

Stralsund and Stade: Two “Swedish” fortification towns and their population in the early 18th century

by Stefan Kroll, Rostock/Germany

Papers written about fortified towns in early modern times – the 16th to the 18th century – often dealt with the military use of these towns or town-planning aspects. Both are important and exciting fields as for example research by Kersten Krüger on the northern German towns of Oldenburg and Ratzeburg has shown. However, the question what it meant for the inhabitants to live in a fortified town was rarely asked. As nearly all fortified towns in early modern times were also garrison-towns, the town’s population lived closely with soldiers – the closeness was intensified by the fact that many soldiers had their wives and children with them. My paper wants to examine this connection through the examples of the northern German cities Stralsund and Stade which were under the rule of the European great power Sweden for longer periods of time in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Stralsund was a territorial town inside the province of Swedish-Pommerania since the end of the Thirty Years’ War, that was at the same time developed into a strong fortress by the sovereign. Since the last quarter of the 17th century, there was also periodically an infantry regiment stationed inside the fortifications which lead to Stralsund’s additional function as garrison-town. Economically, trade with towns situated further away dominated, mainly the export of grains and grain products over the Baltic Sea. The town of Stade, situated at the lower part of the river Elbe had long lost its former importance as a distant trade town. When it was also brought under Swedish rule in 1645, the Swedish Crown declared the old *Hanse*-town capital and place of administration for its newly acquired province of Bremen-Verden. In the further course of the 17th century, the town was developed into the most important fortress of the territory and quartered with a strong garrison. In contrast to this, the town was of only subordinate economical importance. The garrison included, both towns were of considerable size for the time – in Stade around 1700 lived approximately 6,000 to 7,000 men, women and children, in Stralsund lived at the same time supposedly a little more than 10,000 people.

The political, economical and social development of both towns was to a high degree determined by the politics of the Swedish crown. This applies especially to the time of the Great Nordic War that began in 1700. The war's turning-point (and end) was for both towns the Swedish garrison's surrender (in Stade 1712, in Stralsund 1715). Sweden subsequently continued its war against Russia, Denmark and the Electorate of Saxony in other places but it had practically ended in Bremen-Verden and Swedish-Pommerania. The time period from 1700 to 1715 is for the question of this paper especially informative and will essentially be the time frame of the following exposition.

The fortress character of both towns presented their inhabitants undoubtedly with a number of restrictions and disadvantages. First of all there is to mention that the development of a fortress needed much space. Extensive expropriations of land took place in particular at the borders of the towns and in the direct fore fields of the existing defence constructions while houses and utilisation buildings were torn down. Gardens and pasture-land which townspeople had owned to cultivate fruit and vegetables to a small extent or to raise small cattle were also expropriated.

What this meant for an affected family in the face of the Swedish government's notorious lack of money is shown in the example of Gesche Warnke, townswoman of Stade. She was a copersmith's widow and had to take care of her seven children. Her husband had built four small dwelling-houses at the Schiffergate to take in rent and earn money for his family. The development of the fortifications in this area made it necessary to tear down the houses. Gesche Warnke fought for compensation for many years before she died in 1710 at the age of nearly 80. At this time she was impoverished and pressed hard by creditors. Overall, the Swedish government owed nearly the complete sum of 13.000 Reichsthaler that a special commission had estimated in losses. The loss of municipal property was on the other hand at least partially compensated. The development of fortifications demanded at all times large amounts of money which in Stade and Stralsund had to be paid partly through taxes by the inhabitants.

Active participation in the defence of their town was in the early 18th century only necessary for the townspeople of Stade, as well as Stralsund in emergency situations. Stade alarmed its 100 people strong militia in 1700 because of the threat of war. The militia had to take up their

posts at the four gates of the town and on each of the fortifications. When the town was bombarded by the Danes in 1712, a higher officer, five sergeants and 55 men of the militia which had been alarmed again, took to their heels. They were in good company of the numerous Swedish garrison deserters to the besiegers. In Stralsund in 1715 the council ordered 64 inhabitants to form militia units. In spite of obstinate resistance in the beginning, 20 journeymen and servants had the questionable pleasure of participating as militiamen in the defence of the occupied fortress. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their further fate.

