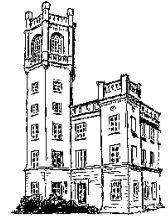




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A loyal public against an evil enemy?

**Comparing how Russia, Denmark, and Poland were communicated as the *other*
in the Swedish *Posttidningar* during times of war, 1699–1743**

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1. Abstract and acknowledgements

1.1 Abstract in English

This study explores the Swedish portrayals of Russians as compared to Danes and Poles and how they changed over time during the Great Northern War and Russo-Swedish War (1741–1743). Through the Swedish state-run *Posttidningar*, the information delivered by the state indicates that the circumstances of war and the power of the enemy leaders were more significant than specific attributes of the enemy other in forming collective Swedish identity. Creating these collective sentiments was an essential tool for the state to affirm the cooperation of its population during times of war. The information about the enemy affects the transformation of a semi-public sphere in Sweden by providing a common knowledge base to discuss and understand a changing view of its place in Europe. By depicting the enemy in flexible terms, the Swedish state desires its population to cooperate based on the threat of war, common knowledge, and Sweden's place in Europe, rather than solidarity against a static religious or political other.

1.2 Abstract in Swedish

Denna studie undersöker svenska skildringar av ryssar jämfört med danskar och polacker och hur de förändrades under det stora nordiska kriget respektive hattarnas ryska krig. Den information som lämnades av staten genom *Posttidningarna* visar att omständigheter som krig eller fiendens styrka var mer betydande än specifika attribut hos Den Andre (fienden), för att bygga upp en kollektiv svensk förvarsvilja. Skapandet av dessa kollektiva känslor var ett viktigt verktyg för staten att säkerställa befolkningens samarbete i krigstider. Information om fienden påverkade omvandlingen av en semi-offentlig sfär i Sverige genom att tillhandahålla en gemensam kunskapsbas för att diskutera och förstå en föränderlig bild av Sveriges plats i Europa. Genom att framställa fienden i flexibla termer försökte den svenska staten få sin befolkning att samarbeta, utifrån hot om krig, gemensam kunskap och Sveriges plats i Europa, snarare än solidaritet mot en ur religiöst eller politiskt perspektiv statiskt fiendlig Andre.

Key words: Great Northern War; Russo-Swedish War; Charles XII; Peter the Great; identity; newspapers; public sphere; Habermas; nationalism; ethnicity; patriotism; religion; Sweden; Russia; Poland; Denmark; early modern period; *Posttidningar*; *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*.

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2. Introduction

Sweden's position in early modern Europe dramatically changed from the outbreak of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) to the resolution of Russo-Swedish War (1741–1743).¹ The Great Northern War ended the Great Power Era and began the Age of Liberty, two well-documented periods of Swedish history.² Groups that were competing and battling with Sweden in the Baltic sphere of interest were significant to this shift in Swedish society. As Sweden's power and influence in northern Europe was changing, there was an increased need for the state to explain its actions and the actions of other states to its population. The state attempted to affirm a sense of public order during war times and justify actions that caused public suffering by using propaganda and other forms of communication. Describing enemy groups and the conditions of war to the Swedish public was part of this communication. The example of communication used here is a printed source of state-controlled information, describing international events to the literate portion of the Swedish population: the *Posttidningar*.

This thesis explores how the *Posttidningar* described three enemy groups to the Swedish public and how these descriptions changed over time.³ Four time periods are examined, including events leading up to the Great Northern War in 1699 and concluding with the end of the Russo-Swedish War in 1743. How Russians were identified as enemies, in relation to descriptions of Danes and Poles, is dealt with over these time periods. Political affiliation, ceremonial expression, religious confession, and ethno-lingual descriptions are important descriptive categories that are used regarding these groups. These descriptive categories relate to how the other is identified. By comparing these three groups, the influence that these and other factors had on forming feelings of collective unity in Sweden in the early modern period is explored.

Descriptions of Russians, as they were the opponents in both wars, are the most important group in this study. This is partially because of their consistent influence during both wars, but also because of the unique idea of “fear of Russians” in Sweden.⁴ The concept is ascribed to Russia, while Denmark and Poland have no equivalent,

¹ These conflicts are also known as the Great Nordic War (*Stora nordiska kriget* in Swedish), and Hats' Russian War (or *Hattarnas ryska krig* in Swedish.) Throughout this thesis, known translations of common Swedish phrases and terms are used. Translations of the primary source material and secondary readings, where applicable, were undertaken by the author. The original Swedish is provided where it was deemed important to context and in reference to the place lines for archival reference.

² In Swedish: *Stormaktstiden*, *Frihetstiden*.

³ The Swedish title is used, while the English equivalent is *Post Times*. In these periods from the eighteenth century, the sources were distributed under the title of *Ordinarie Stockholmske Post-Tidender* in the examples from 1699–1710, *Stockholmske Post-Tidender* in the 1720s and *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* in the 1740s. Today, it is distributed under the name *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*. The term used for the sources to be discussed in this paper will be *Posttidningar*. The changing titles of the source material is noted in the bibliography, 8.2.

⁴ Swedish: *rysskräck*.

despite similar histories of war, rivalries, and violent interactions.⁵ By examining characterizations of rival states from these time periods, this thesis aims to explain how the Swedish state described the enemy as an other during times of war and peace, and how this affected aspects collective identity and unity within Sweden.

2.1 Questions of identity, communication and credibility

Three primary research questions are defined in this section before wider theoretical and methodological concepts are discussed. The first two questions deal principally with the creation and transformation of collective identity and early modern identification, while the third question focuses on the communication aspect. A fourth, more minor and resultant, research question examines the expansion of these ideas into a wider, early modern European context. Defining the impact of enemy characterizations and comparing how these descriptions changed over time shows how the identity of the other influenced the Swedish literate public during times of war and peace. Answering these three primary research questions and investigating aspects of the fourth explore concepts of identity in the early modern period.

The first research question relates to the nature of reading a printed source material and the relationship between the readership and the state editorship. The information the state published in *Posttidningar* functions in a similar fashion to the ideological addresses Peter Ericsson describes, relating to how the state communicated during the Great Northern War.⁶ The Swedish readership perceives other groups, events and ultimately the self in a certain manner, dictated by information from the state. These ideological addresses are connected to how social interactions construct the individual in a public context.⁷ How and to what extent was a public sphere constructed in Sweden through the use of the *Posttidningar*? This question shows the value of the source material beyond an autocratic context. The limitations and usefulness of Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere are examined in order to help answer this initial question.⁸

The second research question depends on establishing a definition of the public sphere. In Britain, the emergence of a public sphere is linked to the construction and formation of a national identity.⁹ What aspects are emphasized about the enemy as an *other* and how do these characteristics influence identity in early modern Sweden? Theories about the origins of nationalism and the creation of the nation, due to oppositional definitions of enemies and the other are important to this question.

⁵ Nilsson, 1990, p. 6.

⁶ Ericsson, 2002.

⁷ Ericsson, 2002.

⁸ Habermas, 1991.

⁹ Colley, 1996.

Examples from the British case are useful to establish some of the theoretical background to the question, primarily relying on the work of Linda Colley. Anthony D. Smith's theories about the nation are also examined in relation to Colley and the idea of the other in creating collective identity. Examples from the Swedish context are also discussed. Here, questions about political, ceremonial, religious, and battle descriptions are used as methodological categories. These earlier studies show that these categories represent aspects that were motivating factors for defining the self in relation to a rival group.¹⁰

The first two questions ultimately depend on qualifying the third research question. Both the transformation of the public sphere and the creation of a form of collective identity are based on understanding how the other is defined through material controlled by the state. These concepts depend heavily on the readership believing and trusting the information the state presents enough to accept it consistently and regularly participate in the discourse. Credibility was essential to a state consistently seeking legitimacy and support for long-term conflicts. How was long-term credibility established and communicated by the state? This is explored through the dynamics of early modern news collection, production, and distribution. The editors had to be cautious of information and select reliable sources, while simultaneously responding with immediacy to circumvent other sources of information from influencing the public. While this was not as rapid as modern newspaper production, there was still an expectation that the material be reproduced rapidly and accurately. The state ultimately desires not to contradict itself in a public forum as it damages its wider legitimacy.

The source material establishes a European perspective for the readership in all diplomatic climates. This secondary research question is not as significant as the first three questions but is also important in understanding how the *Posttidningar* functioned to create collective sentiment. The paper provides different types of new coverage about different European centres, creating an image of states surrounding Sweden. Are different areas, borders, or peoples given different values within this European space? Noticeable trends and patterns regarding other European powers, such as Great Britain, France and, to an extent, the Ottoman Empire, help to answer this question from a broader perspective. Since these states are not the primary groups in question, the creation of a common vision of Europe for the readership will primarily be answered by examining the values placed on Russia, Denmark and Poland, using secondary groups on occasion.

¹⁰ Colley, 1996; Smith, 1986. Colley discusses unity of the British nation through defining itself as a Protestant state against Catholic Europe while Smith's ideas are focused around the ethnic cores of nationalism and the pre-modern origins of a nation.

These questions relate to the choice of using only one type of source material to gauge these descriptions. Using a single empirical source, rather than attempt, like Jonas Nordin, to include multiple types of material focuses the study on a certain part of society for a clearer, less ambiguous picture.¹¹ Comparisons ranging over these two distinct eras in Swedish history require the use of a common source material for cohesion as well. The entire Swedish population suffered greatly during times of total war; the state produced ideological addresses in an attempt to connect and assure all levels of society their sacrifices were for the greater good.¹² The readership ultimately shared common attributes with other parts of society and can represent the wider population to some extent.

2.2 Concepts of the public sphere and the nation

This section on earlier research establishes the theoretical importance of the first two primary research questions. Regarding the question of a public sphere, ideas of other scholars are discussed in relation to Habermas. Discussions of the works of Colley and Smith are essential to answer the question of nationalism and patriotism and establishes the theoretical implications of collective identity during this period. Pasi Ihalainen, Nordin, and Johan Holm are primarily used to explain the uniqueness of the Swedish case, mainly in the Protestant and religious context. The enemy groups were chosen because they were part of an enemy alliance against Sweden; they also represent an Orthodox, Protestant, and a Catholic land, in relation to Sweden's own Lutheranism. These theoretical backgrounds show why it is important to investigate characterizations of enemy groups of different religious and political identifications over time to answer the central research questions.

Communication and newspapers in the early modern period are connected to aspects of the literary public sphere. As Jürgen Habermas has described the public sphere, newspapers and pamphlets are part of the historical elements of this space.¹³ In these periods of Swedish history under investigation, the *Posttidningar* was not necessarily part of this open public sphere, according to Habermas. The era of absolutism in Sweden and the state-controlled medium of this newspaper is classified as part of the "representational" culture that led to the emergence of the public sphere in the eighteenth century, from Habermas's perspective.¹⁴

Establishing a definition beyond Habermas's representational notion explains the importance of the first research question. Elaborations on Habermas's ideas show that

¹¹ Nordin, 2000.

¹² Ericsson, 2002.

¹³ Habermas, 1991.

¹⁴ Habermas, 1991.

the Swedish readership is not necessarily excluded from being defined as a type of public sphere. The readership is in a form of dialogue with the state during this period. The peasantry also had other means to respond to local events and messages dictated through the state-controlled church, such as lodging complaints to the Supreme Commissioner and acts of collective unrest.¹⁵ The readership is part of a dialogue with the state whether or not it rejects or openly opposes the ideas the state delivers.

Thomas O'Malley discusses the positive use of the *London Gazette* regarding English religious life from 1660–1685.¹⁶ The *London Gazette*, like the *Posttidningar*, was an extension of the government and served as the official source of foreign and domestic information. Similarly to the *Posttidningar*, the *Gazette* was often the only newspaper consistently available. It published messages about international conflicts, diplomatic and war dispatches as well as promotions of armed forces.¹⁷ The major differences between the two are that the *Gazette* had a larger circulation and faced significant competition from other newspapers. The *Gazette* is valuable for O'Malley's study because the government controlled it. He concludes that the *Gazette* portrayed the monarchy in accordance with the views of the groups of society that made up the growing and transforming public sphere in post-Restoration England. Peter Lake and Steve Pincus also describe revisions to Habermas to include this essential influence by the state and the elite in early modern England.¹⁸ Political communication from the state motivates multiple publics for support. The existence of a similar, state-controlled paper impacting the transformation of an English public sphere means that a similar situation could have been ongoing in early modern Sweden around an equivalent source.

Ann C. Dean's describes the public moving towards court rather than away from it, in opposition to Habermas.¹⁹ Dean uses important concepts in a study of political news in eighteenth-century London newspapers that can be applied here. Dean's sources come from a period before the acknowledged free exchange of ideas that characterizes Habermas's public sphere. Nancy Fraser also observes that public spheres are institutions that are culturally particular and not necessarily egalitarian, allowing some information to be transmitted, while blocking other modes and voices.²⁰ Both Dean's and Fraser's views of Habermas establish the ideas of the public sphere used in this thesis. State control does not limit the usefulness of material in identifying or establishing a unique or semi-public sphere in the Swedish context. Reading the *Posttidningar* was exclusive to certain

¹⁵ Swedish: *Högste ombudsman*. Linde, 2000. For further elaboration on the role of the *Högste ombudsman* in Sweden during the Great Northern War, see the master's thesis produced by Simon Carpins in the spring of 2012 at Uppsala University.

¹⁶ O'Malley, 1986, p. 25.

¹⁷ Barker, 2000, p. 105–106.

¹⁸ Lake and Pincus, 2006, p. 270–292.

¹⁹ Dean, 2006, p. 631–649.

²⁰ Fraser, 1993, p. 16–17.

members of society, but still a tool of cultural and political proliferation and information sharing. Although it does not point to a fully formed public sphere, the readership of the *Posttidningar* was interacting as part of a semi-public sphere influenced by collective feelings created and influenced by the state.

The public sphere is described as originating and transforming in London coffeehouses, influenced by numerous competing newspapers.²¹ Colley notes the importance of these newspapers in the formation of a common feeling of Britishness.²² In contrast to Sweden, the press in England and Scotland was much more developed due to the opening of the printing press for competitive ventures in 1695. In Colley's British examples, the press in Britain was a reminder to a reluctant readership that their lives were bound to decisions from the governing centre. She also points to the importance of the religious press in emphasizing the otherness, misfortune and privilege of Protestants over the Catholic other.²³ She shows how a group bonds socially and creates a national identity through identification of an oppositional faith, partially through these efforts.²⁴

Colley notes that conflict with the other was a driving factor in the emergence of a British national identity in the eighteenth century.²⁵ Legacies of anti-Catholic sentiment perpetrated through state and church propaganda are important concerning the explanations of the other groups. Colin Haydon also connects Colley's work with the relationship between Protestantism and the development of English and British nationalism. While Colley and Haydon agree with the formation of Britain nationalism and the nation in the early modern period, similar feelings about the nation are questioned in Sweden at this time as part of the central research inquiries. The uniqueness of the British case is contrasted to the distinctiveness of these Swedish examples to answer this question of identity.

Security against enemies appears in many examples regarding feelings of unity in these early modern states. One of the motivating factors behind rulers attempting to achieve cultural hegemony was to create a loyal and cooperative group that could effectively defend against rivals.²⁶ Although religious factors are important to the survival of an ethnic identity, these myths and feelings are more closely linked to aspects of tradition and destiny.²⁷ Smith points to the uses of religious imagery and sacred Orthodox imagery by the Russian tsars, for example, as myth-making methods to secure against internal divisions amongst the populations or external threats to the territory.²⁸ To answer the

²¹ Black, 1987, p. 20–21.

²² Colley, 1996, p. 42–43.

²³ Colley, 1996, p. 43–44.

²⁴ Haydon, 1993.

²⁵ Colley, 1996.

²⁶ Smith, 1986, p. 91.

²⁷ Smith, 1986, p. 124.

²⁸ Smith, 1986, p. 67.

question of collective identity, periods of war and enemy groups are selected to show if these motivations from an other are shown through the *Posttidningar*.

Smith associates the origins of the nation to the early modern period, while classifying nationalism as a modern phenomenon. The collective expression of the Swedish state and the otherness of the rival groups had motivating factors. These extended to ethnic origins and regional identities as they progressed towards the modern nation state, rather than expressing modern nationalistic tendencies of imagined collective identity. This perspective is ultimately the most useful for this study as it disagrees with the traditionalist argument of modern nationalism existing in the early modern period. The focus is instead on answering the question of tracing the origins of a collective identity to these eras in Swedish history, through forms and expressions of unity and the role of the enemy other in this process.

The transformations of religious identities have largely been associated with the emergence of ideas of nationalism and a collective identity in Sweden in other works. Swedish Lutheranism had an inclusive nature during the period, as described by Ihalainen through his examination of state sermons. Unlike in the Netherlands, where supranational Protestantism was emphasized over a regional devotional identity, Ihalainen observes a stronger connection between the fatherland and the state church in Sweden.²⁹ Anna Maria Forssberg links Swedish Protestantism to a unified sense of belonging, linking the Swedes together through love of God, king and the fatherland. Both Ihalainen and Forssberg link the concept of the Swedish Israel to ideas of a Swedish collective identity.

Following Ihalainen's conclusions, how the Swedes viewed the Danes as religious rivals is particularly important due to the use of Denmark as an enemy other in this case. He emphasizes the importance of the Swedish Israel concept of comparison concerning the Danes. He observes that in Swedish state sermons during the Great Northern War, there was no recognition of the Danes as sharing a religious confession nor were they referred to in a positive manner.³⁰ Forssberg also notes that the church prayer boards describe how easily God's grace could shift to an enemy.³¹ The biblical Israel comparison, through the mythic connection to the Old Testament Israel and the Goths of the distant past, is used in a slightly negative fashion in Forssberg's observations; rather than being God's chosen people of destiny, Sweden is always suffering and must overcome adversity. Constantly under threat of war, the people needed to be protected by the state and kept in good spirits in order to overcome sin. Ericsson also observes this need for order through an increase of faith in the context of the Great Northern War.

²⁹ Ihalainen, 2005, p. 585.

³⁰ Ihalainen, 2005, p. 152.

³¹ Swedish: *böndagsplakat*. Forssberg, 2005.

He notes there was not necessarily a need to demonize the enemy in a religious context to affirm these notions.³² Investigating contexts and expressions of religion in the *Posttidningar* shows the importance of these religious identities in describing the enemy.

Using Catholicism against Sweden Protestantism is also exemplified through other work about collective identity. In this study, Poland is selected to explore these Catholic descriptions. Jonas Alwall's observations about the denial of Catholic rights in Protestant Sweden are in opposition to Nordin's ideas about citizenship in the early modern state.³³ Nordin equates the denial of Catholic rights as a consequence of their failure to fulfil the obligation the state established for subjects of the realm. In Nordin's perspective, there were no citizens, as the population had duties to the state rather than privileges, based on the oath to the Lutheran king.³⁴ These emotional connections, although without the reciprocity of citizenship, are still inherently political identities. Haydon's conclusions of the political Protestant community's solidarity in Britain, primarily aimed against the Catholics, resemble this view of Swedish nationalism given by Nordin.³⁵ Nordin also points to the solidarity through religious unity and the oath to the king. Through the religious rhetoric of equating Sweden with the biblical Israel, Nordin sees solidarity created amongst the population, through this religious unity.

Nordin's work on representations within Sweden and non-Swedish territories during the Great Northern War attempts to identify a more complex relationship with the state. During the eighteenth century, this identity transcended loyalty to the monarch and to the church, from his perspective. He equates it with more of an emotional and national connection to the realm, as dictated by members of the elite. As Ihalainen points out, Nordin does not explore the other meanings of the Swedish Israel. Nordin also fails to acknowledge the importance in Sweden of the continued defence of Christianity.³⁶ He also uses multiple types of material to reach his conclusions over a long period of time. Nordin's conclusions that feelings of a common national identity overcame local and regional identities to unify the nation during this period are questioned here as part of the research on identifying aspects of Swedish collective identity in relation to the other.

Joachim Östlund indicates that the common values of the community took precedence over the larger idea of a unified Protestant outlook when describing the enemy.³⁷ He observes that loyalties to community morals are important factors in early modern identity.³⁸ Östlund advocates that collective identity within the Swedish realm

³² Ericsson, 2002.

³³ Alwall, 2000.

³⁴ Nordin, 2000, p. 96–97.

³⁵ Haydon, 1993; Nordin, 2000, p. 97.

³⁶ Ihalainen, 2005, p. 150.

³⁷ Östlund, 2007, p. 219.

³⁸ Östlund, 2007.

was based on these shared, community values.³⁹ These standards not only originated through state propaganda, but were also reflected by the people's will.⁴⁰ The readership of the *Posttidningar* form a type of community, based on the idea of a semi-public sphere where knowledge and a common value system are shared, as established by the state through the paper. Whether or not Östlund's ideas about the significance of the unified Protestant outlook are invoked through the *Posttidningar* is significant when applying this idea of community as representing the whole.

Nordin and Holm attempt to show that elements of nationalistic, or patriotic, sentiment existed in the early modern period. According to Holm, following the death of Gustav II Adolf, the royal council attempted to create feelings of national unity and patriotism by convincing the population that they had loyalties to the fatherland during war, even without a king to lead them.⁴¹ As Holm explains, Nordin relies on a similar logic when describing the new oath sworn by the estates following the end of absolutism and the new process of legitimization during the Age of Liberty.⁴² The absence of Charles XII from the realm during much of the Great Northern War creates a similar context here, although the type of unity identified around it does not depend on these nationalistic feelings.

