointly formed a personal union with Denmark, which in turn had a short-lived personal union with Sweden and a longstanding real union with Norway. Nonetheless, the two du-chies were separate, giving rise to a *condominium* from 1581 to 1720, with two dukes of the Oldenburg family governing the two halves, one of whom was also King of Denmark. The 'royal' and 'ducal' lands (the latter belonging to the Gottorp branch) formed a patchwork of small enclaves. The Gottorps allied themselves with Sweden, demanding to be restored to power. The significance of these events was multiplied by the fact that the Gottorp family ascended the Swedish throne in 1751 and the Russian throne in 1762. In 1665, the mini-state of Gottorf had founded a university of its own in Kiel, and many young men from the Baltic provinces studied there in the next decades.

The leading Danish statesman, Count Bernstorff, and after him his nephew, led the foreign policy of Denmark-(Norway) throughout the latter half of the 18th century, with a few brief exceptions, and succeeded in maintaining Denmark's neutrality. The elder Bernstorff anticipated the rising power of Russia and Prussia and feared their union, all the more so as Lovisa Ulrika, the accomplished and strong-willed consort of King Adolf Frederick of Sweden, was a princess of Prussia and sister of King Frederick II. Meanwhile, France sought to maintain the balance in the North. When ascending the Russian throne in 1762, Peter III immediately concluded an alliance with Prussia and declared war on Denmark, while France sent an army of 30 000 men to Mecklenburg to oppose the combined Russian and Prussian forces. France, too, wished to prevent Russia from obtaining a bridgehead from the North Sea to the Baltic between Germany and Denmark, at the key point once occupied by the Danevirke and Haithabu, located near the mighty cities of Lübeck and Hamburg, where eventually the canal and naval port of Kiel would be built.

Peter III was czar for less than a year before being deposed by his wife

Catherine II, initiating a longstanding alliance between Denmark and Russia in 1763. It was in the interest of both countries to keep Sweden weak, as Russia sought to extend its influence in the Baltic, while Denmark wished to strengthen its position in the duchies and to obtain guarantees against Prussia. Prussia and Russia then took turns in gaining territory at Poland's and Sweden's expense, whereas Denmark managed to maintain the status quo until the 19th century, when it lost Norway. The Schleswig-Holstein issue resurfaced in 1848, leading to war.

Sweden had established the mighty naval fortress of Karlskrona in 1679 in Blekinge, facing Danish waters. In 1748, construction of the even larger fortress of Sveaborg (Viapori, later Suomenlinna, in Finnish) began on a group of islands just off Helsinki, across the Gulf of Finland from the new Russian fortress of Tallinn and not far from the new Russian border. These fortification projects gave rise to new naval technology and artillery, including the construction of a fleet of light galleys (*Arméens flotta*), especially well-suited to the island-dotted Finnish waters, and the development of officer's training in a more professional direction. A highly civilized officers' culture emerged, bringing in French influences. Their interest in gardening and French literature, art and music, ritual secret societies and an aristocratic republican political philosophy had strong repercussions on Swedish society at large. The officers' cultural pretensions were frequently backed up by service abroad. The French Army maintained a Royal Swedish Regiment, stationed in Strasbourg, for several decades; most of its officers were Swedes who eventually returned to their home country. France was Sweden's and Turkey's ally against Russia.

One of a series of paintings by Elias Martin on the construction of the Sveaborg fortress in front of Helsinki: quarrying of the large dock basin.

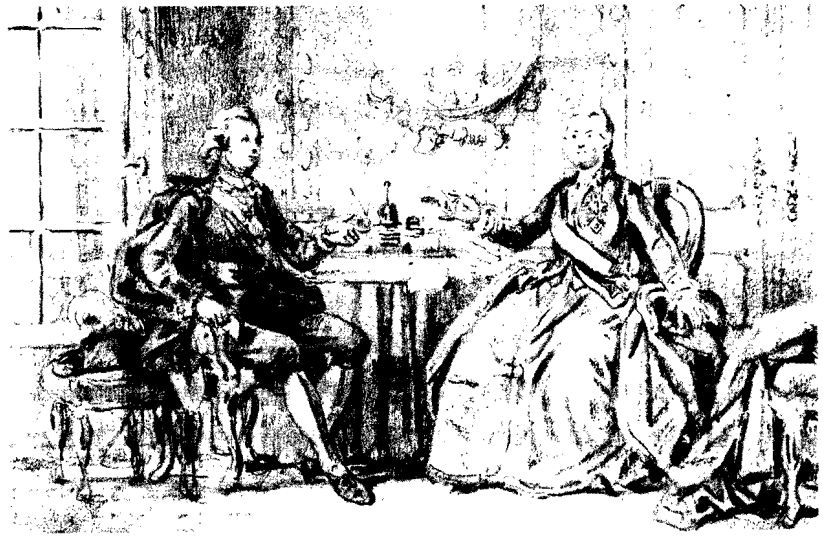
THE HOUSE OF OLDENBURG

The Oldenburgs are the most significant ruling dynasty in the Baltic region. In the 18th century some of the family members, in alliances through marriage with the Romanovs and the Hohenzollerns, were important reformers.

All the later Oldenburgs descend from Frederick, Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, who in 1523 became Frederick I of Denmark. His male heirs were the Danish monarchs until the death in 1839 of Frederick VI. The most famous to wear the crown was Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway from 1588 until his death in 1648. Frederick VI was survived only by two daughters and the title passed to his cousin, Christian VIII, whose son Frederick VII of Denmark in turn died in 1863 without heirs.

Matters then became more complicated, as another Frederick, from the Augustenborgs, a distant arm of the Oldenburg dynasty, claimed the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Any hopes Frederick might have had of picking up the Danish crown itself were dashed, however, as the next King of Denmark was Christian IX, who came from an even more remote branch of the Oldenburg family – the Glücksburgs – and had no particularly legitimate claim, albeit he was a great-grandson of Frederick V of Denmark. The "Augustenborg Frederick" even lost his ducal title, as a short war with Austria and Prussia led to the loss of Schleswig to Prussia in 1864, and later Holstein as well. This pretender Frederick is not completely insignificant, however,

"Cousins and neighbours" – Sweden's King Gustav III and Catherine the Great of Russia shared more than a land boundary in the mid-18th century: they were full cousins. The picture shows a meeting in Hamina, then on the Russian side of the border.



for his daughter Auguste Viktoria married Kaiser Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia.

However, let us return to 1863. The new monarch Christian IX may not have been a direct heir of the Oldenburg line, but he and his wife Louise of Hesse-Kassel became "the parents-in-law of Europe". They had six remarkably successful children: their eldest son became Frederick VIII of Denmark; another son Wilhelm became George I of Greece and the head of a line of Greek monarchs. Christian and Louise's eldest daughter Alexandra married the British King Edward VII, making her the great-grandmother of Elizabeth II, and another daughter, Princess Dagmar, married Alexander III, Emperor of All the Russias, and was known thereafter as Maria Feodorovna.

Frederick VIII of Denmark continued his parents' good work: his son Christian became Christian X of Denmark and the father of Frederick IX and grandfather of the current Queen Margrethe II. The second son, Prince Carl, became King Haakon VII of Norway, who in turn was the father of King Olav V and grandfather of the present King of Norway, Harald V.

