

# A Changing Focus

A historiographical analysis on the Swedish Era of Great Power in  
scholarly literature from before 1940 to the modern day

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## Foreword

I have often myself cheering for the underdog, so when I learned that a relatively minor nation like Sweden had managed to become a great power on the European scale I was intrigued. This raised questions on how this was possible, which inspired me to investigate the focus placed on the different aspects behind Sweden's rise to power. This task has been the most immense task I have faced. Working on this thesis was a strenuous process, between looking through a mountain of books filling out my bibliography and reading through countless pages analysing.

First of all, I would like to extend my thanks to my supervisor Stephan Sander-Faes. His feedback and guidance made this task surmountable, and without his expertise and passion for the subject this thesis would not be possible. I also appreciate his willingness to read through my work and offer me guidance whenever I requested it. I would also like to express my gratitude to my fellow students at our master's seminar group. Their feedback and constructive criticism have proved useful. My family and friends also deserve my gratitude for taking my mind off the task from time to time. The importance of these mental breaks cannot be overstated.

Marius Oma Berge

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## Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven er en historiografisk studie av fokuset på individer og hendelser, struktur, Sveriges konflikter med Danmark, i Tyskland og i øst samt de politiske, militære, sosiale og økonomiske aspektene i faglitteratur om Sveriges stormaktstid. Dette fokuset er påvirket av et historiografisk bilde i forandring. Denne masteroppgaven skal analysere dette fokuset i periodene før 1940, mellom 1940 og 1990-tallet og etter 2000. Analysen skal oppnå dette med å investigere fokuset i syv forskjellige litterære verk fra hver periode og sammeligne resultatene. Oppgaven skal oppnå dette gjennom kvalitative, kvantitative og komparative arbeidsmetoder. For oppgaven har jeg dannet en hypotese som forventer å finne et stort fokus på individer og hendelser, konfliktene med Danmark og de politiske og militære aspektene i perioden før 1940, et stort fokus på struktur, konfliktene i Tyskland og de sosiale og økonomiske aspektene i perioden mellom 1940 og 1990-tallet og til slutt et relativt likt fokus i perioden etter 2000, men med et større fokus på konfliktene i øst.

Kort konkludert ser vi at funnene i analysen stemmer stort sett overens med hypotesens forventninger for periodene før 1940 og etter 2000, men at de ikke helt stemmer overens med forventningene for perioden mellom 1940 og 1990-tallet.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Theme, research questions and hypothesis

Throughout most of its history Sweden has been a relatively minor power. However, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Sweden was a great power in the European political picture that controlled large portions of the Baltic coast as well as portions of today's Germany and Poland. This period is known as "stormaktstiden" or the Era of Great Power. Such a period of greatness will naturally become a point of interest in a nation's history, both domestically and internationally. When we think about Sweden during this era, some of the first things that comes to mind is perhaps its great leaders or its military. To quote Jan Glete "Often the focus is simply placed on Gustav II Adolf and Karl XII".<sup>1</sup> However, there are many aspects behind Sweden's rise to power, some of which are often overshadowed, this includes elements such as effective taxation, conscription and use of resources. To understand how Sweden became a great power, we must not only consider the political and military aspects behind their success, but also take into account the social and economic aspects that allowed Sweden to become a major force on the European playing field.

The focus given to the different aspects behind Sweden's Era of Great Power in scholarly literature has changed over time as the historiographical landscape underwent changes. Before the 1940's theories such as the Great Man Theory dominated and the focus on the political and military aspects, as well as the focus on important individuals, was dominant. However, in the following decades the focus changed as historians started prioritising explaining history through structures rather than the actions of important men. As a result, the focus on structure, the social aspect and the economic aspect increase. This increase partly stems from Marxist historiography influencing historians to look at circumstances from below, which reached its apex in the 1960's and 70's, and the increase in influence of other social sciences on history writing in the same period.<sup>2</sup>

In this thesis I will explore these changes in focus in existing scholarly literature centred around the Swedish Era of Great Power. The thesis will analyse three different areas of focus. First it will look at the focus on individuals and events versus the focus on structure. Furthermore, the analysis will consider the geographic focus. The geographic focus will further be split into three geographic areas and look at the focus given to Sweden's conflicts

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<sup>1</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174

<sup>2</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 165-192

in these areas. These areas are Denmark, Germany and the eastern powers such as Russia, Poland and Livonia. Analysing the geographic focus will show us whether the geographic focus changes alongside changes in focus on other aspects. The three different areas I chose to look at were chosen as the conflicts in these areas are the most influential to Sweden's Era of Great Power. Lastly it will look at the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects. These aspects are chosen as it will give us an indication as to whether or not important aspects behind Sweden's rise to power related to the social and economic aspects are overshadowed by a focus on other aspects in existing scholarly literature.

In the analysis we will look at seven varied works from three different time periods in order to achieve a broad perspective. It will be split into scholarly literature from before 1940, from 1940 to the 1990's and from 2000 to today. These periods are selected as World War II serves as a bridge between the historiographical landscape dominated by the focus on individuals and events as well as the political and military aspects and the Cold War period which is heavily influenced by a new-found focus on structure and the social and economic aspects. The modern historiographic picture is fairly similar to the Cold War period, thus the turn of the millennium was selected as the bridge between these periods. Including the period after 2000 in the analysis will allow us to compare the modern focus to the focus in the height of the Cold War period.

The analysis will first look at the focus within the works using qualitative research methods to conclude whether or not a page or section of a work is focused on the aspects we are looking for. It will then use quantitative research methods to analyse the size of the focus is using the number of pages as the variable in order to form a conclusion on how large a focus is within a work. Once the size of the focus is established in the works, the analysis will use comparative research methods to compare the focus in the different works with other works from the same period in order to form a conclusion for the focus within the specific periods. Furthermore, the focus we find in each period will be analysed will be compared to the focus within the other periods. This will allow us to see how the focus changes between the periods. Finally comparing the findings in the periods and the changes to the expectations to the hypothesis I developed for this thesis.

The thesis will cast light over the following research questions: How large is the focus on individuals and events, structure, the conflicts with Denmark, in Germany and in the east as well as on the political, military, social and economic aspects in the three different time

periods? How does the focus change between the periods? How does the changes we find compare to the expectations of the hypothesis?

The hypothesis I developed for this thesis expects a large focus on individuals and events and a small focus on structure in the works from the period before 1940. It also expects there to be a large focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark due to their rivalry. Lastly it expects that works from this period has a large focus on the political and military aspects and a small focus on the social and economic aspects. From the period between 1940 and the 1990's there is an expectation that the focus on structure is larger than the focus on individuals and events. It also expects a large increase in the focus on the conflicts with Germany. It also expects a large focus on the social and economic aspects. The increase in the focus on Germany is expected due to the expected increase in these aspects as well as structure. These factors are expected to drag the focus away from Sweden's rivalry with Denmark. Finally, the hypothesis expects that the modern focus is similar to the focus of the previous period, however less extreme. We still expect a large focus on structure in this period, however, a decrease in focus from the previous period. There is also an expectation that there will be a large focus on the conflicts in the east. This is expected partly due to terms such as fiscal-military states become more common in history writing. Glete lists Sweden as a fiscal-military state, which can be defined as centralized states which funded its military by extracting resources from its society.<sup>3</sup> Sweden's influence in the Baltic increased its economic power, thus the focus on the conflicts for control of the Baltic against powers such as Poland and Russia is expected to increase during this period. There is also an expectation that the focus on the social and economic aspects slightly decrease for the same reason we expect a slight decrease in the focus on structure.

## 1.2 Existing research

As Sweden's Era of Great Power is an important part of Swedish history there is naturally many works of scholarly literature discussing it. This is also the case when it comes to the historiography. There are several historians that have researched the historiography surrounding several aspects of Sweden's Era of Great Power. In historiographical research early Swedish historiography is often noted for its focus on state-building and the political aspect. Melve explains that several leading 19<sup>th</sup> century Swedish historians such as Frederick Ferdinand Carlson, Carl Gustaf Malmström and Clas Theodor Odhner all wrote works on

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<sup>3</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 1

history relating to the state whilst neglecting social and cultural factors.<sup>4</sup> Jan Glete also notes on the early Swedish historiography. He mentions that domestic power struggles, foreign policy, the military, state finance, economy and social structures were important themes.<sup>5</sup>

Erik Thomson also comments on early Swedish historiography. He states that historians in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries interested in Swedish history produced biographies and works relating to diplomacy and military histories. This could explain why we see works such as *Gustaf II Adolf. Ett trehundraårsminne* by Ålund and *Gustaf Adolf inför tyska kriget* by Nils Ahnlund in this period. Thomson further notes that historians in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century became more interested in the connections between war, state development, social change and economic change. One of these historians was Georg Wittrock who studied how the government influence public opinion as a response to pressure caused by wars.<sup>6</sup> Some historians in this era explained Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Years' War as a religious intervention. Jeremy Murray explains that the religious argument was popular during this period. He notes that Marjorie Bowen in a 1928 essay argued that Gustav II Adolf entered the war in order to protect Protestantism from the Catholic threat. Furthermore, Murray explains that this argument was debated. He states that some historians, such as Gustaf Droysen, favoured an argument of state defence as the reason Sweden intervened.<sup>7</sup>

Glete states that when it comes to Swedish history, the focus is often placed on individuals. Additionally, he states that Swedish historians have been interested in the domestic elements of the Sweden's war participations in the 17<sup>th</sup> century such as economic resources and effective conscription. He also states that historians in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century placed emphasis on Sweden's security policy and military strategy. The military aspect was also emphasised internationally, especially focused on military reform and state formation. Additionally, he states that explanations formed in the 1940's that stated that the struggle for control of trade was a driving force behind the Swedish imperialism.<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey Parker notes that the 16<sup>th</sup> century was not in focus in military historiography before World War II when states that few historians dared to disagree with Sir Charles Oman's statement from 1937 that said the 16<sup>th</sup> century was an uninteresting period in European military history when it was said. Furthermore, he states that few historians today, at the time Parker published his work in

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<sup>4</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 158-159

<sup>5</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 175

<sup>6</sup> Thomson, 2011, p. 270

<sup>7</sup> Murray, 2013, p. 4-5

<sup>8</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-178



1976. Parker credits this shifting focus to Michael Roberts and his lecture “The Military Revolution”.<sup>9</sup>

Erik Thomson also notes the increased emphasis on Sweden as a military state and the military revolution. He states that Swedish historians have described Sweden as a military state after Michael Roberts’ 1956 lecture. This military state demanded wars which in turn demanded resources which impacted the political, social and economic structure of the state. Thompson goes on to explain that research on early modern Sweden in the 1970’s and 1980’s was focused on the military state and its consequences on the social structure and economy. He mentions that Sven A. Nilsson and several of his students studied the war-finances of the military state and how they shaped Sweden’s goals. Thomson also notes that historians such as Johan Holm researched the estate of the peasantry during this era and recognises the peasant’s importance in Sweden’s rise to power.<sup>10</sup> Lars Edgren and Lars Olsson also note the increased focus in social factors during this period. Although not directly linked to the Era of Great Power, they state that interest in labour history could be traced back to the 1920’s at universities in Sweden.<sup>11</sup>

Glete explains that in the 1990’s there was an emphasis on the idea that Sweden and its society was part of a feudal system and that the driving force behind Sweden’s wars was the struggle over social surplus from the peasant society.<sup>12</sup> The idea of a military state was also in debate in recent decades. Thomson notes that more recent historians have changed the focus surrounding the military state. He explains that newer research is focused on the foundations the military state was built upon. This includes foundations that can be traced back to before the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the time of Gustav Vasa. He also notes that more recent research has taken an interest in the interaction between the Swedish rulers and the people.<sup>13</sup>

These are some examples of comments made on the historiography surrounding Sweden’s Era of Great Power by historians. Overall, existing research on Swedish historiography on this period has been in change throughout the periods where there are several major changes taking place in the decades after World War II. The comments indicate that there is a large focus on the political and military aspects throughout the periods. We also see an increase in the number of historians who factor in the social and economic aspects after 1940. The

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<sup>9</sup> Parker, 1976, p. 196

<sup>10</sup> Thomson, 2011, p. 270-271

<sup>11</sup> Edgren & Olsson, 1989, p. 69

<sup>12</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-178

<sup>13</sup> Thomson, 2011, p. 271-272

comments also indicate an increase in the focus on structure during this period as ideas such as Sweden as a military state that demanded resources which impacted several elements of the domestic structure became more discussed.

### 1.3 Definitions

Some of the terms used in the analysis needs to be defined in order to make the analysis of the focus clearer. One of these terms is individuals and events. The large focus on individuals and events before 1940 was largely driven by the great man theory. This theory stems from the Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle which stated that history was a collection of biographies belonging to great men.<sup>14</sup> This is essentially the idea that history is driven by the actions of important men. In this thesis the term refers to chapters or sections of a literary work that includes descriptions of either individuals or events. This is simply done to separate the focus on this from the focus on structure. Structural history is according to Carl Dahlhaus the analysis of historical structures or circumstances instead of describing the sequence of events.<sup>15</sup> In this thesis the term will be used for chapters or sections of works that describe these structures or circumstances rather than simply describing the actions of individuals and events.