Nordin and Nils Ekedahl equate the concept of the Swedish Israel with a form of national identity from the middle to late seventeenth century.⁴³ This traditionalist sense of the concept, as employed by Haydon as well, places the origins of nationalism prior to industrialization and the modern period. According to Ihalainen, this mythic connection is not as ethnically strong as Nordin or Ekedahl contend.⁴⁴ These ethnic origin myths are part of the motifs and "uses of history" set out by Smith as part of his argument about early-modern origins of nationalism.⁴⁵ While governments and ruling elites were creating some sense of community in order to maintain control over the population, these evocations of feelings are not primarily ethically based. Unity was created primarily through loyalty to the king and realm through confessional identifications and common, local values, expressed as a sense of patriotism rather than nationalism.

Other forms of propaganda influence how the *Posttidningar* was consumed by the readership. The research question of credibility is raised in response to whether or not a consistent image of the war and the enemy was a concern of the state through multiple

³⁹ The largest gap in Östlund's research is the exclusion of the *böndagsplakat* from the height of the Great Northern War due to their apparent standardization, although Ericsson has shown that the texts from the period of Charles XII's rule are still valid and can be expanded on.

⁴⁰ Östlund, 2007, p. 44–45.

⁴¹ Holm, 2005, p. 128.

⁴² Holm, 2005, p. 129; Nordin, 2000, p. 104.

⁴³ Nordin, 2000, p. 35.

⁴⁴ Ihalainen, 2005, p. 148–149.

⁴⁵ Smith, 1986, p. 192.

types of propaganda to numerous parts of society. Both Nordin and Holm note the role of propaganda in fostering national loyalties. This was due to the fact that, from their perspectives, these national sentiments were emphasized from above. Ericsson's description of the ideological address is important in the context of propaganda and church addresses the Great Northern War. It establishes that the king and the state were concerned with solving conflicts and establishing a personal relationship with the king.⁴⁶ This idea of loyalty as a form of patriotism is used here rather than national, collective identity. If the state were to affirm this loyalty with its readers, it was forced to provide consistent material not only through the *Posttidningar* but also other forms of propaganda. Although these other forms are not examined here, this idea reflects the value of using the readership of the *Posttidningar* as a representative example of the beliefs of the Swedish population. As loyal subject, these bonds were strengthened by information from the state. How the enemy is involved in this information is important to this sense of loyalty.

The purpose of discussing questions of nationalism and collective identity within these theoretical contexts reflects how others view these periods and the placement of this study within that discourse. Nationalism is essentially the perceived notion that a population is united into an imagined political entity through common cultural attributes, such as shared linguistic, ethnic, or religious identities. Using region-specific terms and markers of ethnicity, such as language or ceremony, describe understandable terms to the readership. Although the king and the state use the early modern media network to foster a sense of community, these collective feelings cannot be equated to modern nationalism or nationalistic rhetoric. A combination of a more localized identity, expressed through the semi-public sphere, extends to the formation of an identity through common loyalty to the state, formed partially through these portrayals of the enemy. The extent and quality of these portrayals shows how the state emphasized aspects of this loyalty for cooperation during times of war and peace.

A study of this type has not been conducted before using these specific approaches, especially concerning the role of the enemy other in establishing and transforming collective feelings in Sweden. The role of the other in creating unity in Sweden has also not been systematically examined during these time periods. Connecting the two eras by using a common source material is also a unique approach. Selecting three enemy groups of different religious and political affiliations and comparing how they influenced identity formation of one state over time is also a distinctive approach. The transformation of an early modern public sphere in relation to a publication from an era before the free press is also a valid argument to pose against the works of Habermas. Identifying specific qualities that were emphasized in the information and how they changed over two

⁴⁶ Ericsson, 2002.

periods in Swedish history is important; it shows how identities of unity and loyalty and the public sphere are established or modified in Sweden in this era of the early modern period in relation to an enemy other.

2.3 *Posttidningar* as a source of information

This section discusses the usefulness of selecting the *Posttidningar* as a source and elaborates on the importance of the third research question about credibility. The state spread sanctioned information through multiple channels.⁴⁷ While local and practical matters took precedence over larger political problems, the state was still concerned with offering solutions to these issues. The creation of a type of political culture based on communication and negotiation took place through these interactions.⁴⁸ The communication that reached and was understood by large portions of the population was by using the church as a media network.⁴⁹ Official proclamations and addresses from the king were the information of record, read aloud to the attendees. Addresses and other official pieces of information were issued to assure an image of stability and safety during heavy times of war and to maintain these ideas of security during times of peace.

As one of the world's oldest newspapers still published today, the *Posttidningar* is an example of both persuasive and passive communication.⁵⁰ The paper was under editorial control by the state, delivering information primarily about European centres and political events. The reach of the paper was limited to wealthy, literate, upper-class individuals primarily living in the area around Stockholm. Forssberg points to the pamphlet as an incomplete source of propaganda due to this limited reach.⁵¹ The paper shows concretely, however, what was available to the readership and how a knowledgeable public cooperated in this discourse by consuming what the state made available.

The *Posttidningar* reported events primarily from abroad during the time periods used here. It was officially established in January of 1645 as part of the state's efforts to provide reliable and consistent news from within and outside the realm. It originated mainly from sixteenth-century sensational leaflets and the European diplomatic network.⁵² It establishes, primarily, a European perspective for its readership. The term "European" is used under a very loose, primarily geographic definition here; establishing distinct aspects of this concept part of the secondary research question. Under the editorships of David Schantz and later Samuel Bark during the first and second periods,

⁴⁷ Forssberg, 2005, p 286.

⁴⁸ Gustafsson, 2004, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Reuterswård, 2001.

⁵⁰ Holmberg, 2005, p. 31.

⁵¹ Forssberg, 2005, p. 47.

⁵² Holmberg, 2005, p. 31–38.

respectively, the information from the battlefield was under tight control by the editors, but was also a great concern to the readership.⁵³ Although there was great need for European news, times of war altered the type of information that was printed.

The Low Countries and Paris heavily influenced the growing weekly newspaper medium in Sweden. The influences from these early pamphlets and seventeenth-century news and diplomatic networks led to the character and content of the eighteenth-century samples used in this study. German-language periodicals were produced in the territories conquered by Sweden following the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). This reflected Sweden's military role and the importance of printed propaganda in creating and maintaining loyalty in regions distant from the king and centre of the realm. The Swedish elite was also influenced by Paris publications, due to its preference for receiving news in French.⁵⁴ Even in the Swedish language *Posttidningar*, news from France receives significant attention by the end of 1743.⁵⁵

The different states receive varying degrees of attention over time, highlighting the importance of the comparative approach. In the 1740s, the *Posttidningar* was primarily focused on major European centres such as Paris and London for political news and other practical matters. This process was already underway in the early eighteenth century, but also included smaller regional centres along the Baltic. Centres like Saint Petersburg and Warsaw mainly reported newsworthy items about war and peace talks. It was also during this period that Denmark received varied attention, despite being one of Sweden's closest neighbours.⁵⁶

Like the *London Gazette* in England, the *Posttidningar* was published based on the date the international post arrived from mainland Europe. This was done in order to provide the most accurate and up to date information about political and regional news for the readership, as well as information about ships arriving and departing with cargo for merchants and traders. Approximately 52 editions were published on a weekly basis in each of the years in 1699–1701, 1708–10 and 1720–22. The number of issues published weekly from 1739–43 doubled to around 100 each year.⁵⁷ As the number of pages and items published in each issue is inconsistent from issue to issue, it is difficult to gauge the exact amount of items examined here. Typically, each individual pamphlet, from the surviving material, ranges from three to five pages in the early periods. Difficulties such

⁵³ Holmberg, 2005, p. 101.

⁵⁴ Smith, 1979, p. 25–26.

⁵⁵ See *SPT*, No. 62, 11 Aug., 1743 for examples from French centres.

⁵⁶ Oscarsson, 2005, p. 152–153.

⁵⁷ These issue numbers are detailed in the bibliography, section 9.1. While each issue may not be cited in the items given as examples, overall consistencies and observations have been noted about these years. The bibliography also details how many issues were available to be surveyed for a given year. As some of the data for these years may have been incomplete, the longer comparison over time helps to affirm the conclusions made here. It also notes in the bibliography the incompleteness of the years 1721 and 1722 in the preserved material.

as weather and war often led to shortened editions, while lengthy diplomatic treaties during periods of stability result in additional pages.

Under the editorship of Henrik Bunge, the paper was recreated in Stockholm in 1720 following its brief move to Lund.⁵⁸ The *Posttidningar* was transitioning from under autocratically controlled power to a press freer from the state control in the late 1740s.⁵⁹ Similar changes were occurring in the Dutch Republic in the early modern period, as the intellectual climate pressed towards a legally free printing press.⁶⁰ Changing editors and changing printing locations in Sweden meant that some alterations in style occur over these periods.⁶¹ It was only after the war against Russia in 1743 that the *Posttidningar* transforms from a paper of the state into a journal of the Swedish academy during the Age of Liberty.⁶² It was under Adolf Fredrick, the Russian-backed candidate installed as successor following the loss of the second conflict investigated here, that the Freedom of the Press Act was instituted in Sweden in 1766. The main consistency during the time periods being examined here was the control by the state as to what was published, even though this control began to vacillate towards the end. It is through this form of editorial consent that the images of the enemy other were created as part of the discourse between the state and the public.

In order to be accepted as credible by these readers, the information published in the *Posttidningar* had to reflect aspects of widely held opinions by the population. Other sources of information were available to the common peoples, as well as to the reading elite. Some of the same newsworthy items produced in the *Posttidningar* were also delivered through these wider sources of information to the general population. These included addresses by the king, announcement of prayer and thanksgiving days, and declarations of war. The *Posttidningar* filled in other aspects of information delivery, affirming notions that were also introduced and developed through church sermons, propaganda, and other sources of direct communication between the state and the people.

Both indirect and direct depictions of the enemy are important newsworthy items in the *Posttidningar*. The nature of propaganda from this period primarily prepared the population for perpetual war from evil, depoliticized enemies.⁶³ Through these preparations, the king and state stressed their abilities to protect the people, alongside the importance of the will of God regarding the possibility of war.⁶⁴ Context is important to

⁵⁸ This was due to the poor economic climate in Stockholm following the end of the Great Northern War and the location of Charles XII headquarters during the Great Northern War. Holmberg, 2005, p. 110-112.

⁵⁹ Holmberg, 2005, p. 100.

⁶⁰ Velema, 2003, p. 12.

⁶¹ This includes the masthead image and the change in the amount of columns and column width.

⁶² Oscarsson, 2005, p. 132-133.

⁶³ Forssberg, 2005, p. 292.

⁶⁴ Ericsson, 2002.

both direct situations regarded as propaganda and indirect examples or neutral expressions. Other forms of communication connected with the church often contain the more explicit forms of propagandistic material. Along with the impact of word of mouth and personal letters through the early modern postal networks, information about the negative consequences of war was emphasized.

There are some difficulties in examining this topic without thinking anachronistically in regards to news, timeliness and credibility. It is important to mention that when an event is noted as occurring might not reflect the actual documented, historical date. This is due to the logistical problems of the movement of information and the fact that Sweden was using a different calendar during this time period.⁶⁵ Selecting broadly dated sets of items was done to compensate for these issues of time discrepancies. Framed by the state's perspective and editorial voice, information is a tool to bring distant places closer to the audience, despite the amount of time that passed between occurrence and reproduction.

2.4 Four periods, four peoples, four categories

This study primarily utilizes a comparative analysis between oppositional groups at the start of the Great Northern War until the end of the Russo-Swedish War of 1741–43. It examines four periods of information regarding Russia, Denmark, Poland, and Sweden. Three periods during the Great Northern War were selected. The start of the war (1699–1701), the middle or height of the war (1708–10), and the formal end of the war (1719–21) are examined. The fourth period takes place over the course of the Russo-Swedish War from 1739–43. In order to analyze these four peoples over these four periods, a system of categorization of the news items was established. These four categories are political and diplomatic items, ceremonial events, religious news, and war and military descriptions. Within each of these categories, credibility and legitimacy of the information is established depending greatly on the context of the item.

The first time period begins with events prior to the outbreak of the Great Northern War. Spanning from 1699 to 1701, this period includes the differing entry of each enemy group into the conflict and primarily focuses on events around the Battle of Narva. Denmark's withdrawal from active combat creates a point of comparison regarding how peace is negotiated. This period includes an initial "normalized" point of view of the three states, presented before the outbreak of the major conflicts. The transition into

⁶⁵ Sweden followed a modified Julian calendar from 1700-1712. The Julian calendar was used in Russia until 1918. The Gregorian calendar used today reflects the known dates, while the dates used throughout the text concerning events occurring in the sources reflect the dates noted by the pamphlet itself. The purpose of this thesis was not to revise known dates of events occurring in Swedish history; any discrepancies noted about dates of events reflect the dates stated in the source.

active combat, and in the case of Denmark withdrawal, is an important contrast to these initial descriptions of the other. The state establishes the majority of events as incurring directly within the Swedish realm of interest during this period.

The second era under investigation concerns items from 1708 until 1710. This includes descriptions of events around Battles of Holowczyn, Poltava, Helsingborg and Charles XII's retreat to Moldova. This period includes mainly reports directly concerning military movements, troop counts and details of supplies directly from army headquarters on the battlefield. The threat of Danish invasion in 1709 is also important to the Swedish public and the construction of the Danish enemy other. The Swedish state attempts to establish a system of credibility for explaining massive military losses, while also acknowledging the direct threats against the Swedish population and the stable methods of collecting and distributing information.

The third period, from 1719–21, covers the conclusion of the Great Northern War. Ericsson states that the final period of the war saw no active war policy being pursued by the Swedish government.⁶⁶ The third period concerns the position of the states in varying diplomatic and military situations. The Swedish state must also rationalize losses of territory and regional significance to its population. Any identifiable shifts in the rationalization of the Swedish empire and the diplomatic relationship with the former enemy groups are included in this period.

The final period of investigation is during the next major conflict with Russia. The data from this period is from late 1739 to 1743, covering the lead up and conclusion to the Russo-Swedish War. Comparing information that was delivered during the Great Power Era to the Age of Liberty explores how *Posttidningar* was used from one period to the next. There is an acknowledged shift ongoing in the editorial purpose during the two eras.⁶⁷ The period shows if there is a significant shift in how information is delivered and confirmed between the two defined eras. Highlighting any consistencies or contradictions in enemy portrayals between the two wars establishes whether long-term enemy descriptions are motivating factors in creating a sense of collective unity in Sweden.

Similar events are compared and contrasted throughout these four periods. The categorization of events depends primarily on the content and context of each item. The categories that are used are political and diplomatic descriptions, ceremonial events, religious expressions, and battle and wartime episodes. Some of these categories share common features, such as the emphasis on the power and influence of the monarch. The descriptive language used to establish credibility is also similar for most of indirect the categories. Establishing these types of newsworthy categories is essential to answering

⁶⁶ Ericsson, 2002.

⁶⁷ Gustafsson and Rydén, 2005.

the central research questions. Items are contrast based on these categories to show how context is important to different types of descriptions.

The category that is most loosely defined includes items pertaining to diplomatic and political events. Political and diplomatic newsworthy events primarily discuss the actions of the head of state, the interactions of diplomats and other high-level actors, and internal political debate. Some of the identifiable political actors appear in items about ceremonial and other events, such as crownings and the ceremonial presentation of diplomats to court. Despite these overlaps, political events and descriptions are important to show how the Swedish state wanted its public to view and participate with the wider European political environment.

Ceremonial events are established as a category due to the greater presence of details pertaining to the setting of the occasion, including cultural and religious symbols. These descriptions are part of the newsworthiness of the occasion. These events are part of the pageantry and systems of legitimacy that were undertaken by monarchies and absolutist regimes. Acknowledging the symbols used by the monarch of a rival state establishes a sense of the character for other leader. It also shows how he is connected to the rival state he ruled. Whether or not these events are given the same legitimacy within the Swedish state, regarding these different enemies, is an important question to pose when looking at these events and expressions of unity.

Religious descriptions are an interesting category, as was noted in the works of Colley regarding the transformation of the nation and its influence on collective identity. While some religious symbols are often included in ceremonial descriptions, the broader descriptions of the religious other and purely religious affiliations are important when comparing the Swedish case with the other studies in religious identification. The type of expressions seen in the sources used here may be different when compared to other examples that used information related directly to the church. However, this is still a valuable category to illustrate the pervasiveness and reach of the image of religious solidarity against either a common enemy or by affirming the solidarity within a population.

The final category of wartime events includes the most negative language towards the enemy due to the direct confrontation between soldiers or the movement of enemy troops. The other categories are primarily indirect descriptions that the audience would not be induced to experiencing personally, except for some aspects of ceremony that relate to loyalty to the king. Reporting instances of enemy atrocities is included in wartime events. As the most negative language occurs during these heightened times of emotion, it is important to view these instances in specific contexts, contrast to similar items. This category also helps to establish the qualities of direct and indirect descriptions discussed throughout this study.

How items are presented has an impact on how the information was believed. This relates back to the research question concerning credibility. The descriptions of the other require long-term and credible expressions of how that information was obtained by the state and its agents. Dean's observations regarding political news in London newspapers are applied to how the credibility in the categories is established or attempted. Dean points to the use of "oral tags" as factors that would motivate the readership to perceive the information as exclusive, accurate and newsworthy, depending on the phrase.⁶⁸ The phrasing and identification of a source of authority is crucial to the creation of legitimacy for the information.⁶⁹

There are four primary forms of attribution observed through the categorization process. These use similar invocations of oral communication as Dean noted. These are expressed on a decreasing scale of credibility.⁷⁰ The first category includes using the term letter, mail, or tidings to show how the information was gathered and emphasize the reliability of the source. The second category uses phrases such as "appears that," "says that," or "feels that" regarding a source, to show a decreased voice of authority on the topic. Peasant accounts of enemy movements often use these phrases. The third category is that of the rumour, a highly negative and suspicious set of information where the source lacks nearly all credibility. Finally, there is also a selection of items that do not include any of these phrases, making their credibility difficult to gauge.

The first category is treated as coming from a reliable source of information. The official that sent the letter, or the specific location it was sent from, is often mentioned in conjunction with the phrase. These terms are used about a significant matter that requires confirmation and attribution. This phrase appears most often regarding political or diplomatic events, but is also seen when military actions require greater legitimacy.

The second category is treated as a secondary source of information. The attribution often does not concern a ranking official or comes from the general population. The audience is linked to these other populations by using a common phrase from conversation to describe an event. This category also concerns editorial commentary and explanation of events directly to the Swedish readership through these same oral tags. These statements are often direct but also include some indirect statements.

The third category is consistently a negative attribution used primarily with military or war information. Rumours are always negative and often require a follow-up item in the next edition to explain the situation with more official accuracy.⁷¹ These are often

⁶⁸ Dean, 2006, p. 633–634.

⁶⁹ Gustafsson and Rydén, 2005, p. 120–121.

⁷⁰ Although noted in English here, these categories in Swedish are as described as follows: *brev/post/tidender; synes/berättas/känns att; rykte*. Other similar phrases are included in their equivalent categories.

⁷¹ Modern Swedish: *Rykte*, eighteenth-century spelling *Rychte*. The Svenska Akademiens Ordbok defines "rykte" as something often unfortunate or hearsay. See Svenska Akademien, "RYKTE," *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, 31 August 2010, <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/> (accessed 24 April 2012).

indirect observations or information from an untrustworthy direct source. Rumours are primarily treated as negative pieces of information. The state explains and publishes rumours with this negative attribution in order to establish immediacy. Credibility follows with their subsequent legitimate explanations of the event in later issues.

The final category is the largest and consequently the most ambiguous. This category includes items that may have been translated from another language. The translators and the producers of the material expected the readership to understand based on the context of the term. This type of readership discernment is noted regarding English newspapers and other translated items in this period.⁷² The emphasis is primarily on the readership to discern these aspects of credibility and understand events based on the context provided by the state.

2.5 Historical rivalries in perspective

A brief overview of the interactions of Russia, Denmark, and Poland with Sweden in this section establishes the importance and uniqueness of each group for study. First, a short discussion of the central “enemy” group shows why Russia has been selected as the primary point of comparison for the other groups. Secondly, descriptions of Denmark as a traditional rival are explored. Thirdly, a brief discussion of Poland outlines its situation during this period. This background information about the relationships these groups had with Sweden does not intend to be inclusive or extensive. It primarily qualifies some of the circumstances that brought the states into conflict with Sweden at the start of the Great Northern War.

Interactions between Swedes and Russians began well before the early modern period. Swedish travellers and traders have explored Russia for centuries. Swedish armies clashed with Russian troops over areas of mutual interest and confession. The Baltic region was central to these clashes, as efforts to maintain control of resources and populations were the foundations for the expanding efforts of empire from all sides. The religious clashes were the result of competing efforts for conversion in borderland regions, following inclusion into the realm, as well as within the internal rhetoric of the state.⁷³

As issues of conversion in these regions is not explored directly here, the focus instead turns to how the populations were told to view themselves and others through doctrines of the state and the church. Gradually, Russians saw themselves as the bearers of the one true faith – Orthodoxy – and thus greatly threatened by Latinized Europe.⁷⁴ Lutheran Sweden adopted the idea of the Swedish Israel, which was firmly entrenched in

⁷² Dean, 2006.

⁷³ Katajala, 2006, p. 331–353.