The Oldenburg dynasty was also active in Sweden. A starting point there might be Adolf, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (1526–1586), the first duke from the Holstein-Gottorp line of the House of Oldenburg. Adolf's daughter Christina married King Charles IX of Sweden. This move can be seen as a reflection of the longstanding anti-Danish policies of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies and Sweden. Christina became the mother of Gustav II Adolf of Sweden (Gustavus Adolphus), and following the abdication of Christina of Sweden (Gustav II Adolf's daughter) in 1654, the crown passed to Christina's cousin Charles X Gustav. He married another Holstein-Gottorp, his second cousin Hedvig Eleonora. Their son Charles XI succeeded to the throne, followed by his only son Charles XII, and since he had no heir, he was briefly followed by his sister Ulrika Eleonora, who initially ruled alone. Charles and Ulrika's sister Princess Hedwig Sophia, meanwhile, married another Holstein-Gottorp, her cousin Frederick IV, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Their only son married Anna Petrovna, the elder daughter of Emperor Peter I ("The Great") of Russia and Catherine I of Russia. This marriage in turn produced the Emperor Peter III of Russia, from whom all the subsequent Russian rulers were descended, down to Nicholas II (1868–1918).

The nephew of the Frederick IV noted above was in turn Adolf Frederick, chosen at the Treaty of Turku (Åbo) in 1743 to be the heir to the throne of Sweden. He reigned from 1751, and his marriage to Queen Louisa Ulrika of Prussia produced two further Swedish kings in Gustav III and Charles XIII. Gustav III's own son also ascended to the throne as Gustav IV Adolf of Sweden.

The web of relationships all harking back to the Oldenburg line becomes even tighter: Emperor Peter III of Russia and Gustav III of Sweden were second cousins, but Peter's consort and successor Catherine II "The Great" of Russia and Gustav III were full cousins. They shared a common grandfather, Prince Christian August of Holstein-Gottorp, whose son Adolf Frederick of Sweden fathered Gustav, while Adolf Frederick's younger sister Johanna Elizabeth was Catherine's mother. In the next generation the Hohenzollern connection emerges, in that the Emperor Nicholas I and his consort Alexandra Feodorovna, the former Hohenzollern Princess Charlotte of Prussia, were also third cousins and blood relatives. The Russian Emperor Alexander I and the Swedish King Gustav IV Adolf were related by blood, but also by marriage, as they each took a princess of Baden as their consort.

The close relatives Frederick II of Prussia (Frederick the Great), Catherine II of Russia, and Gustav III of Sweden all became well known throughout Europe for their literary and artistic talents and as the instigators of many reforms in the spirit of enlightenment that was abroad in the mid-18th century. They sought to reform and humanise judicial practices, to revise the legislature, permit the immigration of Jews, and to educate their subjects through literature, theatre, and the arts and by inviting French philosophers to their countries. Together with the Habsburg Joseph II, the Holy Roman Emperor, these rulers came to personify the concept of the "enlightened despot". However, some of the reforms that were set in motion threatened the position of the nobility, and Gustav III of Sweden and the Russian Emperors Peter III and Paul I all fell victim to assassination plots by disaffected aristocrats.

The same fate befell the physician Count Johann Friedrich von Struensee, who briefly became the *de facto* ruler of Denmark during the reign of the mad King Christian VII. Struensee's furious pace of reform in the early 1770s provoked a violent backlash and he was executed in April 1772.

Christian's sister Sofia Magdalena was consort to Gustav III of Sweden, for from time to time there were attempts to patch up the sour relations between Sweden and Denmark through dynastic marriages. Gustav III nonetheless suspected his wife of maintaining secret political contacts with her Danish homeland.

Denmark – at least until 1848 – and Russia remained as absolute monarchies, while in Sweden Gustav III concentrated power from the Estates to the King with a new constitution in 1772 and consolidated his position in 1789, until the power of the monarch was once again restricted in constitutional changes on the dethroning of Gustav IV Adolf in 1809. It was precisely these broad-ranging or absolute powers that made reforms possible, for the majority of the nobility generally opposed them: Poland provided an example of this.

Denmark, Sweden, and Norway managed to remain outside of the First World War, and they retained their monarchical form of government as the imperial houses of Germany and Russia collapsed. The rights and privileges of the monarchy were nevertheless reduced to a largely symbolic level, but the great majority of the populations in these countries have wished to hold on to the traditional monarchical system, recognising its symbolic significance as a force for national unification and the prestige afforded in dealings with other nations. At the beginning of the 21st century Margrethe II of Denmark, Carl XVI Gustav of Sweden, and Harald V of Norway have all abandoned the earlier strict rules and taken a commoner as their consort.

The name of Sveaborg was connected with that of Göteborg (Gothenburg), the new regional centre near the western border with Norway, which gained in economic importance during the colonial expansion of the 18th century. Sveaborg, Göteborg and Karlskrona stand as proof of Sweden's continued major power status, although in Swedish history the 18th century is not always thought of in such terms. This is due to the relative weakening of Sweden's status compared with Russia, and with the inordinate attention paid to constitutional changes during the 18th century and later. Here, an interesting although not fully valid analogy with Poland presents itself.

In the lively political and social debate of the 18th century, Poland, Sweden and the Holy Roman Empire were, on the one hand, examples of political weakness and disunity; on the other hand, they represented republican values and a citizens' society against absolutist 'tyranny' and control. Thus it was that Montesquieu lauded Sweden as "the fountain of liberty", while Rousseau, in his *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de Pologne*, considered the Swedish form of government to be the purest of Europe's 'old' republican systems. Sweden gained this distinction largely on the strength of its representation of the four estates, especially the free peasants, which Poland's otherwise distinguished aristocratic parliamentarianism could not match, while the main political institutions of the Holy Roman Empire were princes, bishops and powerful cities. Many smaller nations maintained Diets long into the 19th century, but these were essentially assemblies of noblemen or represented the nobles and the towns; such were the estate systems of Holstein, Schleswig, Livonia, Courland and Estonia. Even in the years of absolute monarchy in Sweden, the *Riksdag* had been convened fairly regularly, primarily because it had kept the power of the purse. In Denmark, Brandenburg and many other states, the absolutist bureaucratic state had entirely done away with convening the estates.

Montesquieu wrote that the climate of the northern countries had infused their people with a spirit of independence and freedom, and that their republicanism was reflected in the fact that Protestantism suited them better because it had no obvious ruler (i.e., pope). The northern climate favoured bravery and honesty, but reduced people's capacity to love and feel. Rousseau, for his part, drew his readers' attention to the sterling rural virtues of the North as the source of its political system.

The reality, however, was not quite the same thing as theory. On a walk with the young Swedish scholar P. Forsskåhl, the Göttingen professor I. D. Michaelis learned that *frihet* is not the same as *Freiheit*: in Sweden,

"no-one may express his opinion aloud, let alone have it printed, and this we call slavery." The *Riksdag* waged party warfare, which provided the pretext for the restoration of monarchic rule by Gustav III in 1772. Voltaire congratulated his young admirer the King upon this act, which Frederick the Great of Prussia, Gustav's uncle, compared with the cleaning of the Augean stables. The neighbouring Denmark and Russia would have preferred to see Sweden's degradation continue, and hastened to form an alliance against Gustav, but postponed action because of other worries. Two years later, Gustav III sent Voltaire a historical play he had written himself, together with his new decree on freedom of the press – both, according to the King, inspired by the philosopher of Ferney.