In the portion of the analysis looking at the geographic focus, we will as mentioned look at how much focus is given to Sweden's conflicts with Denmark, Germany and the eastern powers in and the years leading up to the Swedish Era of Great Power. By the eastern powers I mean states such as Russia, Poland and Livonia. Descriptions that describe political conflicts, wars and battles between Sweden and the aforementioned states will be considered to determine the focus on these conflicts. The political, military, social and economic aspects are also uncomplicated. The political aspect simply consists of political description. To determine if a description is political, we can use the Cambridge definition of politics which states that it is the activities of government.<sup>16</sup> The military aspect will simply consist of descriptions of wars, battles, armies and other aspects of the military and armed conflict. The social aspect will consist of descriptions of the estates, especially focused on the peasantry, and society. Finally, the economic aspect will consist of descriptions of the economy such as resources, trade and taxation.

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<sup>14</sup> Villanova University, n.d.

<sup>15</sup> Dahlhaus, 1983

<sup>16</sup> Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.

## 2. Methodology and sources

### 2.1 Methodology

In this thesis I used wide array of research methods. As my sources consists of scholarly literature, qualitative research methods have been vital to the thesis. These research methods mostly consist of interpretation of text and text analysis. The purpose of this is to understand what the text truly means.<sup>17</sup> Two of the main qualitative research methods used in this thesis is representation analysis and discourse analysis. Representation analysis is the analysis of linguistic representations. Representations in this context refers to utterances such as descriptions. We can analysis these utterances by asking questions about how something is represented in a text. We would then look at the different descriptions we can find of the subject in the text and come up with a conclusion. Analysing representations also help us understanding a description's meaning in different contexts.<sup>18</sup> This research method is useful for this thesis as it helps me understand which category a description falls under. For example, if I was to come across a description that for instance stated that the swedes experienced great success, we need to understand its context and meaning in order to know if it is a description of a diplomatic success related to politics, a military success, a success for the Swedish peasants or an economic success.

Discourse analysis is also useful research method for this thesis. A discourse can be understood as a pattern or set of rules that bind several representations together to form a larger understanding of an historical subject. In short, a discourse allows us to form facts about the world by combining representations.<sup>19</sup> This method is useful as analysing the focus in different works allows us to form a discourse on the subject by taking into account the representations we find in the different works.

Comparative research methods are also vital for this thesis as comparing the focus in the different periods is a central part of the thesis. When using comparative methods in history writing we can follow a set of functions. One of these functions is the contrasting function. This is the most basic function of comparison and the most useful for this thesis. This function looks at the subjects and compares them using the uniqueness of the subjects in the respective subjects.<sup>20</sup> Essentially this means that we need to look at the subjects we are

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<sup>17</sup> Andresen et al, 2019, p. 107-108

<sup>18</sup> Ryymin, 2018, p. 59-61

<sup>19</sup> Ryymin, 2018, p. 61-64

<sup>20</sup> Melve, 2018, p. 72-73

comparing individually before comparing them. For instance, an example of this relevant to this thesis could be comparing the focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark in a work from the 1920's to the focus in a work from the 1970's. First, we would need to look at the focus in the works individually before we could compare them. Some books are longer than others, therefore if we simply find that there are 22 pages focused on these conflicts in both works without first considering how much of the space in the respective works these pages take up, the comparison would be taken out of context. According to Melve there are also four dimensions of comparison. One of these is the focus on similarities and differences.<sup>21</sup> This dimension is useful to this thesis as it will compare the focus on the different aspects in the three time periods.

To compare the focus on the different aspects in the time periods we will look at the number of pages the focus takes up in the different works. This means that using quantitative research methods will be useful for this thesis. Quantitative research methods are essentially methods that use numbers and statistics. Descriptive statistics is a common quantitative research method in history writing and one that is relevant to this thesis. Descriptive statistics can be defined as the analysis of the summaries of data such as frequency. It can for example be used to test the frequency of a variable in order to test a hypothesis and form a conclusion.<sup>22</sup> This method will be used to see how frequently a focus appears in the different works in the analysis. For example, if we find that the focus on individuals and events appears on 100 of 105 pages in one of the works, we can come up with a conclusion that the work has a large focus on individuals and events.

## 2.2 Source material

For the thesis I will work with scholarly literature. I have selected seven varied works for each of the three time periods I am analysing. There are many works of literature focused on Sweden's Era of Great Power and thus there is a need for delimitation. For each period I have selected three works that are not centred around events or individuals. We need to limit the timeframe for the literature. The works from the period before 1940 need to be published before 1940. There is no set limit for how old the works can be, however, most of the works are from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The exception to this is a work by Voltaire from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For the period between 1940 and the 1990's the works have to be published between 1940 and 1999. Finally, the works from the period after 2000 need to be published

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<sup>21</sup> Melve, 2018, p. 74

<sup>22</sup> Solli, 2018, p. 101

between 2000 and today. It is also preferred that the works are not published in the same years and instead spread out in the respective periods.

There is also a need for delimitation on the theme of the works. The works have to have at least a section of it focused on Swedish history between the dissolution of the Kalmar Union in 1523 and the death of Charles XII in 1718. The Swedish Era of Great Power is typically defined as the period between the coronation of Gustav II Adolf in 1611 and the death of Charles XII in 1718, despite this I have chosen to include the period after the dissolution of the Kalmar Union as many of the foundations of Sweden's rise to power can be found there.<sup>23</sup> In order to have a broad perspective the literature needs to have varied themes. For this reason, I have selected three works that are focused on more general history, such as works that take all of Sweden's history into account, and four works centred around either an event or an individual for each period. There is no geographic delimitation related to the authors, however, there is variety in the authors' nationalities as this broadens the perspective, however, there is no set limit in number of authors for each nationality.

When selecting the works for each period I attempted to select mostly influential works from important historians, however, I also had to take the previously mentioned delimitations into account. The earliest work I selected for the period before 1940 is *History of Charles XII. King of Sweden* by the French philosopher and historian Voltaire from 1755. Voltaire is one of the most influential individuals of the Age of Enlightenment and the history subject.<sup>24</sup> This makes the decision to include one of his works in this analysis easy. This work has been referenced in many works since, for instance in Chricton's work. Crichton's book is *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern: Being a History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Comprehending a Description of These Countries Volume 2* from 1838 is the second work I selected from this period. Crichton was a Scottish historian wrote several biographies and history books from the 1820's. His work was selected as it is an early international work that broadens the analysis' perspective. The third work selected for this period is *Gustaf II Adolf. Ett trehundraårsminne* by the Swedish author Otto Wilhelm Ålund from 1894. This work was selected as it is a part of the Project Runeberg archive. Project Runeberg is a collection of the most significant works from the Nordic countries.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Sweden, n.d.

<sup>24</sup> Cronk, n.d.

<sup>25</sup> Project Runeberg, n.d.

The fourth work selected for this period is *Vor historie: Fra Margrete til Karl XII* by the Danish historian Johan Ottosen. Ottosen was a teacher and known for his textbook. Including his book in the analysis gives us a Danish perspective as well as a look at the focus of a historian focused on teaching. The fifth book I selected is *The Cambridge modern history, volume IV: the Thirty Year's War* by the English historian Lord Acton from 1906. Acton was one of the most prominent English historians during his time and spent a long career at Cambridge University. The American research and educational institution Acton Institute is named after him, and he has also been described as “one of the most learned people of his age”.<sup>26</sup> This made the inclusion of his work an easy decision. The sixth work selected is *Gustaf Adolf inför tyska kriget* by the Swedish historian Nils Ahnlund from 1918. Ahnlund was a prominent historian in Sweden during his time. His works have been referenced in many important works, including as recent works as Peter Wilson’s 2009 book on the Thirty Years’ War. The final work selected for this period is *A history of Sweden* by the American historian Andrew Stomberg. Stomberg graduated from the Gustavus Adolphus College and later in his career he served as head of the Swedish Historical Society and was made a knight of the Order of the North Star by the Swedish king.<sup>27</sup> This made the decision to include his work in the analysis easy.

The first work I selected for the period between 1940 and the 1990’s is *Kampen om Östersjön: Till slutet av segelfartygens tidevarv* by the Finnish historian Eirik Hornborg from 1945. Hornborg has a vast bibliography of works on both Swedish and Finnish history, and this book in particular has been referenced in several later works. One of these works is the textbook *Svensk historia för gymnasiet* by the Swedish historians Sven Tunberg and Ernst Söderlund from 1955, which is the second work I selected for this time period. They were both prominent professors at the time and their textbook offers an insight into the focus within textbooks in Sweden at the time. The third work I selected for this period is the dissertation *Gustav Vasa och Europa: Svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534-1557* by the Swedish historian Sven Lundkvist from 1960. This dissertation has been referenced in several important works since, including in Jan Glete’s *War and The State In Early Modern Europe: Spain, The Dutch Republic And Sweden As Fiscal Military States, 1500– 1660. Historia kring trettioåriga kriget* by the Swedish historian Göran Rystad from 1963 is the fourth work I selected for this period. Rystad was a prominent historian, additionally, other prominent

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<sup>26</sup> Acton Institute, 2010

<sup>27</sup> Klinkenberg, 2004

historians who have been referenced in several important later works such as Micheal Roberts and Sverker Arnoldsson made contributions to the book. These contributions influenced the decision to include the book in the analysis.

The fifth work I selected for this period was *Sweden's age of greatness, 1632-1718* by the English historian Micheal Roberts from 1973. Roberts is one of the most prominent historians in Swedish historiography. Roberts is often credited for the idea of Sweden military revolution which was influential on later works.<sup>28</sup> This alone justifies including one of his works in this analysis. Additionally, other prominent historians made contributions to the book, such as Göran Rystad, Sven Lundkvist, Stellan Dahlgren, Alf Åberg, Kurt Ågren and Sven-Erik Åström. The sixth work I selected for this period is *Sweden: the Nation's History* by the American historian Franklin Scott from 1977. Scott was a professor who specialised on Swedish history. This book offers an insight into the focus on the Swedish Era of Great Power in a book discussing Swedish history from the prehistoric time to the modern day. The final book I selected for this period is *Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* by the British historian Anthony Upton from 1998. Upton was a Professor of Nordic History, and his book offers in insight in the focus in works centred around individuals from this period.

*Skånska kriget 1675-1679* by the Swedish historian Claes-Göran Isacson from 2000 is the first work I selected for the period after 2000. This work gives the analysis an insight in the focus within works centred around events from this period. The second work I selected for this period is *War and The State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal Military States, 1500– 1660* by the Swedish historian Jan Glete from 2002. Glete is one of the most prominent historians in this period and furthered the idea of Sweden as a fiscal-military state.<sup>29</sup> This and some of his other works have been referenced in several later works. Because of this the decision to include his work in the analysis was not difficult. The third book I selected is *A concise history of Sweden* by the British historian Neil Kent from 2008. Kent has had a long career in academics and has served as a council member of the Anglo-Swedish Society.<sup>30</sup> His work was included for the same reason I included Scott's book.

The fourth work I selected for this period is *Stormaktens sista krig: Sverige och stora nordiska kriget 1700-1721* by the Swedish historian Olle Larsson from 2009. As with

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<sup>28</sup> Thompson, 2011

<sup>29</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 1

<sup>30</sup> Scott Polar Research Institute, n.d.

Isacson's book, this book was selected as it offers an insight in the focus within works centred around an event. This book was also referenced in Harrison's *Sveriges stormaktstid* from 2021. The fifth work I selected is *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* by the British historian Peter Wilson first published in 2009. Wilson is a prominent modern historian, and this book is one of the more prominent works from this period. For instance, it was also referenced in Harrison's work. The sixth work I selected is *Napoleon, Charles XII and Hitler Challenge and Calamity in Russia* by the American author Adolf Af Jochnick from 2017. This book's section on Charles XII offers an insight on the focus in recent works centred around an individual. The final book I selected is Dick Harrison's *Sveriges stormaktstid* from 2021. Harrison has published over a hundred works on history and his book offers an insight on the focus within recent works centred around the Swedish Era of Great Power in its entirety.



## 3. Background

### 3.1 Historical background

Since 1397 Sweden had been in a union with Denmark and Norway known as the Kalmar Union. The union was plagued by internal disputes that eventually led to the Bloodbath of Stockholm in 1520 where hundreds of people, including many nobles, who were opposed to the rule of Danish king Christian II were executed. Rather than weakening the Swedish cause, it merely removed the domestic rivals of Gustav Vasa.<sup>31</sup> Gustav Vasa took up arms against Christian II and raised peasants and elites. In 1523 Christian II was deposed as king and the union was dissolved as Gustav was elected king of Sweden. Gustav I was a skilled administrator and with a weakened aristocracy he quickly crushed any revolt against him. The Catholic Church was also weakened and by 1527 under control by the king. With a weakened nobility and clergy, Gustav I was able to drastically improve his finances which funded his armed forces. Between 1534 and 1536 Sweden intervened against Lübeck who had in turn intervened in a Danish civil war known as the Count's Feud. Sweden's success against Lübeck weakened the Hanseatic League's influence of over the Baltic trade which Sweden took advantage of. Gustav I also oversaw several political reforms. He developed Sweden as a centralised territorial state where the armed forces were controlled by the king. He also established the Riksdag, or the parliament, which consisted of four estates. Under both Gustav I and his sons Sweden waged several wars, many of which were fought for control of the Baltics which increased the Swedish influence in the region.<sup>32</sup> This set the stage for the Swedish rise to power.