⁷⁴ Birgegård, 2002, p. 11.

religious texts and celebrations by the seventeenth century.⁷⁵

The Russo-Swedish Wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued the formation and diffusion of ideas about Russians in Sweden due to religious, political, and military clashes. This was also a consequence of the desire for control over resources and historical lands. Russia was primarily drawn into the alliance against Sweden that started the Great Northern War in order to reclaim the lost "Novgorod lands" of the Baltic, lost during the Thirty Years' War and other conflicts.⁷⁶ As Kari Tarkianien shows in his work about Swedish views on Russians in the seventeenth century, there was a more uniform opinion expressed by Swedes towards Russians, compared to more complex depictions of Danes and Poles.⁷⁷ Tarkianien points to cultural differences as the foundation for many of the stereotypes formed and maintained against Russians during this period prior to the Great Northern War. Tarkianien notes that the language used by Swedish diplomats in Russia was primarily negative, moralizing and heavily stereotyped.⁷⁸ This could possibly explain the apparently uniform depictions that Tarkianien observes. Using his conclusions and encouragement for a wider study on the topic, exploring whether these trends continued into the period of the Great Northern War, and how they relate to the influence of the other on creating feelings of collective unity, shows the uniqueness of this study.⁷⁹

The threat of Russian attack manifested itself in the concept of fear of Russians, or *rysskräck*, creating an overall negative image of Russia over time. Sture Nilsson describes this fear and suspicion of Russia taking the form of long-standing prejudices, slowly transforming into hate in the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ Nilsson describes Russia's prejudices as unique compared to other groups. This is a limited perspective as he fails to qualify threats and outlooks of other enemy groups. Each set of prejudices is unique, but also closely tied to context. Keeping in mind the acceptance of this concept in modern Sweden, gauging the plausibility and usefulness of this concept in the early modern period helps to answer the question of identifying aspects of the enemy over time and how it relates to long-term prejudices.

Denmark is seen as Sweden's traditional enemy due to deep, long-established rivalries. The union of Denmark-Norway, lasting from the end of the Kalmar Union in 1536 until 1814, was more commonly recognized as simply the Kingdom of Denmark during this period. From the Thirty Years' War to the Scanian War, and many other conflicts,

⁷⁵ Ekedahl, 1999, p. 18. This is also evidenced in the English and the Dutch churches, as the clergy and the state used the language of the Old Testament to explain war as struggles either for the true Protestant religion or divine retribution for sin. Ihalainen, 2005, p. 146.

⁷⁶ Hughes, 1998, p. 27; Cracraft, 2003, p. 137.

⁷⁷ Tarkianien, 1973, p. 51–52.

⁷⁸ Tarkianien, 1973, p. 50.

⁷⁹ Tarkianien, 1973, p. 51–52.

⁸⁰ Nilsson, 1990, p. 6.

Sweden's power and influence in the Baltic region and areas in northern Germany rose while Denmark's declined.⁸¹ The territorial conflicts are among the most significant events that lead to Denmark's entry into the alliance that forms against Sweden leading up to the Great Northern War. An important part of the description of Denmark in the first period is that it was the first of the enemy pact to sue for peace.

At the outbreak of the Great Northern War, as Robert Frost has observed, there was a generational shift from one set of monarchs to the next.⁸² The monarchs who experienced the previous episodes of the Northern Wars were succeeded by a new group of leaders who also had a new generation of the population to inform and influence based on previously established rhetoric. Although the relationship between Sweden and Denmark is termed as an arch rivalry, they are also the closest geographically, culturally, dynastically, and religiously. How Denmark is treated indicates the impact proximity plays in portraying enemy groups.

Poland, the third state selected, and Sweden also had a long-standing series of conflicts. The complicated situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is also observed in other studies, especially those profiling the difficult circumstances leading up to Augustus II's rule and other perceived failures of the Saxon Wettin dynasty in Poland.⁸³ The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a large, multi-ethnic union, but was more commonly referred to as only Poland during this period by western Europeans; they had more contact with the Polish part of the union. Joined under the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Commonwealth was ruled by a single elected sovereign and a joint parliament but retained separate governments, treasuries, legal codes and, most importantly in this case, armies for the separate Lithuanian and Polish areas.⁸⁴

Some notable hostilities occurred between the two states based on religious clashes. The circumstances surrounding Sigismund III Vasa's attempted union between the Polish and Swedish crowns at the end of the sixteenth century exacerbated bloody Catholic and Protestant rivalries. Norman Davies contrasts the Swedish and Polish rivalries in the sixteenth and seventh centuries to the concepts the English invoked against Catholic states, such as France.⁸⁵ This fits into Colley's model of collective identification in Britain and shows the importance of understanding her theoretical implications when answering the central research question based on expressions of collective identity.

Extensive occupations and confrontations between Swedish and Polish troops also

⁸¹ The results of which pushed Sweden towards reinterpreting the constitution to form an absolute monarchy in December 1680 but also revealed Sweden's military weaknesses. Frost, 2000, p. 217

⁸² Frost, 2000, p. 226–227.

⁸³ Sharp, 2001.

⁸⁴ Kasekamp, 2010, p 44–45.

⁸⁵ Davies, 1981, p. 433.

occurred during the Livonian War (1558–83), the wider Thirty Years' War and the Swedish Deluge of 1655 also, among others. Pressure from Russia also led to the loss of part of modern territory of Ukraine and Belarus, connected in part to the international intervention that occurred during the Deluge. This subsequently led to the development of distinct nationalities in those regions in the modern period.⁸⁶ Looking towards the eighteenth century, Poland was suffering from internal conflicts amongst the nobility, invasions and challenges from surrounding powers and immense misery for its population. Sweden was not the only state pressuring and influencing Poland.

The extent of the checks on monarchical power in Poland gives extensive powers to nobility-controlled legislature, which was divided and manipulated by groups of powerful landholders. Governance in Poland was highly dysfunctional during this period to the point of not functioning at all.⁸⁷ The nobility resisted the changes brought on by the dynastic link to Saxony and attempted to find support from neighbour states, furthering the outside interference that internally weakened Poland.⁸⁸ This issue of royal power presents some complications when compared to the other absolute monarchs and feelings of patriotism and loyalty.

The other difficulties in dealing with matters pertaining to Poland include the larger commonwealth, namely Saxony and Lithuania. The issue of Saxony in the sources is dealt with as an extension of Augustus II, as he took the Polish crown after he attained the position of Elector of Saxony and his subsequent conversion to Roman Catholicism. He also used the Saxon bureaucracy in order to get around the some aspects of checks on the power of his office in Poland, in order to pursue his own agenda against Sweden and Swedish territory.⁸⁹ Charles XII's policy towards dethroning and eliminating Augustus II from Poland is part of this rivalry idea.⁹⁰ While Saxony and the Saxon identity are not addressed directly, aspects of troop movements are taken into account if they are significantly linked to Poland or Augustus II.

All of the enemy groups select here have concerns linked to the Baltic region. The Thirty Years' War, and the less significant and more regional Torstenson War with Denmark-Norway, brought about the Swedish near-total hegemony in the Baltic.⁹¹ This hegemony and the Swedish influence over Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria is expressed through connections to the major centres and peoples of these regions.⁹² Tallinn and Riga were two of these major centres; after its incorporation and until 1710, Riga was the

⁸⁶ Kasekamp, 2010, p 48.

⁸⁷ Sharp, 2001.

⁸⁸ Grochulska, 1982, p. 239.

⁸⁹ Frost, 2000, p. 258.

⁹⁰ Kasekamp, 2010, p. 53.

⁹¹ Kasekamp, 2010, p. 53.

⁹² Swedish: *Livland, Estland, Ingermanland*.

largest city in the Swedish realm.⁹³ Nyen and Narva were central to Swedish trade with Russia and in the Baltic region. Both centres were heavily contested during the Great Northern War, seen with the Battle of Narva in 1700 and Tsar Peter's construction of Saint Petersburg just west of Nyen in 1703, when the area was still claimed by Sweden.⁹⁴ The extension of the Lutheran church and the Swedish administration emphasizes the commonalities the audience had with the peoples there.

This project does not take into account influences by non-Christian groups, such as the Jews or the Turks. In Erica Hellmer master's thesis, which also dealt with depictions of the enemy, the Turks are the group that receives the second-most detailed descriptions and the Ottoman Empire is labelled one of the hereditary enemies of Sweden.⁹⁵ Göran Malmstedt also observes negative depictions and the threats from the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁶ The Ottoman Empire, however, did not directly threaten Sweden proper during the majority of the periods examined here.⁹⁷ While there is consistent mention of the Ottomans throughout the surveyed material, they are primarily used to compare a more distant and unknown group to the emergence of Russian in the European space.

When necessary, areas concerning Saxony, Lithuania and Livonia, Ukraine, Prussia, German territories, Tatar khanates and the Ottoman Empire are addressed only if they directly concern the wider portrayals of the central groups. These direct concerns include serving as a passage of communication or acting in direct cooperation or opposition to Sweden. Another group that requires some consideration are the Ukrainians that collaborated with the Swedish armies. The cooperation and promotion of Ivan Mazepa's Cossacks as allies in Ukraine, as well as the installation of Stanisław Leszczyński as the King of Poland, creates circumstances regarding the difficulties of establishing consistent religious and political portrayals during times of shifting alliances.

Following these introductory sections, the empirical portion is presented in four chapters, divided chronologically. Within these four periods, each of the enemy groups are described and subsequently contrasted in separate subsections. The final chapter summarizes the overall conclusions before outlining some potential aspects for further research, based on the success and limitations of this study.

⁹³ Kasekamp, 2010, p. 53. Alternative names and spellings of settlements are included as a chart in appendix, section 8.1. These names are important to note because the names have been changed. Important names in other modern languages are also noted.

⁹⁴ Villstrand, 2011, p. 424.

⁹⁵ Hellmer, 2009, p. 45.

⁹⁶ Malmstedt, 1999, p. 89–100.

⁹⁷ Hellmer, 2009, p. 56.

3. Pre-war times and victory, 1699–1701

Items from the *Posttidningar* concerning Russia, Denmark, and Poland from the first time period are examined based on the four categories in this section.⁹⁸ The time period includes items published roughly over the three years from 1699 to 1701.⁹⁹ The dates of the individual items reflect when they were dispatched from the source, while the publication date reflects when those items were physically received or reported to Stockholm.¹⁰⁰ Choosing a broad period compensates for some of these practical delays, in order to include important events that occurred prior to and during the Great Northern War. Including items from this pre-war period establishes a neutral point of reference for the three enemy groups and the wider view of Europe.

The events leading up to and following the Swedish victory at Narva in November of 1700 are part of the main focus of this period. The Battle of Narva is thoroughly documented and is not explored directly as a military encounter, although military events are important for direct descriptions concerning other battles. Narva signals the disruption of steady information directly from Russia, while still maintaining connections to the other enemy groups and European centres. Part of establishing how the groups are portrayed includes explaining how periods of heavy hostility influenced the credibility and obtainability of information. Denmark's early withdrawal from the conflict shows how peace is negotiated when Sweden is dictating the terms. These events illustrate how aspects of the enemy were identified and emphasized in relation to Swedish identity during fortunate times of war.

This section is broken down into four subsections. First, the depictions of Russia and Russian related events are discussed based on the methodological categories. This includes descriptions Russian incursions in the Baltic region. Information regarding Denmark follows in the next section, including aspects of the Peace of Travendal that was signed in 1700. Descriptions of Poland will be the third section. Finally, the summary describes some early conclusions to the central research questions based on this initial period.

⁹⁸ *Ordinarie Stockholmske Post-Tijdender* will be referred to as the abbreviation *OSPT* in footnotes. All translations of this material have been completed from Swedish into English by the author. The footnotes are formatted in this fashion: Publication abbreviation, city of origin, item date, issue no., issue date. While the city of origin is not normally worth noting, part of the theory and methodology about the credibility of the information and the selection of the material relating to the enemy groups involves describing where some of the material is said to originate. This is why the notes include the city and the date noted with that city of presumed origin. The closest English contemporary name to the eighteenth-century term is also used in the citations. See the appendix section 8.1 for other alternative spellings of centres and cities.

⁹⁹ Specifically, items were examined in *Ordinarie Stockholmske Post-Tijdender* from 30 Oct., 1699, No. XLIV until 24 June 1701, No. XXVI. The original Roman numeral issue numbers are used for ease of archival identification.

¹⁰⁰ While the date received in Stockholm can generally be assumed to be during the week prior to publishing, but after the previous week, it cannot be confirmed when the information was sent from the original source but can be approximated due to other secondary sources documenting the event.

3.1 Russia as the primary enemy

Russia is the most distant state from Sweden in geographical space as well as *communicative space* in this period. Communicative space refers to how far-reaching the Swedish information gatherers and receivers were in relation to centres of Swedish power. Moscow was the most distant capital for those who dispatched the information back to Sweden.¹⁰¹ This idea of communicative space creates a known geographic space based on the order of published accounts, supported by other information available to the Swedish public.¹⁰² There is not a large amount of direct information provided regarding Russia in the beginning of this period due to these distances. The state and the readership were forming opinions about Russia during this period.

Although a valuable trade partner, Russia is on the fringe of the early modern communication and diplomatic network. Negotiations with the Ottoman Empire and a meeting between a Swedish delegation and Tsar Peter in Moscow are the two main diplomatic events that are described through this limited information. The meetings with the Ottomans are a diplomatic event, although quite distant; the meeting with the Swedish delegation is a smaller-scale, largely ceremonial event that directly concerns the Swedish readership. These events are reported in 1699 and come from sources in Moscow, as well as through the intermediary centres of Vienna and Constantinople.¹⁰³ These ceremonial descriptions involve instances when the church is mentioned without portraying elements of religion.¹⁰⁴

Items directly reported or attributed to Russian or Muscovite territory are also limited in 1700. Instead, the sphere of Russian communication is redirected through intermediary areas closer to Sweden. Dispatches from further east, such as Russia and the Ottoman Empire, are transmitted mainly through Lviv.¹⁰⁵ Lviv, under heavy Polish influence, often acts as early modern communication hub between a distant east and Europe.¹⁰⁶ The offer of military support by Russia for the invasion of Ingria and to aid the Polish effort in Riga is also delivered through Latvia in some cases, again in a nearer European space within Swedish reach.¹⁰⁷ The legitimacy of this information is established by showing that these groups were allied or cooperating with Sweden.

¹⁰¹ Constantinople is more distant, as observed only through a brief overview of the dispatches in this period but is not a matter for discussion here. The majority of information regarding the Ottoman Empire also travels through Lviv or Warsaw.

¹⁰² Smith, 1986, p. 13. Information read in churches and direct addresses would have had a wider audience and a direct impact and could have contained information that may not have appeared in these sources. Ericsson, 2002.

¹⁰³ *OSPT*, Vienna, 26 Oct., 1699, No. XLVII, 21 Nov., 1699; *OSPT*, Constantinople, 3 Sept., 1699, No. XLVII, 21 Nov., 1699.

¹⁰⁴ *OSPT*, Copenhagen, 7 April, 1700, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700

¹⁰⁵ For an example, see: *OSPT*, 2 May 1700, Lemberg, No. XXIV, 11 June, 1700.

¹⁰⁶ Lemberg will be used in the footnotes while Lviv will be used in the body of text.

¹⁰⁷ *OSPT*, 30 Aug., 1700, Mitau, No. XXXIX, 24 Sept., 1700.

Observations that are directly attributed to Swedish diplomats are given the greatest contextual legitimacy. The meeting of the Swedish delegation with the tsar establishes court rituals and, when contrast with a similar occasion involving the Danish, shows how distant and foreign Russia is prior to the Battle of Narva. When the tsar establishes celebrations in Russia around a New Year more inline with other “Christian” powers, the item is reported directly but falls into the wider category of attribution.¹⁰⁸ Including a description of the Swedish delegation as they progress towards Stockholm, following the meeting with the tsar in 1699, shows the importance of mentioning these celebrations. The delegation is described as celebrating Christmas when they returned to Swedish territory in Narva.¹⁰⁹ The legitimacy of the Swedish item is linked to source of information, coming from within Swedish territory. Holidays and religious events are important to the readership but specific references to the type of faith are not included. The few religious items that are referenced by the paper are primarily linked to similar aspects of ceremonial information rather than invoking any negative or oppositional sentiment, aimed at a specific faith.

Positive attribution is attached to events that place Russia closer to the known European values the readership was familiar with during this initial period of political and diplomatic vagueness. Ceremonially, the tsar is referred to in the same manner as the other kings with frequently lengthy or full titles.¹¹⁰ Rather than characterizing these actions as part of a religious description of identity, these aspects instead point to a political ascription that relates Russia to more familiar, European cultural traditions. Following the meeting with the Swedish delegation, there was some attempt by the Swedish state to bring Russia closer to western values in the mind of the public; releasing the information describing the shift in the New Years celebration in Russia is part of that. When Russia is a potential ally, or in an ambiguous position, positive attribution are attached to events that place Russia closer to the familiar European sphere.

The descriptions of the movements of Russian troops into Swedish territory begin with confusion. Russia and Poland are described as collaborating to advance troops towards Swedish holdings.¹¹¹ Using the phrase “observance” puts this piece of information into the second category of legitimacy. The collaboration mentions the Russian use of alternative troops, such as *streltsy* and Cossack troops. The information is

¹⁰⁸ *OSPT*, 3 Jan., 1700 Moscow, No. VI, 6 Feb., 1700.

¹⁰⁹ *OSPT*, 19 Dec., 1699, Narva, No. II, 8 Jan., 1700

¹¹⁰ For Peter I, see *OSPT*, 7 Oct., 1699 Moscow, No. XLVI, 14 Nov., 1699 ”...Hans Zahriske M:tt...”; For Augustus II, see *OSPT*, 20 Nov. 1699, Dresden, No. I, 11 Dec., 1699 (Konungen i Pohln...Hans May:tt); For Frederick IV, see *OSPT*, 7 April, 1700, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700. Outside of the anointment ceremony, the King of Denmark receives little direct attention until after Denmark’s withdrawal from the conflict.

¹¹¹ *OSPT*, 30 Aug., 1700, Mitau, No. XXXIX, 24 Sept., 1700. “Man haver nu *effterrättelse* / at Hans Zariske May:t försäkrat Konungen i Pohln / at han med 20000 Mann wille gå in uti Carelen och Ingermanland...Samma Troupper solka bestå af 20000 *Strelizer* / och 8000 *Cosaker*...”

later officially confirmed through Stockholm, attempting to affirm support for the Swedish troops through increasing credibility of the information and move away from the initial confusion.¹¹² Military events are also given credibility by emphasizing a Swedish location and official phrase of attribution, but are more important to the readership due to the active threat they pose.

Following Narva, reports on Russia and Russian activity no longer functions through the limited, yet familiar, earlier channels. Descriptions of military encounters from the battle headquarters are delivered through cities and settlements that were close to the fighting, such as through Narva, Nyen, Riga, Tallinn, and other confrontations in the Baltic. As the Russian presence restricts direct communication, reports from Baltic peoples are relied upon to channel support and provide descriptions of the enemy. Information is now transmitted through military channels in the form of witness accounts in transitory areas, requiring different expressions of credibility.

Members of the rival Russian state are almost exclusively called “enemies” only in direct military situations.¹¹³ The recovery of captured Swedish soldiers, presented through the more credible official letter or post notification, is also noted in this category.¹¹⁴ Only the enemy troops are portrayed in a staunchly and clearly negative light due to this direct threat. Battle descriptions represents how the government wished to portray the enemy based on a specific context; in this case, that context is a threat to harm against the readership.

Information about the tsar's presence with his army leading up to Narva comes from a formerly captured peasant; the phrase “told” is used regarding his statement, showing that his reliability falls into the second category of legitimacy.¹¹⁵ Mentioning an unofficial source shows the affect the conflict had on the peoples who populated the area, acting as an extension of the readership. Describing their suffering increases the readerships support for bringing a Swedish peace to the region through continued fighting by the legitimate Swedish state. Through these depictions violent acts of war, the audience is encouraged to sympathize and identify with Swedish soldiers and peasants of the realm.

The value of the Baltic in this period is measured by the extensive publication of events from this area. An item about the movement of Russian troops across Estonia in October 1700 depicts the burning of settlements as the troops marched towards allies of Sweden.¹¹⁶ Witnesses to enemy atrocities can be legitimated by referencing the presence of an official source; an enemy prisoner of rank falls into this category, depending on the

¹¹² *OSPT*, 1 Oct., 1700, Stockholm, No. XLI, 1 Oct., 1700.

¹¹³ Swedish: *Fiende*.

¹¹⁴ *OSPT*, 29 Nov. 1700, Reval, No. LI, 17 Dec., 1700. “...Med *Påsten* ifrån Narfwen...deremot har man uti Lårgret igenfunnit Majoren Patkull och Ryttest Adereas samt Lieut. la Motte som Fienden hade til fånga.”

¹¹⁵ *OSPT*, 23 Sept., 1700, Narva, No. XLII, 15 Oct., 1700. “...en Bonde till Fånge / som berättat...”

¹¹⁶ *OSPT*, 25 Oct., 1700 Reval, No. XLVI, 12 Nov., 1700.

significance of the information for describing the other. This specific depiction focuses on the description of the desecration of a corpse in December 1700:¹¹⁷

Tallinn, December 6 / Here are a (Russian) Prince and two Boyars captured on the Border that say that the one of the Boyars must be the Tyrant who unearthed the sacredness of the Graves and chopped the hands and cut the ears off them / and then hung them along the roads. Otherwise there is also a Russian in Koporye named Hartwig / who has been a very barbaric Tyrant. A previously known Corpse was yesterday here in the City acquired and was take out to the Swedish Church / The fingers and feet burned / and the whole body browned.

These details create the idea of a conversation between the readership and ordinary people who experience the event, bringing the Swedish audience closer to the events.¹¹⁸ The readers are connected to each other through these feelings of sympathy to a distant population. The connections between the battling Swedish Charles XII and public are strengthened by celebrating a thanksgiving day in Stockholm following the victory at the Battle of Narva, calling it a great victory by the Swedish king over the Russians.¹¹⁹ Distant peasant populations are shown to be loyal to the Swedish king and trustworthy to the Swedish state by providing crucial military and war descriptions.