The consequences of occupation and bombardment by enemy armies were especially grave for the inhabitants of the fortresses Stralsund and Stade. Even before the first siege of Stralsund in August of 1711, all inhabitants of the three suburbs *Knieperdamm*, *Tribseer Damm* and *Frankendamm* had become homeless. Tearing down houses and barns as well as devastating fruit-growing areas and fields caused damage that was later calculated to 22.000 Reichsthaler. On top of this, different houses at the border of the inner-city fortifications were torn down for security reasons by the Swedish defenders. Four years later the situation became really serious for the townspeople – they had to give up first their garden land, in order for new fortifications to be built in front of the town's gates. Then many of them had to work extremely hard, together with farmers and soldiers, in the development of these fortifications. Nevertheless, in mid-July of 1715, the town was completely enclosed by Saxonians, Russians and Danes. The mood kept on sinking, especially since the Swedish king Karl XII. who himself lead Stralsund's defence, rarely took the townspeople's needs into consideration. As he apparently expected a bombardment, Karl had all houses at the wall and powder towers torn down, mainly to prevent conflagration. The council followed the king's orders only after much hesitation. For example, the pavement was not opened up in all streets as demanded by the king but only in those he used to ride through on a regular basis. Even after four months of siege there was no serious lack of food in the surrounded fortress as supplies could still come via the sea. On the other hand, there was soon a shortage of firewood and the military started to tear down houses inside the town as well. Good wood was used in the development of fortifications; bad wood was used as firewood. Bombardment finally began on 2 December. The First Mayor asked Karl XII. on his knees to surrender without fighting but he asked in vain. Several fires started, mostly in the southern part of town; yet the resistance of the defenders was strong, especially since their king was present. Only one week before Christmas, food supplies were nearly exhausted because no transport had reached the town for 14 days. Karl XII. realised the hopelessness of the situation and gave General Lieutenant von Dücker per-

mission to surrender. The king left the town at the sound in the night of 21 December 1715 on board of a small yacht. Compared to the Brandenburg bombardment in 1678 damage to the town was not that grave, yet many townspeople had to completely rebuild their livelihood.

Stade had had a similar fate already in the summer of 1712, when the Danish army began its deployment around the town. While most of the Swedish provincial government had retreated to Bremen on 21 July, Swedish troops had already torn and burned down houses and farms in the surrounding area. Affected most of all was the village Campe with 75 buildings. Through the opening of channels two thirds of the land in front of the town's gates was flooded – hoping to stop or at least slow down the enemy. The bombardment of Stade lasted from 29 August until 7 September. During this time the inhabitants of Stade revolted and demanded – at first in vain – that the town was to be surrendered without fighting. The surrender took place on 7 September. The town council determined that 83 houses and 13 booths were destroyed completely, another 85 houses and four booths stayed uninhabitable.

The two towns' most severe population losses during the Great Nordic War were not caused by direct war action but by the outbreak of the "plague". In Stralsund in 1710 and 1711 the epidemic cost presumably several thousand lives. In Stade supposedly 650 people or 20% of the civilian population died. The question here is if there was a direct connection with the fortress character of the towns. It is likely though that it was soldiers who in both cases imported the viruses.

Let us move to another area, urban economy. Stralsund's isolation for over four years, from 1711 to 1715, had considerable economical consequences. Due to a hostile blockade Stralsund's maritime trade came to an almost complete stop, which led to severe financial losses for a large part of the population that depended directly or indirectly on it and severely worsened the situation for the poor. Although the siege of Stade in 1712 only lasted for a few weeks, the economical consequences were considerable for the population, as the town was shut off for several weeks after the outbreak of the epidemic. During this time all trade traffic came to a halt.