THE BALTIC CULTURAL SPHERE

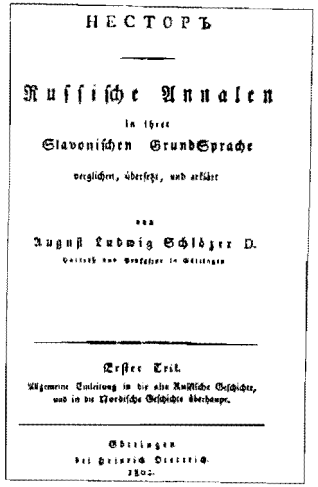
In the latter half of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, several notable scholars performed research which helped weld the Baltic sphere together. The new university in Göttingen became an important site of pilgrimage for scholars and students throughout the Baltic region. Previously, students from the Baltic countries had mainly studied in Kiel; in the 18th century Jena, Halle and Leipzig, and later Göttingen, were most popular. Many Courlanders studied in Königsberg, and people from other coastal regions had their own *Landesuniversität* institutions. Many Finns, especially those of Ostrobothnia, studied in Uppsala rather than Turku. The lack of a local university compelled young men seeking learning to leave St. Petersburg and the Baltic countries in their quest for up-to-date knowledge.

An excellent example of the broader Baltic context is provided by P. Forsskåhl. The son of the dean of Helsinki, Forsskåhl studied in Uppsala and later in Göttingen. His claim to fame rests on two achievements. After his studies in Göttingen, he published *Tankar om Borgerliga Friheten* (Thoughts About Bourgeois Freedom), a work that was banned as revolutionary, and later republished as a defence of revolutionary ideals in 1792. This book contributed significantly to the enactment of the world's first – though short-lived – law on freedom of the press in Sweden in 1765. Forsskåhl's second achievement, after he had entered Denmark's service for reasons of political opinion, was in being selected to join Niebuhr's great scientific expedition to 'Happy Arabia'. The expedition came to grief, however, and

Forsskåhl never returned. Nor did any of its other participants except for Niebuhr himself, who survived to publish the findings. The expedition marked the beginning of modern Arabian studies.

Göttingen exerted an influence in the Baltic region in the fields of history, political science and New Humanism. One of the university's best-known professors was the historian and social scientist A. L. von Schlözer. After studying theology at Göttingen and Wittenberg, Schlözer spent several years in Stockholm and Uppsala and later eight years in St. Petersburg. He returned to Göttingen as professor of political science in 1769. Schlözer was a pioneer of Slavic philology and the leading expert of his time on Russian history. His comparison of the German and Russian worlds aroused in him a great admiration for the Slavs; inspired by Rousseau, he considered the civilization of western Europe corrupt. To Schlözer, the Slavic and Nordic world represented original purity, virtue and modesty. Nordic studies were an element in his broad anthropological and political interests, which made him seek out the best social systems in the spirit of Montesquieu. Schlözer's studies had a major impact on the rise of German nationalism and self-awareness among the Baltic peoples.

Rousseau also had a profound influence on Immanuel Kant, who was appointed professor of logic and metaphysics at Königsberg at the time of Schlözer's return to Göttingen. Kant explored the limits of rational thinking, emphasizing the importance of emotions and morals. The greatest of all Baltic thinkers, Kant followed world politics with great gusto, but never left his home town.


HECTOPS

Russische Annalen

in ihrer

Slavonischen GrundSprache

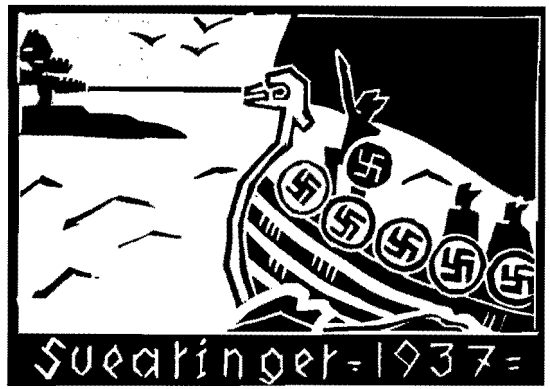
August Ludwig Schlözer D.

Erster Teil.

Göttingen

Title page of August Ludwig von Schlözer's critical study on the early phases of Russian history, which he tied in with the history of the Nordic countries.

Kant's most influential immediate disciple was J. G. Herder, who lived in Riga from 1764 to 1769 as a young clergyman and scholar. When he came to Riga, Herder was inspired by the teachings of Hamann and Kant. The former taught that the inner essence of language is poetry. It was in Riga and during his famous sea voyage from Riga to Nantes that Herder was prompted by his comparisons of German and Lettish



National sentiment based on the German-Nordic ethnicity, Viking romanticism, and often also on theories of race has led at times to some rather gross exaggerations.

life, language and culture to develop his ideas of the national genius and of folk poetry as its expression. Herder saw in the simplicity of the Lettish and Slavic peoples something else than "the rabble from the streets, who never sing or make poetry", namely, an original innocence and a connection with the deepest essence of culture, communicated by the bards. Inspired by his teachers, the poems of Ossian and his own observations in Riga, Herder produced a new interpretation of the inner voice of the 'nation', its songs. Until then, folk poetry had been no more than an antiquarian curiosity or an aspect of cultural history. Thus, in Finland, Porthan embarked on his study *De Poësi Fennica* with an antiquarian perspective, left it unfinished, returned to the subject seeking a completely new approach, but again abandoned the project. His tribulations reflect the change in the very conception of 'folk poetry' that took place about this time, particularly in the Baltic sphere. Herder developed the concept of the *Volkslied*, which was to be enormously influential, then proceeded to publish his great collection, analysing the distinctive characteristics of different nations through their 'folk poetry'. This collection and its message played a seminal role in the rise of the modern, Germanic nationalistic idea of the *Volk*, and the virtually canonical status attained by folk poetry everywhere. The Finnish *Kalevala*, the Estonian *Kalevipoeg*, the Latvian *daina*, the ancient Germanic mythology of Sweden, Denmark and Germany (along with the Viking Romanticism associated with it on historically highly dubious grounds) and the *Prince Igor* legends of Russia were essential building blocks of the nationalism of the 19th century and later times.

Herder was concerned with the social contrasts between barbarism and luxury, freedom and slavery that confronted him in Riga, and wished to be

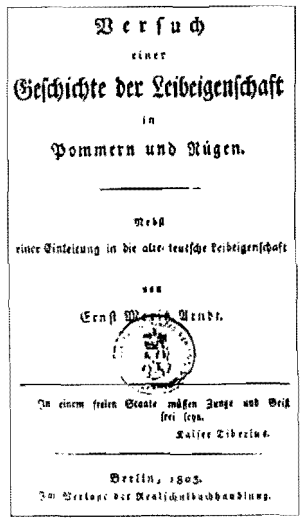
Livonia's reformer. The time, however, was not ripe.