The title of the tsar, link the other rival kings, is significantly shortened in all methodological categories following the outbreak of hostilities and the displays of cruelty towards Swedish soldiers and Baltic peasants.¹²⁰ As the head of the state, they are portrayed as responsible for these direct encounters and receive less respect and legitimacy. The Swedish king's honorific is lengthened and used more frequently in connection to the successes of the army.¹²¹ Shortening the tsar's title and linking him to these events places blame on him for being the leader of these threats rather than the head of an evil state. The tsar's initial importance displayed through his ambiguous ceremonial items turns negative as a result of circumstances of war. Although initially distant and unknown, the tsar was not negatively portrayed until he posed an active threat to Sweden.

3.2 Quick peace with Denmark

Items about Denmark occur in the same limited quantity as the items about Russia, but in a vastly different context. Denmark has diplomatic connections to Sweden while information about Russia is often redirected through intermediary sources, even before

¹¹⁷ *OSPT*, 6 Dec., 1700, Reval, No. LII, 24 Dec., 1700.

¹¹⁸ *OSPT*, 13 Nov., 1700 Viborg, No. XLVIII, 26 Nov., 1700.

¹¹⁹ *OSPT*, 11 Feb., 1701, Stockholm, No. VI, 11 Feb., 1701. "...den herlige seger / som vår allernådigste Konung wunnit emot Ryssen wijd Narva..."

¹²⁰ For Poland, see *OSPT*, 9 June 1700, Warsaw, No. XXVIII, 13 July, 1700. For Denmark, see *OSPT*, 23 May 1700, Friedrickstad, No. XXIV, 11 June, 1700. For Russia, see *OSPT*, 18 Oct., 1700, Nyen, No. XLV, 5 Nov., 1700 and *OSPT*, 1 Nov., Reval, No. XLVII, 19 Nov., 1700. In each of these cases, the honorific is shortened to simply the king (*Kungen*) or the tsar (*Zaren.*)

¹²¹ *OSPT*, 15 Nov., 1700 Reval, No. XLVIII, 26 Nov. 1700. "Med *Posten*...at hans May:t Wår allernadigste Konung..."

the outbreak of war. The direct diplomatic connections are important for establishing legitimacy about political items from Denmark. This contrast to Russia and importance to Sweden are explained through three factors. Firstly, although the Danish king was new to the throne, he utilizes cultural symbols which are more familiar than those described from Russia. Secondly, there is geographic proximity and a connection to Europe that is not shown in Russia. Because of these first two factors, Denmark is in a unique diplomatic position with Sweden when the Danes sue for peace early in the Great Northern War. The depictions of Denmark show how groups are to be understood in the European space the Sweden state establishes for the readership.

As the leaders are the central figures represented in the *Posttidningar*, ceremonial presentations are the published, non-visual portraiture of symbols of royal power. The ceremonial presentations of the Danish monarchy during Frederick IV's anointment are comparable to the meeting of Tsar Peter and the Swedish delegation in 1699.¹²² These ceremonial events are crucial expressions of the overall significance of each leader to the readership. This is depicted by the anointing of Frederick IV in Copenhagen, and briefly in the Danish Queen giving birth to a prince.¹²³ Ceremonial acts attempt to affirm power, following the transition from one ruler to the next.¹²⁴

Description of luxurious clothing and fabrics, along with the displays of military prowess through gun salutes, are observed in both ceremonies. The descriptions differ primarily on the emphasis on the alcoholic consumption rather than the elegance of the ceremony.¹²⁵ The Danish example mentions both red and white wine being present at the ceremonial dinner after the anointment, while the Russian example describes the consumption of many ceremonial servings of alcohol late into the evening. If wine can be equated with a more refined leader, especially since the wine was presented in an ornate fashion, then the behaviour of the Russians can be characterized as only a superficially refined group whose consumption habits are in excess and distract from the purpose of the diplomatic meeting. This also conforms to the reports that Tsar Peter often forced foreign envoys into lengthy, drunken celebrations.¹²⁶ The event in Denmark describes a culturally understood ceremony, known within a European context, while Russia's distance from these values are highlighted.

Comparing these ceremonial items also shows that the editors of the *Posttidningar* depended greatly on audience discernment. While the Danish item could have been

¹²² *OSPT*, 7 April 1700, Copenhagen, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700; *OSPT*, 21 Oct., 1699, Moscow, No. XLIX, 4 Dec., 1699.

¹²³ *OSPT*, 7 April 1700, Copenhagen, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700; *OSPT*, 30 Nov. 1699, Copenhagen, No. L, 11 Dec., 1699. While other powers are not in consideration here, it is worth noting that the description of the Danish prince can be compared to the christening of Habsburg archduchess Maria Josepha in Vienna, *OSPT*, 2 Dec., 1699, No. LII, 25 Dec., 1699.

¹²⁴ *OSPT*, 7 April 1700, Copenhagen, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700.

¹²⁵ *OSPT*, 7 April 1700, Copenhagen, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700.

¹²⁶ Hughes, 1998, p. 266.

authored by a Dane and republished without many changes, the Swedish perspective frames the Russian item distinctly. The positiveness of the Danish ceremony is agreed upon through passive editorial consent, as no item was published without approval by the state. The audience is expected to understand Denmark from the European context, while the state is still guiding the majority of feelings about the Russian tsar and the placement of Russia in the newsworthy space.

News from Denmark should have arrived the quickest and most frequently to Sweden, compared to the other two states. Despite these expectations, there is nearly the same amount of information available from geographically distant Russia. The information that is published about Danes is the most important to confirm for the readership, as it is included within a close and regionally specific context with direct economic and communicative implications. Items from Denmark, including shipping manifests, are included with news from the Swedish centres in the Baltic, establishing a regional proximity. How the Swedish readership views Denmark does not need as extensive clarification and explanation as Russia. Denmark was already known and established from other contexts.

Despite their closeness to the Baltic realm and the European network, Denmark is also impacted by delays of information. The main threat Denmark poses to Swedish security is explained by these delays. The state's desire to provide timely and official information about direct threats to the public's safety is influenced by any danger posed to the direct communication links with Europe. Frederick IV's anointment is published without invoking hostile qualities, despite the publication of "rumours" of troop movements towards the fortress at Tönning.¹²⁷ The basic practicalities of sharing information in the early modern period partially explain this delay. These military events are, more importantly, described as untrustworthy when classified as a rumour. Compared to the official and legitimated ceremony in Copenhagen, these rumours are the least trustworthy sources of information before they are official confirmed through a more credible source. The official voice of the ceremonial event in Denmark takes precedence and assures the population it is taking part in a European conversation of power and shared symbols.

Even during the Siege of Tönning in March 1700 there is an expression of hope that a longer and more severe conflict in Holstein can be avoided.¹²⁸ This apparent hopefulness is not seen regarding the movement of Russian troops into Ingria.¹²⁹ The outbreak of

¹²⁷ Troop movements are first described as early as January, 1700 (*OSPT*, Holsten, 2 January, 1700, No. III, 15 Jan., 1700) and hostilities and the rumours (Swedish: *rykte*) that are associated with them are also described in February (*OSPT*, Riga, 12 Feb., 1700, No. XI, 12 March, 1700). Meanwhile, Frederick IV's Anointment is described in detail in April (*OSPT*, 7 April 1700, Copenhagen, No. XVII, 23 April, 1700).

¹²⁸ *OSPT*, 1 June, 1700 Neder-Elben, No. XXIV, 11 June, 1700.

¹²⁹ *OSPT*, 24 Sept., 1700, Stockholm, No. XXXIX, 24 Sept., 1700. "Här äe *tijdender* komne / som skulle Moscoviterne hafwa giort et infal uti Ingermanland."

hostilities with Denmark presents a situation where editors are forced to reconcile with these pre-war images of hope and a European identity. The immediacy used to respond to Denmark's troop movements into Holstein-Gottorp was an attempt to control rumours and establish a narrative of authority once the nature of the threat was understood.

The Danes, however, are not particularly scandalized as enemies. They are indeed identified as enemies in Tönning, affirmed as credible information by using a Swedish captain as an official source.¹³⁰ The damage done by Denmark is used to invoke feelings of collective resilience. Reports about repairs beginning to the homes and buildings in Tönning is presented with some legitimacy, simply stating that the events were occurring without identifying how the information was obtained.¹³¹ The readership is shown that people allied with Sweden are safe, emphasizing their own safety and highlighting the inability of the Danish attack to destroy them.

The Swedish advantage over Danish naval strength rapidly overwhelmed Denmark and led to the surprise encroachment on Copenhagen by Charles XII in 1700. The Danes quickly sued for peace, reflecting the initial Swedish "hope" for a swift end to hostilities. Publishing the detailed points of the Peace of Travendal brings the readership closer to the diplomatic relationship between Sweden and Denmark. Publishing the list of the demands aimed at Denmark illustrates that Sweden dictated the withdrawal and negotiations.¹³² The state defended the readership in battle and in political security. Publicly reviewing the peace treaty shows how diplomatic activities on the Swedish side are described to the readership about a close neighbour. The diplomatic image created of Denmark is one at the mercy of the Swedish state.

The main ten points of the peace treaty are listed in numbered terms. The most important item decides the end of armed hostilities. Statements about previous lost territory and earlier treaties are the second most important aspect. This shows the retention of earlier conflicts in popular memory. The reparation payments, continuation of diplomatic communication and other aspects of the treaty are listed for future reference and to report on the political importance of the event in the region. The *Posttidningar* records the current proceedings and recounts previous conflicts, establishing itself as a legitimate source of information the readership could reference.

The treaty with Denmark is published primarily to assure the readers that Denmark is no longer an active threat. Additionally, diplomatic descriptions add to the knowledge the readership has of their neighbour. There is a drop in reporting on events about Denmark

¹³⁰ *OSPT*, 10 June, 1700, Tönningen, No. XXVI, 25 June, 1700. "En Capitein som varit utskickad med 40 Mann til at borttaga någre *Fientelige* Fahrkoster..."

¹³¹ *OSPT*, 14 June, 1710, Tönningen, No. XXVII, 2 July, 1700.

¹³² *OSPT*, 15 Aug., 1700, Husum, No. XXXV, 27 Aug., 1700; *OSPT*, 24 July 1700, Holstein, No. XXXII, 6 Aug., 1700.

after this as their newsworthiness fades. Views of Denmark now include these ideas of weaknesses in the region, however, brought on by the peace treaty and the Swedish victory. Rather than only strengthening the collective thoughts of the readership through threats, portrayals of Denmark show unity was also established through shared common knowledge of a European neighbour, emphasized by the *Posttidningar*.

3.3 The disorganization in Poland

Poland receives the most published items compared to Denmark and Russia, whether there were active hostilities ongoing or not. This section on Poland primarily investigates Poland's pre-war characterizations. The majority of the conflict between Sweden and Poland during this period involved Saxon troops besieging Riga. While Riga is very important to the Swedish identity with the Baltic, Saxony is not a focal group. Instead, Poland's characterizations are established here primarily to be contrast to the other actively aggressive groups. Poland's collaboration with Russia was understood by the readership as military descriptions primarily attributed to Russian influence. It is widely believed that the Polish system of governing during this period was dysfunctional and the Commonwealth weakened by extensive influence by outside powers.¹³³ Poland's descriptions in this period partially support these ideas.

The weight of information about Poland is similar to the information published from the other major European centres, such as Vienna, Paris, and London, described to the audience.¹³⁴ Beginning with a relatively lengthy political situation with Prussia regarding aspects of a treaty concerning the return of the city of Elbing to Polish hands in 1699, political events in Poland revolve primarily around the actions of the influential political families, senators and other members of the political elite discussing budget allocations.

While Russia is often referenced through intermediary channels, Poland consistently maintains an official connection with Sweden. Compared to the political events described about Denmark and Russia, Poland's internal divisions are recognized through these descriptions to the readership. Describing events directly from Warsaw and other Polish centres reflects Polish activity in European politics and shows a Swedish interest in the ongoing activities of the state. Poland is given the most political attention in this period of the *Posttidningar*, shown primarily through a consistent amount of officially legitimized published items.

¹³³ Sharp, 2001.

¹³⁴ Items from Warsaw are often published amongst those from London, Paris and Vienna. As items from Vienna are consistently the first items published, but not always, one can conclude that the major centres of Europe are given greater attention in the publication order. However, this could also reflect the order in which the material was received in the office.

The *Posttidningar* expects its readership to understand many concepts concerning Poland that are not shown politically in other states. Items describing Poland use the term *Woywodskap* in reference to the regional divisions within the Commonwealth rather than a more familiar, Swedish phrase in translation.¹³⁵ The divide between Greater and Lesser Poland is also shown in terms of provincial boundaries rather than emphasizing the internal difficulties within those areas.¹³⁶ These facts may have been emphasized among the Polish nobility, establishing a form semi-public sphere that subsequently shared these ideas through other personal contacts and family connections throughout Europe.¹³⁷ These demands on the readership are linked to the political contexts of the items, reflecting a common base of knowledge about European politics that the state agrees upon through editorial consent and the audience accepts.

Using a term based on the local language indicates that there may not have been an equivalent Swedish term available to the dispatcher or the translator. This can be compared to the use of transliterated Russian terms referencing the members of the tsar's court and military personnel.¹³⁸ The Russian elements are military or ceremonial descriptions while Poland's are focused on its political landscape. The use of the term *Riksdag* rather than the Polish term *Sejm* for the parliament shows these regionally known terms were not used consistently for the readership to portray Poland.¹³⁹ Using this term links this parliamentary body to a known concept in Sweden at the time. Recognizing these differences and similarities shows that the presentation of these Polish regional divisions were historically and politically different than the Swedish version and this was known to the readership in a political context.

Discussion of a peace with Sweden is presented as a measure to the parliament, but the conflict is allowed to continue.¹⁴⁰ Detailed descriptions of parliamentary meetings on numerous occasions reference the important role of the Cardinal Primas.¹⁴¹ Senators are also given significant treatment and their movements and properties are also given much attention and significance. The role of Augustus II in these matters and in the republic is

¹³⁵ *OSPT*, 1 Oct., 1699, Warsaw, No. XLIV, 30 Oct., 1699. The reference here is to the Lithuanian province (*Litauiska Woywodksapen*). Modern spelling in Swedish: *Vojvodskap*. Modern English spelling: *Voivodenship*, also called palatinatum. Today used in reference to Poland's provinces.

¹³⁶ For *Stor (Stoore)* Poland see *OSPT*, 20 Nov., 1699, No. L, 11 Dec., 1699. The provincial aspects are shown in this period by mentioning the provinces outside of place lines.

¹³⁷ This is based on the idea that the divided Polish nobility, attempting to maintain influence in their respective provinces, interacted heavily with others outside of Poland. There were connections and trade networks across Europe. As there was a semi-public sphere originating within Sweden, and information was being transmitted through Poland, diplomatic networks likely spread information throughout a literate network that evolved in Poland based on their own economic and social climate.

¹³⁸ *OSPT*, 21 Oct., 1699 Moscow, No. XLIX, 4 Dec., 1699. The terms that were used were *Spal'Nik* (chamberlain) and *Stolnik* (court officer). Hughes, 1998, p. 180–181

¹³⁹ For an example of the use of the term *Riksdag* in relation to the Polish parliament, see: *OSPT*, 1 Oct., 1699, Warsaw, No. XLIV, 30 Oct., 1699.

¹⁴⁰ *OSPT*, 24 April, 1701 Warsaw, No. XXI, 20 May, 1701.

¹⁴¹ *OSPT*, 7 May, 1700, Warsaw, No. XXII, 28 May, 1700.

less frequently indicated; instead the Cardinal is given emphasis, along with the powerful families that influenced the parliament.¹⁴² This could, however, be explained by the king's absence rather than purposeful lack of involvement.¹⁴³ Even if the king frequently travelling could explain this, the impression that the activities of the Cardinal Primas are more important than Augustus II is created for the readership.

The power of the Polish king is the weakest of the enemy leaders not only because of his status as an elected monarch. There is a lack of ceremonial events within Poland describing any portrayal of attempting to legitimize power. Emphasizing the meeting of the Polish parliament and Senate, two estates competing with the king for power, contributes to the idea that the king lacked political and ceremonial influence. Poland is presented as having many potential power holders, in addition to the king and other outside interests. As Swedish loyalty to the king was emphasized during this period, portraying Poland as being without this central figure of unity adds to its weakness as a state or rival.

Describing the king and parliament, while not directly referencing any aspects of Polish Catholicism outside of the Cardinal Primas, indicates that the politics of Poland were the important factors behind their descriptions in this period. The lack of ceremonial connections and political descriptions of the king cause the descriptions of Poland to lack consistency as a collective, enemy group. Rather than pointing to a confessional difference, the primary point regarding Poland is instead these political issues and few direct threats other than through a relatively loose Saxon connection during this period.

3.4 Summarizing the outbreak of war

This initial period shows how each state was portrayed prior to the war and during the initial years of the Great Northern War. Political, religious, ceremonial, and military categories are described from each state to varying degrees. Direct depictions of Russia prior to the conflict show the Swedish editors attempted to compensate for its geographic and communicative distance by relying on legitimate Swedish sources and lending credibility to intermediate sources. When the conflict breaks out, the state relies on the direct military descriptions through sources of varying legitimacy. Russia's direct military threat is linked to this initial lack of ceremonial and political understanding of the tsar and his court. The victory at Narva strengthens the connections between the Swedish readership and the distant population suffering from Russian attack. Russia, as

¹⁴² *OSPT*, 6 Dec., 1699, Warsaw, No. I, 1 Jan., 1700.

¹⁴³ *OSPT*, 6 March, 1700, Warsaw, No. XIV, 2 April, 1700.

the primary enemy, requires the most credible information, from a limited amount of potentially trustworthy sources.

The pre-war period shows how some aspects of the other are linked to regional competition in the Baltic and exterritorial competition in Europe. Ceremonial descriptions of Denmark and political news from Poland show that the readership was connected through aspects of common knowledge. Explaining the peace treaty with Denmark includes the readership in a political conversation, intended to strengthen the bond with the state and between the readers. How news is described from Poland places demands on the knowledge of the Swedish public in a wider European context. The use of local terms for some concepts, while more familiar words for another, shows that there was no unified set of political terms used towards each state, even in translation, showing great expectations of a knowledgeable public. The legitimacy of items from the European political climate that Sweden was trying to fit into is often implied rather than implicit before the outbreak of war.

Entering into war times increases the emphasis on the Swedish king and the other rulers. The positioning of each king within his state is important to all categories, as each king is often the central and consistent figure seen to influence categories. The general picture of the enemy groups created for the readers establishes the leaders as the symbolic representations of their states and heads of the military power. When troops directly threaten an aspect of the Swedish state, this is connected to a threat from the leader as well. These threats are not carried over to the indirect categories of description.

Military actions that directly threaten Sweden also require the most explanation and official language of legitimacy. Enemies unify the Swedish public mainly through the direct threat they pose, while the wider indirect descriptions of the states attempt to unify the readership through common knowledge. The state attempts to provide assurances of accuracy to dissuade panic and assert its role as the official information gatherer. This official period of victory sees the context of war gradual begin to change the initial values of credibility and regional power. Threats to legitimate communication sources force the state to accept more information from the secondary category of creditability, in the form of peasant witnesses.

4. Mid-war and defeat, 1708–1710

The next section deals primarily with descriptions of Russia, Denmark, and Poland during extensive war scenarios. Covering news items dated from late 1708 until early 1710, this period deals primarily with extensive battle descriptions and troop movements.¹⁴⁴ This section mainly focuses on Charles XII's attempted invasion of Russia and the reformation of the enemy alliance after the Battle of Poltava in 1709. The impact of the war on the public and communication from the state is shown through the publication of almost exclusively battle and military descriptions. The state primarily attempts to persuade the readership for continued support of the war. The political, religious, and ceremonial categories remain but are heavily influenced by the strategy taken towards communicating the continued war policy and activities of the Swedish troops.

The war disrupts how news from abroad reaches Stockholm, regarding military events and other forms of European news, by disrupting communication channels and postal networks. Items from Stockholm or from Swedish army camps are published first in the order of publication, showing their importance and emphasis on immediacy during this period.¹⁴⁵ Stockholm was usually noted at the end in the previous era, along with the ship manifests of incoming trade items and other announcements about auctions and other local interest items. The war drives the content of the *Posttidningar* and influences how the information is obtained, delivered, and ultimately ascribed credibility when published.

The breakdown of this section follows a similar outline as the first. Three subsections deal with the most important examples of descriptions expressed about Russia, Denmark, and Poland followed by a summary of remarks. Depictions of Swedish actions are included under the relevant sections, including the disappearance and distance of Charles XII after the loss at Poltava. Although the Battle of Poltava is important in terms of Russia, there are also other significant battles and invasions that are described and celebrated in the text. This includes the Battles of Holowczyn and Lesnaya in 1708 and Helsingborg in 1710.¹⁴⁶ The return of Denmark to the alliance and the reappearance of

¹⁴⁴ This survey of the *Ordinaire Stockholmske Post-Tidender* covers editions beginning with *OSPT*, 5 Jan., 1709, No. 1 until *OSPT*, 25 Jan., 1710, No. 4. Although chronologically the items published are dated from 1709–1710, items from 1708 are included within issues published in 1709. While not as many issues are examined in this section, the backlog of information from 1708 increases the individual numbers of items that were examined.

¹⁴⁵ This also includes details from the Polish camp working in conjunction with Sweden. *OSPT*, Utur Kongl- Polniska Lägret wid Wisniovo, 9 Dec., 1708, No. 2, 12 Jan., 1709. For examples of unspecific locations see, *OSPT*, 5 Jan., 1709, Stockholm, No. 1, 5 Jan., 1709; *OSPT*, 14 Dec., 1708, Utur Littoven (Lithuania), No. 2, 12 Jan., 1709. These Stockholm related items do not include advertisements for auctions and other sales, as these fall outside of the methodological categories. For example, see *OSPT*, 2 Feb., 1709, Stockholm, No. 5, 2 Feb., 1709

¹⁴⁶ *OSPT*, 23 March, 1709, Stockholm, No. 12, 23 March, 1709. The official announcement of the Battle of Lesnaya is given after delayed information from the army headquarters in 1708 was published.