Many historians consider the coronation of Gustav II Adolf in 1611 as the start of the Swedish Era of Great Power. Under his rule he oversaw several political reforms, such as slowly detaching the royal council from the noble estate. These reforms help Sweden become one of the most administratively efficient states in Europe at the time, which further helped Sweden reform their military and economy. This resulted in efficient taxation and development of industry. The improved economy paved the way for the military reforms. This resulted in Swedes investing in a large navy that made their own shore as well as their Baltic possessions easier to defend. The army was also improved. One of the most important reforms was centred around conscription. Sweden's effective administration allowed for effective conscription, which resulted in a system where the country was divided into

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<sup>31</sup> Kent, 2006, p. 43-44

<sup>32</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 184-186

recruitment districts where each district was to provide the army with a regiment.<sup>33</sup> The conscripts received professional training which gave Sweden a professional permanent army. Together with tactical reforms, such as infantry tactics inspired by the Dutch and shock-cavalry tactics inspired by the Poles, this allowed Sweden to succeed in offensive wars fought on foreign soil. They also developed logistical systems and plundered. This allowed them to soften the financial burdens of the wars on their homeland.<sup>34</sup>

In 1630 Sweden intervened in the Thirty Years' War which had been raging since 1618. The reasons behind the decision to intervene in the war has been discussed by historians ever since. Earlier historians have pointed out religion as a major factor, however, some 20<sup>th</sup> century historians point to the economy as the most important factor. Sweden wanted to gain control over important port cities to control the flow of trade, thus intervening in the war could be advantageous.<sup>35</sup> When the Swedes landed in Germany in July 1630, they were initially successful. The Swedes won several important battles early in their war effort, including the Battle of Breitenfeld in 1631 and the Battle of Lützen in 1632. Not everything went smoothly for the Swedes, however, as disaster struck when Gustav II Adolf was killed at Lützen. Despite his death the Swedish effort continued under the leadership of Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. Despite seeing some success under Oxenstierna, the Swedish effort was weakened after a disastrous defeat at the Battle of Nördlingen in 1634.<sup>36</sup> The war ended in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia. Sweden's intervention was overall a success as Sweden gained control over territories in northern Germany, including Pomerania and Bremen.<sup>37</sup>

After its success in the early half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Sweden had become a great power in Europe. However, its position as a great power was unsustainable as Sweden lacked the resources to sustain an empire for a long period of time.<sup>38</sup> In the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Sweden reached its territorial apex and was further consolidated, eventually becoming absolutist. However, in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Sweden's success would be halted. The Great Northern War and the death of Charles XII in 1718 are often seen as the end of the Swedish Era of Great Power. Charles XII became king in 1697, however, his reign would be defined by the Great Northern War which broke out in 1700. The war was essentially a coalition

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<sup>33</sup> Wilson, 2009, p. 184-187

<sup>34</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 204-205

<sup>35</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 104-105

<sup>36</sup> Wilson, 2009, p. 459-553

<sup>37</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 148-149

<sup>38</sup> Sweden, n.d.

against Sweden and its control of the Baltic Sea led by Russia under Peter the Great. Russia was supported by other powers such as Denmark-Norway and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Charles XII was a skilled military commander and Sweden saw some initial success, however, this was halted after the Swedish army was defeated at the Battle of Poltava in 1709. After this many of the Swedish territories fell. Disaster struck when Charles XII was killed in Norway in 1718. The war ended with the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. Sweden had now lost many of its territory and was no longer the leading power in the Baltic Sea.<sup>39</sup>

### 3.2 Historiographical background

In order to understand the changes in focus over time this thesis will analyse, we need to look at the changing historiographic landscape. Many of the elements of modern history writing can trace its roots back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Renaissance and the 18<sup>th</sup> century Age of Enlightenment. During these centuries ideas such as critical thinking and approaches to sources became more prominent. Many also took a humanist approach to history during this era. A prominent consequence of this was that historians no longer simply included political factors when writing history, social and cultural factors were also often included. Many of the prominent philosophers of this time also wrote history. Some of the most important of these are Montesquieu, Voltaire and David Hume. Montesquieu wanted history writing to be centred around explanations, rather than simply writing about events and individuals. Voltaire on the other hand meant that history writing should have humans in the centre. He criticized historians who only focused on war and wanted history to not simply answer questions, but also raise questions and criticism. He was also critical of the political history writing and meant that economic, social and cultural factors were central. David Hume was a prominent philosopher of the Scottish Enlightenment. According to Hume history often established the foundations for research in other subjects. He also states that history was a science and that it therefore needed principles for selectivity. According to him, history writing consisted of gathering facts and that the historian then needed to select the most important events and leave out the less important. Ideas such as these laid some of the foundations for modern history writing.<sup>40</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the history subject became institutionalized. One of the most important historians of this time was Leopold Von Ranke. His approach to history writing was that the goal of writing history was to find out how history really was. This was in many ways an

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<sup>39</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 341-413

<sup>40</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 89-95

attempt to split the history subject from philosophy. Ranke meant that historians should use qualitative research methods in order to understand periods in history on their own premises. Ranke wanted history to have a more scientific approach to the past, thus criticism of sources was also necessary. Ranke also had a large focus on politics.<sup>41</sup> Thomas Carlyle was another influential figure in 19<sup>th</sup> century historiography. He is credited with the establishment of the Great Man Theory. Carlyle stated that history was merely a collection of biographies belonging to great men. This essentially means that history was shaped by the attributes and actions of important men. This theory was popular in history writing from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup>

After World War II the history subject went through a period of growth and change. One of the largest influences behind these changes was the rise in popularity of Marxist historiography. Marxist historiography influenced many historians to look at history from below, rather than from above. Marxist historiography reached its apex in popularity in the 1960's and 1970's and through this influence social and economic factors were more often considered.<sup>43</sup> These changes in this period are also influenced by a new-found approach for the history subject to the other social sciences. From the 1960's sociology started to influence history writing. Through sociologists such as Barrington Moores society and civilisations came into focus. Moores, for instance, stated that the strength of a population was the most important variable in determining the success of a civilization. Economics would also influence history writing during this period. This led to the advancement of quantitative research methods. Through these methods historians could see historical subjects as quantifiable variables, which was especially prominent in research on historical demography.<sup>44</sup> The influence on these sciences would lead to an increase in the focus on social and economic factors as well as structure.

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<sup>41</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 109

<sup>42</sup> Villanova University, n.d.

<sup>43</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 174-175

<sup>44</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 185-187

## 4. Before 1940

### 4.1 Introduction to the chapter

In this chapter, the thesis will analyse seven works of scholarly literature on the Swedish Era of Great Power published before 1940. In the works from this period, according to my hypothesis, it is expected that there is a dominant focus on individuals and events rather than structural history. The focus on individuals stems from the great man theory, the theory that history can be explained by the actions of great men. The theory was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by historians such as Thomas Carlyle.<sup>45</sup> The works from this period were also mostly published before structuralism was established in history writing. Additionally, it is expected that there is a large focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark due to their rivalry. Lastly it is expected that there is a large focus on the political and military aspects, rather than the social and economic aspects. This is due to these aspects gaining in popularity in the period after 1945, much due to the rise of Marxist historiography and intermingling of history with other social sciences.<sup>46</sup>

For this chapter I have selected seven varied works of scholarly literature. These works were published in the years between 1731 and 1931. The works also vary from biographies to a dissertation and were written by authors with six nationalities. The works are as following; *History of Charles XII. King of Sweden* by the French historian Voltaire from 1731, *Scandinavia, ancient and modern: being a history of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, comprehending a description of these countries* by the Scottish historian Andrew Crichton from 1838, *Gustaf II Adolf. Ett trehundraårsminne* by the Swedish author Otto Wilhelm Ålund from 1894, *Vor historie: Fra Margrete til Karl XII* by the Danish historian Johan Søren Ottosen from 1902, *The Cambridge modern history, volume IV: the Thirty Year's War* the English historian Lord John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton, with the relevant chapters to this analysis written by William Fiddian Reddaway and Adolphus William Ward, *Gustaf Adolf inför tyska kriget* by the Swedish historian Nils Ahnlund from 1918 and lastly, *A history of Sweden* by the American professor Andrew Stomberg from 1931.

### 4.2 Analysis

*History of Charles XII. King of Sweden* is a historical work by the French philosopher and historian Voltaire first published in 1731. Voltaire, whose full name was François-Marie

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<sup>45</sup> Villanova University, n.d.

<sup>46</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 165-192

Arouet, is famous for his contributions to the Age of Enlightenment in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as well as his contributions to literature and history.<sup>47</sup> His book *History of Charles XII. King of Sweden* discusses and describes the life of the Swedish king Charles XII and the Great Nordic War. The book consists of 215 pages.

As the book was first published in 1731 and describes the life of Charles XII, it is natural to assume that the book has a large focus on individuals. When reading through the book, we see that important individuals indeed receives a large focus, as well as events. All of the book's 215 pages consist of descriptions of individuals and events. The events described are also described through individuals, and often in detail. We see this in examples such as "Prince Menzicoff, generalissimo of the Moscovite army, brought him into Poland a body of thirty thousand men, at the time when he not only did not desire their assistance any longer, but even feared it"<sup>48</sup> and "He defended Pomerania, Bremen, and the King's possessions in Germany, as long as he was able, but could not hinder the Saxons and Danes united, from passing the Elbe, and besieging Stade, a strong town near that river in the dutchy of Bremen".<sup>49</sup> Voltaire uses such descriptions throughout the book. There is no evidence that suggests that Voltaire takes use of structural history, and consequently the focus on individuals and events is dominant.

The Great Nordic War was the prominent event taking place during the reign of Charles XII, thus it can be expected that Sweden's conflicts in the east receives the most prominent focus in Voltaire's work. As the book is from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is also expected that Sweden's rivalry with Denmark also receives a fair amount of focus. As the book does not contain chapters with specific geographic focuses, we must look at the pages themselves. By doing this we see that the conflicts with Denmark indeed receives a fair amount of focus.

Approximately 40 of the book's 215 pages mention, discuss or describe issues related to Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. Several German states were involved in the Great Nordic War, and so there should also be a focus on Sweden's conflicts with them. Perhaps surprisingly, the focus on the German states is larger than the focus on Denmark.

Approximately 70 pages mention issues related to these states. When it comes to the eastern states, such as Poland, Livonia and Russia, there is a large focus. Over 150 of the 215 pages mention issues related to these states.<sup>50</sup> This majority focus on the eastern states seems

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<sup>47</sup> Cronk, n.d.

<sup>48</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 82

<sup>49</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 170

<sup>50</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 1-215

surprising, however, considering the book's focus on the life of Charles XII it is natural. These states were some of the more important belligerents in the Great Nordic War, and the war was the most influential event of his reign.

As the book was first published in 1731 and discusses the life of Charles XII and the Great Nordic War, it is expected that the focus on the political and military aspects is dominant. When reading through the book we see that that is indeed the case. Descriptions of issues related to the political and the military aspects are found throughout the book. This includes descriptions of for instance political events, government, wars and battles. These descriptions tend to be detailed. Examples such as "The Elector of Brandenburg, who had acquired the title of King of Prussia, without any increase of power, durst not express his disgust at seeing the King of Sweden so near his dominions"<sup>51</sup> and "At day-break the Swedes appeared out of their trenches, with four iron cannons for their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp with about three thousand men; and four thousand remained with the baggage"<sup>52</sup> show this. This focus can consistently be found. This dominant focus on military and politics leaves little room for the social and economic aspects, however, there are a handful of descriptions of issues related to these aspects. For instance, there are descriptions of the peasants and their status on approximately 10 pages, "There the peasant sows, not for himself, but for his lord, to whom he and his land, as well as his manual labours belong"<sup>53</sup> is an example of such a description. When it comes to the economic aspect, there are a similar number of descriptions. For instance, we see descriptions of taxes in 5 pages, for example "Whoever had any silk in their cloaths, or wore peruques, or gilded swords, were taxed; and there was a great rate for hearth-money".<sup>54</sup> The focus on these aspects is almost negligible as these descriptions are few and far in between, and not in great detail.

In short, Voltaire's book has an expectedly dominant focus on individuals and events, rather than structural history. Also as expected, there is a fair amount of focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. Perhaps surprisingly, however, there is a larger focus on the conflicts with the German states, and an even larger focus on the conflicts with the eastern powers. This focus, however, can likely be explained by the book's intention to discuss the Great Nordic War. The focus on the political and military aspects are expectedly dominant,

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<sup>51</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 57

<sup>52</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 115

<sup>53</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 38

<sup>54</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 195

however, there are a few descriptions related to the social and economic aspects as well. All in all, Voltaire's work is mostly in line with my hypothesis.

*Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern: Being a History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Comprehending a Description of These Countries Volume 2* is a book in two volumes published in 1838 by the Scottish historian Andrew Crichton. Crichton was educated at the university of Edinburgh and spent his early career preaching and teaching. In the 1820's Crichton wrote several biographies and eventually started writing history, such as "History of Arabia" in 1833.<sup>55</sup> The book is a description of the history, culture and societies of the Scandinavian countries from the earliest inhabitants to the modern age. The book includes 145 pages relevant to this analysis.

The first three chapters of the second volume are focused on the period around the Swedish Era of Great Power. In the table of contents Crichton describes the chapters using keywords. Most of these keywords refer to important individuals and events described in the specific chapters.<sup>56</sup> This is an indication that Crichton has a large focus on individuals and events, rather than structural history. When diving into these chapters we see that descriptions of events take up most of the space. These descriptions are often in detail, showcased in examples such as "On the first charge, they were received with a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery from the trenches: but they pressed forward with resistless intrepidity, passed the high road, carried the batteries, and disperse the enemy with their own cannon".<sup>57</sup> Such detail is consistent in descriptions of events, especially battles, throughout these chapters. Crichton also focuses on individuals and their actions. Similarly, to events, descriptions of individuals take up a large portion of the chapters, also often in detail. This is exemplified in descriptions such as "The degenerate son of Gustavus had now, by his follies and crimes, completed the measure of his misfortunes".<sup>58</sup> There is little evidence that suggests that Crichton takes use of structural history in these three chapters, especially the parts concerning Sweden.

As the book discusses Swedish, Danish and Norwegian history, it is natural to assume that Sweden's conflicts with Denmark receives much of the focus. These conflicts are mentioned several times in the descriptions of the relevant chapters in the table of contents, suggesting that they are important parts of the chapters.<sup>59</sup> Descriptions of the Swedish-Danish rivalry

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<sup>55</sup> Stephen, 1888, p. 86

<sup>56</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 5-6

<sup>57</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 66-67

<sup>58</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 29

<sup>59</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 5-6



appear throughout the chapters and are often described in detail. This is shown through examples such as “Frederick entered into an alliance with Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, the declared object of which was to drive the Swedes out of Livonia, and compel them to renounce their claims to any part of Norway or the Danish provinces beyond the Sound”.<sup>60</sup> Such descriptions are common in the book, signalling that Crichton finds Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark important. In total the focus on the conflicts with Denmark take up approximately 65 of the 145 pages.

When we look at the keywords in the table of contents, we see that Sweden’s conflicts in Germany are not important in chapters I and III, but take up a large portion of chapter II, which is the chapter covering the Thirty Year’s War.<sup>61</sup> The conflicts in Germany takes up the majority of the focus in the second, but there is little mention of them in the other chapters.<sup>62</sup> This is likely a result of the Thirty Year’s War’s impact on the geopolitical landscape. The conflicts in Germany not being mentioned besides this could suggest that Crichton does not find them important. In total, these conflicts take up about 35 pages. Sweden’s conflicts in the east are mentioned in the descriptions of all three chapters.<sup>63</sup> Within the chapters these conflicts are described similarly to the conflicts with Denmark, although not as often and in as great detail. It is however clear that Crichton recognizes their importance to the Swedes to some degree, shown in examples such as “Gustavus was anxious to turn his whole attention to the war in which he was then engaged with the countries east of the Baltic”.<sup>64</sup> These conflicts take up a fair amount of the focus in chapter I and II. Chapter III, however, has a larger focus on the Swedish conflicts with Russia, which takes up a large portion of the chapter.<sup>65</sup> In total the conflicts in the east take up around 56 pages.

The table of contents also tell us that the political and military aspects receive the majority of the focus as the majority of the keywords used to describe the chapters refer to political events and military conflicts.<sup>66</sup> Throughout the chapters this majority focus is consistent. Much of the space is occupied by descriptions of political event, wars and battles. These descriptions are often in detail. Such descriptions are exemplified by examples such as “The pacification by which it was terminated, was the celebrated treaty of Munster, or peace of

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<sup>60</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 25

<sup>61</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 5-6

<sup>62</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 50-105

<sup>63</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 5-6

<sup>64</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 46

<sup>65</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 106-157

<sup>66</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 5-6

Westphalia, the preliminaries of which were signed at Hamburg so early as 1641, although it was not finally conclude until the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1648”<sup>67</sup> and “Duke Bernard of Weimer was posted with the German cavalry on the left wing, and on the right the Swedes were led on by the king in person, in order to excite the courage of the two nations by mutual rivalry”.<sup>68</sup>

When it comes to the social and economic aspects there are no references to them in the table of contents, signalling that Crichton does not focus on them. When reading through the chapters we see that there are few descriptions of the social aspect, especially in regard to Sweden. However, there are a few, for example “To encourage agricultural industry, he absolved peasants and farmers from the obligations of supplying the government with horses and carriages”.<sup>69</sup> We see such examples concerning Sweden on 8 pages. The focus on the economic aspect is similar. There are few descriptions of economic affairs, however there are some, for instance “He concluded a treaty of commerce with the Dutch, and established a society of trade at Stockholm, every subscriber to which advanced certain sums to the crown, on being released for the space of three years from all taxes, duties, and imposts”.<sup>70</sup> Such examples concerning Sweden are found on 13 pages. Overall, it is clear that the focus on the political and military aspects is dominant.

We can conclude by saying that Crichton’s work is in line with my hypothesis. There is a large focus on important individuals and events, rather than structural history. There is also a large focus on Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark. However, it can be argued that this focus can be explained by the book’s intentions to describe Scandinavian history as a whole.

Crichton focus on the different aspects we are interested in is also in line with my hypothesis. The focus on the political and military aspects is dominant, and the social and economic aspects are for the most part disregarded, with the exception of a few descriptions.

*Gustaf II Adolf. Ett trehundraårsminne* is a biography on the Swedish king Gustaf II Adolf written by the Swedish author Otto Wilhelm Ålund. Ålund received his doctorate in philosophy in 1851, however he is most known for his works about geography and history.<sup>71</sup> In 1894 his book *Gustaf II Adolf. Ett trehundraårsminne* was published. As the title suggests it is a biography on Gustaf II and was published on the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birth. The biography takes up events in his life and Swedish history in the years between his birth in

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<sup>67</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 74

<sup>68</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 66

<sup>69</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 47

<sup>70</sup> Crichton, 1838, p. 47

<sup>71</sup> Gustavsson, n.d.

1594 and his death at the battle of Lützen in 1632. The book includes 39 chapters that take up 345 pages.

As the title suggests, the biography has a large focus on the acts on individuals. It is natural for a biography to have a large focus on the actions of the person it focuses on. In this case this is also true as the large focus on Gustaf II Adolf is persistent throughout the biography. Examples such as «Gustav Adolf, hvars önskan att mäta sig med fienden säkerligen var lika stor som Johan Georgs».<sup>72</sup> are persistent. Additionally, there is a large focus on events. By looking at the table of contents we see that several chapters are based on events that took place within the biography's time frame. Some notable examples of this include the chapters about the battles of Breitenfeld and Lützen.<sup>73</sup> This focus on individuals and events is found throughout the Ålund's work, and there is no evidence that suggests he has a focus on structural history.

Based on the fact that the biography is based on the life of Gustaf II Adolf it is obvious that the main geographic focus of the biography is on Germany as his victories during the Thirty Years War are some of the most famous events he took part in. The war takes up about 296 of the 345 pages in the biography, which confirms it is the primary focus. The wars in the east on the other hand have 4 chapters about them. In total these chapters take up 14 pages, beyond these chapters there are a few descriptions, and in total the focus takes up 24 pages, significantly fewer pages than the Thirty Years War. Perhaps surprisingly, there are no chapters dedicated to the conflicts with Denmark, however, we can find some descriptions of these conflicts. We can find these descriptions on 9 pages.<sup>74</sup>

The biography's table of content also makes it clear that that the political and military aspects play a large role. By looking at the chapters we can see that they are mostly named after political and military events. Throughout the book Ålund describes the political picture and explains events. He also includes a number of details about the military, for example he mentions "Men då, som vi skola se, den sachiska hären snart blef gagnlös, kan man med skäl säga, att den egentliga striden vid Breitenfeld utkämpades mellan 22,000 på den svenska och 32,000 på den kejserliga sidan».<sup>75</sup> In this example Ålund mentions the number of soldiers on each side at the battle of Breitenfeld. Throughout the biography detailed descriptions like this

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<sup>72</sup> Ålund, 1894, p. 158

<sup>73</sup> Ålund, 1894

<sup>74</sup> Ålund, 1894, p. 1-345

<sup>75</sup> Ålund, 1893, p. 159-160

can be found. The social and economic aspects receive less focus from Ålund, although we can find examples of descriptions of issues related to both aspects, however there are no chapters dedicated to them. Descriptions of issues related to the social aspect can be found on 15 pages. “Sannerligen, hvad den svenske och finske bonden under dessa år led och offrade för fäderneslandet och den älskade konungen är mer än med ord beskrivas kan, en storhet som Sveriges häfder sent skola glömma”<sup>76</sup> is one such example. Lastly, we find descriptions related to the economic aspect on 31 pages, including examples such as “I Wallenstein plan låg att sedan Danmark var kufvadt för kejsarens räkning bemäktiga sig Öresund och sålunda behärska hela Östersjöhandeln”.<sup>77</sup> It is clear that the political and military aspects receive the vast majority of the focus.

To conclude Ålund’s focus on individuals and events rather than structure is in line with my hypothesis. When it comes to his geographic focus, we see that the focus on the conflicts in Germany is vastly larger than the conflicts in Denmark and in the Baltics. The conflicts in the Baltics are mentioned in several chapters, there are no chapters dedicated to the conflicts with Denmark. This goes against my hypothesis, however, it is likely explained by the biography’s goal, which is to showcase the life of Gustaf II Adolf. His reign is mostly known for his victories in the Thirty Years War as this was a large-scale war that changed the tides of European history. The political and military aspects have much of the focus in the biography. Simultaneously Ålund mentions the social and economic aspects, however not often. This is in line with my hypothesis.

*Vor historie: Fra Margrete til Karl XII* the second book in the *Vor historie* handbook trilogy by the Danish historian and teacher Johan Søren Ottosen published between 1901 and 1904. Ottosen worked as an inspector at the Efterslægtsselskabets school and eventually as a pedagogical consultant for the publisher Nordisk Forlag. He is most famous for his textbook *Nordens historie* from 1893 and the aforementioned trilogy.<sup>78</sup> *Vor historie: Fra Margrete til Karl XII* is as mentioned the second book in the trilogy and was published in 1902. The book takes up the histories of the Scandinavian countries between the days of the Kalmar Union to the end of Sweden’s Era of Great Power. In total there are 5 chapters discussing Sweden from the reign of Gustav Vasa to the death of Karl XII, as well as 30 subchapters in other chapters. In total the book contains 146 subchapters and 122 pages relevant to this analysis.

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<sup>76</sup> Ålund, 1893, p. 62

<sup>77</sup> Ålund, 1893, p. 45

<sup>78</sup> Westrin et al., 1925, p. 947

When looking at the table of contents, we see that 51 are centred around individuals. We also see that 87 are centred around events, some of which overlap with individuals. This makes it clear that there is a large focus on individuals and events, however it is not dominant. In total 39 subchapters are not centred around either individuals or events.<sup>79</sup> When reading through the chapters, we see that the subchapters that are centred around events and individuals tend to contain mostly descriptions of events, often through individuals and in detail. Examples such as “Da saa Karl XII’s fortvivlede Tog til Ukrajne tegnede til at ende galt, og Frederik og August deraf fik Mod til at slaa til igen, kunde Danmark I Efteraaret 1709 føre en velrustet Hær paa 16,000 Mand til Skaane”<sup>80</sup> can be found throughout these subchapters. These subchapters in total take up 100 pages.

On the other hand, the subchapters that are not centred around events or individuals tend to discuss circumstances, rather than simply describing events. We see this in examples such as “Fra o. 1560 var Sverige næsten uafbrudt I Krig med Polakker eller Russere; det maatte bære tunge Skatter og sende sine kraftigste Mænd til Krigen: der var da ikke Ro og ikke Raad til en Udvikling som den danske”<sup>81</sup> and “Rigsraadet var af Tildragelsernes Gang bleven skudt til Side, Adelen som Stand var svækket ved den evindelige Splid mellem Høj- og Lavadel, medens de ufrelse Stænder var opfyldte a fen glødende Forbitrelse over de store Adelsslægters uumaadelige Godser og hele Magt”.<sup>82</sup> This focus takes up 39 subchapters and 34 pages. This indicates that Ottosen takes use of structural history to some degree, although the focus on individuals and events still receives a larger focus.

As the book is written by a Danish historian, was published before 1940 and discusses the history of Scandinavia, it is easy to assume that there will be a large focus on the conflicts between Sweden and Denmark. By looking at the table of contents we see that there are 37 subchapters discussing these conflicts, taking up 38 of the 122 pages relevant to this analysis, which is a fair amount of focus. When it comes to the conflicts in Germany, we see that they take up 22 subchapters and 18 pages, thus expectedly taking up less of the focus than the conflicts with Denmark. Lastly, we see that there are 22 subchapters discussing the conflicts with the eastern powers, taking up 24 pages.<sup>83</sup> All in all, as expected, the largest focus is on the conflicts with Denmark, with a smaller focus on the conflicts in Germany and the east.