If German science, Rousseauist and at the same time methodically modern as it was, was instrumental to increasing the appreciation of Baltic history and languages, and consequently of the Baltic peoples, it was equally important in disseminating New Humanist ideas. The new aesthetics of Winckelmann, with its classical ethic of 'noble simplicity', spread afield from Göttingen. This movement, connected with the philosophical message of Kant, found support in Prussia, Denmark, the Baltic countries and, eventually, elicited a very strong response in Finland. In its own way, 'noble simplicity' opened a path to the people, and especially to the peasantry. In the Swedish realm, the Göttingen philosophy and method was propagated by H. G. Porthan, all-round humanist and professor of rhetoric at the University of Finland in Turku. Around the same time, G. F. Stender, a cleric who had studied in Jena and Halle and taught in Denmark, was active in Riga. Like Porthan, Stender took a keen interest in folk poetry and philology. He published a *Lettische Grammatik* as early as 1761; in 1774 he brought out the *Augstas Gudribas Gramata* (Handbook of August Wisdom), known as the 'encyclopaedia of peasants and serfs' and one of the pioneering works of popular education; and in 1789 he published a *Lettisches Lexikon* in two volumes. Meanwhile in Finland, a Finnish-languages newspaper was published briefly in 1776, and a large Finnish dictionary was compiled but never published. In 1773, Sahlstedt printed the first comprehensive dictionary in Swedish.

Interest in 'the nation' only took on political colour after the French Revolution and Napoleon's conquest of the south coast of the Baltic Sea in 1806 and 1807. The religious and political crisis of the period merged in the career and publications of Ernst Moritz Arndt. The son of a former serf who had become a freeholder on Rügen, Arndt became professor of the University of Greifswald. Both Rügen and Greifswald belonged to Swedish Pomerania at the time. Arndt's thinking was influenced by the radical Uppsala philosopher Th. Thorild, librarian at Greifswald, and Arndt also absorbed important ideas during several years spent in Sweden and Stockholm, where he eventually served as member of the committee charged with drafting laws for Pomerania. The peasant culture he encountered in Sweden inspired Arndt to outline a new European culture rejecting French-Napoleonic rationalist universalism for a combination of a spiritual and natural tradition in a national and rural spirit. This was to be an essential element in the identity of the German and other Baltic nations.

Arndt was a product of the era of the Napoleonic Wars, which altered

the Baltic map so radically. Initially he considered himself a Swede, but after the Swedish Revolution of 1809 he transferred his allegiance to Germany, and fled Napoleon's advance to St. Petersburg, where he wrote the pamphlets that would later be crucial to the shaping of German nationalism.

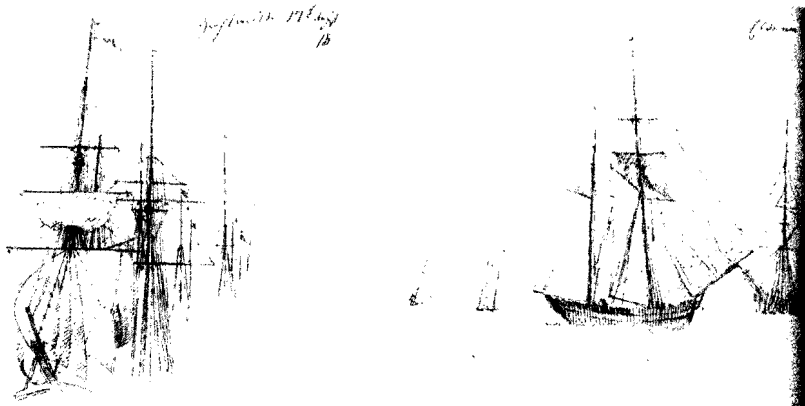

Verſuch
einer
Geſchichte der Leibeigenſchaft
in
Pommern und Rügen.
Nebſt
einer Einleitung in die alte teutſche Leibeigenſchaft
von
Ernſt Moritz Arndt.
In einem freien Staate müſſen Junge und Alte frei ſeyn.
Kaiſer Tiberius.
Berlin, 1803.
Im Verlage der Realſchulbuchhandlung.

Ernst Moritz Arndt's research on the agrarian population of Swedish Pomerania helped shape his nationalist philosophy.

Another Swedish subject from Greifswald was Fr. W. Rühs, who wrote an extensive history of Sweden – in German – in the early years of the 19th century. This work was soon forgotten, but the first history of Finland, hastily compiled by Rühs during the war of 1809, was the sole general presentation of its subject for many decades. It helped formulate a separate history for a country which had no separate history, emphasizing the fashionable philological and ethnographic ideas developed by Rühs's predecessors. This view passed over the plain fact that Finland was not being annexed by Russia for ethnic reasons, but for strategic ones.

The traditional German interest in Russian and Scandinavian history was taken up by Gustav Ewers and other scholars at the German-language University of Dorpat (Tartu), founded in 1802. Russia's 'Patriotic War' against Napoleon in 1812 inspired a new nationalism, uniting Old Russia and its mediaeval traditions with the westernization begun by Peter the Great. The father of Russia's historical identity was Karamzin, whose circle produced the great trend-setter of the 1830s, Pushkin. St. Petersburg and Moscow, maritime and inland traditions, vied for intellectual supremacy throughout the 19th century; but at least both now had to be recognized. As in Germany, the struggle against Napoleon and French universalism gave rise to a new national feeling, which was transmitted to the whole people through literature, the press and popular education in the course of the 19th century.

Swedish Pomerania was also the home of the painter Caspar David Friedrich, who formulated the Romantic conception of the landscape. After studying at Copenhagen's Royal Academy of Art, he went to Dresden in



Two sketches from the Baltic coast by the Swedish-German Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich.

The fine local painter Johan Thomas Lundbye gave expression to the agrarian and patriotic ideals of country life in Denmark. Sketch from 1843.

1795, eventually becoming professor at the art academy there. Many of his key works treat subjects from the Baltic coast, the limestone cliffs of Rügen and the low-lying coastland of Greifswald, to which he returned to paint. In his landscapes, Friedrich sought to express mental states instead of history or events; the people in his paintings were mere props. His work had a vital effect on the unification of religious and ideological painting with landscape painting, previously seen as a completely different genre. In the Nordic countries in general and in Finland in particular, the new views

had a momentous impact. Most influenced by the landscape was the poetry of J. L. Runeberg from the 1830s to the 1850s. Thus emerged the 'Finnish speciality of poetry and painting as expressions of panoramic religious and patriotic sentiment.

In Denmark, the C. D. Friedrich's rural landscape painting was taken up in the 1840s by J. Th. Lundbye. For him, the landscape, the farmers and even domestic animals were the important things, not the history of Denmark. Lundbye's art reflects an agrarian shift in Danish culture following the splendid Classicism of Thorvaldsen and Abilgaard. The democratization of education and religion and Grundtvig's advocation of the Danish language worked in the same direction.

THE REVOLUTIONARY YEARS AND THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars led to a profound political realignment and, in the long term, to a revision of international relations in the Baltic region. Russia and Prussia, despite the humiliations they had suffered in the wars, resumed the expansion begun in the 18th century. Poland vanished from the map, while Sweden and Denmark were weakened significantly by the loss of Finland and Norway, respectively. Finland emerged as a new, separate nation.

Contagion from the French political climate indirectly provoked an officers' rebellion in Finland, known as the 'Anjala Union', during the Russo-Swedish war of 1789. Sweden was attempting to regain the parts of eastern Finland lost in the peace treaties of 1721 and 1743, but the operation did not have any territorial consequences. The most renowned events in this war were the two great naval battles of Ruotsinsalmi (today Kotka), the Russians winning the first in 1789 and the Swedes the second, the largest battle in the history of Baltic naval warfare, in 1790.