Augustus II in Poland are also significant events during this period. While the diplomatic positioning of the other enemies changes over this period, Russia remains the focus of Charles XII's continued war efforts.

4.1 Russia's victory at Poltava

The consistent enemy during this period is Russia, although direct political information about the tsar and the Russian state is limited due to the active hostilities. The Swedish state relies more on news from the battlefields to provide timely information that must be rapidly made credible and published. Indirect ceremonial, political, and religious information is limited. Swedish troop strength is emphasized against the Russians primarily when they overcome adversity in battle. Information from Russia is described mainly through official letters from the military headquarters or through witnesses around the battlefield. Direct descriptions from military centres originate from official Swedish representatives, potentially dishonest Russian sources, and local peasants. Representations of the collaboration with Ukrainian Cossacks against Russia are linked to these peasant populations. Until Poltava, Russians have a consistent portrayal as the main enemy, while other European centres receive limited importance due to the context of the war.

Descriptions of a major victory prior to Poltava show how a Swedish victory is shown to be credible in this period. The spread of a victory, most likely the Battle of Holowczyn in 1708, gives extensive negative depictions of the enemy forces while also portraying their troop strength as being greater than the Swedish forces.¹⁴⁷ Multiple source cities describe different details of the event, showing the importance of this victory in a period with numerous battle descriptions and war movements through repeated emphasis. The Swedish forces overcame adversity, creating positive news that reaches many centres of Europe.

The six centres give similar accounts of the battle, ending with a final legitimizing item from Stockholm.¹⁴⁸ Each paragraph is listed with a later date than the previous. The enemy, under the command of Field Marshals Menshikov and Sheremetyev, is said to have unconditionally surrendered in the first item from Hrodna.¹⁴⁹ Information from Poznań describes the surrender, adding that the tsar was present and injured by musket

¹⁴⁷ It is difficult to identify which battle and it is never explicitly stated. Timing is wrong and there is none of the "delayed" information stylings observed instances. It is possible that these reports are the product of misinformation, as Lesnaja is later confirmed through delayed reports from the front in March. Since Shermetev and Menshikov are named in these paragraphs, it is likely Holowczyn.

¹⁴⁸ *OSPT*, 31 Dec. 1708, Grodno; 3 Jan. 1709, Wilda; 7 Jan., 1709, Riga; 10 Jan., 1709, Königsberg; 13 Jan., 1709 Danzig; 2 Feb., 1709 Stockholm, No. 5, 2 Feb. 1709. The modern names are used in the text while these terms for the cities represent how they are noted in the sources.

¹⁴⁹ *OSPT*, 31 Dec. 1708, Grodno, No. 5, 2 Feb., 1709. "...på nåd och onåd..."

fire.¹⁵⁰ Through Riga, Hetman Ivan Mazeppa's presence is added, crediting his collaboration with the Swedish army for the victory.¹⁵¹ The exact numbers of losses on either side are only mentioned in the Riga item, saying the tsar retreated with 400 men. Information from Kaliningrad refers to the victory as tremendous; the previous descriptors had been extraordinary or large.¹⁵² The tsar's injuries are also more severe in the Kaliningrad item, describing a broken leg. The statuses of Menshikov and Sheremetyev list the former captured and the latter dead.

The report from Danzig establishes the impact of the victory into a closer European context.¹⁵³ News of the victory affects the troop movements in Prussia, influencing some withdrawals by Polish forces. Reporting positive information from these cities shows that they are aligned with Swedish interests, agree with the Swedish war policy and are ultimately shown to be loyal to the king. None of the items describe the scenarios as rumours. The legitimacy of the information increases the closer the source city is to Stockholm. With the final paragraph from Stockholm, Charles XII is exalted and the Russians are described as losing their best people.¹⁵⁴ Reading multiple items confirms shared ideas for the readership, bolstered by the victory and regional significance.

Diplomatic and political descriptions of the tsar are heavily influenced by the context of war. In February 1709, an official source describes the tsar leaving Ukraine to return to Saint Petersburg, causing controversy amongst his generals.¹⁵⁵ The generals are named in other situations, showing that the audience were aware of their individual qualities. This instance is important when characterizing the tsar's stubbornness and his reactionary behavior as a leader. Formal descriptions of the tsar also change, as his full honorific is no longer referenced with as great of frequency as in the earlier period. Charles XII is addressed with a longer title on a consistent basis, however.¹⁵⁶ Changes to indirect and formal descriptions indicate that the ceremonial and political depictions are greatly influenced by the continued conflict to form a generally harsh outlook for the tsar, as the head of the state posing the greatest direct threat to the king and the Swedish realm.

The cruelty of the tsar and his regime is emphasized here in one of the few non-military events described about Russia. The death of the captive Catholic Archbishop of Lviv, who had supported the dethronement of Augustus II, is described. He is reported

¹⁵⁰ *OSPT*, 3 Jan. 1709, Wilda, No. 5, 2 Feb., 1709.

¹⁵¹ *OSPT*, 7 Jan., 1709, Riga, No. 5, 2 Feb., 1709.

¹⁵² *OSPT*, 10 Jan., 1709, Königsberg, No. 5, 2 Feb., 1709. Swedish: *härlig, ogemen, stor*

¹⁵³ *OSPT*, 13 Jan., 1709, No. 5, 2 Feb., 1709.

¹⁵⁴ *OSPT*, 2 Feb., 1709 Stockholm, No. 2, 2 Feb., 1709.

¹⁵⁵ *OSPT*, 28 Feb., 1709, Utur Littoven, No. 13, 30 March, 1709.

¹⁵⁶ Additionally, the Swedish spelling for Peter I's title of tsar has also changed on various occasions in the original Swedish sources, changing between "zar" and "czar". An example of the use of czar: *OSPT*, 27 June 1709, Utur Littoven, No. 30, 27 July, 1709.

to have died after two years in imprisoned in Moscow.¹⁵⁷ The tsar is associated with this non-military death by ascribing the same official quality as his movements. Although Catholic, the archbishop's support of removing Augustus II from the Polish throne puts him in accordance with the Swedish support of the current Polish crown holder. This item is classified as primarily political rather than religious due to the political qualities of the official figures. The suffering of officials loosely affiliated to the Swedish cause invokes some of the similar feelings shown towards peasants during war periods.

As Charles XII travelled in command of the army, the *Posttidningar* addresses his location but not in great specificity and often speculate on his location.¹⁵⁸ The Swedish king's connection to the success of the army is stressed against Russia. A report from Stockholm attributes the victory in late 1708 over Russia only to the king rather than to the army, as was also seen with Narva.¹⁵⁹ In a news paragraph from Lithuania in 1708, there is no official letter about the king's whereabouts when the position of the Russian forces is noted; witness accounts by travellers and scouts are instead relied upon for this troop movement.¹⁶⁰ When uncertain of his location, the *Posttidningar* reports that the king was advancing according to the intended plan, although with limited credibility. Witness accounts are relied upon because there is no negative element to the news; the immediacy of reporting the information was more important.

As local populations flee from Russian threats, they disclose the location of the enemy, showing their continued cooperation with Sweden.¹⁶¹ Trust is established with broader groups to compensate for the delays in official information about important troop movements and battle information. Continuing to create sympathy for peasants also establishes an oppressive vision of the occupying forces.¹⁶² Describing the edges of the regions shows the knowledge of the readership regarding the political and geographical boundaries known before the war. The readers are informed of the scorched earth tactics used by the Russians and how they threaten both the distant territory and the resources available to Swedish forces.¹⁶³ Witnesses to atrocities are simply identified as peasants, not ascribed the same political or ethnic markers as the Russian troops or leaders. These loyalties by the peasants to Sweden are described to the readership through their willingness to share information about the Russians, showing increased levels of credibility being applied to a wider range of sources.

¹⁵⁷ Konstanty Józef Zieliński, Polish Catholic Archbishop of Lviv, 1700–1709.

¹⁵⁸ *OSPT*, 10 Feb., 1709, Utur Littoven, No. 10, 9 March, 1709. "...Man kan ännu ey erhålla någon *wiz* *efterrättelse* / hwar hans May:t af Swerige sig befinner..."

¹⁵⁹ *OSPT*, 2 Feb., 1709 Stockholm, No. 2, 2 Feb., 1709.

¹⁶⁰ *OSPT*, 14 Dec., 1708 Utur Littoven, No. 2, 12 Jan., 1709. Swedish: *krigsmakt*.

¹⁶¹ *OSPT*, 14 Feb., 1709, Viborg, No. 7, 16 Feb., 1709.

¹⁶² *OSPT*, 15 Feb., 1709, Wiborg, No. 10, 9 March, 1709.

¹⁶³ *OSPT*, 24 Sept., 1708, Kongl. Swänska Hufwud-Quarteret Nifna i Severien, No. 12, 23 March, 1709.

Questions of immediacy are constantly in conflict with those of legitimacy, shown through the publication of acknowledgedly delayed information. Delayed missives from the Swedish army headquarters, dating from 1708, are published following an explanation from Stockholm.¹⁶⁴ The explanation is crucial, as it advises the readership that the new information, officially sent by the king, supersedes what was published in previous editions. The newly received information now stands as fact for the readership, regardless of what other sources said.¹⁶⁵

The item expresses concern for the truth and Sweden's portrayal abroad wondering "how many serious lies about Swedish things have constantly been removed from print outside the country / and been spread in the world" during the period when the official information was not available.¹⁶⁶ The enemy is described as initially fearful and retreating from the Swedish war power, despite superior numbers, returning within their own borders.¹⁶⁷ These revisions indicate that earlier editions published items for the sake of immediacy; information delivery and acceptance had to be more flexible regarding legitimacy due to the threat of war.

Positive images of the Ukrainian Cossacks working with the Swedish forces are depicted in instances from late 1708.¹⁶⁸ On one occasion, Mazeppa provides a translation for his troops while working with Swedish forces. He is described as addressing his supporters in their language by translating a decree from the King of Sweden, originally in Latin.¹⁶⁹ Showing that the allies from Ukraine understand the Swedish message in an official language is contrast with the distance and limited knowledge about Russia. Other than identifying troop formations, items about Russian language on a non-military level or comprehension about other languages are not referenced; the Ukrainian troops understand while the Russians are never treated in this manner. Language and translation are rarely referenced in the *Posttidningar*, showing that audience was expected to understand whether items were translations or not. The cooperation of reliable Ukrainian forces shows unity and stability between the forces, despite differences in language.

Systems of communication are again disrupted by a major battle in this period, just as in the first. The Battle of Poltava is initially dismissed as a rumour; the Swedish editors

¹⁶⁴ *OSPT*, 23 March 1709, Stockholm, No. 12. What follows are paragraphs from from Kungl. Swänska Hufvud-Quarteret on Sept. 24, 1708, Oct. 15, 1708, Oct. 19, 1708, 27 Oct., 1708, 10 Nov., 1708, 4 Dec., 1708, 5 Dec., 1708 and 10 Dec., 1708.; *OSPT*, 1 June, 1709, Stockholm, No. 22, 1 June 1709, what follows is a six and half page account from Kungl. Swänska Hufvud-Quarteret ... 3 mil ifrån Pultawa, 31 March, 1709, describing events from December until March 1709.

¹⁶⁵ *OSPT*, 23 March 1709, Stockholm, No. 12, 23 March 1709.

¹⁶⁶ *OSPT*, 23 March 1709, Stockholm, No. 12, 23 March 1709. "...se / hur många grova lögner om de Svenska sakerna hava hela tiden bort åt utomlands blivitt tryckt / och i världen utspiddde."

¹⁶⁷ *OSPT*, 24 Sept., 1708, Kongl. Swänska Hufvud-Quarteret Nifna i Severien, No. 12, 23 March 1709.

¹⁶⁸ *OSPT*, 4 Dec., 1708, Huvudquartere Romne i Ukraine; 5 Dec., 1708 Ett annat af Romne; 10 Dec., 1708, Ett annat af Romne, No. 12, 23 March, 1709.

¹⁶⁹ *OSPT*, 5 Dec., 1708 Ett annat af Romne; 10 Dec., 1708, Ett annat af Romne, No. 12, 23 March, 1709. "...detta Landez språk..."

describe a search for the truth in the subsequent editions. A letter detailing the event calls it a massacre, connecting it with the tsar by his presence at the event.¹⁷⁰ This is more damaging for the characterization of the tsar than any negative ceremonial descriptors, due to the direct threat to Swedish troops. The previous military descriptions had built up Russia's strength in battle by consistently mentioning troop strength in relation to Swedish forces in earlier items. This was effective when the Swedes won the outmatched battles; this was not immediately reconciled following the massive defeat.

The paper asks for God's help against the enemies while the king's location and status is unknown.¹⁷¹ This religious item shows that the realm needs more help than the distant king provides, while still focused on maintaining a connection to the king. It also reflects the idea that the people were induced to praying for a positive outcome in the conflict, allowing them to rationalize the total war scenario and keeping them satisfied through their involvement.¹⁷²

A direct effect of Poltava is shown by comparing the earlier concern for immediately reporting the king's whereabouts to this return of accepting only a legitimate source of information. It is only when the state can officially announce the king's whereabouts in late 1709 that the paper mentions greater concern for his location. The information includes an address from the king, officially declaring his position in Ottoman-controlled Moldova. The state editors attempt to reassure the readers, showing there is hope that the king will soon return to the realm.¹⁷³ Although the Russians are the consistent enemy, the threat they pose forces the state to rely on less trustworthy sources of information for immediacy while waiting for official sources.

4.2 Betrayal by Denmark

Denmark was not an active participant in the war again until after Poltava. Events from Copenhagen are rarely mentioned and instead news of the king comes through other European centres, associated only with other newsworthy items primarily concerning another event or centre as the central focus. The newsworthiness of Frederick IV's movements and diplomatic relations in Europe are not a priority, showing some of the silences caused by the heavy war communication. When Denmark declares hostilities against Sweden again, this distant or silent communication changes rapidly. Similarly to the Russians, the direct Danish threat during the Battle of Helsingborg causes extensive changes to the communication strategy of the state in the *Posttidningar*.

¹⁷⁰ *OSPT*, 11 July, 1709, Lemberg, No. 32, 10 Aug. 1709; *OSPT*, 18 July, 1709, Utur Littoven, No. 33, 17 Aug., 1709

¹⁷¹ *OSPT*, 7 Sept., 1709, Stockholm, No. 36, 7 Sept., 1709. ”...så att igenom GUDs hielp och bistånd / och hans May:t närmare ankomst / fienden måtte hundras at af thenna olyckan winna någon formon.”

¹⁷² Ericsson, 2002.

¹⁷³ *OSPT*, 4 Sept., 1709, Constantinople, No. 44, 2 Nov., 1709. The official announcement is clarified through Stockholm in the same issue. *OSPT*, 2 Nov., 1709, No. 44, 2 Nov., 1709.

The publication of many war-focused items pushes Denmark out of the readership's frame of interest initially. Unlike the first period, there is less expectation on the audience to understand wider European events during this war heavy period. While at peace with Denmark, the Swedish state does not need to establish a specific point of view. Instead, Denmark is placed within the European context in the few items that describe the diplomatic movements of the king outside of the context of the war.¹⁷⁴ Even within this European context, Denmark is given limited attention, displaying a general lack of political importance.

The results from Poltava are extensive and reach beyond Russian examples. Denmark declares renewed hostilities as a result of the loss at Poltava by Sweden. The declaration of new aggression from Denmark is shown as a personal declaration from the Danish king against Charles XII, still absent in Moldova. The paper expresses shock that the Danes would violate the "neighbourly friendliness" and disbelief about the landing in Skåne.¹⁷⁵ God is used against the Danish threat as a protector of the Swedish realm. The paper attempts to reassure the public that with Charles XII's return, the Swedes will bring about a quick end to the Danish attack. The news attempts to comfort the public about the king's eventual return and display that the war strategy remains in place.

Like Russia, there are fewer direct political or ceremonial examples about Denmark during periods of heavy fighting and military actions. Frederick IV's reported presence in Skåne is contrast to the distance of Charles XII, communicating through letters and intermediary sources in other centres.¹⁷⁶ Denmark and Frederick IV are portrayed as direct betrayers, taking advantage of a vulnerable realm; the editors still maintain the sense of hopefulness, however, about bringing a swift victory to the conflict. Denmark's return to the larger conflict brings the images of danger the state depicted about the distant Baltic provinces directly to the readership. With Charles XII still outside of the realm, the previously shown strengths and perseverance of these other peoples reflects the need for unity and stability among the Swedish population against the threat.

While Denmark is directly threatening Sweden through most of 1710, more newsworthy items are coming out of areas the Russians are attacking and invading. This lasts until the Danish threat eventually restricts the flow of information to Sweden. There are acknowledged difficulties in collecting information from abroad due to the menace from the Danish troops and navy.¹⁷⁷ The disruption of collecting information from German and other European sources causes great concern for the state. Actively referencing this change to the source of information indicates a direct intimidation.

¹⁷⁴ *OSPT*, 4 March, 1709, Venedig, No. 12, 23 March 1709. The primary events described in the item concern the political meeting of other leaders in Venice.

¹⁷⁵ *OSPT*, 9 Nov., 1709, Stockholm, No. 45, 9 Nov., 1709. "...den naboliga vänskapen..."

¹⁷⁶ *OSPT*, 16 Nov., 1709, Stockholm, No. 46, 16 Nov., 1709.

¹⁷⁷ *OSPT*, 7 Dec., 1709, Stockholm, No. 49, 7 Dec., 1709; *OSPT*, 14 Dec., 1709 Stockholm, No. 50, 14 Dec., 1709

The proximity of the Danes threatens both the audience directly with force and indirectly through this communication disruption. The Battle of Helsingborg and the events leading up to the invasion of Skåne in 1710 cause a massive disruption in the flow of information.¹⁷⁸ The first news of the coming Danish attack is reported as a fact, using direct descriptions, without alternative attribution.¹⁷⁹ No news from the German or other European centres is available during this time, causing editions during this time to be significantly shorter and speak directly to the population by admitting the lack of news from abroad.

The *Posttidningar's* issues from January until late February 1710 primarily report the hostile activities of the Danes in Skåne with direct authenticity, while also blaming the Danish threat for the lack of information Europe.¹⁸⁰ The few official letters that are reported during this time are included in the information from Stockholm. Delayed letters from December 1709 about Riga and Viborg attempt to keep the audience informed of the other war efforts. During these direct threats from Denmark, new prayer books are issued. Denmark is not directly attributed as being the reason for this change; the prayer books are instead aimed at the general impact of war times throughout the realm.¹⁸¹

The state speaks directly to the people during these times of great threat against Skåne and the rest of the realm through the publication of a letter handwritten by Charles XII.¹⁸² The subsequent editions include many examples of published handwritten information, when the threat from Denmark is high and constant. Connecting the king to the population, when they are the most vulnerable, attempts to create solidarity through the common experience of a threat and loyalty to the crown. If communication is threatened, the state's efforts to maintain a stable link to the king are greatly hindered. Keeping the population informed about the greater war efforts and circumstances in Europe is also curtailed during periods of direct threats. Cutting off communication, from the perspective of the *Posttidningar*, is extremely dangerous. The threats against Sweden and its link to Charles XII and Europe are treated with the same qualities as armed hostilities.

¹⁷⁸ There are no international items reported from *OSPT*, 25 Jan., 1710, Stockholm, No. 4, 25 Jan., 1710 until the first item from Lithuania in *OSPT*, 24 Jan., 1710, Utur Littoven, No. 9, 1 March, 1710.

¹⁷⁹ There are no international items reported from *OSPT*, 25 Jan., 1710, Stockholm, No. 4, 25 Jan., 1710 until the first item from Lithuania in *OSPT*, 24 Jan., 1710, Utur Littoven, No. 9, 1 March, 1710.

¹⁸⁰ *OSPT*, 25 Jan., 1710 Stockholm, No. 4, 25 Jan., 1710; *OSPT*, 1 Feb., 1710, Stockholm, No. 5, 1 Feb., 1710; *OSPT*, 9 Feb., 1710, Stockholm, No. 6, 9 Feb., 1710; *OSPT*, 15 Feb., 1710, Stockholm, No. 7, 15 Feb., 1710; *OSPT*, 22 Feb., 1710, Stockholm, No. 8, 22 Feb., 1710.

¹⁸¹ *OSPT*, 9 Feb., 1710, Stockholm, No. 6, 9 Feb., 1710.

¹⁸² *OSPT*, 25 Jan. 1710, Stockholm, No. 4, 25 Jan. 1710.

4.3 Poland's two kings

Poland's role in the conflict shifted dramatically due to their temporary alliance with Sweden. The majority of the portrayals of Polish troops are through the direct military and indirect political and ceremonial encounters expressed about this cooperation. Other Polish descriptions regarding politics outside of Sweden or ceremonial portrayals are communicated reflecting two main sources: the king aligned with Sweden and the other opposing Sweden. The contestation of the Polish crown is passively acknowledged in these items. Charles XII and Peter I are generally referred to by their titles but not their Christian names, while the two rival Polish kings receive the addresses of King Stanisław or King Augustus. The oppositional king's collaboration with Russia continues the outside influence that characterizes the divided Poland in the earlier periods.