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<sup>79</sup> Ottosen, 1902

<sup>80</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 375

<sup>81</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 240

<sup>82</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 361

<sup>83</sup> Ottosen, 1902

As the book is from 1902, it is also expected that the focus on the political and military aspects is dominant, however the table of contents show that the social and economic aspects receive more focus than expected. Out of the 146 subchapters, we see that 120 are centred around issues related to the political, taking up 121 pages.<sup>84</sup> Despite not being the main focus of every subchapter, we still see detailed descriptions of political events and the political picture throughout the book, even the subchapters centred around other aspects. “Karl IX grundede derpaa en ny Stad paa den svenske Del af Øen Hisingen, som omsluttes af Gøtalevs nørre og søndre Arm; han raadførte sig herved anvnlig med den rige hollandske Købmand Abraham Cabeliau, som havde store planer om at skabe en Handelsvej fra Holland over Sverige-Narva-Russland-Persien”<sup>85</sup> and “Regeringen vilde styre og regulere alt; gennem Toldsatser vilde værne og fremme Hjemlandets Værkflid paa Udlandets Bekostning, gjennem strænge Næringslove hæve Byernes Næringsveje op fremfor Landsbygdens”<sup>86</sup> are examples of this.

Subchapters focusing on the political and military aspects often overlap each other, despite the large number of subchapters centred around the political aspect, there is still a large number of subchapters focusing on the military aspect. In total there are 63 subchapters centred around the military aspect, taking up 62 pages.<sup>87</sup> In these we find detailed descriptions of wars, battles and armies. Examples such as “Ved inddelingsværket og Roteringen fik Sverige 38,000 infødte Soldater, som paa én Gang var veløvede Krigere og bofaste Landbrugere”<sup>88</sup> can be found throughout these subchapters. Surprisingly, we also find subchapters dedicated to the social and economic aspects as well. There are 30 subchapters centred around the social aspect, taking up 28 pages.<sup>89</sup> In these we find detailed descriptions of social issues, such as “nogle af disse var hvervede I Udlandet, men de fleste var svenske eller finske Bønder, anførte af svenske Adelsmænd”.<sup>90</sup> Lastly, there are 8 subchapters centred around the economic aspect, taking up 8 pages.<sup>91</sup> These subchapters contain detailed descriptions of the Swedish economy and industry, seen in examples such as “Bjærgbruget, som regnedes for Sveriges vigtigste Næringsvej, udvidedes, især da Jærntilvikningen; inten

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<sup>84</sup> Ottosen, 1902

<sup>85</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 243

<sup>86</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 268

<sup>87</sup> Ottosen, 1902

<sup>88</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 365

<sup>89</sup> Ottosen, 1902

<sup>90</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 240

<sup>91</sup> Ottosen, 1902

Land i Europa frembragte saa meget og saa godt Jærn som Sverige”.<sup>92</sup> In all, the political and military aspects receive most of the focus, however there is a surprisingly large focus on the social and economic aspects as well.

In conclusion, Ottosen’s book unsurprisingly has a large focus on individuals and events, however, there is also a fair portion of the book focused on structural history. When it comes to the geographic focus of the book, it is as expected a large amount of focus on the conflicts with Denmark, as the book discusses the history of the Scandinavian nations, rather than just Sweden. There is also a fair amount of focus on the conflicts in Germany and in the east. Also as expected, there is a large focus on both the political and military aspects, however there is also a fair amount of focus on the social aspect and a smaller, but larger than expected, focus on the economic aspect.

*The Cambridge modern history, volume IV: the Thirty Year’s War* is the fourth volume of Lord John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton’s 14 book series on the modern history of the world. Lord Acton was an English historian and politician who was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University in 1895. He worked at Cambridge University until his death in 1902 and was considered “one of the most learned people of his age”. Additionally, he had a career in politics and entered the House of Commons in 1859.<sup>93</sup> As the book was published in 1906, he was not the only one working on it. It was edited by Adolphus William Ward, George Walter Prothero and Stanley Mordaunt Leathes. The book includes two chapters concerning Sweden leading up to and during the Thirty Year’s War. These chapters were written by William Fiddian Reddaway and the aforementioned Adolphus William Ward. Reddaway a university lecturer, and eventually Censor of Fitzwilliam House at the University of Cambridge.<sup>94</sup> Ward was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and was later appointed professor of history and English at Owens College, Manchester where he was eventually appointed principal in 1889.<sup>95</sup>

When looking at the book’s table of contents, we see that there are two chapters focusing on Sweden that in total take up 64 pages. One of these chapters is focused on an individual, namely Gustavus Adolphus. This chapter takes up 33 of the 64 pages. Within the chapters there are a total of 65 subchapters. Of these, 40 are centred around individuals. Additionally,

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<sup>92</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 367

<sup>93</sup> Acton Institute, 2010

<sup>94</sup> Roach, 1959, p. 497-499

<sup>95</sup> University of Cambridge, n.d.

we see that most subchapters are also centred around events. Out of the 65 subchapters, only around 6 are not focused on events.<sup>96</sup> This tells us that there is a dominant focus on individuals and events in the book. When reading through the chapters this assumption is reiterated as we find detailed descriptions of events, often through individuals, throughout the two chapters. We see examples such as “The Teutonic Order was moribund, and Erik, as heir to Sweden, and John, as lord of Finland, had united to oppose their father’s policy of timid home-keeping and to secure for the Vasa dynasty a share in Esthonia and Livonia”<sup>97</sup> throughout the chapters.

The book’s table of contents and subchapters also helps us reveal the book’s geographic focus. As the book was published in 1906 it is expected that the rivalry with Denmark receives a fair amount of focus, however this is not the case. Perhaps surprisingly, we see that only 4 of the 65 subchapters are focused on Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark, taking up a total of 4 out of the 64 pages. When it comes to the conflicts in Germany, we see that one of the two chapters is focused on Sweden in the Germany during the Thirty Year’s War. This chapter takes up 33 out of the 64 pages. Lastly, we see that there is a large focus on Sweden’s conflicts with the eastern powers as well. Poland is mentioned in the title of chapter V, and in total 15 of the 65 subchapters are focused on these conflicts, taking up 15 pages.<sup>98</sup> In all, the majority focus on Germany is explained by the book’s focus on the Thirty Year’s War, however there is a larger focus on the eastern powers than on Denmark.

The table of contents also help us see which aspects receive the most focus. Of the 65 subchapters, 61 refer to political events, the political picture, battles and war, signalling that the political and military aspect receive a large focus.<sup>99</sup> Beyond this, detailed descriptions of politics and military conflicts are found throughout the chapters. We see this in examples such as “Secure against factions in Sweden, he was able to fling himself into the struggle with Poland, which lasted throughout his reign, and the struggle with Denmark, which threatened at the beginning and broke out at the end”<sup>100</sup> and “On assuming the command of the troops in the city which, exclusive of the citizens, cannot have much exceeded 3000 men, Falkenberg at once introduced Swedish discipline into their ranks”.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Acton et al, 1906, p. XIII-XIV

<sup>97</sup> Reddaway, 1906, p. 162

<sup>98</sup> Acton et al, 1906, p. XII-XIV

<sup>99</sup> Acton et al, 1906, p. XIII-XIV

<sup>100</sup> Reddaway, 1906, p. 174

<sup>101</sup> Ward, 1906, p. 201



In both chapters, most of the space is occupied by such examples. It is clear that the political and military aspects occupy most of the space, leaving little room for the social and economic aspects. In the table of contents, only 1 reference to the economic aspect can be found.<sup>102</sup> The subchapter in question, discusses Sweden's economy during the reign of Gustav II Adolf and includes several descriptions, covering one page. "The monopoly of trade with foreign lands, first in copper, then in iron, corn, and salt, was granted to chartered companies"<sup>103</sup> is an example of such a description. Issues related to the economic aspect are mentioned in other subchapters as well, although in less detail. In total, such issues are mentioned on 11 pages. The social aspect is not referred to directly in the table of contents, and there are few descriptions to be found. Issues related to the social aspect are also mentioned on 11 pages, however in less detail. "The loyalty of the people, moreover, had been strained by the burden of incessant struggles".<sup>104</sup> All in all the political and military aspects receive the majority of the focus, however there is also a small focus on the economic and social aspects.

In conclusion, as expected for the time period, there is a dominant focus on individuals and events, rather than structural history. The geographic focus of the book, however, is more surprising. We see that there is a small focus on Denmark and a larger focus on the conflicts in the east. Additionally, there is an even larger focus on the conflicts in Germany, however this is explained by the book's focus on the Thirty Year's War. The focus given to the different aspects is also as expected. There is a dominant focus on the political and military aspects, and a smaller focus on the social and economic aspects.

*Gustaf Adolf inför tyska kriget* is an academic dissertation by the Swedish historian Nils Ahnlund published in 1918. Ahnlund studied at the Uppsala University and received his doctorate in 1918. Ahnlund started his career as an associate professor at Stockholm University in 1923, and eventually became a professor of history in 1928. He spent much of his career focusing on Sweden's Era of Great Power. In 1934 Ahnlund became a member of Vitterhetsakademien and the Academy of Sciences in 1952.<sup>105</sup> His dissertation discusses the Swedish position, Gustav II Adolf and events leading up to Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Year's War.

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<sup>102</sup> Acton et al, 1906, p. XIII-XIV

<sup>103</sup> Reddaway, 1906, p. 187

<sup>104</sup> Reddaway, 1906, p. 177

<sup>105</sup> Svenska Akademien, n.d.

The dissertation's title, even though it is not a biography, makes it clear that Gustaf Adolf will be a central part of the text. Simultaneously, the title mentions the Thirty Year's War. Combined this suggests that important individuals and events will receive the majority of the focus. In the table of contents, Ahnlund shortly describes the dissertation's chapters. These descriptions mostly refer to individuals and events, also suggesting that they will receive much of the focus.<sup>106</sup> These suggestions are confirmed as most of the space is occupied by descriptions of actions of individuals and events. These descriptions are often in detail, especially concerning individuals, as events are often described through individuals. This is exemplified by examples such as "För Gustaf Adolf var det tydligen en öfverraskning, att Kristan var så omedgörlig"<sup>107</sup> and "I midten af oktober öfversände han till Oxenstierna utförliga förslag till härens styrka under en kommande expedition I Tyskland".<sup>108</sup> Such examples can be commonly found throughout the dissertation. There is little evidence that suggests that Ahnlund has a focus on structural history.

When it comes to the dissertation's geographic focus, it is natural to assume that Sweden's conflicts in Germany will receive most of the focus as it is mentioned in the title. Despite this, the conflicts with Denmark and in the east are also described. The conflicts with Denmark are mentioned several times in the table of content's description of the chapters, suggesting that they are important enough to receive a fair amount of focus. These descriptions also tell us approximately how many pages the conflicts with Denmark take up. Overall, approximately 50 pages of the total 367 pages, if you exclude the introduction, mention issues related to Denmark, which is a fair amount of focus. Similarly to the Danish conflicts, the conflicts with the eastern powers are mentioned several times in the chapter's descriptions. In total issues related to Sweden's conflicts with eastern powers such as Poland, Livonia and Russia are mentioned in most of the chapters and take up approximately 40 pages. Lastly, the conflicts in Germany takes up most of the rest of dissertation's focus.<sup>109</sup> Overall it is clear that the German conflicts receive most of the focus, however there is a fair amount of focus on both the conflicts with Denmark and in the east.

The table of content's descriptions of the dissertation's chapters also help us understand which aspects receive more of the focus. Based on this, it is clear that the political aspect dominates Ahnlund's focus. The descriptions mostly refer to political events. When we dive

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<sup>106</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. IV-IX

<sup>107</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. 153

<sup>108</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. 234

<sup>109</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. IV-IX

deeper into the chapters, we see that this focus is reiterated as most of the space is occupied by detailed descriptions of events. An example such as “Den allians, hvartill han kort efter landstigningen tvang hertig Bogislav, var ämnad att gälla för evärdlig tid och gjorde Sverige till garant af hertigdömet integritet men innebar säkerligen icke en redan nu planlagd syftning mot dess framtida inkorporering med Sverige”<sup>110</sup> exemplifies this. Such detailed descriptions of political events can be found throughout the dissertation.

Based on the fact that the Thirty Year’s War is mentioned in the title, it is also natural to assume that the military aspect is also important in the dissertation. Reading through the table of contents will also leave you with a similar impression. Though not as often as the political aspect, issues related to the military aspect, such as battles and details about the army, are described throughout the dissertation by Ahnlund. A description such as “Holland skulle genom Gustaf Adolf förmedling till honom själf öfverlåta en armé på drygt 20,000 man, medan Bethlen Gabors medverkan skulle tagas i anspråk på Tysklands östgräns, mot hvilken han borde kunna kasta åtminstone 50,000 man”.<sup>111</sup> When it comes to the social and economic aspects there is much less focus. There are a few descriptions of the economic aspect, for instance “Alla Östersjöhamnar ifrån Kalmar och intill Danzig voro nu i svenskarnas händer med sina tullar och intäkter, hvilkas betydelse för de följande företagen icke later sig öfverskådas”.<sup>112</sup> Such descriptions can be found a few times throughout the dissertation, however, not often as we only see such examples on 8 pages. The focus on the social aspect, on the other hand, is negligible. Overall, the focus on the political and military aspects is dominant.