Quarrels between craftsmen and soldiers were common in Stade and in Stralsund, as well as in all early modern garrison-towns that have so far been examined more closely. While mainly the guilds – in northern Germany called *Ämter* – obstinately represented their mem-

bers' interests and fought non-members working in their trade, the bad salary and the necessity to take care of wives and possibly children made it inevitable for many soldiers to find additional work. For many of them it was an advantage that they had learned a trade before becoming soldiers. The largest group among soldiers was usually the clothing and textile trade – shoemakers, clothmakers and also tailors. In 1707 the Stade guild tailors complained to the Swedish government about around 80 people who were interfering with their support by making clothing in their homes. Ten of these *Bönhasen*, as they were called, would employ more journeymen than all 14 guild masters (*Amtsmeister*) in Stade combined. Another problem was caused by the soldiers who came from out of town to work on the fortifications. Some of them would not do the work they had been hired for but only work on their own account, the guild tailors complained. As the soldiers who belonged to the garrison troops were in principle allowed to work, though without a workshop, for Swedish officers and non-townspeople, it was difficult for the townspeople of Stade to prove and have violations prosecuted. Complaints also came regularly from the council musicians of Stade who complained that the garrison's musicians disputed their right to play at weddings.

Similar examples could be brought in large numbers from Stralsund. As strongest countermeasure the guilds could request so called "*Bönhasenhunts*", in which action was taken against craftsmen who did not belong to a guild. Violent disputes were common: In April of 1702, the tailor master Michel Höfener was shot by a Swedish soldier after he had tried in vain with other guild tailors from Stralsund, as well as with a servant of the council and a sergeant, to gain access to the house of the "*Bönhase*". Apart from illegal occupational activities there were legal work opportunities for many soldiers of the Stralsund and Stade garrisons in the building trade where they could be employed as unskilled workers or handy men.

Everyday life presented the people living in Stralsund and Stade not only with the usual arguments and quarrels, but also with a kind of social conflict that emerged, in its problematic nature, only in closely developed fortified and garrison-towns that had (yet) no barracks: We are talking about the omnipresent disputes between townspeople and the soldiers billeted in their homes. For this, one has to have a look at the conditions in Stade: Already in a purely numerical description the dimension of the burden of billeting becomes evident: In May of 1700 the around 500 households that were obligated to take in soldiers had to provide housing for 3.300 people. In other years the garrison was staffed with even more people. It has to be taken into consideration that the soldiers often had their wives and children with them. As the

Swedish employees and the members of the Council in Stade were exempt from the billeting obligation, the burden was shared solely by the bourgeois households. Aside from housing and storage space, soldiers and their dependants were also to be given firing and light. Quarters were allotted by a so-called *billetier* who was appointed and paid by the Council. This assignment was not a pleasure as the resignation by Hieronymus Eck, dated 2 December 1710, shows. Eck declared he did not want to stay employed as a *billetier*, as he had almost lost his health and also nearly his creditworthiness due to the many offences he had to deal with.

Already during the Swedish time, but more so during Danish rule from 1713 on, investigations on grievances concerning the billeting were carried out. The following main complaints about the soldiers who were billeted in their homes can be deducted from the investigation protocols: rough and sometimes violent behaviour towards the townspeople and their furniture, unreasonable demands of light, firing and other obligations, permanent and continuous cooking and laundry by the soldiers' wives, causing of fire hazards, theft and uncleanliness. In 1714, the turner Hans Ahlers, who lived in the Neuen Straße (New Street) complained about the uncleanliness of the soldier who lived in the upper part of his home. As the soldier periodically emptied his chamber-pot on the floor, right above where Ahlers was sleeping, the contents of the pot had repeatedly run into his bed. Although he had admonished the soldier several times, he had not been able to bring him to his senses. The potter Claus Schacht's wife reported that she had a soldier from the company of Major Wartenberg billeted in her home. The man had first beaten her son and then her on the head with a wooden tankard full of beer until she fell to the ground. The protocol also reports the following: "her ill husband who had just left the bed had heard the tumult above him in the garret, had come in and was beaten severely and tormented by the aforementioned soldier." Her complaints to the responsible officer at the Danish garrison were unsuccessful. On the other hand it cannot be ignored that the soldiers had to suffer equally under the restricted circumstances. A description from 1697 of the spaces members of the artillery had to live in shows that those were often booths, small and dark rooms or attics.

Considering the numerous negative effects the fortress character obviously had for the inhabitants, it cannot be ignored that many of them arose first when both towns got into the focus of the Great Nordic War. For a balanced picture other important aspects must not be overlooked.