The power sharing within Poland again limits a single or clear portrayal based on loyalty to a single leader. Passive ceremonial descriptions establish which Polish king the Swedish government supports. King Stanisław Leszczyński is celebrated by the Poles loyal to him, including a letter of support from the Swedish king to add legitimacy for his position within Poland and for the Swedish readership.¹⁸³ There are few other ceremonial descriptions from Poland or elsewhere. This item shows a need by the state to explain the support for Leszczyński in Poland, but through indirect means. The split between the two Polish forces is difficult to explain to the readership in a military context but the state attempts to direct support through brief ceremonial instances. The readership is partially persuaded to support the Swedish backed candidate in these limited ceremonial contexts.

This support of Leszczyński and Polish troops is not absolute in the military context. The movement of Swedish troops to meet Polish forces references the location of King Stanisław as near Ukrainian territory.¹⁸⁴ The Swedish troops are forced to travel from another direction to collect essentials, with minimal cooperation from the Poles. Showing that there is no clear communication between the two groups indicates that their cooperation is also minimal. Information published from the Polish army camp in December 1708 discusses the possible peace proposal between Sweden and Moscow.¹⁸⁵ This "loose rumour" of a peace coming through a Polish conduit is neither trustworthy nor positive but newsworthy due to its immediacy.¹⁸⁶

The movement of Russian troops through Ukraine is also explained to be a rumour when it is relayed through a Polish *Starosta*.¹⁸⁷ Russians are described as overwhelming

¹⁸³ *OSPT*, 5 May 1709, Kongl. Polniska Fältägret, No. 23, 8 June 1709.

¹⁸⁴ *OSPT*, 1 March 1709, Zamość, No. 14, 6 April 1709.

¹⁸⁵ *OSPT*, 9 Dec. 1708, Utur Kongl. Polnische Lägret wid Wisniovo, No. 2, 12 Jan. 1709.

¹⁸⁶ Swedish: *löst rykte*.

¹⁸⁷ English: Royal official.

regions in Ukraine without opposition from Polish troops, hindering the return Swedish forces to friendlier territory.¹⁸⁸ Although official Polish witnesses give the information, it is untrustworthy until the editors prove substantiation through diplomatic letters from Swedish sources.¹⁸⁹ The credibility of ranking officials are rarely consistent concerning reporting events about Poland.

The diplomatic situation within Poland is reported with greater frequency after Poltava. Information regarding Augustus II increases, reflecting his alliance with the tsar and other European power holders. Meetings between Denmark's Frederick IV and Augustus II in German territory re-establish the threat of a wide political alliance against Sweden.¹⁹⁰ Following Poltava, Tsar Peter's collaboration with returning Augustus II to the throne in Poland is shown through indirect ceremonial and political descriptions. These diplomatic encounters and meetings between the two are reported through Warsaw, but indirectly mention the events occurring in Toruń.¹⁹¹ Delivering information about Augustus II conspiring with the tsar during this period highlights the divide in Poland. These reports occur during a tumultuous month for the Swedish public. Charles XII's location in Moldova is officially confirmed; Denmark declares war, and the defeat at Poltava is openly recognized in Stockholm.

Religious items are also heavily influenced by the military context, particularly concerning the divide between the Polish forces. In battle situations, God is referenced specifically with regards to the Swedish troops and other forces fighting the Russians. Asking for God's help to bring a return to peace is part of how a military movement against Russia is described in April 1709. The army, the Swedish king and the Swedish-backed Polish king travel through Polish territory towards enemy Russian forces.¹⁹² Although the minor Polish government officials are untrustworthy, the king installed by Sweden is treated positively. As this report is transmitted through the Polish camp as a source, the Swedes are also portrayed as the bearers of peace in Polish territory, at least when King Stanisław is involved. God is invoked to emphasize the need to continue fighting and as part of a battle cry. This faith is only on the side of the Poles that are loyal to the Swedish supported candidate for leadership of Poland. Rather than forming an oppositional idea of the other, this faith strengthens the connections of the allies to the Swedish king.

¹⁸⁸ *OSPT*, 30 Nov. 1709, Warsaw, No. 1, 4 Jan. 1710

¹⁸⁹ *OSPT*, 30 Jan. 1709, Bialacerkiev, No. 11, 16 March 1709.

¹⁹⁰ *OSPT*, 2 July 1709, Hamburg, No. 28, 13 July 1709

¹⁹¹ *OSPT*, 19 Oct. 1709, Warsaw, No. 46, 16 Nov. 1709. *OSPT*, 30 Nov. 1709, Warsaw, No. 1, 4 Jan. 1710.

¹⁹² *OSPT*, 14 April 1709 Kongl. Polniska Fältlägret, No. 20, 18 May 1709. Similar phrasing including "med GUDs hielp" is used when Lithuanian troops are reported to have defeated Russian enemies in April as well, reflecting the additional battle cry aspect. *OSPT*, 7 April 1709, Utur thet Littoviska Fält-Lägret, No. 21, 25 May 1709.

The character of the Polish troops is ultimately linked to the role and actions of the king rather than other aspects of religion or other identifying characteristics. The divided claims to the throne cause these descriptions to lack consistency, as the readership have no clear image of who the majority of the Poles are loyal too. Aspects of religion are not discussed regarding Augustus II in negative or positive terms. Instead, these religious expressions are based in a context of military threat, linked to Charles XII.

4.4 Reflecting on changing alliances and loss

The fighting escalated during this period of the Great Northern War. The context of the war causes an increase of negative descriptions from both trustful and unreliable sources. Audience discernment is critical when unofficial sources and rumours are published for the sake of immediacy. Although the state controls the information, it has created a need for the readership to know as quickly as possible when military outcomes threaten Swedish soldiers or the king. The state and the editors define what is most important to the readership: the war effort and the location of the king. By presenting more rumours and information that is not initially credible or official, it asks its audience to remain part of a longer discourse.

Russia receives the most negative attention through battle portrayals while other direct ceremonial or diplomatic portrayals are limited. This is also seen in Denmark, while Poland is more ambiguous. Russia and Denmark both threaten Swedish soldiers and the Swedish population. The battle implications bring about greater references to aspects of religion and the need for help from God in the Swedish case. While the image of identity building at this point does not include a religious other, unity within Sweden is strengthened when God is on the side of their forces and the king.

The wider European perspective is not as actively referenced for the readership during this period due to the extent of the war and the absence of the king. The war affects the *Posttidningar* in many ways, leading to more explanations from Stockholm and other declarations from the state. The direct messages of the king, through the handwritten missives and the letters from the battlefield, shows the influence of the king on the readership. Loyalty to the Swedish king remains a consistent unifying factor, as his location was the greatest concern for the realm. The biggest danger, outside of direct harm and invasion, comes when rival states threaten to cut off communication with European sources of information and Charles XII.

5. End of the war and Russia's rise, 1719–1722

The third period examines the end of the Great Northern War and how the *Posttidningar* explains a return to peace times. It signals a difficult period for the government of Sweden, after the death Charles XII in 1718 and the threats of a Russian naval invasion of the capital and other areas of Sweden. The new Swedish regent – Ulrika Eleonora, Charles XII's sister – ascended the throne for only a brief period due to issues of succession.¹⁹³ For Sweden, this era officially ended the height of its influence on the region, as it could no longer sustain the military power required to maintain its empire and ended Carolinian absolutism.¹⁹⁴ The changing political climate for Sweden during this period influences descriptions of Russia, Denmark, and Poland.

The official title of the publication changes, reflecting a common occurrence in the evolution of early modern publications.¹⁹⁵ The internal news in Sweden is purposely not included as extensively by the publication through an editorial decision.¹⁹⁶ The publication states that it will provide “the newest” and “most remarkable” things from outside of the realm to satisfy the readers every week, and in the future possibly twice a week, due to an increased delivery of mail from Hamburg.¹⁹⁷ The primary concern of the publication is timeliness of the information, relying on the most-trustworthy source initially and subsequently offering corrections. Military encounters are far fewer in this period; political and ceremonial indications instead show how enemy and regional powers influence collective unity and the public sphere in Sweden during this time.

This section is divided into the similar subsection format as the two previous chapters. Covering editions of *Posttidningar* from late 1719 until early 1722, items from Russia, Denmark and Poland are investigated, with conclusions ending the chapter.¹⁹⁸ How the territories lost by Sweden are described adds to the discussion about identity and the values ascribed to certain areas. Silences towards previously important centres of the realm reflect both the political shift and the communicative shift.

¹⁹³ The internal conflicts within the realm, between her husband's supporters, prince consort Frederick I of Hesse-Kassel, and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp led to her eventual abdication in favour of her husband.

¹⁹⁴ Porter, 1994, p. 92–93.

¹⁹⁵ The publication is now referred to as *Stockholiske Post-Tidender*. See the appendix for other titles and dates. The *London Gazette* began as the *Oxford Gazette* in 1665 and moved with the king to London in 1666. Often the change in title reflected the change in where it was distributed from, such as when this publication was distributed from Lund and the title was changed to reflect it. This change in title is not important to the overall conclusions, but must be noted in order to provide accurate source information and show some of the economic consequences of the war.

¹⁹⁶ Holmberg, 2005, p. 121.

¹⁹⁷ *SPT*, 5 Jan., 1720, No. 1, 5 Jan. 1720. “Dessa Posttidningar blifva nu i förstone allenast en gång i wekan tryckte / men frambättre tvenne gånger: skolandes desamma innehålla det nyeste och märckvärdigaste saker / som utomlands sig tildrager och förlöpa kan / så at den benägne läsaren uti dem et nöje lærer finna.”

¹⁹⁸ It was an active decision not to use sources describing the death of Charles XII. Only information held over from the end of 1719 appears in the editions covered here, although the sources from 1718–1719 are available from Lund under *Lundska Posttijender* and *Lundska Lördages Courant*.

5.1 Russia as a regional power

Any threats from Russia are not directly addressed from a Swedish source and are instead delivered primarily through other European centres. This was primarily because of the conscious decision to print information mostly from outside of the realm during this period; this affects describing the portrayals of all three groups in this period.¹⁹⁹ Russia is still an active enemy during the beginning of this period, especially considering the threats of coastal attacks.²⁰⁰ Compared to the descriptions from Skåne about Danish troop movements in the second period, this shift is important to reestablishing a normalized view of Europe and other European states. The readership was aware of the threats from local rumours within the realm. The wider view the state attempted to establish of Russia, however, is a flexible threat. This is primarily shown through diplomatic and political descriptions directly from Saint Petersburg, indicating the return to a steady diplomatic connection with Russia.

Some aspects of Russia's continued direct pressure on Sweden are addressed through other European centres. England's efforts to prevent further encroachments and attacks on Sweden by the Russian navy are described through London.²⁰¹ Showing there are alliances against Russia, or at least trying to curtail Russian's military strength, indicates that Sweden was not isolated regarding invasion and attack threats. Information about the peace mediations between Russia and Sweden was known in early 1720.²⁰² Coming through Vienna, a Russian General Major is attributed. Providing an official source shows its credibility, especially by establishing it in new the European context. The audience in this case is not only connected through fear of attack, but through the wider perspective the paper tries to establish of other states.

The ceremonial and political items reported directly from Russia are personally focused on the tsar. Some internal political instability is described, focusing on the tsar being ill for most of this period and the consequences for his succession.²⁰³ The illness is described with varying details of severity; during one period, the last testament and the security of the heir to the Russian throne are referenced.²⁰⁴ In December of 1720, information from Saint Petersburg delivered through Holstein describes the tsar as continuing to suffer from a chest cold and cough.²⁰⁵ The tsar's main diplomatic envoy and the first permanent Russian ambassador abroad, Prince Boris Kurakin, is described

¹⁹⁹ Holmberg, 2005, p. 121

²⁰⁰ This includes the coastal terror activities of *Ryssbärjningarna* (1719–21).

²⁰¹ *SPT*, 19 Feb., 1720 London, No. 10, 5 March 1720.

²⁰² *SPT*, 14 Jan., 1720, Holsten, No. 4, 26 Jan. 1720.

²⁰³ Tsarevich Alexei died in 1718 at the age of 28, after being interrogated and tortured to death over a coup he was said to have lead against his father and succession passed to his brother, Peter Petrovich. The baby grand duke died in 1719, leaving the issue of succession open to debate and much derision in Russia.

²⁰⁴ *SPT*, 7 Dec., 1719, Petersburg, No. 3, 19 Jan. 1720.

²⁰⁵ *SPT*, 15 Dec., 1720, Holsten, No. 52, 24 Dec. 1720.

as having many active duties of the state during this time.²⁰⁶ The tsar's apparent illness places greater influence on the role of ambassadors and diplomats like Kurakin in diplomatic processes, showing how his weaknesses are compensated through some divisions and power sharing.

Reports about Russia now come through diplomats, like Kurakin, who represent the formerly enemy state. A potential confrontation against the Ottoman Empire over territory in the south shows how Russia is slowly moving into the common diplomatic network.²⁰⁷ While Russia is brought closer, the Ottoman Empire is associated with unknown aspects of the east, outside of the known European environment. The Ottomans are not shown to adopt similar techniques as Swedish and European envoys. Russia is placed into a European context with a flexible label as an enemy, involved in negotiations and conducting itself within an understandable value system rather than directly threatening Swedish troops.

The connection the tsar has with the Russian state is the primary issue that the paper has difficulties resolving. The treatment of captured prisoners by Russia is mentioned in two contexts; indirectly, political reports come from Poland while more direct ceremonial items are described from Sweden. Freed captives from Russia are described as emaciated and dehydrated, robbing and assaulting those they encounter on the roadways as they return to Poznań in September 1720.²⁰⁸ Although they are not identified as Swedish, the damaging actions of the former prisoners and the depravation the Russians captors showed are linked through the description. A regional Polish governor is named, linking the report to an official rather than a local witness. The newsworthiness of the item is both the somewhat official aspect of the declaration and the suffering of the former prisoners. Polish officials show a return to some credibility, at least when negative information about Russia is concerned.

The Swedish example comes some time after the official end of the war, indicating the length of time it took for news to travel from Russian prison camps. Some Swedish war dead and prisoners are remembered and memorialized by the king officially in Stockholm in May of 1722.²⁰⁹ Printing names of those who died in the war records their ranks and promotes the men long after their deaths. Most internal news from within the Swedish realm was not published unless it was of great importance during this period. The Russians are not extensively scandalized in the second example, likely due to their continued expansion into the region and increased political influence. The time spent in Russian prison camps that was described in works such as *Karolinska dagböcker* is

²⁰⁶ *SPT*, 23 May, 1721, Haag, No. 23, 10 June 1721.

²⁰⁷ *SPT*, 4 Feb., 1720, Et annat från Holsten, No. 7, 16 Feb. 1720.

²⁰⁸ *SPT*, 3 Sept., 1720, Wilda, No. 41, 8 Oct. 1720.

²⁰⁹ *SPT*, 21 May 1722, Stockholm, No. 20, 21 May 1722; *SPT*, 11 June 1722, Stockholm, No. 23, 11 June 1722.

significant; it maintained the potency of the threat from Russians during the eighteenth century.²¹⁰ However, in the common European environment the *Posttidningar* creates for its readers, there is a greater emphasis on a quick return to normalcy. Within this semi-public sphere, the readers saw the soldiers mainly as heroes and their captors with distance rather than wholesale negativity. There was no active fear of the Russians once the threat of attack ends with the peace treaty in 1721 and a desire for cooperation is instead observed by avoiding invoking an image of a threatening enemy.

As Russia increases in territory and power, there are some aspects of the overall defeat that are expressed in the *Posttidningar* in a diplomatic and political context. The descriptions of the construction and expansion of Saint Petersburg is an aspect of this regional power. Descriptions of this area establish how the Swedish state attempts to reconcile the loss of Swedish territory. How the Baltic is dealt with connects the expansion of the Russian influence to the Swedish concept of loss. A new narrative forms in order to deal with the transfer of long-contested cities and areas out of Swedish holdings. Information is presented to the readership without active editorial direction, leaving the public to form opinions based on information from the state to guide it.

Saint Petersburg and its regional significance are clearly expressed to the readership through its placement in the context of the Baltic. The term “Muscovites” is no longer actively used to reference Russians, reflecting the change in capital city and changing qualities in Europe. The terms were used interchangeably in the previous two time periods, in all contexts. A reference to Saint Petersburg as the capital city is observed in the publication in 1722.²¹¹ In the previous period, Saint Petersburg and the activities that occurred there were not reported on directly. Diplomats were not always present in Russia due to the threat of war. Information was instead gathered from other, indirect, sources in Poland or Ukraine.

Reporting that the tsar was struggling to sustain the settlement in Saint Petersburg, necessitating constant movement back and forth from Moscow to Saint Petersburg, hinders the political integration of the city in the region.²¹² Russia began construction of Saint Petersburg in 1703 on territory that was still considered part of Sweden; this was due to the continued presence of the Lutheran faith of the inhabitants around the former fortress of Nyen.²¹³ Although Russia's importance was increasing in the region through political channels, there were still aspects of Russian territorial gains that are not positively embraced in the narrative of the *Posttidningar*.

²¹⁰ Åberg, 1958; Nilsson, p. 46, 1990.

²¹¹ This was the first stated observation in the sources using the term “*huvudstad*” from *SPT*, 17 Jan, 1722, Petersburg, No. 9, 5 March, 1722. This is not a result, however, as there were likely other instances earlier in the sources that were overlooked. Petersburg was officially known as the capital in 1712 but had been commonly referred to as the capital as early as 1704.

²¹² *SPT*, 27 Jan., 1722, Petersburg, No. 9, 5 March, 1722; *SPT*, 23 Feb., 1722, Moscow, No. 13, 2 April, 1722

²¹³ Kurs, 1994, p. 107–113. Appleby, 2003, p. 273–284.

The loss of the Baltic provinces, including the important cities of Tallinn and Riga, is not directly addressed from a Swedish source. The incorporation of these regions into the Russian sphere of influence is shown through a Saint Petersburg source issued in 1722.²¹⁴ Tsar Peter wanted to maintain post-war institutions in those cities to continue to function as they did during times of war in order to maintain security. Providing information about Russia's continued military expansion and consolidation in the Baltic from this indirect source is not intended to inspire fear. The indirect descriptions of the cities that were formerly under Swedish control instead creates an image that Riga and Tallinn were under a form of occupation.

The Russians prevent ships from sailing between Tallinn and Sweden; in Riga, the Russians claim extensive resources from the surrounding area.²¹⁵ The lack of direct reporting from the Baltic and the knowledge of Russia's presence in the region indirectly describes Sweden's loss of territory. Associating the Russians with an occupation shows a lingering connection to the Baltic population that is not strengthened during this period. Sweden must cooperate with Russia to prevent other active threats against its other territory from occurring before the realm and the population can recover from the results of the Great Northern War.

London is a significant source of information, especially concerning the defence of Sweden from Russia's naval attacks, as well as an indirect source of diplomatic news regarding peace treaties with Sweden.²¹⁶ During the negotiation process leading up the final Treaty of Nystad in 1721, other European powers turned their attention against Russia's growing power and territorial gains. The involvement of the French and other European agents is significant for indirect description. Other groups that were allied against Sweden, primarily Brandenburg-Prussia and Hanover-Great Britain, are part of other treaties and shifting borders and territory. Although these items are indirect, Sweden's political position is described to the readers as remaining significant due to its reported involvement. After decades of war, the state describes cooperation to its audience.

The direct representations of the Swedish monarchs are greatly reduced in the *Posttidningar* as a result of this change in centralized power. The king and queen are mentioned but not to the same extent as Charles XII. While the leaders of the other states Sweden was in conflict with retain some aspects of importance, the involvement of the Swedish monarch is rarely addressed in the same manner as in the earlier periods. Having a female sovereign is not a negative issue in the *Posttidningar*. Ulrika Eleonora and the other queens or female consorts of the kings of Europe have the strongest female

²¹⁴ *SPT*, 7 Dec., 1721, Petersburg, No. 2, 15 Jan., 1722.

²¹⁵ *SPT*, 26 Feb., 1720, Königsberg, No. 12, 19 March 1720.

²¹⁶ *SPT*, 19 Feb. 1720 London, No. 11, 12 March 1720; *SPT*, 4 March, 1720, London, No. 12, 19 March 1720.

presence in descriptions from these three enemy groups. Nuns are briefly mentioned dying of plague in Ukraine during this period, in an example of the ordinary woman.²¹⁷ Any female readership would have been inclined to sympathize with Swedish soldiers and other border peoples during times of war, just as the male readers were. Colley's ideas of a separate female public sphere cannot be actively addressed here, although any female readers of the Swedish paper would have fit into the wider semi-public sphere, connected through the some common knowledge and loyalty to the king.²¹⁸

The editors of the paper show both current and former enemies in the scope of the European diplomatic narrative. The image of the war slowly transforms with the state's efforts of describing stability. Using positive images of the war dead rather than negative depictions of the enemy shows the editors used a relatively flexible narrative concerning some subjects, while avoiding directly commenting on others. The soldiers are mistreated but there is little direct identification that separates mistreatment by Russian or other captors. The focus is on reintegrating former soldiers into the readership's knowledge rather than pointing to negative descriptions of the war.

5.2 Indirect pressure from Denmark

The situation regarding Denmark is also complicated during this period. Denmark threatens some aspects of communication and Sweden's remaining influence in the Baltic. Russia has a similar influence over Poland, regarding communication and control by another state. The Treaty of Frederiksborg in July 1720 forced Sweden to break the alliance with Holstein. The formal break affects how some information is delivered back to Sweden from mainland Europe. Many items in this section are sent from Holstein but contain reports from other areas of interest. The threat to disrupting communication and the connection to other parts of Europe is implied when significant news is funnelled through other centres.

Aspects of the end of tensions with Denmark are expressed through simple messages from both sides of the sound.²¹⁹ The message is communicated mainly to ensure confidence in the shipping trade and economic recovery for both sides. While there is no active war policy at this point, these messages about one of Sweden's closest neighbours indicates a desire to return to normalized relations in order to stabilize economic conditions. It is difficult to discern the connection between Denmark and this aspiration to return to similar stable circumstances that existed before the war. The emphasis on the communication and economic link, however, in these newsworthy items closely ties Denmark with a Swedish desire to return to normalized relations and economic recovery.