In short, Ahnlund’s dominant focus on individuals and events is in line with the expectations of my hypothesis. We also see that the focus on Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark also receive a fair amount of focus, despite the fact that the dissertation discusses Sweden and its position leading into the Thirty Year’s War. With this theme, the dissertation naturally has a large focus on the conflicts in Germany. The conflicts in the east also receive a fair amount of focus. As expected in accordance with my hypothesis, there is a dominant focus on the political and military aspects. There are some mentions of issues related to the economic aspect, however, the focus on the social aspect is negligible.

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<sup>110</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. 413

<sup>111</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. 290

<sup>112</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. 224

*A history of Sweden* is a book published by the American professor Andrew A. Stomberg in 1931. Stomberg graduated from the Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota in 1895 and later work there as a professor of history and political science. Later in his career Stomberg worked as a professor of Scandinavian languages and literature at the University of Minnesota. Besides this he was the director of the American Institute of Swedish Arts, literature and Science, chairman of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, head of the Swedish Historical Society and was even made a knight of the Order of the North Star by the Swedish king Gustav V.<sup>113</sup> His 1931 book *A history of Sweden* takes up all of Sweden's history, from prehistoric times to the early 1900's. In total, there are 10 chapters discussing the time period between the dissolution of the Kalmar Union and the end of the Swedish Empire, taking up 275 pages.

As *A history of Sweden* was published in 1931, I would expect the book to have a relatively large focus on events and the actions of important individuals, however the table of contents suggests that this is not the case. In the titles of the book's 10 chapters that we are using in this analysis, only one name is mentioned, namely in the chapter "Nation carries on. Queen Christina deserts der land and faith". The table of contents also seems to suggest that Stomberg has a larger focus on structural history rather than individual events. This is shown in the titles of chapters such as "The foundation of Sweden as a modern state is solidly laid" and "Laying the foundation for Sweden's political greatness".<sup>114</sup>

When we look beyond the titles of the chapters, we can see that they do not tell the entire story. When describing events, Stomberg often explain them through the actions of important individuals. Examples such as "Christian of Denmark enters the war".<sup>115</sup> Beyond explaining certain events through individuals, Stomberg describes a wide arrange of individuals and their ideas, rather than only describing the most important individuals. Examples such as "The Swedes, and especially Oxenstierna, had been stirred to bitter resentment by Christian's meddling with the affairs of Maria Eleanora, widow of Gustavus Adolphus. After the death of her royal consort, this erratic woman had caused an endless amount of trouble and embarrassment"<sup>116</sup> are common. Despite the large focus on individuals, not every event is explained through them. Stomberg often shortly summarizes the political picture without mentioning individuals. "With the Danish War at an end, the Swedes could return to the

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<sup>113</sup> Klinkenberg, 2004

<sup>114</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. xi

<sup>115</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 347

<sup>116</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 385

scene of conflict in Germany”<sup>117</sup> is an example of this. We find such descriptions of events and individuals throughout the relevant chapters. Even though the focus on individuals and events is dominant, we find short summaries that suggests the use of structural history, to a small degree. For instance, when Stomberg recognizes the importance of Sweden’s four estates, including the peasantry, in the Swedish government.<sup>118</sup> However, these summaries are typically surrounded by descriptions of events and do not take up any chapters or pages on their own. However, we can find traces of this focus on 24 pages. Even with this focus, the focus on individuals and events is overall dominant.

As the book discusses Swedish history from the prehistoric era to the modern age, it is safe to assume that Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark, in Germany and in the east before and during the Era of Great Power are at the very least mentioned. By looking at the table of contents we see that only conflicts with Denmark and Poland are specifically mentioned in the name of a chapter.<sup>119</sup> As the names of the chapters do not tell us much about Stomberg’s geographic focus, we must dive deeper. The conflicts with Denmark are mentioned consistently. Most of the book’s chapters concerning the Era of Great Power mention Sweden’s rivalry with Denmark. Stomberg often describes Sweden’s relations to Denmark in detail. We see several examples of this in the chapter “The champion of Protestantism”, concerning the life of Gustav II Adolf. Descriptions such as “Gustavus proposes co-operation of Sweden and Denmark. Suggestions of an alliance were therefore made to Christian, but his envy of the Swedish king would not permit him to give these overtures friendly consideration”<sup>120</sup> can commonly be found throughout the book. This is also a strong indication that Stomberg finds Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark important. In total we find descriptions of these conflicts on 75 of the 275 pages.

When it comes to Sweden’s conflicts in Germany there are no dedicated chapters. Despite this, these conflicts, specifically the Thirty Year’s War, takes up a sizeable portion of two chapters.<sup>121</sup> Beyond this there are mentions of Germany in other chapters, however the overall focus on Germany is limited. Stomberg gives Sweden’s conflicts in the east a similar focus to the conflicts with Denmark in that there are descriptions of them in several of the chapters, however, not as often and detailed. We can find such descriptions on 52 pages.

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<sup>117</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 387

<sup>118</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 334-335

<sup>119</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 402

<sup>120</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 349

<sup>121</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 344-401

Similarly, to his descriptions of the Thirty Year's War, Stomberg describes Sweden's war efforts against Poland and the other Baltic powers in detail in the chapter "Reckoning with Poland and Denmark"<sup>122</sup>. This is also the case for later chapters such as "The Storm Breaks over the Land"<sup>123</sup> when Russia becomes a focus point. It is clear that Stomberg finds Sweden's conflicts in the east important, especially concerning the Baltic Sea, Poland and Russia. In all, this focus takes up 81 pages.

The names of the book's chapters hints that the political aspect of Swedish history is important. Chapters such as "Laying the foundation for Sweden's political greatness" and "The foundation of Sweden as a modern state is solidly laid"<sup>124</sup> are examples of this. The importance of the political aspect in Stomberg's work becomes even clearer when we read beyond the table of contents. Descriptions of the political picture takes up a majority of the focus in the book. These descriptions are often in detail. There are many examples of this, such as "Denmark, he firmly believed, could not be trusted and the anti-Danish attitude of earlier statesmen was therefore resumed"<sup>125</sup> and "To Gustavus it had become clearly evident that Sweden could not escape being drawn into the great conflict".<sup>126</sup> Such descriptions are found throughout the book.

The military aspect also has a rather large focus in the book. Warfare takes up a large part of several chapters, especially the chapters focusing on the Thirty Years' War, and chapters such as "The reckoning with Poland and Denmark"<sup>127</sup> directly point to warfare. The state of the Swedish military is often described in detail, for example "the methods of warfare and equipment underwent few great changes, but with the great Swedish king there came almost a complete revolution in military organization and methods".<sup>128</sup> There are also descriptions of battles in the book such as "Surrounded by about seven hundred men, all that was left of his splendid army, he escaped from the field. No less than 7.000 of his soldiers fell in battle and 5,000 became prisoners of war".<sup>129</sup> Such descriptions can be found throughout the book as well, with the exception of the chapters discussing the Reformation and "the great social conflict" which takes up a total of 44 pages. With the political and military aspects taking up

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<sup>122</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 402-424

<sup>123</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 473-491

<sup>124</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. xi

<sup>125</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 469

<sup>126</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 348

<sup>127</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. xi

<sup>128</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 342

<sup>129</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 357

such a large part of the book there is not much room left for the social and economic aspects. However, chapters such as “The Reformation and the new religious, economic and political order” and “The great social conflict”<sup>130</sup> suggests that Stomberg finds these aspects important enough to mention. We also see this in the chapters “laying the foundation for Sweden’s political greatness”, “through dissension and weakness to unity and strength” and “the foundation of Sweden as a modern state is solidly laid”. In these chapters we find detailed descriptions of issues related to the social and economic aspects, exemplified by examples such as “On the third day the attitude of the bönder and the burghers became so threatening that the opposition to the king was forced to yield”<sup>131</sup> and “This applies particularly to mechanical industry and to mining, both profiting greatly by the large amount of material used in building the new fleet and arsenal at Karlskrona”.<sup>132</sup> In total the focus on these aspects takes up much of 5 chapters, that make up for 130 of the 275 pages. This is a surprisingly large focus, even though many of these pages overlap with political and military aspects as well.

In conclusion Stomberg’s work is not completely driven by the great man theory as there are examples of the use of structural history in the book, however it is for the most part focused on individuals and events. We can come to this conclusion as he often describes Sweden’s political picture through events, and furthermore describes these events through individuals. The book’s geographic focus is fairly balanced as the conflict with Denmark, in Germany and in the east, all receive a fair amount of focus. We also see a focus on the political aspect throughout the book, and the military aspect also sees a large focus. Simultaneously there is also a surprisingly large focus on the social and economic aspects.

#### 4.3 Discussion

As we have analysed the different works, we can take note of several similarities and differences. We also see that some works are in line with the hypothesis, and some that are not. When it comes to the focus on individuals, events and structural history, we see a clear pattern where the works from this period tend to majorly favour individuals and events rather than structural history. In six of the seven works, this focus is dominant. A common pattern within this period is that the focus on individuals and events go hand in hand, as much of the works consists of descriptions of events through individuals. We can consistently find

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<sup>130</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. xi

<sup>131</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 250

<sup>132</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 465

examples of this in all the works. For instance, we see this from the earliest work to the most recent, such as “Prince Menzicoff, generalissimo of the Moscovite army, brought him into Poland a body of thirty thousand men, at the time when he not only did not desire their assistance any longer, but even feared it”<sup>133</sup> from Voltaire and “Christian of Denmark enters the war”<sup>134</sup> from Stomberg.

In the works from this period, we only find substantial use of structural history in two works, namely in Ottosen’s work from 1902 and Stomberg’s from 1931. In Ottosen’s work, 39 of the 146 subchapters are not centred around individuals and events, and these chapters tend to describe circumstances rather than events. “Regeringen vilde styre og regulere alt; gennem Toldsatser vilde værne og fremme Hjemlandets Værkflid paa Udlandets Bekostning, gennem strænge Næringslove hæve Byernes Næringsveje op fremfor Landsbygdens”<sup>135</sup> is an example of this. This focus on structural history is not small, however it is still significantly smaller than the focus on individuals and events. In Stomberg’s work, examples of structural history are only found in small summaries and do not cover any pages of chapters on their own. In total, the number of pages the focus on structure takes up 34 of 122 pages in Ottosen’s book and 24 of 275 in Stomberg’s. It is of note that both of these works are two of the most recent works from this period, perhaps suggesting that they were published in a transitional period of history writing. In all, we see a dominant focus on individuals and events in this period, with only a few examples of structural history. We must also note that some of these works are biographies and centred around individuals, whilst others are centred around specific events. In total five of the seven works include names or events in the title, which can perhaps influence its contents, however the findings within the works are consistent throughout them all, with the exception of Ottosen’s work.

As we have seen, there is consistency when it comes to the focus on individuals and events in the works from this period. This is not the case when it comes to the geographic aspect. According to my hypothesis there should be a large focus on the conflicts with Denmark, however, we find that that is not the case in all the works. Most of the works put a fair amount of focus on these conflicts, however it is varied. It ranges from 9 of 345 in Ålund’s work to 65 out of the 145 pages in Crichton’s work. In the other five works, the number of pages and chapters dedicated to them is somewhere in between. In Voltaire’s work 40 of the

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<sup>133</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 82

<sup>134</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 347

<sup>135</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 268



215 pages mention them, this number is 38 of the 122 pages in Ottosen's work, 4 of the 64 pages in Acton's work, 50 of the 367 pages in Ahnlund's dissertation and 75 of 275 pages in Stomberg's work. Overall, the focus on these conflicts is fair, however not as large as was expected in my hypothesis.

The number of pages dedicated to the conflicts in Germany is also varied between the works. This number is 70 of 215 pages in Voltaire's work, 35 of 145 in Crichton's work, 296 of 348 in Ålund's work, 18 of 122 in Ottosen's work, 33 of 64 in Acton's work, 250 of 367 in Ahnlund's work and 52 of 275 in Stomberg's work. It is of note that over 250 pages are dedicated to these conflicts in Ålund and Ahnlund's works, however both of them are centred around Gustaf II Adolf and the Thirty Year's War. Besides those works, the focus on these conflicts is fair. Lastly, we see that the number of pages dedicated to Sweden's conflicts in the east within these works are also varied. The numbers range from 150 of 215 pages in Voltaire's work, 56 of 145 in Crichton's work, 24 of 348 in Ålund's work, 24 of 122 in Ottosen's work, 15 of 64 in Acton's work, 40 of 367 in Ahnlund's work and 81 275 in Stomberg's work. We can see that these conflicts mostly receive a fair or fairly large focus, except for in Voltaire's work, where it receives a majority focus, this is however, a result of the book's focus on Charles XII ad the Great Nordic War. In conclusion the findings in this analysis are not in line with my hypothesis as the focus on the conflicts with Denmark is not larger than the focus on other geographical areas, as there are only more pages dedicated to them in two of the works, namely the works of Crichton and Ottosen. This book, however, is focused on the history of Scandinavia as a whole, rather than Swedish history, which explains this increased focus on the conflicts between Sweden and Denmark. Ottosen on the other hand, is Danish. His nationality could also explain why Sweden's conflicts with Denmark received the largest focus.

