

The Surrender of the Swedish Army at Tönning 1713 – Swedish banners in Russian and Danish trophy collections

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THE SOURCES

Concerning the trophy lists generally there are three main sources. A list of weapons, equipment and prisoners captured by the different Swedish regiments was made in connection with the capitulation signed 11 December and has passed in a form of agreement, probably in the late 1710s. The list has identical wording to the Journal of Peter the Great which also shows the distribution of trophies between the Russians on one hand and the Danish and Prussians on the other. The Journal is in this

respect almost identical with the original Swedish list. Finally there is a second list, probably made in Copenhagen in connection with the Danish capture of the flag in the Arsenal in Copenhagen. This list was first printed and published. It differs in some details from Gaffroy's list and the Gaffroy list may have been made in this connection. Concerning the numbers of the trophies there are few reliable sources, but the quantity of trophies captured is not mentioned.

An important source when it comes to the flag is the list of trophies for the Russian 'Korpus' in the May Album by the Swedish 'Fält-År' for the Swedish regt. In 16, some cases provided with notes of the number of colours of identical appearance possessed by Russia. The May Album was made in 1714 and it is interesting that the Danish collection has retained the number 16.

TROPHY LISTS

The Swedish army consisted of 10,000 men, 7,000 of whom were regulars and 3,000 recruits. They were

The magnificent Swedish campaign plan for 1712 failed already at the start. The new Swedish army raised after Poltava, commanded by Field Marshal Magnus Stenbock, was to be transported to Pomerania and via Poland march to join the King, Karl XII, in Turkey. Only the first transport of troops managed to be launched in mid-September. Then a Danish squadron of frigates destroyed the transport ships and with that the supplies for the Swedish army. With half his army still in Sweden awaiting transport, Stenbock found his forces too weak, although reinforced by some field troops in Pomerania, to engage a combined Russian-Saxonian army blocking the route eastwards.

In order to feed his army, Stenbock marched westwards. In December he managed to defeat a Danish army at Gadebusch but in the end he failed to prevent the uniting of the Danish, Russian and Saxonian armies. Instead the Swedish army in April 1713 was enclosed in the fortress of Tönning which belonged to the Swedish ally, the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. The fortress was not provided with supplies for such a big army as the Swedish and on the 6th of May Stenbock had to surrender. All standards, guidons and colours as well as kettledrums with banners had to be delivered when the troops left the fortress.¹

THE SOURCES

Concerning the trophy losses generally there are three main sources. A list of trophies, equipment and prisoners allotted to the different Swedish regiments was made in connection with the capitulation signed J.D. Clincoström and later printed as a form of newsletter, probably in the same year 1713.² The list has identical wording to the Journal of Peter the Great which also shows the distribution of the trophies between the Russians on one hand and the Danes and Saxonians on the other. The Journal is in this

connection most likely based on Tsar Peter's letter to the Russian senate shortly after the surrender of Tönning. The information about the number and distribution of the trophies are identical.³ The third is a journal by the Holstein-Gottorp commander of Tönning colonel Zacharias Wolff.⁴ This journal gives the amount of banners divided on the different regiments. The journal will be referred to as PiB in the following.

For more detailed information, besides Wolff's Journal, there are two Danish lists. The first list was made in direct connection to the Swedish delivery of the banners after having marched out of the fortress. On the 18th of May 1713 the Danish Major General Gaffron was authorized to receive the trophies and there was a special list made for the Danish share of the trophies. In this list there are some specifications about colour and emblems on the banners.⁵ Finally there is a second list, probably based on Gaffron's list written in connection with the Danish trophies transferring to the Arsenal in Copenhagen. This list was later printed and published.⁶ It differs in some details from Gaffron's list and the Gaffron list seems to be more reliable in this connection. Concerning the Saxonian part of the trophies there are few notifications, all connected with the quantity of standard, guidons and colours.⁷

An important source when it comes to establish the amount of colours for the Russians is a copy of the Maly Album in the Swedish War Archives. The Swedish copy is in some cases provided with notes of the number of colours of identical appearance preserved in Russia. The Maly Album was made as early as 1837 and we know that the Russian collection has suffered losses after that date.⁸

TROPHY LOSSES

The Swedish army consisted of four cavalry regiments, four regiments of dragoons and ten regiments of foot. They were

not complete, having suffered losses during the march from Pomerania and in the Battle of Gadebush in December 1712. In all the army consisted of 9632 healthy men and 2923 sick and wounded. The regiments are presented in appendix 1.