²¹⁷ SPT, 17 Aug., 1720, Lemberg, No. 38, 17 Sept. 1720.

²¹⁸ Colley, 1996, p. 277.

²¹⁹ SPT, 20 May, 1720, Helsingöhr, No. 22, 28 May 1720.

Sweden settled the war with the other members of the anti-Swedish alliance in stages. Unlike the Peace at Travendal with Denmark in 1700, the negotiation process is not entirely favourable for the Swedish diplomatic efforts. Compared to the extensive list of demands published when Denmark left the Great Northern War early in 1700, the peace process here avoids addressing any lost territory directly. The overall results from this peace process are not presented in great detail to the readership. The direct result appears to be a decrease in active reporting about the Baltic provinces. These areas are now reported through Holstein or, after the peace is concluded, Denmark. Even then, the focus of the items is on Russian activities in the region. Given the heavy focus on these areas in the previous periods, this lack of direct information shows a changing perspective towards once heavily important areas. While Russia directly occupies these areas and disrupts political interactions, Denmark retains some of the potential to cut off the communication links with its demands on Sweden.

In an instance concerning Danish military movements in late 1720, Marstrand is the centre that receives word that a Danish general travelled to Norway.²²⁰ Although it is emphasized that friendliness be maintained towards the travelling Danish general to Norway, the movement of the troops are still documented. This was well after the peace treaty was negotiated between the two states, but the threat to a disruption of communication still remains. Items from Norway do not receive direct place lines and instead are reported mainly through Copenhagen. Like the Baltic in this period, information about Norway is part of the general picture of Europe established by the state that shows the reach of the former enemy states, but does not indicate great concern for the readership's overall European perspective.

5.3 Poland's decline

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth loses a considerable amount of power and influence in the region by this period. As no official peace treaty is concluded between Poland and Sweden, the end of hostilities is not explained in direct terms.²²¹ Descriptions of events in Poland and Lithuania focus on some internal religious questions and recovering from the larger war, in addition to the results of a civil war. Russia and the Ottoman Empire greatly influence the information from Poland during this period. Maintaining a relationship with Poland was essential in order to continue to receive this information from a relatively reliable source. Although Warsaw remains an important centre for communication and politics in the European context, there are indications about its loss of significance through the overall qualities of the items reported about it.

²²⁰ *SPT*, 4 Nov., 1720, Marstrand, No. 46, 12 Nov. 1720.

²²¹ Davies, 1981.

There are some descriptions about how Poland deals with the end of the war. Early in 1720, reports from Danzig dating from December of 1719, state that the king of Poland wants to avoid any further hostilities.²²² The information is instructions from the king to city officials. Poland's internal politics is no longer described with the extensive detail or importance as in the first period; their military situation is also reduced in significance when they no longer actively threaten Swedish troops or allies. Poland's initial presentation was heavily based on its internal conflicts and the movements of the king. King Augustus II still travels between Poland and Saxony, but now the power of the senators and the Cardinal Primas is not emphasized to the same extent. The parliament and regional governors receive some attention, showing there are still some aspects of division remaining. From the indirect and diplomatic items expressed in this period, Poland is presented in substantial political decline, losing regional power and cohesion.

Poland's place between the Ottoman Empire and Russia is strained. The Russian influence over Poland and the Polish king is described through a meeting of friendship in 1720 between Augustus and Peter in Saint Petersburg.²²³ The Silent Sejm of 1717 ended Augustus II's attempts to establish his absolutist rule in Poland and allowed Russian interests to further divide political factions, essentially ending Poland's liberty according to Norman Davies.²²⁴ Meetings between the tsar and Polish representatives indicate that Russia has the most power in the agreement. In July 1720, news from Saint Petersburg arrives in the form of a credible, official letter.²²⁵ The tsar is described as dictating the terms of the continuation of friendship with the king and republic, through official and sealed letters. For Poland, the situation of a powerful Russia places the state in a vulnerable position and also threatens some sources of information for areas to the east of the normal European communication and diplomatic network.

The situation in Lithuania shows the division within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.²²⁶ The Lithuanians demand the Russian invaders leave their borders. Mentioning Lithuania's separate borders and stronger reactions to Russia's presence exposes a split within the Commonwealth and shows some rejection of Russia in the region. The internal fighting gives the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth some of its weak overall character, addressing regional fragmentation directly.

Russia also influences Poland in other military and diplomatic manners. Poland is instructed to remove Polish artillery that had been left behind in Ukraine.²²⁷ The work of a Polish governor to return Polish troops and resolve issues with Russia is not treated

²²² *SPT*, 14 Dec., 1719, Utur Hosten, No. 1, 5 Jan. 1720.

²²³ *SPT*, 22 July 1720, Warsaw, No. 33, 13 Aug. 1720.

²²⁴ Davies, 1981, p. 500–501.

²²⁵ *SPT*, 22 July, 1720, Warsaw, No. 33, 13 Aug. 1720.

²²⁶ *SPT*, 22 July, 1720, Warsaw, No. 33, 13 Aug. 1720.

²²⁷ *SPT*, 19 Feb., 1722 Lemberg, No. 11, 19 March, 1722.

positively.²²⁸ The information is reported as a correction, showing both the difficulties of dealing with the tsar on a diplomatic level and the weaknesses of the Polish administration in obtaining its desired goals. In this case, it was to resolve a 60-point accord and negotiate the release of 200 Polish prisoners. The items have legitimacy due to the appearance of the local official. This legitimacy is weak, just as in the previous period. A regional governor is performing tasks that are carried out by the head of state in the other groups. Although Poland had a different governing structure, it is rarely treated as being positive or effective by offering its officials consistent credibility.

The majority of depictions show the readership a perspective on diplomatic events between Russia and Poland. These events concern troops moving towards the Ottoman Empire, to deal with conflicts there. The Ottoman troops are separate from descriptions of Tatar actions in eastern regions, on the edge of the European space. Although described with uncertainty, the Ottomans are described as travelling through Bulgaria and Moldova in May 1721, towards the borders with Habsburg territory.²²⁹ The movement of the Ottomans are given in simple and direct military terms; the Tatars that are travelling with them are the forces that are doing the damage to the countryside.

Although regionally weak and politically disorganized, Poland is not as foreign and tribal as the roaming Tatars. The existence of an organized state is essential in defining who and what a group is. It was most difficult for the paper to convey what a Tatar or a Cossack is because they lacked familiar leadership structures or known state borders that were not contested or tribally based. The military qualities of these groups separates them from the unidentified peasant sources.

The few religious items deal primarily with larger political issues in Poland. Although the Poles are not identified as Catholic, there is an instant where a Bishop in Posen arrests a Lutheran priest.²³⁰ The priest is identified as being part of the royal guardsmen, and is quickly released following orders from Saxon ministers. The situation is treated more as a political disagreement between the church and the influence of the Saxon and Polish states. The diocese in Posen was part of the Polish kingdom during this period, prior to Poland's decline and Prussia's invasion of that region. The German influence was greatly reduced following the Counter Reformation in this part of the greater kingdom. Rather than negatively depicting the Poles as Catholics, the implication here is to provide a link from Swedish Lutheranism to Saxony. Saxony is not a focus of this study but this example shows that the Catholic Church in greater Poland had the ability to disagree with the political structure in some aspects. Like the disagreement with

²²⁸ *SPT*, 5 Aug., 1720, Warsaw, No. 35, 27 Aug. 1720.

²²⁹ *SPT*, 27 May, 1721, Warsaw, No. 24, 17 June 1721.

²³⁰ *SPT*, 1 July, 1720, Warsaw, No. 30, 23 July 1720.

Lithuania, the weakening of the relationship with Saxony emphasizes the regional decline of the Polish state.

5.4 Ending the Great Northern War

This period is more focused on indirect diplomatic encounters rather than direct, military descriptions. The language used towards the rival groups during this period reflects the changing power levels of the Swedish autocracy and a changing editorial presence in the publication. Information from the enemy groups is now coming through many other major centres, but also directly from the rival groups. The state attempts to qualify how the public should perceive how former enemies return to a neutral perspective while still resolving with residual issues of the conflict. The *Posttidningar* attempts to provide a normalized prospective for the readership, underlying a need for cooperation and flexible views of the other states during this process.

The paper ultimately reflects the Swedish state's lack of policy towards the end of the war. Other systems of information of the Swedish state attempted to sustain stability and cooperation from its population in this way.²³¹ Rather than inspire fear or hatred for the enemy troops, this period instead focuses on more indirect and stable presentations given through political, ceremonial, or religious descriptions. The reporting and publication of newsworthy items from a wider, European, perspective is increased to the readership. In this period, the items describe indirect perspectives of enemy groups, rival states, allies or neutral groups.

The mandate for the paper was to provide newsworthy items from outside of Sweden, stressing the European focus. The regions most likely to cooperate with Sweden are given positive attention, while the former enemies are treated with some lingering distance. The official reasoning for the loss of this territory is part of this disclosure of enemy descriptions. Compared to the previous periods, there is no longer the same amount of reporting on events based in the Baltic region. The type of information sent to the readership reflects how Swedish influence was curtailed in this region. The Baltic and contested areas in Eastern Europe are no longer as openly contested militarily in these news items, at least where Sweden was directly concerned. The previously established connections to the populations are severed by silence. Russia and Denmark cannot be completely trusted due to the hinderance or threat to communication with these former Swedish regions. A clear picture of the loss is not established due to the simultaneous desire to stress cooperation within the new European political situation.

²³¹ Forssberg, 2005.

6. New leaders, new readers, new war, 1739–1743

The next major war for Sweden was declared against Russia in August 1741, aiming to bring about a coup in Russia in order to re-obtain territory lost in the Great Northern War. During this period, items of *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* dating from late 1739 until mid-1743 are examined.²³² Sweden was the active aggressor against Russian troops during the Russo-Swedish War of 1741–1743; the majority of the conflict took place in Finland. The change in territory is also significant, as it highlights different treatment towards the Baltic provinces as compared to Finland. How Russia, Denmark and Poland are presented reflects these new contexts.

The division between the Swedish Hats party and the Caps party was part of the events that led to the declaration of war against Russia.²³³ Allied with France, the Hats party advocated action against Russia to recapture the losses from 1721. There was also no active participation by the monarchs in the conflict on the battlefields. The war against Russia was undertaken in an attempt to bring Empress Elizabeth, Peter I's daughter, to power over the German-influenced Anna Leopoldovna, ruling in the minority of Ivan VI after the fall of the duke of Courland's regency. Empress Elizabeth took power in a coup, supported by the Hats and French interests in 1741, attempting to remove the German influences in the court. Presenting these political rivalries in Sweden and Russia impacts Russia's portrayal and the strength of the Russian leadership, as well as aspects of Swedish identity.

In Russia, the legacy of Peter I's rapid and violent westernization efforts ebbed during a period of confusion over the successor to the new empire. This period in Russian history – the span of leaders from Peter the Great until Catherine the Great – has been relatively neglected in English scholarship.²³⁴ The period is influenced heavily by the rule of empresses, creating their own myths and regimes through ceremonies drawing them closer to the qualities Europeans valued in their monarchs.²³⁵

Poland and Denmark do not actively threaten Sweden during much of this period. As they are part of the wider European perspective that the state tries to create for its readership, Denmark and Poland are still valuable examples to compare to Russia. Putting descriptions of these other two states from political or ceremonial contexts in contrast to Russia highlights aspects of consistency or negativity, outside of direct military portrayals. The other neighbouring and border regions also show how Russia's continued influence is explained in the context of a new war.

²³² These examples of the pamphlets were from from 1739–1743. See the bibliography for issue numbers.

²³³ The other name for the war, Hats' Russian War, reflects these political divisions in Sweden and the blame for causing the debacle.

²³⁴ Riasonovsky and Steinberg, 2005, p. 223.

²³⁵ Wortman, 1995, p. 42–43.

This final period is divided into four subsections covering dates from 1739, prior to the conflict, until the official end of the Russo-Swedish War in 1743. Russia receives the most analysis as they are the most important group in this period, as they pose the direct threat of attack against Sweden and other aspects of the realm. Sections on Denmark and Poland are shorter than previous sections but are still discussed in relation to the central research questions and the theoretical ideas. The summary outlines the significance of the portrayals of these years, referencing some aspects of the previous periods of war.

6.1 The empresses in Russia and the war in Finland

Direct news from Russia is delivered steadily at the start of this period. Russia is now established as part of the European diplomatic network, the process that started in the previous period. Ceremonial and political items in Russia remain linked to the actions of the empresses who ruled during this period. The war itself is difficult to characterize in the same manner as the previous conflict regarding how views of the enemy influence identity, due to Sweden being the active aggressor. The concern instead shifts to maintaining connections with Finland to establish some understanding and unity within the readership. Reuterswärd demonstrates that minimal instances of anti-Russian propaganda were issued to the general public at the outset of the 1741 conflict. She attributes this as a need for military secrecy due to the fact that Sweden was the aggressor.²³⁶ How Russia treats its neighbours is also part of how the enemy is described, as it shows the wider politics of the state. By the end of the war, the state had to deal with describing internal Swedish discontent to addition to resolving the overall outlook of the war and the enemy.

There are generally no depictions of the attitudes of the average Russian population, other than the battling troops and the powerful monarchs. Religious items are also rarely mentioned, outside of a connection to political or ceremonial contexts. The death of Empress Anna in 1740 is a ceremonial example to be compared to the death of Ulrika Eleonora in 1741. In Sweden, the queen's death is announced on Nov. 26, 1741 while in the midst of the war in Finland.²³⁷ The death of the Swedish queen causes great sorrow for the entire Swedish realm and inhabitants. Empress Anna died in October 1740 and although Sweden and Russia were not at war during at this time, Anna's death is regarded with very little ceremonial descriptions.²³⁸ Instead, only the political and dynastic implications of her death are more newsworthy. There was no need to describe the sorrow of her people or create sympathy to link the audience to the population.

²³⁶ Reuterswärd, 2001, p. 187–188

²³⁷ *SPT*, 26 Nov., 1741, Stockholm, No. 93, 26 Nov., 1741.

²³⁸ *SPT*, 19 Oct., 1740, Petersburg, No. 86, 6 Nov., 1740.

The attack against Russia by Sweden is presented formally as part of the larger address from King Frederick I to the rest of the Swedish population.²³⁹ The declaration is stated as being against the Tsar of Russia, Ivan VI, who was an infant at the time and under the minority of his mother, Anna Leopoldovna.²⁴⁰ Other than the brief announcement, there is no explanation of the reasons for the aggression. The King in Council issues the paragraph, connecting the declaration to the wider system of information delivery to all parish churches.²⁴¹ This demonstrates that aspects of the *Posttidningar* remained connected to the wider system of communication during this period. The *Posttidningar* needed to be consistent with the official information given to the larger population, showing a wider connection to the population for the readership through shared levels of knowledge.

Direct hostilities are not described until a confrontation published in September. Sweden launches the attack with Swedish and Finnish troops moving against the capital of Russia, resulting in the majority of damage and suffering occurring in Finland. In a direct report from Southern Finland, the Battle of Villmanstrand is initially described in more negative terms for a detachment of the Swedish-Finnish army than for the Russian enemy troops.²⁴² The term “enemy” is used again in battle situations, largely reflecting the aggression attributed to the troops as they attack.

The publication reports, however, that the Swedish army is admittedly undermanned under Carl Henrik Wrangel's command. Although the loss is passively admitted, the exact number of dead or captured is not initially acknowledged. Instead, only a vague statement from an unnamed witness says that it is possibly more of the enemy died than the Swedish troops.²⁴³ As this was positive information, this was not treated as a rumour and instead as the second level of credible information. The next issue updates the situation, describing the situation in much different terms than was initially believed; the losses were indeed greater.²⁴⁴ The need for immediacy of the information in war times lends greater credibility to weaker sources, leading to the initial acceptance from the source and subsequent clarification.

Following the dispatch of General Lewenhaupt to Finland, the official narrative is gradually developed.²⁴⁵ Descriptions of the Russian troops burning and storming settlements are delivered, along with the notification that the Swedish troops were horribly outmanned but not necessarily outmatched in skill. Although the enemy are described with negative qualities in battle, the losses by Sweden cannot be as easily

²³⁹ *SPT*, 13 Aug., 1741 Stockholm, No. 63, 13 Aug., 1741.

²⁴⁰ In this case, tsar is spelled “czar” in the original Swedish.

²⁴¹ Swedish: *Kungl Maj:ts kungörelser*

²⁴² *SPT*, 26 Aug., 1741, Friedrickshamn, No. 70, 7 Sept., 1741

²⁴³ *SPT*, 26 Aug., 1741, Friedrickshamn, No. 70, 7 Sept., 1741. “... Dock *berättas*, at flere af Fiendens Armees stupar, än antalet af de wåre in alles varit.”

²⁴⁴ *SPT*, 9 Sept., 1741, Stockholm, No. 71, 10 Sept., 1741

²⁴⁵ *SPT*, 18 Sept., 1741, Stockholm, No. 74, 21 Sept., 1741

explained.²⁴⁶ When Wrangel's letter describing the treatment of captured soldiers is published, they are said to be treated civilly.²⁴⁷ The subsequent issues over the next few months repeatedly state that no new encounters occurred between the Swedes and the enemy army, until a storm in November cuts off communication.²⁴⁸ When information begins to arrive from Finland again, the mention of Russian deserters is linked to the reports of Russian spies crossing the border.²⁴⁹ The publication did not have an established idea of how the war should be treated, shown through the acknowledged lack of credible information.

Finland is the main concern in respect to the reach of communication and information by the central authorities. The readership of the *Posttidningar* is directed to share common concerns with the Finnish suffering, as they are part of the same realm, under the same leader. This concern is expressed through explanations of delays in receiving information to and from Finland, in a similar manner as the Baltic areas were treated in the earliest periods.²⁵⁰ The administrative and communicative connections are significant in attempting to maintain hegemonic control and cooperation. Proclaiming that news from Finland will be occurring on a twice-weekly basis attempts to increase support for the war by showing some stable aspects of communication as an extension of the war effort.²⁵¹

Maintaining stable communications is part of the effort to increase support for the war. The victory at the Battle of Narva is also mentioned as part of this effort, invoking positive images of Swedish soldiers full of "heart and mind" rapidly attacking Russian troops.²⁵² This positive support for the war, despite its dismal beginnings, is also emphasized by the arrival of knowledge that Empress Elizabeth had carried out her coup with help from a regiment of guards loyal to her cause and the pressure from Swedish and French diplomats.²⁵³ Reported officially through Stockholm, the paper implies that the hostilities will soon end, as the Empress does not want her reign to begin with bloodshed. The Empress, however, begins to consolidate her power with official proclamations published through the post in Hamburg.²⁵⁴ Without a direct political link to Saint Petersburg, military descriptions are relied upon for describing the enemy; indirect links show some connections remain to the Russian leadership through other diplomatic and political channels.

²⁴⁶ *SPT*, 28 Sept., 1741 Stockholm, No. 76, 28 Sept., 1741.

²⁴⁷ *SPT*, 30 Sept., 1741 Stockholm, No. 77, 1 Oct., 1741.

²⁴⁸ *SPT*, 2 Nov., 1741 Stockholm, No. 86, 2 Nov., 1741.

²⁴⁹ *SPT*, 26 Nov., 1741, Stockholm, No. 93, Nov., 1741.

²⁵⁰ *SPT*, 22 Jan., 1741, Stockholm, No. 7, 22 Jan., 1741.

²⁵¹ *SPT*, 5 Dec., 1741, Stockholm, No. 96, 7 Dec., 1741.

²⁵² *SPT*, 23 Nov., 1741, Friedrichshamn, No. 96, 7 Dec., 1741. "... Hwar hans karl har hierta och Lust at nappas med 10. Ryssar, nu, som det skiedde 1700. den 20. Novembris wid Narwa. Herren stå dem bij!"

²⁵³ *SPT*, 5 Dec., 1741, Stockholm, No. 96, 7 Dec., 1741.

²⁵⁴ *SPT*, 12 Jan., 1742, Hamburg, No. 5, 21 Jan. 1742.

In April 1742, Russian Cossack troops are described as attacking Finnish peasants along the border.²⁵⁵ In the previous periods, the term Cossack was used primarily when referring to troops from Ukraine or eastern Poland, allied with either Russians or Swedes, or without any firm alliance. These groups could not be linked to a defined territory or a known leadership structure and are thus considered more tribal and nomadic. When describing the situation in Turku following the preliminary discussions of the peace treaty, the direct descriptions of Russian troops in 1743 are those of “Cossacks” and “Hussars.”²⁵⁶ Russian military expansion now includes regular troops that, from this perspective, were once associated with more tribal elements from outside of Russia's imperial borders. These images are linked to the state identity through their allegiance to the common military affiliation and thus common leader. Symbols attributed to ethnicity or loyalties to a leader outside of a king were known to the readership through earlier descriptions. These are now superseded by the connection to the head of state through, military organization and incorporation within that context.

Describing how Russia dealt with other groups not principally identified under the simple term Russian shows how the Swedish editors portrayed other aspects of the population, beyond connections to the empress or tsar. There was no distinct image of the Russian population other than through these connections of loyalty through military service. Some religious divisions are noted from indirect sources. Issues of confession are important to the relationship Russia has with the Ottoman Empire, as the *Posttidningar* describes. A description of the slave trade at ports in the Ottoman Empire separates the service of Jewish, Armenian and Christian slaves in Russia, indicating that the different groups did not serve together for reasons of faith.²⁵⁷ The message is delivered through Warsaw, again showing the continued importance of Poland in terms of conveying messages from areas to the east. Although this example shows the many types of religious peoples living in the Ottoman Empire more than Russia, it shows that there was a concept of “peoples” based on religious identification referenced about Russia in the Swedish press.²⁵⁸ Describing a slave trade also shows the public aspects of suffering under Turkish and Russian rule. These descriptions increase the overall knowledge of the other rather than inspire aspects of the religious other as a sworn enemy.