The focus given to the political, military, social and economic aspects, however, is more in line with the hypothesis. As expected, we find that the works within this period consistently focuses more on the political and military aspects, rather than the social and economic aspects. Detailed descriptions of politics can be found throughout the works, even within in works where not every chapter is centred around political events, for instance, Ottosen includes political descriptions alongside descriptions of for example issues related to the social aspect, shown examples such as "Karl IX grundede derpaa en ny Stad paa den svenske Del af Øen Hisingen, som omsluttet af Gøtalevs nørre og søndre Arm; han raadførte sig herved anvnlig med den rige hollandske Købmand Abraham Cabeliau, som havde store

planer om at skabe en Handelsvej fra Holland over Sverige-Narva-Russland-Persien”.<sup>136</sup> The political aspect is the dominant aspect within every work from this period used in this analysis.

The military aspect is also dominant within the works from this period. Detailed descriptions of wars, battles and armies are found throughout most of the works, with the exception of Ottosen’ and Stomberg’s works where this focus takes up 62 of 122 and 230 of 275 pages respectively. It is notable that these are the same works that included examples of structural history as well, perhaps suggesting that structural history is related to the focus on different aspects. As mentioned, detailed descriptions can be found in all the works. This ranges from descriptions of battles, shown in examples such as “At day-break the Swedes appeared out of their trenches, with four iron cannons for their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp with about three thousand men; and four thousand remained with the baggage”,<sup>137</sup> to descriptions of armies with examples such as “Ved inddelingsværket og Roteringen fik Sverige 38,000 infødte Soldater, som paa én Gang var veløvede Krigere og bofaste Landbrugere”.<sup>138</sup> This large focus on the military aspect is in line with the hypothesis.

As we have seen, the period is dominated by the focus on the political and military aspects, leaving little room for aspects such as the social and economic aspects. However, we consistently find a small focus on these aspects in the works used in this analysis. The social aspect typically only has a few short descriptions of them on a handful of pages within these works. We see such descriptions on 10 of 215 pages in Voltaire’s work, 8 of 145 in Crichton’s work, 15 of 348 in Ålund’s work and 11 of 64 in Acton’s work. In Ahnlund’s dissertation the focus negligible. In these works, the descriptions tend to be less detailed, seen in examples such as “The loyalty of the people, moreover, had been strained by the burden of incessant struggles”.<sup>139</sup> In Stomberg’ and Ottosen’s works, however, we see that they include dedicated chapters or subchapters to social issues. In Ottosen’s work there are 30 subchapters taking up 28 of 122 pages describing such issues. In Stomberg’s work, there are 5 chapters that discuss both issues related to the social and economic aspects that take up 130 of 275 pages. In these works we find more detailed descriptions such as “On the third day the

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<sup>136</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 243

<sup>137</sup> Voltaire, 1755, p. 115

<sup>138</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 365

<sup>139</sup> Reddaway, 1906, p. 177

attitude of the bönder and the burghers became so threatening that the opposition to the king was forced to yield”.<sup>140</sup>

The focus on the economic aspect in this period is similar to that of the social aspect. We find descriptions related to economic issues on 5 of 215 pages in Voltaire’s work, 13 of 145 in Crichton’s work, 31 of 348 in Ålund’s work, 11 of 64 in Acton’s work and 8 of 367 in Ahnlund’s dissertation. Examples such as “Alla Östersjöhamnar ifrån Kalmar och intill Danzig voro nu i svenskarnas händer med sina tullar och intäkter, hvilkas betydelse för de följande företagen icke later sig öfverskådas”<sup>141</sup> show how these descriptions typically look. As with the social aspect, Ottosen and Stomberg includes specific chapters or subchapters dedicated to economic issues. Ottosen’s work includes 8 subchapters covering 8 of 122 pages, and Stomberg’s work includes as mentioned 5 chapters and 130 of 275 pages dedicated to the social and economic aspects combined within the same chapters. In these works, we tend to find more detailed descriptions, such as “Bjærgbruget, som regnedes for Sveriges vigtigste Næringsvej, udvidedes, især da Jærntilvikningen; inten Land i Europa frembragte saa meget og saa godt Jærn som Sverige”.<sup>142</sup> Overall the focus on the social and economic aspects within these works is small, with the exception of the works of Ottosen and Stomberg, which is in line with the hypothesis.

In conclusion, the period before 1940 is dominated by a focus on individuals and events driven by the Great Man Theory, rather than structural history. In most of the works we find descriptions of individuals and events, often together, throughout the books. Only in two of the seven works do we see a substantial focus on structural history. This majority focus on individuals and events is in line with the hypothesis. When it comes to the geographic aspect, we see a smaller focus on the conflicts with Denmark than expected. These conflicts receive a fair amount of focus in most of the works, with the exceptions of Ålund’s work, where they receive very little focus, and Crichton’s work where they receive much of the focus. The conflicts in Germany receive a mostly fair amount of focus as well, with the exception of two works that have a majority focus on these conflicts, however this is a result of their focus on the Thirty Year’s War. The focus on the conflicts in the east is mostly larger than on the other regions. All in all, this is not in line with the hypothesis. When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects, we see that the political aspect is dominant, as well as

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<sup>140</sup> Stomberg, 1931, p. 250

<sup>141</sup> Ahnlund, 1918, p. 224

<sup>142</sup> Ottosen, 1902, p. 367

a large focus on the military aspect throughout the works in this period. When it comes to the social and economic aspects, the focus is mostly small, with the exception of Stomberg' and Ottosen's works where they receive a larger focus, although still smaller than the focus on the political and military aspects. This is in line with the hypothesis as well. We can conclude by saying that with the exception of the smaller than expected focus on the conflicts in Denmark, the analysis of the seven works from this period is mostly in line with the hypothesis.

## 5. Between 1940 and the 1990's

### 5.1 Introduction to the chapter

The period between the World War II and the 1990's saw many changes in the historiographical landscape. A major influence behind these changes is the rise in popularity of Marxist historiography which reached its apex in the 1960's and 70's. This influence led many historians to focus on history from below, rather than from above. This means that many historians moved away from the theory, known as the Great Man Theory, that said history was driven by important events and important people, instead developing theories that said history was driven by the structures in society and the relationship between the classes. Additionally, this period sees history develop a stronger relationship with the social sciences such as sociology and economy. Through these influences, the focus on structural history, the social aspect and the economic aspect grew.<sup>143</sup> As a result of this, the hypothesis expects a significant increase in the focus on structural history and a decrease in the focus on individuals and events within the selected works. It also expects a significant increase in the focus on the social and economic aspects of Swedish history. Consequently, it is also expected that the geographic focus drifts eastwards from the rivalry with Denmark towards the conflicts in Germany and in the east. This is much due to the expected increase in the expected focus on the economic aspect.

For this chapter I have selected seven varied works. The selected works were published between 1945 and 1998 and were written by authors with four different nationalities. There are three works focused on general history and four works centred around either events or individuals. The selected works are as following; The book *Kampen om Östersjön: Till slutet av segelfartygens tidevarv* by the Finnish historian Eirik Hornborg published in 1945, the book *Svensk historia för gymnasiet* by the Swedish historians Sven Tunberg and Ernst Söderlund published in 1955, the dissertation *Gustav Vasa och Europa: Svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534-1557* by the Swedish historian Sven Lundkvist published in 1960, the book *Historia kring trettioåriga kriget* edited by the Swedish historian Göran Rystad and published in 1963, the book *Sweden's age of greatness, 1632-1718* edited by the English historian Michael Roberts and published in 1973, the book *Sweden: the Nation's History* by the American historian Franklin Daniel Scott published in 1977 and the book *Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* by the British historian Anthony F. Upton published in 1998.

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<sup>143</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 174-180

## 5.2 Analysis

*Kampen om Östersjön: Till slutet av segelfartygens tidevarv* is a book written by the Finnish historian, politician, author and teacher Eirik Hornborg and was published in 1945. Hornborg became a Bachelor of Philosophy in 1901 and went on to teach history and Swedish in Helsinki. He also served as director of private educational works. He later became famous for his works within history and politics. Hornborg has a vast bibliography, which includes many works on Swedish and Finnish history. Even though he never finished a doctoral thesis, he received honorary doctorates from both Stockholm and Helsinki.<sup>144</sup> His book *Kampen om Östersjön* discusses the power struggle between the nations surrounding the Baltic Sea from the Viking age to the Crimean War. It includes three chapters, split into 23 subchapters, focused on the period surrounding Sweden's Era of Great Power, which take up 196 pages.

Looking at the book's table of contents, we see that 15 of the 23 subchapters have titles that refer to events.<sup>145</sup> However, to understand the book's focus on structural history or events we need to look inside the subchapters. When we look deeper, we see that there is a larger focus on individuals and events than the table of contents suggested. All the subchapters, with the exception of one which takes up 10 pages, are filled with descriptions of individuals and events, many of which are detailed. Descriptions of naval warfare are especially detailed. We also see that there are many descriptions of events through individuals and their actions. We see this in examples such as "Samma dag Horn hade gått ombord kom den dansk-lybiska flottan under Herluf Trolle strykande norr ut utmed Ölands östkust för en frisk sydvästlig bris".<sup>146</sup> Despite the large focus on individuals and events, there are also elements of structural history found in 9 of the subchapters, taking up 71 of the 196 pages. Within these pages we can find descriptions of circumstances, such as "De stora upptäckternas tidevarv, som inom loppet av en mansålder såg den europeiska oceansjöfarten slå ut i full blom, medförde självfallet en stark etveckling av fartygsmaterialen".<sup>147</sup> This majority focus on individuals and events is perhaps expected as the book intends to describe the many events that took place in the power struggle for control over the Baltic Sea, however, it is larger than expected.

When it comes to the book's geographic focus, we see that there are 9 of the 23 subchapters centred around Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. These conflicts are also described in other

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<sup>144</sup> Lindberg, 2012

<sup>145</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. VII

<sup>146</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 129-130

<sup>147</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 106

subchapters, and in total take up 104 of the 196 pages. Even though Denmark was a major power in the Baltic Sea during the early modern period, this is a surprisingly large number of pages, and is not in line with the hypothesis' expectations. Even though the hypothesis expects an increase in the focus on Sweden's conflicts with the German states in scholarly literature from this period, this book is focused on the Baltic powers, thus it is not expected that there is a large focus on these conflicts. However, we still see a fair focus on them. 2 of the subchapters are centred around them, and there are in total descriptions on 52 pages. Lastly, it is expected that the largest geographic focus in this book is on the eastern powers, such as Poland and Russia, however this is not the case. We see that 8 subchapters are focused on them, and we can find descriptions on 88 pages.<sup>148</sup>

When it comes to the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects, we see that the focus on the political aspect is present throughout the book. Out of the 23 subchapters, 21 are centred around political events or the political picture. Even in the two remaining subchapters, political descriptions can be found.<sup>149</sup> The descriptions of political issues tend to be detailed, seen in examples such as "År 1626 flyttade Gustav Adolf kriget till Västpreussen för att genom erövring av dess sjöstäder och flodmynningar tvinga Polen till fred".<sup>150</sup> The focus on the military aspect is also dominant. Identical to the focus on the political aspect, 21 of the subchapters are centred around the military aspect, and the two remaining subchapters are also filled with descriptions of issues related to the military. These descriptions are very detailed at times, especially concerning naval battles and the ships used in these battles.<sup>151</sup> We can see this in examples such as "Ett skepp, bestyckat med 24- och 18-pundingar, var vida starkare æn två lätta enheter bestyckade med 12- och 6-pundingar, æven om dessa två sammenlagt førfogade øver hælften flera kanoner".<sup>152</sup> This large focus is surprisingly large, despite the book's theme.

The focus on the social and economic aspects is surprisingly small and insignificant. There are no subchapters centred around either, and there are only descriptions of issues related to the social aspect on 14 pages, and there are descriptions of economic issues on 29 pages. These descriptions tend to be small and not in great detail.<sup>153</sup> "En styrka på 300 man

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<sup>148</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 94-289

<sup>149</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 94-289

<sup>150</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 175

<sup>151</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 94-289

<sup>152</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 158

<sup>153</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 94-289

landsettes men blev vid bron över Borgå å med förlust tilbakeslagen av stadens borgerskap, bågra tjug beväpnade civila, understödfda av ett fåtal allmogemän och för vintern hemförlovade indelta soldater från omejden”<sup>154</sup> and “Utan skyddet av en stark sjömak kunde den Svenska handelssjöfarten icke uppblomstra”<sup>155</sup> are examples of some of these descriptions. Even though the focus on the political and military aspects is unexpectedly large, it is still larger than what was expected, especially as the focus on the social and economic aspects is much smaller than expected.

In conclusion, Hornborg’s book has a surprisingly large focus on individuals and events, however there is still a presence of structural history. The geographic focus is also not as expected as the conflicts with Denmark receives the most focus. Despite this, there is still a fairly large focus on the conflicts in Germany and with the eastern powers. Finally, the focus on the political and military aspects is dominant, and the focus on the social and economic aspects is surprisingly small.