Concerning the number of banners lost at the capitulation, the main sources, *Verschlag* and *PiB*, are unanimous. The war trophies were in all sixty-one standards, sixty-seven colours and eight pairs of kettledrums. The lists make no difference between standards for the cavalry and guidons for the dragoons. According to *PiB* the allotment was: Russia thirty standards, forty-four colours and four pairs of kettledrums; Denmark and Saxonia thirty-one standards, twenty-three colours and four pairs of kettledrums. Of these the Saxonians got seven standards, eight guidons, four colours and probably also two pairs of kettledrums.

DISTRIBUTION OF STANDARDS AND GUIDONS

The four cavalry regiments were all equipped with a full set of standards, except for Västgöta Regiment which consisted only of six companies, in all thirty standards. The Danes got nine, the Saxonians got seven and the Russians fifteen. As the standards totalled thirty, there remain thirty-one guidons to be distributed amongst four regiments of dragoons. That has been a bit more difficult. *Wolff's Journal* states:

- Pomeranian dragoons (*Mardefelt*) ten guidons (standards)
- Verdian dragoons (*Marschalk*) ten guidons (standards)
- Wismarian dragoons (*Bassewitz*) four guidons (standards)
- Bremen dragoons (*Strömfelt*) only guidons (standards) without mentioning how many.

That means that the number of guidons for the last regiment could have been seven at most. In all seven guidons were distributed to the Danes, eight to the Saxonians and fifteen to the Russians. However errors by *Wolff* cannot be discounted so in the following discussion *Bassewitz* dragoons got his four guidons whilst the other three units got nine each. In any case this affects only the internal Russian distribution of their guidons.

IDENTIFICATION AND PRESERVED STANDARDS

In the *Gaffron* list there is a short description of the standards and guidons as in the rescript delivered in 1714 to the Danish Arsenal. With the help of these lists it is possible to reconstruct the distribution of each cavalry regiment. A basic assumption is hereby that each and all of the Allies should have their part from each of the Swedish regiments.

From the national tenant Västgöta cavalry regiment the Danes got the colonel's standard and one company standard and the Russians and Saxonians two company standards each.⁹ The regiment had been provided with new richly embroidered standards in 1702. They were all made according to the warrant of 1686, i.e the full Swedish coat-of-arms on the colonel's standard and the coat-of-arms of the province of Västergötland on one side and the King's monogram on the others. In 1707 the regiment also got a pair of white kettledrum banners with the full Swedish coat-of-arms.¹⁰ None of these standards seems to be preserved today.

Next regiment was The Dowager Queen's (*Riksänkedrottningens*) Life Regiment, also a national tenant troop. The regiment had eight richly embroidered standards including the colonel's white one. The company standards were violet, with the Dowager Queen's monogram, presented already in 1674 and 1678 (colonel's standard).¹¹ The Danes got two company standards, the Saxonians two and the Russians four, among them probably the colonel's standard. The Danes also got a pair of kettledrums with banners in violet and embroideries in gold. Even in this case none of the standards or kettledrum banners is preserved.

The Bremen cavalry regiment (*Mellin*) was fully equipped with eight embroidered standards. Of these the Danes got the colonel's standard and two company standards. The Saxonians got two and the Russians three company standards. The *Gaffron* list mentions that the colonel's standard was white and embroidered with gold and that the company standards were blue and also embroidered in gold. One company standard might have been preserved. (See ill. 5.1) Its provenance will be discussed below.

Finally the Pomeranian Regiment was also equipped with a full set of eight standards of which the Danes got two company standards, the Saxonians two and the Russians four. Whether the Saxonians or the Russians got the colonel's standard is not known but it was probably the Russians. According to *Gaffron's* list the company standards were red and embroidered in silver.



5.1 Company standard in the Danish trophy collection. Probably for the Bremian Regiment of Horse. Embroidered in Germany pre 1700. Inv no: Fb 127 Photo: National Museum of Denmark.