The Ottoman Empire has a difficult relationship with the expanding Russian Empire. To end of the Russo-Turkish War in September 1739 at the Treaty of Niš, Russia was forced to give up its larger claims on the Crimea.²⁵⁹ The Habsburg Empire, which entered the war on Russia's side but signed the separate Treaty of Belgrade, was awarded

²⁵⁵ *SPT*, 12 April, 1742, Stockholm, No. 27, 10 April, 1742

²⁵⁶ *SPT*, 12 July, 1743, Åbo, No. 55, 18 July, 1743.

²⁵⁷ *SPT*, 5 March, 1740, Warsaw, No. 25, 31 March, 1740.

²⁵⁸ *SPT*, 5 March, 1740, Warsaw, No. 25, 31 March, 1740. “...*folkslag*...”

²⁵⁹ Aksan, 2007, p. 116-117.

the status of protector over the Christian confessions within the Ottoman Empire, a claim that Russia had also made. While the peace treaty between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire was reported to the *Posttidningar* readers, the terms discussed were primarily about the redefinition of borders focused from the Austrian perspective.²⁶⁰ Although this treaty occurs prior to the war with Sweden, this shows that there was more concern for the Austrian perspective than Russian views, in relation to the Ottomans. Information about Russia is only gradually fitting into the European diplomatic space at different rates.

News of the finalization of the peace treaty reaches the readers in Sweden in August.²⁶¹ Although later issues may describe the details of the peace treaty, the initial explanation announces only that the treaty was completed and when the news arrived in Stockholm. There were several other local items that received more explanation and description along with the subsequent reports of the peace treaty. There is a report of an uprising in Sweden, with the description of a coming letter by the king mentioned with it. More attention was given to reporting the circumstances and developments of the Dalecarlian Rebellion and its march towards Stockholm. Simply stating the rebellion was ongoing, without blame or ascribing credibility, allows for the other outlets of information delivery to provide deeper meaning in other contexts, possibly within the semi-public sphere of the readership. Both the march and the response by the state were forms of communication and political interaction, reflecting the changing political attitudes of the peasantry during this period, affecting how the readership connected to this wider part of the population.²⁶²

6.2 Denmark's distance

The policy of neutrality in Denmark keeps it out of any major confrontations and receives minimal attention at the start of this period. The pious son of Frederick IV, Christian VI, ruled Denmark with a policy of neutrality in many foreign matters. The minimal reporting on Denmark during the end of this period largely reflects important events, similar to what Ingemar Oscarsson has observed regarding Sweden's closest neighbour.²⁶³ The view of Denmark largely points to keeping the public informed of events while avoiding initially invoking any ideas of threat. Denmark, like Poland, is only important to the European context through its role as a communication link.

²⁶⁰ *SPT*, 4 June 1740, Semlin, No. 51, 7 July 1740.

²⁶¹ *SPT*, 11 Aug., 1743, Stockholm, No. 62, 11 Aug., 1743.

²⁶² Sennefelt, 2004, p. 202.

²⁶³ Oscarsson, 2005, p. 152–153.

The construction of the Christiansborg Palace is described but not in specific terms or details.²⁶⁴ The ringing of new bells at the tower of the palace provides an example of direct reporting, without any words describing how the information was transmitted or offers any level of credibility, simply saying it occurred. Events without larger implications receive this simple treatment. As Christian VI was a relatively unpopular leader within Denmark, his descriptions in the press abroad are somewhat limited, except where the decorations of the new palace and its overall splendour are concerned.²⁶⁵ In those cases, the ceremonial presentation is more focused on the location than the leader. This shows that although Denmark received limited attention, it was primarily superficial information provided by neither sympathetic nor important figures for the audience.

Improvements to the Danish navy are described without any extra information, avoiding assessing any level of credibility for the information. These reports assure the readership that military knowledge of Denmark is being maintained, but are not ascribed positive or negative descriptions.²⁶⁶ Diplomatic meetings between the Danish court and Russian ministers in summer 1740 are also presented in basic terms, not implicating rumours or official letters.²⁶⁷

When Denmark threatened to enter the conflict in late 1743, Sweden was pushed towards finalizing the treaty with Russia. Descriptions of threats of Danish attack are important to contrast to Denmark's earlier characterization of betrayers to the common friendship the two states shared. Through this survey of items in 1743, however, there are few reports from or about Denmark, especially regarding this potential invasion threat. With the focus instead on Russia and other aspects of European news, these apparent silences may be explained in subsequent issues outside of the scope of this survey, published at a delayed pace due to a disruption of information or a prolonged attempt to assess credibility of the source describing the threat.

6.3 Positioning Poland

The majority of the information coming through Poland involves describing other events or other states. The civil War of Polish Succession (1733–1738) occurred mainly outside of Poland. Many exterior forces were involved, further dividing Polish loyalties, and installing the son of Augustus II to power as king. The few direct references to Poland involve the leaders of the state, current and former. While Poland remains important in communicating information from Russia and the Ottoman Empire, its own sovereignty is rarely addressed outside of these ceremonial and religious descriptions.

²⁶⁴ *SPT*, 19 April, 1740, Copenhagen, No. 34, 5 May, 1740.

²⁶⁵ *SPT*, 20 Oct., 1740, Copenhagen, No. 86, 6 Nov., 1740.

²⁶⁶ *SPT*, 7 Aug., 1741, Copenhagen, No. 64, 17 Aug., 1741.

²⁶⁷ *SPT*, 1 July, 1740, Copenhagen, No. 54, 17 July 1740.

Augustus III technically reigned in Poland but was largely uninterested in direct affairs of the state. He was installed as ruler in part by Russian influences to defeat the French-backed candidate, Stanisław Leszczyński during the civil war. Although King Augustus II travelled extensively between Saxony and Poland, there is less of the anticipation around King Augustus III's arrivals to Warsaw in this period. The formal church activities of the Queen Maria Josepha of Poland are instead given more importance. The ceremonial baptism of her child, surrounded by senators and members of the Polish court, is one of these examples.²⁶⁸ From the perspective of the *Posttidningar*, the king was primarily absent and uninvolved while the queen was only connected to the church as an apparatus of the state rather than a larger expression of religion or religious identification. The former king of Poland, Stanisław Leszczyński, remains somewhat relevant in the diplomatic sense. Although driven out by the Russians during the civil war, Leszczyński's activities in France are important to the readers.²⁶⁹ The Hat party pursued a pro-French agenda, showing the French connection. Although limited, this reflects some of the residual divisions seen concerning the Polish leadership in the previous periods.

Russia continues to be involved in Polish affairs, described by continued troop movements into the south to deal mainly with Ottoman incursions. Reports from the area of Ukraine under Russian influence are given through Poland, presented as a credible letter, detailing the plundering of rural estates.²⁷⁰ The source describes damage done by the more eastern and foreign Ottomans. The decline of Poland's power reflects this shift towards being influenced by Russia, shown through the lack of diplomatic interactions reported between Poland and regions other than Russia and areas to the east. Although important in terms of gathering news concerning the influence of the Ottoman Empire, Polish items no longer report internal Polish politics to the same extent as items in the earlier periods. The pressure from the Ottomans and the Russians connects the readership loosely to the situation for the Polish population but not overwhelmingly negative or positive.

6.4 Review of a costly conflict

From the Swedish perspective, the outbreak of the war was downplayed and not editorialized. Attempts to establish positive public response only occur after losses begin to mount. The known lack of popularity for the war led to greater efforts to show heroism and invoke positive feelings for the troops and the Finnish population. The Finnish population is under direct threat so ideological connections through

²⁶⁸ *SPT*, 13 Dec., 1740, Warsaw, No. 3, 8 Jan. 1741.

²⁶⁹ *SPT*, 9 Dec., 1739, Luneville, No. 2, 7 Jan. 1740.

²⁷⁰ *SPT*, 14 Jan., 1742, Warsaw, No. 10, 8 Feb., 1742.

communication are emphasized, along with the mutual threat of the war, in creating feelings of loyalty.

Denmark and Poland receive limited and ambiguous descriptions, as their leaders are not extensively active or popular in the context of wider European politics. The ceremonial qualities are important for each of the monarchs, but are significantly downplayed with few credible descriptions. In the previous period, the rival states and their leaders were placed in contrast to Sweden and its absolutist ruler. The readership viewed the rival states principally from the descriptions and actions of their leaders. Only Russia, as the active threat, has portrayals of the empress, although she is not as powerful or influential as Tsar Peter. Denmark and Poland are not direct threats, nor are they significant for the editors when selecting European items for publication.

The Russians retain similar descriptions as earlier periods during war times as the direct enemy. This final period is largely politically and diplomatically driven, except for the concentration of fighting in 1741–42 before Sweden's capitulation. These enemy portrayals from the battlefield are not as extensive as during the height of the Great Northern War. The lack of these direct descriptions from a Swedish source, instead relying on information through other European centres, is a reflection of these minimal direct portrayals, instead relying on regional centres of power.

When contrast to the distance taken towards the Baltic following the loss of those provinces, the link to Finland is affirmed and strengthened despite the threats from Russia. In the Baltic case, the attempts to maintain a communicative link to former Swedish claims were not sustained over a long period of time despite how contested these regions were. The connection with Finland is much stronger here, showing that mutual knowledge of the realm influenced the strengthening bonds within the realm. While war and the threat of enemy attack form reactionary bonds against a negative aspect, the communication bonds are positive expressions of commonality.

7. Communicating the enemy and other conclusions

The Great Northern War and the Russo-Swedish War began and ended under very different circumstances. The state attempted to justify the conflicts and the need for the population to remain loyal to the king for security and to endure these troubles. The *Posttidningar* was a consistent means of communication from the Swedish state to the literate population during both conflicts, distributing descriptions of each of these other groups in all four time periods. In this process, the state explained aspects of who and what the rival states were in relation to Sweden. Russia, Denmark, and Poland are identified differently with gradually changing qualities during these times of war and peace, depending primarily on the circumstances of each conflict and the context of each newsworthy item. The image of each group as a distinct entity with different leadership systems, part of a greater European political space, was a useful tool for the state to describe the war and the armies Sweden was fighting. Rather than assigning entirely demonized portrayals of the enemy, each state received separate consideration in negative battle scenarios and in the arena of wider European power and politics.

The descriptions observed in the *Posttidningar* support the idea for the existence and transformation of a semi-public sphere in Sweden. Some portions of society and some information are ultimately excluded from the discourse; open forums were also limited so a full, egalitarian public sphere could not have existed at this point. While Jürgen Habermas imagined this period of autocratic rule in Sweden as a representational culture, this thesis shows the value of examining information dictated by the state to elaborate on other ideas about the public sphere or semi-public sphere. States like Great Britain and Sweden each had a different type of transitioning public sphere. Each originated according to the social, economic, and political values, unique to the individual state. These semi-public and public spheres contained overlapping pieces of information, shared through common connections to the early modern European diplomatic network.

By reading this dictated material, this semi-public sphere formed opinions based on the entire image of a group as an other rather than a singular, negative set of values. Having a fixed set of values about an enemy group is very much attached to the firm notion of an independent and modern nation state, connected through imagined and modern commonalities. As this was not the case until the emergence of modern nationalism, the transforming early modern Swedish semi-public sphere only maintained fixed values based on direct experiences and threats rather than unchanging national, religious or ethnic prejudices.

While the Swedish public is suspicious of Russians and ascribe them a certain set of values, they were no more suspicious towards them than other groups, in situations outside of direct threats. The actions of the leaders and the threat of an armed attack are

fixed elements that can be directly related to the states and ascribed a firm set of values. The enemy is not given any ethnic or religious qualities. They are instead treated negatively because of the direct threat they posed militarily, or indirectly through information disruption. The leaders of each kingdom carry the most weight in how the groups as a whole are treated in relation to changing aspects of a Swedish identity. The three kingdoms and the tsardom, in the later period empire, are first and foremost linked to the leader.²⁷¹ The actions of the monarch of each state represent the entire realm for each group and are the common element in each category of political, ceremonial, religious and military descriptions during the first period. This aspect is not as firm in the second period, showing how a negative conflict and the changing political landscape in other states affected by Swedish identity and the identification of the other.

Swedish collective identities are not primarily constructed in relation to descriptions of the enemy in this period, supporting the modern approach taken towards collective identity in this period. Instead, the threat of war against the population or disruption of communication is stronger factors used by the state to motivate a sense of loyalty or patriotism to the king and the realm. The personal relationship with the Swedish king established through ideological addresses is emphasized through descriptions of the other states.²⁷² This representation and connection to the king forms part of the subjective values described by Anthony D. Smith as essential in describing the nation from its ethnic origins.²⁷³ The link to the leader expresses a sense of early modern patriotism rather than a form modern nationalism.

Despite the fact that all three states had extensive interactions with Sweden, it was Russia's sustained involvements that led to the wider transformative aspects of their interactions by the close of the first war. Description of political and diplomatic, ceremonial, religious, and military and war categories are similar for each group, based on the context and consequence of the event and the credibility of the source, rather than a specific negative quality of the other state. Sweden's religious identity was not overly emphasized other than through the connections of God to the kings. The primary aspects that differentiated the groups was the role of the leader and the place of the state in the wider, European diplomatic and political space.

Enemies are mainly called enemies only in items describing battle situations and periods of direct threat. The enemy was not loyal to an abstract concept of the nation or ethnic fatherland but instead to the leader. The enemy was something that threatened

²⁷¹ The term tsardom can still be used when discussing the Great Northern War as Peter I did not accept the title of Emperor of All Russias until 1721, after the peace with Sweden. Interestingly, the terms "empress" and "czarina" are used interchangeably in reference to Elizabeth and Anna in the later period in the 1740s.

²⁷² Ericsson, 2002.

²⁷³ Smith, 1986, p. 3–4.

Sweden's own troops, borders or leadership. Their allegiances to the enemy leaders are emphasized over the state or local allegiances in the broad descriptions delivered by the *Posttidningar*.

This form of communication outside of the church is less focused on the question of religion of the other. While religion was an important factor for unity amongst the Swedish state, as seen in the invocations of needing help from God during times of peril and the reverence shown towards the king, there was little observable material linking Russians to an Orthodox faith nor the Danes to their Protestantism or Poles to Catholicism. Primarily, a sense of Swedish Lutheranism was not strengthened in opposition to any of these groups as a distinct religious enemy. Similar concepts observed by Linda Colley were not motivating factors in describing the religious enemy other in unifying the state during times of war.²⁷⁴

Trustworthy sources of information from previously unknown regions or circumstances had to be developed over time. How credibility is established in the categories of political and diplomatic descriptions, ceremonial events, expressions of religion, and battle and wartime episodes gradually changes over time for the various states. Interactions between neighbouring groups and the distribution of information required the Swedish editors to establish credibility for each item in differing ways. The item expressed uniqueness and exclusivity, while it maintained a legitimate connection with other pieces of information within the state's information network, the church. When the readership is threatened, the state struggles to maintain credibility when immediacy becomes a major concern. The readership is part of an ongoing conversation with the state to define truths and the legitimacy of threats to the population.

Newspapers that were not connected to the government were on the rise throughout Scandinavia in the mid-eighteenth century, despite small urban populations.²⁷⁵ The literate semi-public sphere was gradually expanding and transforming throughout these periods in Sweden, depending greatly on the social and economic climate of the region. The *Posttidningar* was part of the transition towards a gradually more democratic and open public sphere. The readership was allowed into the purview of the state and could read news items that were presented in conversational terms, creating an image of overhearing certain matters of the state and international sources. The readership of the *Posttidningar* did not yet form a full public sphere that was totally critical of the autocratic state; the *Posttidningar* instead connected the readership to common knowledge and loyalty to the king and formed a semi-public sphere in conversation with the Swedish Royal Chancellory, the Swedish king and other official voices, including the image of the other.

²⁷⁴ Colley, 1996, p. 57–58.

²⁷⁵ Burke, 2009, p. 361.

Although the publication is not classified as a part of the “free” press in this era, it was part of the mass media network that informed the Swedish public of international events. This was a tool used to create the desired European perspective the state wanted the readership to have. The *Posttidningar* more accurately reflected Sweden's changing position in the region in regards to communication obstacles in addition to economic or territorial barriers. The state selected and reformed newsworthy items to create the perception of Europe they wanted their population to embrace. The language that motivated these images of enemies and allies is directed towards a semi-public sphere that is induced into participating, albeit from a distance, in the actions of the state by reading the printed material. The ethnicity of the common peasant was not of concern and could only be inferred through referencing the sources position in a place distant from the Swedish centre. Instead, the loyalties formed through the common threat and shared mutual information are emphasized to indicate an aspect of identity. Although the state decided what to publish and how it should be framed, the introduction of information from a broader European context established the outlook the readership had towards some aspects of surrounding populations and states.

Although other stories and literature point to overtly negative and prejudicial feelings about Russians at the time, as described through the concept of *rysskräck*, these collective fears and prejudices were not necessarily driving forces behind a collective Swedish unity in the way Great Britain had France. Nor were Denmark and Poland treated in the same manner. This thesis does not question the existence of the overall threat from Russia existing and the prejudices associated with it for a long period of time; it instead qualifies that profoundly static views of hate and prejudices could not exist before the evolution of a modern and independently strong nation state.

Before the nineteenth century, Sweden could not afford to treat the surrounding states as collective enemies as a measure of absolute policy. It was only during times of war and direct encounters were negative descriptions important in maintaining the war effort and sustaining the collective support through a public motivated by communication from the state. Sweden could not afford to treat groups with systematic and unchanging hatred or fear during this period, due to Sweden's difficult economic and political climate following the collapse of the empire and autocracy.

An overall emphasis on the negative aspects of Russia and the other groups was not displayed over these time periods to create and emphasize Swedish identity, outside of war-time scenarios to bolster feelings of loyalty. The primary results point to a shifting alliance mechanism, explaining enemy forces as temporary but direct threats, while the larger group is treated more openly for purposes of negotiation. The image of Europe created for the evolving literate semi-public sphere in Sweden is one of changing alliances. Contrasting these European states shows how the Swedish state and ruling elite

desired themselves to be perceived within that system. As a small state, Sweden could not demonize another state in the same way Britain could portray France through religious depictions in Colley's model. Although they could be at war with one group for a long period of time, Sweden's diplomatic survival depended on a flexible outlook by its population to support wars or alliances with former enemy groups in the future. The threat from Russia and the prejudices attached to it appears unique because, among other things, it was a rising power during the early eighteenth century while Sweden was declining.

7.1 Questions for future research

The larger questions raised about early modern communication and nationalism shows many questions for further study. There are opportunities for further research in exploring how enemy groups were treated in the early modern press and other forms of communication. This is especially true for groups that had long-standing rivalries over territory and religion. One of the limitations of this study was the limited selection of the three enemy groups at the start of the Great Northern War. If more states, regions and non-Christian groups are included, the creation of a common, European perspective is emphasized to include groups that did not necessarily have defined borders. The significance of other, powerful states can be gauged by comparing their changing importance over time, affected by other wars that did not directly include Sweden.

Expanding to other conflicts and including material from the free press can also show the importance of the idea of the transforming semi-public sphere. A larger readership and more a more literate public can be contrast to these earlier periods to show how it strengthens over time. Published opinions and disagreements with a non-autocratic regime are stronger in later periods. Material from the Seven Years War, for example, could show if patterns of identification of the enemy during battle times and unity through the leadership of the state continued into the era of the emerging free press in Sweden.

8. Appendix

8.1 City names chart

Modern name	Early Swedish name	Other
Bila Tserkva	Bialacerkiew	Biała Cerkiew (Polish)
Bratslav	Braclaw	Braclaw (Polish)
Elbląg	Elbing	–
Grańsk	Danzig	–
Hamina	Fredrichshamn	Fredrikshamn (Modern Sw.)
Hrodna	Grodno	–
Istanbul	Constantinople	–
Jelgava	Mitau	–
Kaliningrad	Königsberg	–
Klaipeda	Memel	–
Koporye	Caporie	–
Kyiv	Kiow	Kiev (Russian)
Liepaja	Libau	–
Lithuania	Littoven/Littouen	Litauen (Modern Sw.)
Lviv	Lemberg	Lwów (Polish)
Wilda, Poznań	Wilda	–
Rakvere	Wesenberg	–
Romny	Romne	–
Tartu	Dorpat	–
Toruń	Thorn	Torń (Kashubian)
Turku	Åbo	–
Vilnius	–	Wilno (Polish)
Vienna	Wien	–
Zemun	Semlin	–

8.2 Changing titles of the *Posttidningar* (1687–1834)

Years	Title (Abbreviation)
1687–1705/1706–1716	<i>Ordinarie Stockholmske Posttidinder/Posttidender (OSP)</i>
1717–1718	<i>Lundska Posttjender/Lundska Lördages Courant</i>
1720/1721	<i>Stockholmske/Stockholmske Post-Tidender (SPT)</i>
1722–1734/1735–1820	<i>Stockholmske Post-Tidningar/Stockholms Post-Tidningar (SPT)</i>
1821	<i>Stockholms Post- och Inrikes Tidningar (SPoIT)</i>
1822–1834	<i>Post- och Inrikes Tidningar (PoIT)</i>

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Stockholmske/Stockholmske Post-Tidender: **1720**: No. 1–53; **1721**: No. 2, 9, 12–14, 16, 18, 22–24, 26, 27, 34, 44; **1722**: No. 2, 5, 9, 11–13, 16, 17, 18, 20–23

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