In the crisis of 1789, Gustav III succeeded in altering the constitution in an absolutist direction at the nobility's expense. His most important innovation was to grant the peasants full title to their land under civil law. The 'ancient freedom of the peasants', over which both the theoreticians of the 18th century and later Scandinavian ideologues waxed so enthusiastic, had not constituted ownership or the right to buy or sell land freely in the modern legal sense. The new law was preceded by a Swedish-Finnish

TILSIT 1807 AND THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE BALTIC

The Emperors of France and Russia met on June 25th 1807 at Tilsit. They were later joined by King Frederick William III of Prussia and Queen Louise. The negotiations would last for fourteen days. Tilsit, now known as Sovetsk, is situated on the Niemen River (Ger. *Memel*) and is part of the modern-day Russian exclave of Kaliningrad, close to the Lithuanian border. At that time it formed the border between Prussia and Russia. The situation in June 1807 was entirely under Napoleon's control: his armies had crushed Prussia not long before and had arrived at the Baltic coast, and his global sway was probably at its highest point. Napoleon's empire covered France, Italy, the greater part of Germany and The Netherlands, and the campaign on the Iberian Peninsula was under way, with the difficulties there still over the horizon. Napoleon had defeated the Russian army for the first time at Austerlitz in Moravia in December 1805 and now, after having routed the Prussians at Jena and Auerstadt in October 1806, so permitting him to enter Berlin, he had again beaten the Russians, first inconclusively at Preussisch-Eylau in February 1807 and then decisively at Friedland in June. Napoleon's dominion was not in any doubt. But although Russia was bloodied and beaten, it was still a great power, and it was in Napoleon's interest to reach an

After the Battle of Preussich-Eylau. A lithograph from *Minnen ur Napoleons lefnad* ("Recollections From the Life of Napoleon"), published in Stockholm, 1835.

accord with Russia in matters concerning Britain, Turkey, and the Mediterranean.

The King of Prussia's representations and Queen Louise's personal appeal to Napoleon came to nothing: Prussia lost all its territories west of the Elbe River and the Polish lands in Prussian possession since the Second and Third Partitions, and was also ordered to pay heavy war reparations. The dire situation led immediately to major reforms in Prussia. The institution of hereditary serfdom (*Erbuntertänigkeit*) was abolished, along with certain privileges for the Estates; there were reforms to the state apparatus and municipal self-government was fostered, and a start was made by Humboldt and others on a new and more effective and scientifically-based education system, with the modern new Berlin University (1810) being one product of this. The emancipation of the Jews went forward and free trade ideas were introduced as the guild system was dismantled, and the Prussian armed forces – so recently shown up – underwent many reforms. When Prussia eventually acquired large new territories in the west after the fall of Napoleon, it stepped forth into a new era as a kingdom modernised from within that rapidly rose to lead Germany, and during the 1860s it put itself at the head of the group of states of the North German Confederation, leading to unification and the German Empire in 1871.

Russia acceded at Tilsit to Napoleon's main demand and agreed to join the so-called "Continental System" in its embargo on trade with Great Britain. From the perspective of Russian commercial interests the trade blockade was not a very favourable step, and it caused dissatisfaction and smuggling. Emperor Alexander I of Russia was also pressured into forcing Sweden, Britain's ally in the Third Coalition, to join the French-Russian alliance. However, Sweden bluntly refused to join the Continental System, in part through King Gustav IV Adolf's great personal dislike of Napoleon, and in part because the British Navy posed a serious threat to Gothenburg and the west coast of Sweden. In the end, Russia attacked across the Kymijoki River into Sweden's eastern province – Finland – in February 1808 and in the course of the early spring the Russian forces, encountering little resistance, had swept across nearly all of Finland, as far as the Åland Islands. In the north, however, the fighting dragged on longer and only ended in the summer of 1809. At the Treaty of Fredrikshamn (*Hamina* in Finnish) in September 1809 Sweden, which had been driven to the brink and had already dethroned Gustav IV Adolf in favour of Charles XIII, agreed to closing its harbours to British vessels and joining the Continental System. At the same time it formally surrendered its former territory to Russia, which had already (in the spring of 1809) turned the region into the Grand Duchy of Finland, an internally autonomous part of the Russian Empire.

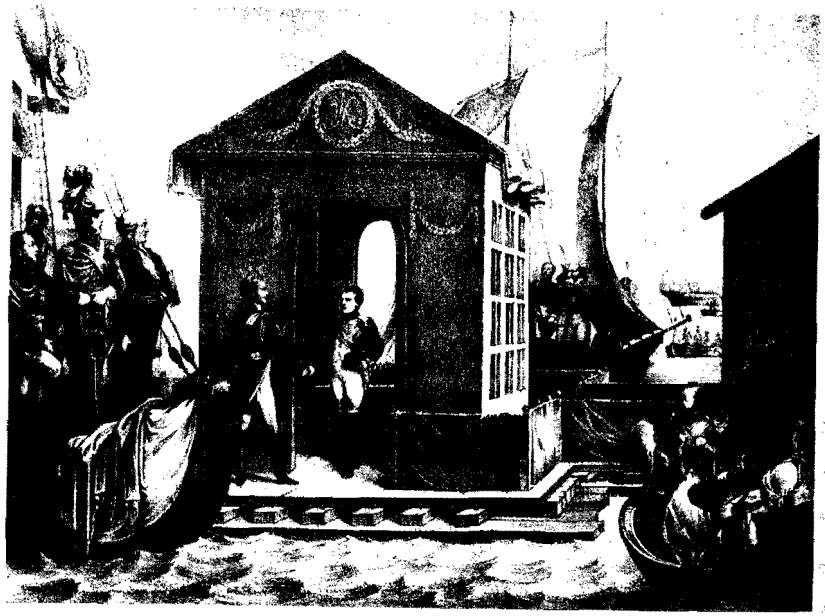
The Treaties of Tilsit and Fredrikshamn thus led – after six centuries of Swedish rule – to the formation of a separate Finnish state, whose purpose was to serve as a buffer-zone for St. Petersburg, particularly as a hinterland for the imposing coastal fortresses of Sveaborg (*Suomenlinna*) in Helsinki and Bomarsund in the Åland Islands, and other garrisons

along the coast. The Grand Duchy developed its own administration, and gradually it also saw the growth of a distinctive national culture, business life, and political system. It got its own senate, parliament, central bank, and even currency (the *markka*), such that when the time came, in the turmoil of the First World War and the Russian Revolution, Finland could declare independence and join the community of militarily and politically sovereign nations.

The defeat by Russia and the loss of Finland (virtually half of the realm) and later also of Pomerania led in the "Little Sweden" that was left to changes every bit as far-reaching as those seen in Prussia. A new Instrument of Government was adopted in June 1809 (and was in force until 1974) and the French Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was chosen to head the country, first as Crown Prince and later as King Charles XIV John of Sweden, with his hereditary rights assured by Act of Succession in 1810. Hence the events of 1809 did not only lead to the birth of Finland but also to the emergence of a new modern Sweden – evolving geographically, constitutionally, dynastically, and as a result of the new currents also culturally. In the same way as in Prussia, Russia, and later also in Finland, a period of war forced the development of quite new strains of national thinking.