5.2 Company guidon in the Danish trophy collection. Probably for the Pomeranian Dragoons. The motif's close distance from the staff suggests that it is a guidon and not a standard. Inv no: Fb 39 Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

IDENTIFICATION AND PRESERVED GUIDONS

The ten guidons of the Pomeranian Dragoons were distributed with two company guidons to the Danes, two to the Saxonians and five to the Russians. One was the white colonel's guidon but whether that became a Saxonian or a Russian trophy is unknown. A pair of kettledrums together with their banners were rendered to the Danes. Gaffron states that the company guidons were blue with a monogram and that the kettledrum banners were also blue. In the Danish trophy collection there is a blue guidon as well as a pair of kettledrum banners. The decoration is rather similar. The guidon however is made of taffeta whilst the banners are of damask. The slight difference in the decoration is probably due to the fact that the guidon and the banners were made at different times. Also in the Russian trophy collection there is a guidon so similar to

the Danish one that they probably belong to the same unit. (See ill. 5.2)

From the Vendian Dragoons the Danes got two company guidons, the Saxonians two and the Russians five. Again we don't know who got the colonel's guidon. However it seems reasonable that at least one was distributed to the Saxonians. According to Gaffron the company guidons were blue with gold embroidery. No guidons of this appearance seem to have been saved.

The guidons of the Wismarian Dragoons were distributed one company guidon to the Danes, two to the Russians and one to the Saxonians. Whether there was a colonel's guidon or not is unknown. Gaffron notes that the Danish guidon was blue with flames of silver. One guidon in the Danish collection matches this description. (See ill. 5.3)

Finally, the Bremen Dragoons. The Danes got two company guidons, the Russians five and the Saxonians two. According to Gaffron the Danish trophies were blue and



5.3 Company guidon for the Wismar Dragoons. Preserved in the Danish trophy collection. Inv no: Fb 176 Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

embroidered in silver. One type of guidons in the Danish collection fits this description. (see Ill 5.4.) The problem is that the total number of preserved guidons is no less than five. Only two can have been taken at Tönningen which means that the other might have fallen into Danish hands later. That is not impossible but at the moment we cannot say when or where.

That brings us back to the standard in Ill 1. The decorations of the standard and the guidons are nearly identical. That means that they ought to have originated from the same workshop. Both the cavalry regiment and the dragoons were raised in Bremen before the outbreak of the Great Northern War.¹² The embroideries seem to be of high quality indicating a pre-war manufacture. They were not made in Stockholm but probably in Bremen as there are no notes of them in the Swedish financial records. Although the standard according to Gaffron is said to be in gold it seems reasonable for the time being to attribute the standard to the Bremen cavalry regiment and the guidons to the Bremen Dragoons. However a



5.4 Company guidon in the Danish trophy collection. Probably for the Bremian Dragoons. Inv no: Fb 122-126 Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