The garrisons' members were important consumers for both towns and spent a large portion of their pay in Stade and Stralsund respectively. Both towns had notably many innkeepers and distillery masters – a visit in a pub was part of most soldiers' daily routine. Not only did many disputes and undisciplined behaviour start in the pubs, the simple soldiers also spent a lot of money on alcoholic beverages there. Officers and also higher administration officials on the other hand stimulated the demand for consumer and luxury goods.

Numerous townspeople also profited largely from contracts from the military. The fortifications had to be maintained and developed at all times. Tradesmen of the metal, building and wood trades were in high demand, as well as carriers who transported building materials, and of course handy men and day-labourers. There were also larger new buildings for military use. In Stade, aside from the arsenal, a large provisions store was build. With the beginning of the Great Nordic War in 1700 armament expenses rose rapidly. In the dukedoms of Bremen and Verden the Swedish deployed numerous new infantry and cavalry regiments. The majority of the regiments were mostly at the theatre of war in the east, but the soldiers normally received their equipment and clothing in the dukedoms. As an example: between April and June of 1771 the battalion Vellingk, with about 520 men which was standing in Stade, was equipped for the planned transfer to Poland. Apart from the clothing for 27 carrier labourers, tradesmen in Stade delivered pliers, knapsacks, field kettles, tin bottles, hatchets, rope, whips, saddles, covered wagons, shotgun cases and much more. The total of the contract was worth more than 3.000 Reichsthaler, of which more than 50% was paid to citizens of Stade. In another case it cost close to 20.000 Reichsthaler to fit a dragoon regiment of 1.000 men. The merchant Johann Jarcke of Stade delivered sheets and fabric, while buttons and silver accessories came from Hamburg. Andreas von Dadelsen, a tanner master of Stade got a contract for 1.000 dragoon trousers made from leather, as well as underwear with buttons, cords and trimming. Apart from this he had to rework 1.000 pairs of gloves. The military also hired two shoemaker masters from Stade and local tailors. The consequence is obvious: the tradesmen urgently needed journeymen to complete the orders on time. Through this the labour market was stimulated at least for some time. Equipment and aid for the artillery moving out into the field was also ordered. In 1700 it cost more than 5.000 Reichstaler to have transportable war bridges and artillery wagons made. 95% of these were also ordered from merchants and tradesmen in Stade.

After a closer look at the bills that were handed down it quickly becomes obvious that it was often the same merchants and tradesmen who received the contracts. It was even possible to prove that there were very close connections between them and their clients. Especially relations of godparenthood are to mention. While it was usually relatives, neighbours or colleagues who became godparents it happened remarkably often that tradesmen who had business relations with the military chose non-bourgeois godparents for at least one child. Heinrich Hönerlah, a blacksmith living in Stade who worked periodically for the fortification and the artillery, could convince the two fortification officers Drummond and Grünberg, as well as the fortification clerk Reese, to become godfathers at his son Johann Jochim's christening on 21 April 1701. The locksmith Matheis Schölermann also had close connections with his leading clients at the fortification through Grünberg and Reese who were godparents in his family. This shows clearly that not all townspeople were able to profit from the Swedish Crown's orders – it was important to have the right contacts and connections.

The situation in Stralsund was similar to that in Stade. Here it was additionally the grain merchants who were able to do a lot of business with the army which they delivered grain to. The ship carpenters also profited from the rising war economy and from contracts to repair the Swedish fleet. Boatmen from Stralsund were also used to transport men, materials and rations across the Baltic Sea. This could be a lucrative business, but it also involved considerable risks as the following example shows. In the spring of 1704 a convoy of eight merchant ships from Stralsund came into the hands of the enemy while supplying the Swedish fortress Narva. The crews – 39 sailors, helmsmen and their captains – were taken prisoner by Russia. Many came free only after years while two helmsmen lost their lives during the taking of Narva by Russian troops. Altogether the inhabitants of Stralsund profited to a larger degree from the far away war until 1710 than the population of Stade due to the better economical structure. Even during the confinement of the town, lucrative business was possible as the bakers of Stralsund proved, who negotiated in their own favour contracts for baking bread for the military between 1711 and 1715. Between September of 1711 and the end of May 1712 alone they used 435 *Last* (that is about ten to twelve full shiploads) of rye and barley to bake bread for the Swedish soldiers.