In the midst of the Tilsit negotiations in 1807, the Emperors learned of the overthrow of Selim III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. The future of Ottoman Turkey and the Balkans became the most important item on the table in Tilsit, but one on which agreement could not be reached. Before very long, tensions emerged between Russia and France. Napoleon's power was no longer growing exponentially, but he had instead met stiff resistance in Iberia. In the summer of 1812 the gloves came off, when Napoleon marched his *Grande Armée* across the Niemen and invaded Russia, advancing quite briskly as far as Moscow. Sweden's stand at this point was important, as if Sweden had seized the opportunity to launch a revanchist attack on Finland and St. Petersburg, then Russia would have been in a parlous state. It did not happen. In the spring, prior to Napoleon's advance, and then later in Turku (*Åbo*) in September 1812, Bernadotte and Alexander I signed a pact of friendship and mutual assistance. It was on the basis of this agreement that Sweden took part in the War of the Sixth Coalition against Napoleon in 1813. In contrast with the brothers and relatives of Napoleon who had been sat on the thrones of French vassal states, the former French Marshal Bernadotte kept his position as the Crown Prince of Sweden – and now Norway – and became king in 1818. The relationship between Sweden and Russia was preserved along the lines of the 1812 principles in all the future wars of the 19th and 20th centuries, where Sweden never joined the ranks of Russia's enemies.

Emperor Alexander I of Russia and Napoleon I of France met on a raft in the middle of the Niemen River at the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807.



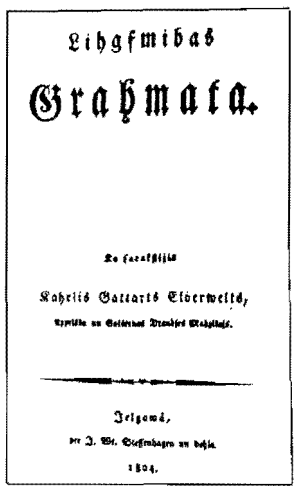
The war against Napoleon brought Russia and Prussia together into a long alliance. One important element was to keep Poland divided. It had been decided at Tilsit that the Polish lands ceded by Prussia would be formed into the Duchy of Warsaw under a personal union with King Frederick Augustus I of Saxony. However, the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815 redrew the map and returned the division of Poland to Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Russian Poland was initially the fairly autonomous "Kingdom of Poland" (also known as Congress Poland), but uprisings in 1831 and 1863 saw the area integrated much more closely into the Russian Empire.

The alliance between Russia and Prussia/Germany and Sweden's "1812 Policy" kept the entire Baltic Sea area militarily quiet until the 1890s, which had a major impact on the general commercial and cultural progress of the region. There were exceptions: the two Schleswig Wars between Denmark and Prussia in 1848–1850 and 1863–1864, and the uprisings in Poland. When the Crimean War – known to the Russians as the "Oriental War" – broke out in 1853 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, Turkey's allies in France and Britain opened up another maritime front in the Baltic Sea with a view to threatening St. Petersburg. A large Anglo-French fleet sailed into the Gulf of Finland. It shot up some soft targets and destroyed the Finnish merchant fleet, but the fortress of Sveaborg outside Helsinki stood firm despite a very vigorous two-day bombardment, incidentally now celebrated in an annual fireworks competition. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 brought no territorial adjustments in this area, save for the demilitarisation of the Åland Islands.

speciality introduced in the reform-minded 1740s and known as the 'Great Redistribution', which aimed at replacing the old villages and communal farming with dispersed settlement. The drastic solution to the ownership question in 1789 ensured the King the support of the peasants, who formed a strong counterforce to the republican ideals that inspired the nobility. A radical nobleman assassinated Gustav in revenge at a masked ball in Stockholm in 1792 – the event that furnished the plot for Verdi's famous opera.

Developments in Sweden were indubitably influenced by the agricultural reform carried out in Denmark during the two preceding years. The Danish peasants were freed from the *stavnsbaand*, the prohibition on moving, and were granted State loans to enable them to purchase their farms for their own. By 1815, 60 % of Danish farmers were independent though in debt. Half the population consisted of landless labourers working for large landowners or newly-independent farmers. In Sweden – and in Finland, soon to be separated from the Kingdom – the peasants gained full ownership rights, but this resulted in the emergence of a new class of tenant farmers, subordinate to the freeholders, and a rural proletariat of cotters and agricultural labourers. The status of this proletariat was the subject of prolonged controversy in Sweden, caught in the cross-fire of the debaters' own observations and Continental views on man's fundamental nature. Montesquieu and Voltaire regarded the lower classes as intellectually inferior rabble fit only for labour, and similar ideas were reflected in labour


Geſchichte
der Sklaverey,
und Charakter
der Bauern
in Liefs und Ehſtland.
1786.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The status and education of the peasants were a focus of interest throughout the Baltic region in the late 18th century.

policy during the 18th-century rise of the manorial economy in Prussia, Russia and the Baltic provinces, initially also in Denmark. In Sweden, the tireless debater Anders Chydenius, a cleric, created a stir by demanding that wages be determined on the basis of free negotiations between the farmers and farmhands. Although his plan was not adopted, it foreshadowed growing criticism of the system of day labour during the 19th century. At the same time, the Pietist movement led to changes in philosophical views concerning the essence of what man is.

A new constitution was promulgated in Poland in 1791, in honour of which May 3 is today celebrated as Poland's national day. It gave the burghers and peasants specific rights and abolished the special status of Lithuania. Incorporating topical concerns, this was the first 'modern' European constitution based on national sovereignty and a separation of powers. Austria, Prussia and Russia, however, saw the new constitutional state of Poland as an eastern outpost of Revolutionary France, whose spirit of rebellion might spread, especially into Russia through lively contacts between Poland and St. Petersburg. The result was a war culminating in the 'Second Partition' of Poland in 1793, in which Russia took what remained of Lithuania and Prussia expanded westward, also gaining the great coastal cities of 'Royal Prussia', most importantly Danzig. The Polish rebellion under T. Kosciuszko ended with the 'Third Partition' in 1795, in which Austria, Prussia and Russia shared what remained of Poland between themselves. These powers had just formed a coalition in St. Peters-burg with England against revolutionary France. The locus of the war now shifted to Italy and the Mediterranean region, to which even a Russian force commanded by Suvorov marched over the Alps.

Sweden and Denmark managed to steer clear of revolutionary activity and the Napoleonic Wars until 1800, when they concluded an agreement with Russia and Prussia on military neutrality in the Franco-British conflict. The British attacked Copenhagen in 1801, destroyed the Danish navy and compelled Denmark to back out of the agreement; Czar Paul I was assassinated at about the same time. Russia made peace with Britain, and the 'league of neutrals' lapsed, but this had little significance in view of the fact that France and Britain finally concluded a truce. Hostilities soon resumed, however, and in 1805 Britain, Austria and Russia formed the Third Coalition against France, later joined by Sweden and Prussia. The British had a string of victories at sea, beginning with Trafalgar, whereas Austerlitz initiated a series of French triumphs on land. Following the battles of Jena

and Auerstädt in 1806, Napoleon invaded Saxony and Prussia, and the French troops reached the Baltic coast. In summer 1807, Napoleon defeated the combined forces of Russia and Prussia in the battle of Friedland near Königsberg.

Peace was concluded in Tilsit on the Russo-Prussian border. Prussia lost all of its possessions west of the Elbe as well as its Polish gains, which were constituted into a new state, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, ruled by the King of Saxony. Russia made no territorial concessions, but reversed its former policy, acquiescing to the establishment of the aforesaid Grand Duchy and agreed to do its part in forcing Sweden, Denmark and Portugal to join the Continental Blockade, a pact that was intended to bend Britain to Napoleon's will cutting it off from Europe.