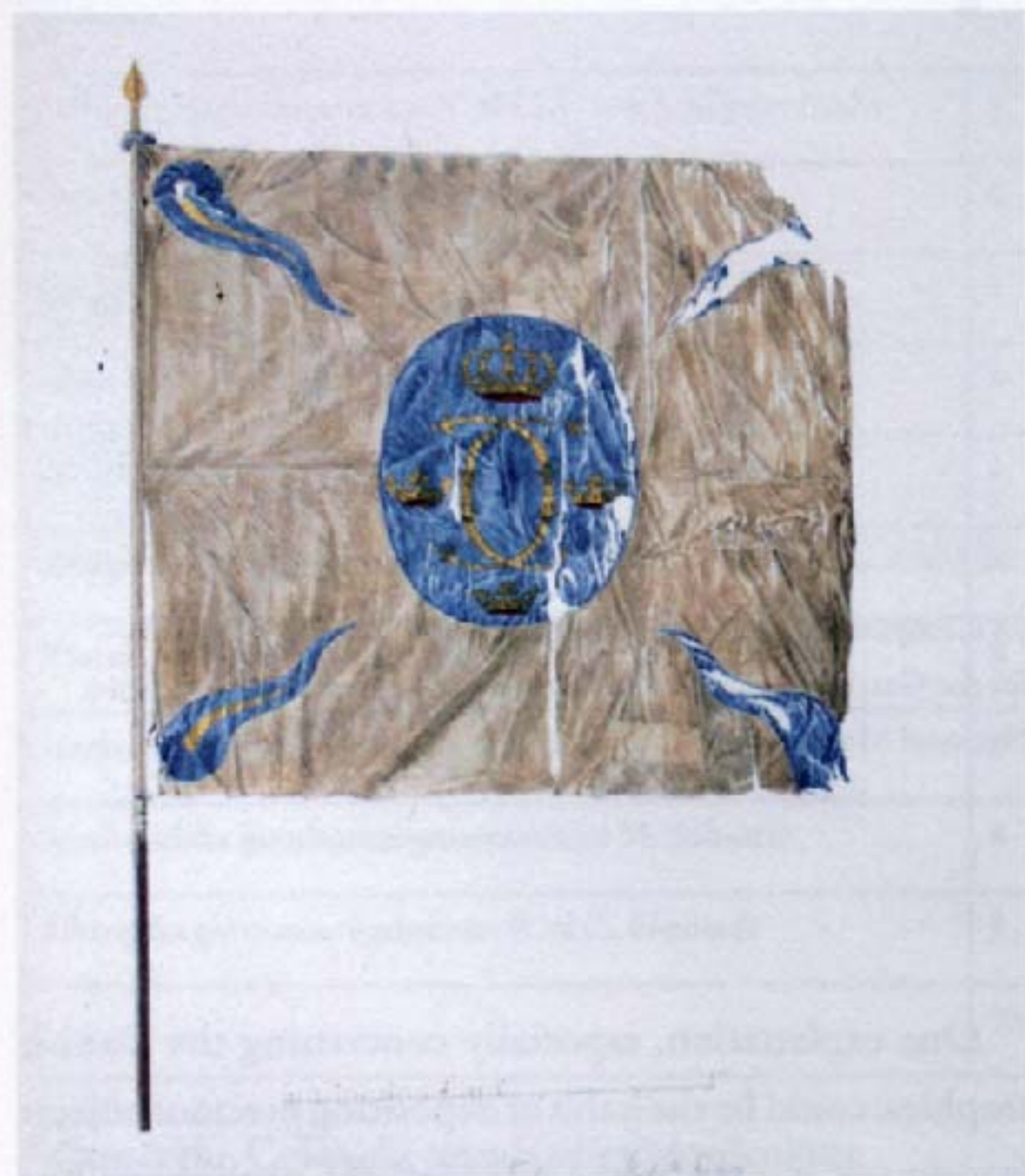
further complication is that when one of the guidons was conserved in 1958 it was found that the embroideries were of gold and not silver.¹³

DISTRIBUTION AND IDENTIFICATION OF COLOURS

Of the sixty five colours the Danes got nineteen, the Russians forty four and the Saxonians four in all from eight national Swedish regiments and two enlisted regiments. Gaffron's list presents detailed information of the decorations on the colours. Hence the identification of national regiments is no problem although Gaffron confuses the names of the regiments and respective colours. Unfortunately we have no information about the four Saxonian colours but they are so few that they have no influence on the whole picture. For the Russian part we have a good help from the notes in the Maly Album.

Regiments	Danish trophies ¹	Russian trophies ²	Missing	Total
Sudermannia ¹	2	1	1*	4*
Dalcarlia	3*	3	2 ³	8*
Ostrogothia	1	5	2*	8*
Helsingia	3*	-	5	8*
Elfsburgia	2	6*	-	8*
Westrogoth-Dalia	2	1*	5	8*
Westmannia	2	5	1*	8*
Nerici-Wermlandia ⁴	1	2	3*	6*
	16	23	19	58

1. All these trophies are preserved except for a company colour of Helsingie Regiment
 2. According to notes in Maly Album
 3. Only one battalion participated in Stenbock's army
 4. Six companies of the regiment participated, the remaining four were still in Sweden to defend the Norwegian border.
 5. Maly Album states three preserved company colours and Cederström four.¹⁴
- * indicates that one colour was the colonel's colour



5.5 Company colour for an enlisted regiment in the Danish trophy collection. Probably not taken at Tönningen. Inv no: Fb 157-164
Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

As the total number of Russian trophies was forty four, the total number above indicates that some of the missing colours were handed over to the Saxonians.

Concerning the two enlisted regiments there remain seven colours to distribute. As the Danes according to Gaffron got three it is reasonable to assume that the Russians also got three and the Saxonians one. The two enlisted regiments were:¹⁵



5.6 Company colour for for the King's Swedish Life regiment which was not a unit in Stenbock's army. In the Danish trophy collection. Inv no: Fb 207-209. Photo: National Museum of Denmark.