The consequences of the war were definitely different for every single town inhabitant. One also has to differentiate between the different phases of the war – a war in the distance could very well contribute to an upturn in economy. But the inhabitants of Stade and Stralsund had to experience painfully that fortified towns often attracted enemy armies. The sieges and bombardments almost always left severe damages, also because in the early 18th century only few fortresses could still resist permanently the artillery which became more and more powerful. Stralsund and Stade are two good examples for this.

The losers of the war were large parts of the less wealthy population for whom it was difficult to earn the bare essentials of their living even in normal years. Other groups were poor people in need, as possibilities for support by charitable foundations and corporations were not there anymore after those had had large losses through missing lease income. Deeply affected were all inhabitants of the suburbs whose houses, stables and gardens were levelled periodically for military reasons when enemy troops approached.

On the other hand there were some professions that would even in times of war obtain profit. Among those were mainly grain traders, bakers, tailors, and carters with good contacts to the military administration, but also innkeepers and distillery masters who profited from the increased consume of the garrison which had been reinforced during the war. Consequences of the war lead in both fortified towns to increased social mobility; the existing differences between poor and rich deepened. Altogether it has to be noted that at least in Stralsund the economic situation of most townspeople collapsed first after the theatre of war had moved in front of the town gates.

The question if the introduction of standing armies and permanent garrisons in the 17th century lead more likely to a militarisation of the town or to an urbanisation of the military can hardly be answered in a meaningful way by looking at the examples of Stralsund and Stade at the beginning of the 18th century. The course of the war had between 1700 and 1715 too much determining influence. The necessities of the war, that were decisively determined by the military decision-makers, showed the urban daily life as much more militarised as during the preceding and most of all as during the following phases of long peace. But the simple equation, war equals militarisation of the town, and peace equals urbanisation of the military could not be made as the system of the standing army could only work if the soldiers had long periods of holidays. However, these holidays were used by many to (temporarily) return to their

often rural homes in order to earn necessary extra income as day-labourers or unskilled workers. In addition, there was the different every day life during the campaigns. All in all the soldier of the early 18th century was at home in many worlds.

Quoted and continuing literature:

Anspruch und Realität. Wirtschaftliche, soziale und politische Entwicklung in Schweden und seinen deutschen Besitzungen im 17. Jahrhundert. 2. Arbeitsgespräch schwedischer und deutscher Historiker in Stade am 18. und 19. Juni 1987. Stade 1988 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Stade, Bd. 8).

Jürgen Bohmbach: Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Stades als Garnisons- und Festungsstadt, in: Volker Schmidtchen (Hrsg.): Sicherheit und Bedrohung. Schutz und Enge. Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung am Beispiel von Festungsstädten – Beispiel Stade – Beiträge zum 6. internationalen Kolloquium zur Festungsforschung, Stade (9.-11.10.1987). Wesel 1987, S. 57-73.

Die Bedeutung Norddeutschlands für die Großmacht Schweden im 17. Jahrhundert. Kolloquium schwedischer und deutscher Historiker in Stade am 25.6.1984. Stade 1986 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Stade, Bd. 3).

Henning Eichberg: Festung, Zentralmacht und Sozialgeometrie. Kriegsingenieurwesen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden. Köln, Wien 1989.

Henning Eichberg: Militär und Technik. Schwedenfestungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden. Düsseldorf 1976.

Henning Eichberg: Zirkel der Vernichtung oder Kreislauf des Kriegsgewinns? Zur Ökonomie der Festung im 17. Jahrhundert, in: Bernhard Kirchgässner/Günter Scholz (Hrsg.): Stadt und Krieg. Sigmaringen 1989 (Stadt in der Geschichte, Bd. 15), S. 105-124.

Beate Engelen: Fremde in der Stadt. Die Garnisonsgesellschaft Prenzlau im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Klaus Neitmann/Jürgen Theil (Hrsg.): Die Herkunft der Brandenburger. Sozial- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Bevölkerung Brandenburgs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Potsdam 2001, S. 113-126.

Holger Th. Gräf: Militarisierung der Stadt oder Urbanisierung des Militärs? Ein Beitrag zur Militärgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit aus stadthistorischer Sicht, in: Ralf Pröve (Hrsg.): Klio in Uniform? Probleme und Perspektiven einer modernen Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit. Köln u. a. 1997, S. 89-108.