The King and Queen of Prussia were present at Tilsit, but the real importance of the event was in the personal meeting between the former enemies, Napoleon and Alexander. Napoleon received, as it were, confirmation of his new imperial status; plans for a dynastic marriage between the ruling families were discussed, and the two emperors in

Two versions of "The Cake of Kings", the allegorical depiction of the partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1773. The Baltic Sea and Pomerania are marked at the bottom of the map. On the left is the original by Jean-Michel Moreau (1741–1814, "Moreau le Jeune") and on the right a rendition by Johann Esaias Nilson (1721–1788), in which the unfortunate Polish king is replaced by a Russian diplomat, Nikita Panin.

effect agreed on a division of Europe – and the world – into an eastern and western half. A French period began in Russian policy, in the face of considerable opposition among influential circles. The big name of this period was M. Speransky, who would later exercise a powerful influence in Baltic policy as the main organizer of Finnish affairs.

In this situation, Britain issued an ultimatum to Denmark, and after negotiations had failed, bombarded Copenhagen with devastating effect in September 1807. Refusing to submit to the aggressor, the Danes sought aid from a former enemy and aligning themselves on Napoleon's side by joining the war declared by France's new friend, Russia, on Sweden (Britain's ally) in early spring 1808. Danish military activity was negligible, but Russia rapidly overran virtually all Finland. In the winter of 1808–09, Russian troops crossed the ice from the Finnish mainland to Åland and, with even greater effect, to Umeå in northern Sweden.

The Swedish-Russian Treaty of Hamina in 1809 turned over to Russia all the territory it had conquered from Åland to Lapland. Finland became a separate Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, and was permitted to retain its laws, religion, and system of farm ownership. A new central administration and a system of education for government officials were set up, and Helsinki was chosen to be the new capital.

The semi-independent Grand Duchy of Warsaw had been established only one year earlier. Russia had an interest in making Finland a kind of model state, with a free peasantry and parliamentary representation, setting an example for other parts of the Empire which lacked these privileges. Russia's primary interest, however, was in gaining control of the entire Gulf of Finland in order to secure the naval defence of St. Petersburg; its secondary aim was to control the Gulf of Bothnia, for the same reasons. Russia had little interest in the Finnish interior or its population for their own sakes.

For Sweden, loss of Finland and shifting of the Russian border to the very doorstep of Stockholm – previously at the centre of the Swedish realm – was a disaster. Alexander's moderation and Danish passivity saved Sweden from Poland's fate, but the King was dethroned, and a new constitution was swiftly passed. Sweden concluded peace with Denmark in 1810 without having to make territorial concessions.

When the Russo-French alliance ended in war in 1812, Sweden's attitude was of decisive importance. Despite apparent French supremacy, Sweden refrained from demanding the return of Finland; thus Russia was able to

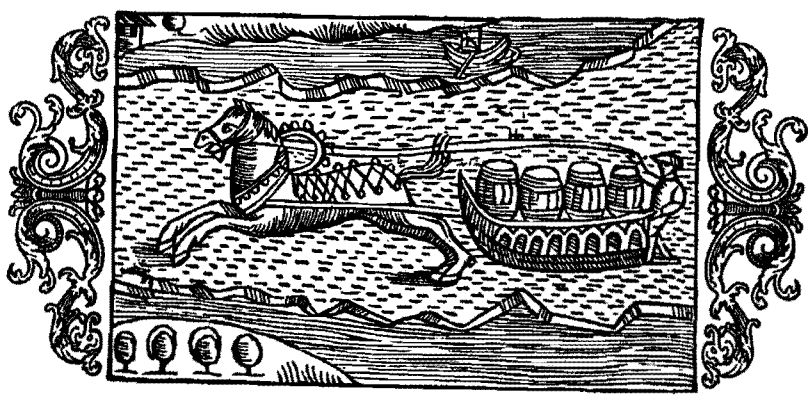
THE GULF OF BOTHNIA: WAR ON THE ICE

Of the two large bays in the Baltic, the Gulf of Finland has always been the more interesting, since it leads to the mouth of the Neva, to Novgorod, and more recently to St. Petersburg, and hence into the Russian river system and – from the mid-19th century – via the railway network deep into Continental Russia and the East. This strategic significance explains why the shores of the Gulf have been fortified and why the Gulf of Finland has seen some large naval engagements, particularly in the 18th and 20th centuries. The north and south shores of the Gulf have often belonged to different states. Only between 1561–1710 and from 1809–1918 were they under the same ownership, first as part of the Kingdom of Sweden and then in the Russian Empire.

The broader and deeper Gulf of Bothnia, on the other hand, was from the Middle Ages until the "Finnish War" of 1808–1809 an internal sea of the Kingdom of Sweden, and even after that time was strategically of lesser worth, and – with the exception of the Swedish fortress of Boden in the far north – it was not heavily fortified. The further fact that the cities on either side of the bay were for long periods forbidden to engage in foreign trade meant that there are very few old maps or navigational charts of the Gulf of Bothnia.

The Gulf of Bothnia is in fact divided into two parts: the larger Bothnian Sea (Swedish: *Bottenhavet*), the central waters of which seldom freeze over, and the actual Bothnian Bay (*Bottenviken*) to the north, which is about a third of the size of the Bothnian Sea. Between the two is a shallow and narrower section known as Kvarken or "North Kvarken" (the "South Kvarken" refers to the choke-point at the southern end of the Gulf formed by the Turku Archipelago and the Åland Islands, and the term *kvarken* itself comes from an old word for "neck" or "throat"). In all, the Gulf of Bothnia is approximately

Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* also draws attention to winter ice from the point of view of trade and warfare.



600 kilometres north to south and the width varies from 160–260 km, making it appreciably wider than the Gulf of Finland, which varies from between 50 and 120 km along its 425-km length. The Gulf of Bothnia is also a good deal deeper than its cousin, particularly in the "High Coast" region of Härnösand, midway up the Swedish coast. On the opposite side of the Gulf, in the flat, wide-open spaces of Finland's Ostrobothnia, one can get the best impression of the large glacio-isostatic uplift that is characteristic of this area. This has even in recorded history brought changes to the coastline and forced whole towns and harbours to move to new locations.

In the large rivers of the western and northern part of the Gulf, salmon fishing was a major livelihood from early times. In his great *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* from 1555, Olaus Magnus dedicates much attention to the fishing and trade in fish. Seal hunting was also an important early source of livelihood in the whole region.

The attention of the entire Gulf was directed towards Stockholm, and from the Middle Ages onwards the cities along the shore were forbidden to carry on independent foreign trade, in order to protect Stockholm's interests. On many occasions, notably in 1636, this was confirmed in Swedish government proclamations that were aimed at bolstering the position of the capital. The constant complaints from the Ostrobothnian traders fell on deaf ears until the Caps (a Swedish political faction who were rivals to the Hats in the mid-18th century) came to power and the trade embargo was lifted by the *Riksdag* of the Estates in 1765–1766.