- Garrison Regiment in Stralsund, one battalion of six companies.
- Garrison Regiment in Elbing, two battalions, each of six companies.

According to Gaffron the Danes got three company colours from one of the two enlisted regiments. They were described as blue with small gilded crowns. Unfortunately Gaffron has mixed the regiments and the descriptions of the colours. So it is not possible to determine which of the regiments are concerned. In order to come a bit closer we have to examine the colours which still are preserved in the Danish and Russian collections. There are four separate types. Of the first type there are no less than eight in the Danish collection and two in the Russian which excludes these from Tönning. (See ill. 5.5) A banner of the second type is known as a colour for The King's Swedish Life Regiment which was not part of Stenbock's army. (See ill. 5.6) This leaves us with the third type seen in ill. 5.7, of which the Danes and the Russians have two each, and the fourth type seen in ill. 5.8 of which the Danes have two and the Russians one. The third type fairly fits Gaffron's description.

Taken the strength of the two regiments, the banners in ill. 5.7 ought to be attributed to the Elbinger regiment and the ones in ill. 5.8 to the Stralsund regiment but the uncertainty is great. A conclusive solution might come when all the Swedish losses in connection with the fall of the Swedish fortresses in Germany will be examined.



5.7 Company colour in the Danish trophy collection. Probably for the enlisted Elbinger regiment. Inv no: Fb 192-193 Photo: National Museum of Denmark.



5.8 Company colour in the Danish trophy collection. Probably for the Garrison regiment in Stralsund. Inv no: Fb 190-191 Photo: National Museum of Denmark

SOME REFLECTIONS

Studying the preserved trophies in Denmark and Russia it is striking how many standards and guidons are missing. For instance in this case only one standard is left in Copenhagen out of nine, and we are not even sure that the attribution of this standard is correct. Out of the Danish share of seven guidons one with certainty is preserved and two or three other might be from Tönning. In Russia it is even worse. No standard you can definitely connect with Tönning is preserved. Among the guidons there might be one or two. And that is from a total amount of thirty standards and guidons. In contrast, several colours are preserved both in Denmark and Russia. It is a little odd because the colours are far more fragile than standards and guidons.

One explanation, especially concerning the Danish trophies, could be the habit of depositing precious objects in a church, namely in the cathedral of Copenhagen, Vor Frue kirke. The cathedral was totally destroyed in the fire of Copenhagen in 1728 and with that probably the trophies which hung in the church.

Another explanation might be the fact that most of the standards and guidons were richly embroidered in gold and silver. That sort of material was expensive and might well have been reused in one way or other. But in that case the stave and the cloth ought to have been preserved to some extent. Nevertheless, it is a pity that the most magnificent of the trophies are gone forever.

APPENDIX

Regiments	Companies	Colours	Preserved
<i>Cavalry</i>			
Västgöta regemente (Col C.G Dücker)	8	8*	0
Riksänkedrottninges livregemente (Col D.Bildt)	8	8*	0
Pommerska kavaliregementet (Col J. Mellin)	8	8*	0
Bremiska kavalleriregementet (Col C.G. Mellin)	8	8*	1?
	16	16	1
<i>Dragoons</i>			
Pommerska dragonregementet (Col A.P. Mardefelt)	10	10*	0
Verdiska dragonregementet (Col C.G. Marschalk)	10	10*	0
Wismarska dragonregementet (Col U.K. von Bassewitz)	8	4*	1
Bremiska dragonregementet (Col J.C. Strömfelt)	10	10*?	5?
	38	34	6
<i>Infantry</i>			
Södermanlands regemente (Col C.R. von Schlippenbach)	4	4	3
Dalregementet (Col M.J. De la Gardie)	8	8*	6*
Östgöta regemente (Col P. Stierncrantz)	8	8*	6
Hälsinge regemente (Col R.H. Horn)	8	8*	3*
Älvsborgs regemente (Col J von Mentzer)	8	8*	8*
Västgöta-Dals regemente (Col N. Palmfelt)	8	8*	3*
Västmanlands regemente (Col M-Falkenberg)	8	8*	7
Närke-Värmlands regemente (Col P. Adlerfelt)	6	6*	3
Stralsundska garnisonsregementet (Col M. Schultz)	6	6*?	4?
Elbingska garnisonsregementet (Col C. Ekeblad)	8	8*?	4?
	72	72	47

* One is the Colonel's standard/guidon/colour