Jürgen Kraus: Das Militärwesen der Reichsstadt Augsburg 1548-1806. Vergleichende Untersuchung über städtische Militäreinrichtungen in Deutschland vom 16.-18. Jahrhundert, Augsburg 1980.

Stefan Kroll: Die Pest in Stade 1712 und ihre Opfer, in: Stader Jahrbuch, Bd. 80 (1990), S. 47-67.

Stefan Kroll: Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Stades 1645-1715, in: Jürgen Bohmbach (Red.): Stade. Von den Siedlungsanfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Stade 1994 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Stade, Bd. 17), S. 205-248.

Stefan Kroll: Pommersches Korn für die Armeen Karls XII. Die Versorgung der baltischen Provinzen mit Magazingetreide über die Ostsee während der ersten Hälfte des Großen Nordischen Krieges (1700-1710), in: Studia Maritima, Vol. XI (1998), S. 93-106.

Stefan Kroll: Stade um 1700. Sozialtopographie einer deutschen Provinzhauptstadt unter schwedischer Herrschaft. Stade 1992 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Stade, Bd. 16)

Stefan Kroll: Stadtgesellschaft und Krieg. Sozialstruktur, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft in Stralsund und Stade 1700 bis 1715. Göttingen 1997 (Göttinger Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Bd. 18).

Kersten Krüger: Militär und Stadt – Ratzeburg 1689-1695: Befestigung, Bombardierung und Wiederaufbau, in: ders. (Hrsg.): Europäische Städte im Zeitalter des Barock. Köln, Wien 1988, S. 399-436.

Herbert Langer: Die Anfänge des Garnisonswesens in Pommern (1627-1650), in: Ivo Asmus, Heiko Droste, Jens E. Olsen (Hrsg.): Gemeinsame Bekannte. Schweden und Deutschland in der Frühen Neuzeit. Münster 2003, S. 397-417.

Maren Lorenz: Schwedisches Militär und seine Justiz: Einblicke in das Verhältnis von Rechtsnorm und Alltag in der Garnison Stralsund ca. 1650 bis 1700, in: Ivo Asmus, Heiko Droste, Jens E. Olsen (Hrsg.): Gemeinsame Bekannte. Schweden und Deutschland in der Frühen Neuzeit. Münster 2003, S. 419-439.

Ralf Pröve: Der Soldat in der ‚guten Bürgerstube‘. Das frühneuzeitliche Einquartierungssystem und die sozioökonomischen Folgen, in: Bernhard R. Kroener/Ralf Pröve (Hrsg.): Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Paderborn u. a. 1996, S. 191-217.

Ralf Pröve: Stehendes Heer und städtische Gesellschaft im 18. Jahrhundert. Göttingen und seine Militärbevölkerung 1713-1756. München 1995 (Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte, Bd. 47).

Dorit Schneider: Soldaten in der Stadt. Militär und Gesellschaft in Nauen 1763-1806. Aichach 2003 (magi-e, Bd. 4); [e-text: http://www.magi-e.historicum.net/reihe/magi-e_band_04.html]

Thomas Schwark: Lübecks Stadtmilitär im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte einer reichsstädtischen Berufsgruppe. Lübeck 1990 (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, Bd. 18).

Klaus Schwieger: Militär und Bürgertum. Zur gesellschaftlichen Prägekraft des preußischen Militärsystems im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Dirk Blasius (Hrsg.): Preußen in der deutschen Geschichte. Hanstein 1980, S. 179-199.

Hermann Voges: Die Belagerung von Stralsund im Jahre 1715. Stettin 1922.

Martin Winter: Preußisches Kantonsystem und städtische Gesellschaft. Frankfurt an der Oder im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert, in: Ralf Pröve, Bernd Kölling (Hrsg.): Leben und Arbeiten

auf märkischem Sand. Wege in die Gesellschaftsgeschichte Brandenburgs 1700-1914. Bielefeld 1999, S. 243-265.

Jörg Zapnik: Pest im Ostseeraum während des Großen Nordischen Krieges unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stadt Stralsund (1710 bis 1711). Diss. Phil. (masch.) Universität Greifswald 2004.