Tar was an extremely important export item in the 18th century, particularly on the Finnish side of the water, but shipbuilding – leaning on the almost infinite supply of timber – was also very profitable. Gradually in the course of the 18th century, and most obviously in the latter half of the century, the export of sawn timber grew to huge proportions. Sundsvall and Umeå on the Swedish side and Kemi and Pori on the Finnish side were the largest ports for the timber trade. For a very long time the maritime traffic was at a standstill in the winter months owing to the ice, until ever more powerful icebreakers resolved the problem from the late 19th century.

Associated with the history of the Gulf of Bothnia are two of the famous military expeditions in which the movement of troops over the frozen sea has prompted admiration and wonder. Olaus Magnus himself in the 16th century had written accounts of ski-troops and warfare on the ice that naturally fascinated his readers in Rome. In early February 1658 King Charles X Gustav of Sweden daringly led his Swedish and Finnish troops across the frozen Great Belt and forced the Danes to make peace at Roskilde.

In the "Finnish War" of 1808–1809, advancing Russian forces initially occupied all of Southern Finland, then crossed the ice to the Åland Islands and took them as well, but were subsequently captured or obliged to retreat by a Swedish counter-attack. In March 1809 a larger Russian detachment went over the ice to Åland, from where the Swedish troops garrisoned on the islands decided to retreat over the ice to the Swedish side at Grisslehamn. The distance from the Finnish mainland to

An artist's depiction of the woes of winter warfare.

the Åland Islands is about twice that from the islands to Sweden, but the former route is for the most part through the shelter of the Turku Archipelago and is populated, even if only sparsely, while the retreating Swedes had to contend with a march across the frozen open sea, made still harder by strong winds and by mountains of pack ice pushed up by storms. The Russians were not about to give up, and they soon followed the Swedes across and made landfall some 70 kilometres from the capital. There was great fear in Stockholm that the enemy was almost at the gates, but some skilful diplomacy enabled the Swedes to secure a truce and persuade the Russians to go back to Åland. Things were helped by the recent coup in Stockholm and the imprisonment of King Gustav IV Adolf. In the same campaign, a bigger Russian contingent had marched in four days across the frozen Kvarken from Vaasa to Umeå and had captured the town and its large warehouses. Later the general who had led that operation, Field Marshal Prince Barclay de Tolly, withdrew from Umeå to the Finnish side (again over the ice) and the fighting continued alongside Russian troops who had arrived by land – during the open-water season the ships of the Swedish and British navies controlled the sea lanes.

A fourth significant military operation over ice was carried out in the final days of the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union (November 1939–March 1940), when Red Army units managed to take two whole armoured divisions across the ice of the Bay of Viborg in the Karelian Isthmus, skirting round the Finnish defences to the west of Viborg. The Russians got a beachhead on the northern shore, the Finnish defences crumbled almost completely, and there was heavy loss of life. The threatening situation was resolved by the armistice that came only a few days later.

secure its northern front and St. Petersburg was safe. The French Marshal Bernadotte had been elected Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810, and was eventually crowned King Charles XIV John of Sweden and Norway (known in Norway as Charles I John). Under Bernadotte, Sweden joined the war being fought in Germany against France, on its way back from the failed invasion of Russia, and Denmark. Thus Bernadotte retained his position when the other French rulers of Europe fell. He was already at odds with Napoleon at the time of his election, although the Swedes were unaware of this and elected him on false assumptions.

Denmark's collapse was even more complete. The Danes fought on Napoleon's side to the bitter end. In the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden, receiving Rügen and Western Pomerania in return (Sweden had already lost part of the latter to France in 1807). Neither party actually got what it wanted, for Denmark was forced to relinquish its newly-

Love of the Fatherland, figurehead sculpted by Willerup for the Danish vessel *Den Gode Hensigt* in 1779. Patriotism took on new significance in the period of upheaval and wars in Europe that began only ten years later. All of the states along the Baltic coast underwent major changes as a result.

The Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen's triumphant return to Copenhagen in 1838 after 21 years in Rome. Classical antiquity was important to the shaping of the Nordic identity, particularly in Denmark and Finland, but also in Russia, where the neoclassical "Empire" style dominated architecture.

gained territories to Prussia, while Norway's declaration of independence, with which it succeeded in extorting autonomous status from Sweden, made Sweden's gains seem significantly less attractive than it had hoped. The Danish state, deprived of its navy and of Norway, went bankrupt. To be sure, the King had salvaged Holstein and Schleswig, and the old Norwegian crown lands of Iceland, Greenland and the Faeroes had remained under Danish rule, but psychologically Denmark's defeat was even more traumatic than Sweden's.

PAX RUSSICA

Despite the deep humiliations suffered by Russia and Prussia when Napoleon's armies invaded their interior, they emerged as the true victors from the 'European World War' of the early 19th century. Their combined forces had together with the British, defeated the French, and if Napoleon had taken Moscow, the Russians in turn had marched into Paris and dictated the terms of peace in Vienna. Just as the soldiers of Gustav II Adolf of Sweden had once received vital cultural impulses and absorbed modern ideas during their campaigns in central Europe, so the new European dimension of Russia's foreign and military policy tied Russia, and especially the upper strata of Russian society, more closely to the languages and novelties of Germany, Italy and particularly France. French language and culture had made a profound impression throughout Europe – including Stockholm, Berlin and St. Petersburg – during the 18th century, but whereas Prussia, Sweden and Denmark turned back to their own languages after the Napoleonic years, the Frenchification of Russia's upper class continued. Most of the 19th century in Russia was marked by the use of French among the aristocracy and a German orientation among the merchant and industrialist class; only at the end of the century did both linguistic and ideological nationalism again make itself felt. Dynastic ties bound the ruling family with the German states, except for the Danish orientation that set in at the end of the century. At the turn of the century, the English language was held in high esteem among the ruling class. Even before this, English literature, industry and fashions had been much appreciated.

Classical Russian literature strongly reflects the linguistic and cultural influences. Despite the growth of the two principal cities, St. Petersburg and Moscow, Russia remained essentially an agrarian society. The

transformation of its elite into a Europeanized educated class capable of introducing efficient farming methods was the core project of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the subject of most Russian literature of this period. In 1762, the (male) nobles were released from their hitherto obligatory service as military officers or government officials. At the same time, the nobles were required to look after the education of their children; a university had been founded in Moscow in 1755. The former military class was thus to be transformed into a landed aristocracy in Prussian Junker style. In 1782, D. I. Fonvizin, a member of the ruler's immediate circle, wrote a play entitled 'The Country Squire' in the spirit of Holberg and Beaumarchais, criticizing the landed gentry for indolence and inefficiency; this was to be a recurrent theme throughout the classical period of Russian literature. Even Pushkin, however, and after him Tolstoy, Turgenev and Chekhov, also described the continued attempts to rationalize agriculture. The significant advances actually achieved were belittled by contemporary authors, and the critical attitude they assumed has tended to mislead posterity into taking the caricatured picture they presented for reality. Just as Fonvizin had sought to spur on the landed gentry with his criticism in the days of Catherine the Great, so Gogol took sides with the government in *The Inspector General* against the inefficiency and low moral standards of the petty bureaucracy.

St. Petersburg was the grand metropolis of the Baltic, and a centre of consumer demand for all manner of goods. It imported wine and fruit, firewood, and grain; it manufactured furniture, books, and sheet music. There were tens of thousands of horse-drawn carriages in the city, and a whole host of saddlers, coachmen, and carriage-makers; there were piano teachers and French tutors. The lower classes adhered to their rustic ways, while art and literature occupied the interests of the upper and middle classes.