*Svensk historia för gymnasiet* is a book written by the Swedish historians Sven Tunberg and Ernst Söderlund and published in 1955. Tunberg was a Swedish historian, professor and principal. He received his doctorate in philosophy in Uppsala in 1911 and eventually became a professor at Stockholm University.<sup>156</sup> Tunberg was also inducted to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. He is famous for works such as *Västerås parliament* from 1915 and *Sigismund and Sweden* from 1917-18. Ernst Söderlund was a Swedish economic historian. He worked as a secondary school teacher and became a leading figure in the educational field in Sweden. He became a doctor and senior lecturer in 1944 and eventually a Professor of Economic History at Stockholm University. His chair as a research professor was the first permanent professorship in the discipline in Sweden. He is famous for his work in establishing a joint association for economic and social history in Scandinavia, being one of the initiators behind the journal *Scandinavian Economic History Review* and his many works within the field of economic history, as well as history textbooks.<sup>157</sup> Their book *Svensk historia för gymnasiet* is a textbook meant for students at the gymnasium, which today would resemble students at the high school level. The book takes up Swedish, and partly Danish and Norwegian, history from the earliest inhabitants to World War II. This includes 24 chapters

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<sup>154</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 248

<sup>155</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 98

<sup>156</sup> *Vem Är Det? Svensk biografisk handbok 1943*, 1942. p. 844-845

<sup>157</sup> Olsson, 1996, p. 205-206



on Sweden's history centred around the Era of Great Power. Within these chapters there are 135 subchapters that take up 128 pages.

As this is a textbook from 1955 taking up general Swedish history, it is expected that there is a large focus on structural history. If we look at the subchapters and their titles, it appears that 77 of the 135 subchapters are centred around individuals and events. However, the titles do not tell the entire story, thus we must look within them as well. When reading through these subchapters, we see that 96 are focused on individuals and events and tend to include mostly descriptions of individuals, including their traits and actions, as well as events. 79 are focused on structural history and tend to include descriptions of circumstances. Some of these subchapters are focused on both circumstances and events or individuals, and these numbers are included in the numbers above. Many of these subchapters also share the same pages.<sup>158</sup> The 96 subchapters centred around individuals and events are spread out over 96 pages. The descriptions of individual and events within these chapters tend to be short and in less detail. We see this in examples such as "Vid ett tillfälle lyckades en dansk här under Daniel Rantzau tränga ända in i Östergötland, som härjades och brändes, men den måste snart draga sig tillbaka".<sup>159</sup> Although the focus on structural history takes up less subchapters, with 79, they take up more space, being spread out over 98 pages. Within them we can find detailed descriptions of circumstances such as "Eftersom Sveriges befolkning alltjämt till största delen utgjordes av bönder, av vilka de flesta blott med svårighet kunde finna avsättning för sina produkter, utgingo skatterna även under 1600-talet övervägande in natura".<sup>160</sup> In all, there is a slightly larger focus on structural history, however, there is still a surprisingly large focus on individuals and events.

Looking at the subchapter's titles also gives us a hint at the book's geographic focus. We can see that 8 of the 135 subchapters are centred around Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. Additionally, they are mentioned in other subchapters, and are in total discussed on 27 pages. The subchapters centred around these conflicts are mostly short. When it comes to the conflicts in Germany, there are 3 subchapters, and along with descriptions in others make up 26 pages. Even though there are fewer subchapters and pages describing these conflicts than the conflicts with Denmark, these subchapters are longer. Each of the 3 subchapters take up between 2 and 4 pages. With this in mind, one could argue that Tunberg and Söderlund finds

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<sup>158</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 75-208

<sup>159</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 109

<sup>160</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 136-7

them more important. Lastly, there are 16 subchapters and 28 pages discussing the conflicts with the eastern powers. Even though the number of subchapters centred around these conflicts is the highest by a significant margin, the number of pages they take up is similar to the other geographic areas.<sup>161</sup> In all the book's geographic focus is fairly balanced, however, it is unexpected that the conflicts with Denmark receive a similar focus to the conflicts with Germany and the eastern powers.

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects, we also see a balanced focus. The focus on the political aspect is dominant. Throughout most of the relevant chapters we can find descriptions of political issues, however, of the 135 subchapters, there are 18 that do not discuss such issues. Some of those subchapters share pages with subchapters that do include such description, thus we can only find 16 pages where there is no presence of political descriptions. This means that such descriptions can be found on 112 of the 128 pages. In the subchapters that do include political descriptions, we find that such descriptions tend to be rather detailed. This is seen in examples such as "Sverige fick därigenom den Kanske effektivast arbetande administrationen av alla Europas stater vid denna tid, vilket var ytterligare en viktig förutsättning för dess utrikespolitiska insats".<sup>162</sup> We also see that there is a large focus on the military aspect. 44 subchapters are centred around wars, battles and the military. In total, descriptions of issues related to the military can be found on 66 pages. These descriptions also tend to be detailed, shown in examples such as "Infanteriet, som bestod av musketörer och pikenerare, uppställdes så, att dess eldgivning skulle bli så effektiv som möjligt, och denna förstärktes ytterligare genom att infanteriet stöddes av lätt fältartilleri".<sup>163</sup>

The book also has a large focus on the social and economic aspects. There are 33 subchapters centred around the social aspect, and in total descriptions of issues relating to this can be found on 68 pages. These descriptions also tend to be detailed. We can see this in examples such as "En sådan hade man I bystämman, som leddes av en byamännen, kallad ålderman, byäldste el. Dyl. Bystämmean bestraffade även den som bröto mot vad man sanåg vara god ordning".<sup>164</sup> When it comes to the economic aspect, there are only 12 subchapters centred focused on it, however, we find descriptions of economic issues on 68 pages. These descriptions are also often detailed, seen in examples such as "En möjlighet att påskynda den

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<sup>161</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 75-208

<sup>162</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 134

<sup>163</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 141

<sup>164</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 96

önskade utvecklingen av Sveriges näringsliv var att tillföra landet kapital samt teknisk och merkantil sakkunskap från de ekonomiskt mer utvecklade länderna i västra och mellersta Europa".<sup>165</sup> In all, the focus on the political aspect is dominant, however, cannot be found throughout the book. The focus on the military, social and economic aspects is even.

In conclusion, Tunberg and Söderlund's book has a larger focus on structural history, however the focus on individuals and events is still surprisingly large. We also see a fairly even geographic focus, as a result the focus on the conflicts with Denmark is larger than expected. Lastly, we see a dominant focus on the political aspect, however not throughout the entire book. The focus on the military, social and economic aspect is similar.

*Gustav Vasa och Europa: Svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534-1557* is a dissertation written by the Swedish historian Sven Lundkvist and published in 1960. Lundkvist received his doctorate in history at the University of Uppsala in 1960. He went on to work as a docent and university lecturer in Stockholm and Uppsala before becoming a professor of history at Umeå University. He was later appointed national archivist. Lundkvist spent much of his career as a historian focusing to Sweden during the Vasa era. He was inducted as an honorary member of the Gustav Adolfs Academy in 1985.<sup>166</sup> His dissertation discusses Sweden's foreign trade and policy during the reign of Gustav I Vasa. It consists of 11 chapters, split into 65 subchapters that in total take up 394 pages. 3 of these subchapters, which take up 9 pages, are irrelevant to this analysis as they discuss Lundkvist's methodology and source material. Thus, the relevant portion of the dissertation consists of 62 subchapters and 384 pages.

Lundkvist's dissertation is centred around the reign of Gustav I Vasa, thus it is expected that there will be a large focus on individuals and events, simultaneously it is expected that there is a significant presence of structural history as it was published in 1960. When we look at the dissertation's table of contents, we see that only 20 of the 62 subchapter's titles directly refer to individuals or events.<sup>167</sup> However, when we look within the subchapters, we see that the focus is closer to what was expected. There is a focus on individuals and events in 37 subchapters, taking up 245 of the 384 pages. On the other hand, there is an even larger focus on structural history, as it can be found in 46 subchapters covering 272 pages, some of which

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<sup>165</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 138

<sup>166</sup> Edlund, 2017

<sup>167</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. ix-xi

overlap with the subchapters focusing on individuals and events.<sup>168</sup> In the subchapters focused on individuals and events we can find detailed descriptions of events, often through the actions of individuals. We can see this in examples such as “I mars 1536 hade den preussiske hertigen med anledning av de förekommande ryktena om at Gustav Vasa mördats av sina undersåtar, sänt en beskickning till Sverige”.<sup>169</sup> In the subchapters focusing on structural history, we typically find descriptions of circumstances, as well as 11 tables.<sup>170</sup> These descriptions also tend to be detailed, showcased in examples such as “Den västeuropeiska andelen av Gävles export från 1540-talet och framåt har kraftigt ökat. 1554 gick 34% av den totala exporten västerut, 1559 36% och 1560 38%”.<sup>171</sup> Overall, the focus is as expected, as there is a slightly larger focus on structural history.

The dissertation’s table of contents helps us understand its geographic focus as we can find subchapters centred around specific conflicts and geographic focus points. We can see that 14 of the 62 subchapters are centred around Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark, taking up 75 of the 384 pages. This is as expected, considering the book’s focus on Sweden’s trade and foreign policy during Gustav I Vasa’s reign. Also as expected, we see that there is a large focus on the conflicts in Germany as 18 of the subchapters are centred around them, taking up 85 pages. Considering the dissertation was published in 1960, as well as its aforementioned focus on trade and foreign policy, this is unsurprising. Finally, we see that there is also a large focus on the conflicts with the eastern powers, which takes up 14 subchapters and 83 pages.<sup>172</sup> This is unsurprising for the same reasons mentioned earlier. Overall, the geographic focus is unsurprising. The focus is balanced, however, we see that the conflicts in Germany receive a slightly larger focus than the conflicts with the eastern powers, which again receive a slightly larger focus than the conflicts with Denmark.

When it comes to the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects, it is harder to understand simply by using the table of contents, thus we must look inside the chapters to analyse their focus. When looking through the 62 subchapters, we see that 57 of them are centred around political events or the political picture. Despite not being the main focus of all the subchapters, we can find descriptions throughout the 384 pages.<sup>173</sup> These descriptions

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<sup>168</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 3-396

<sup>169</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 135

<sup>170</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 20-54

<sup>171</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 41

<sup>172</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. ix-xi

<sup>173</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 3-396

tend to be detailed, seen in examples such as “Vidare borde man söka splittra hansestäderna och på så sätt hindra ett krig, då Lübeck inte ensamt kunde inlåta sig på ett sådant mot Sverige”.<sup>174</sup> This large focus on the political aspect is understandable, given the dissertation’s theme. We also find that there is a large focus on the military aspect as 22 subchapters are centred around it. Descriptions of issues related to the military can be found on 235 pages.<sup>175</sup> These descriptions, however, tend not to be very detailed and are often short, seen in examples such as “Kungen menade, att Sveriges 6 000-7 000 man förutom ryttarna inte var mycket att komma med mot ryssarnas 150 000 – denna uppskattning var naturligtvis alltför hög, och uppgiften hade förmodligen sprits av ryssarna i vilseledande syfte”.<sup>176</sup> This focus is as expected, given the dissertation’s focus on foreign policy in an era of expansion for Sweden.

Despite the political and military aspects taking up much of the focus, the social and economic aspects have not been neglected. We can see that only one subchapter is centred around the social aspect, however, there are descriptions on 65 pages, which is not a small focus. These descriptions, however, tend not to be detailed.<sup>177</sup> “De Svenska borgarnas kapitalfattigdom gjorde, att de inte kunde fungera som mellanhänder, vilket ursprungligen var meningen”<sup>178</sup> is an example of such a description. The economic aspect on the other hand, receives a much larger focus. 20 subchapters are centred around it, and in total descriptions can be found on 229 pages. These descriptions are often very detailed. Additionally, we can find 11 tables relating to trade.<sup>179</sup> “Han har därvid angivit medeltal för hela riket enligt följande: salt 25 %, humle 19 %, textilvaror 36 % och drycker 4 % samt kram och specerier 12 % förutom övriga varor 4 %”<sup>180</sup> is an example of such a typical description found within these pages. Overall, we see a dominant focus on the political aspect, a large focus on both the military and economic aspects, as well as a fair focus on the social aspect. This focus is unsurprising.

We can conclude by saying that Lundkvist’s dissertation’s focus mostly lives up to our expectations. We see a slightly larger focus on structural history than on events and individuals. The geographic focus is balanced, and we see a slightly larger focus on the

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<sup>174</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 303

<sup>175</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 3-396

<sup>176</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 353

<sup>177</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 3-396

<sup>178</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 91

<sup>179</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 3-396

<sup>180</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 25

conflicts in Germany than on the conflicts with Denmark and the eastern powers, which are not far behind. Lastly, there is a large focus on the political, military and economic aspects, as well as a fair focus on the social aspect.

*Historia kring trettioåriga kriget* is a book mainly focused on describing Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Year's War that was published in 1963 and edited by Göran Rystad. Rystad was a Swedish historian and professor at Lund University, where he also received his doctorate in philosophy. He also had experience from Indiana University, Harvard University, Umeå University and the University of Nebraska. He is famous for his works on 17<sup>th</sup> century Sweden. Rystad was eventually elected as a member of the Science Society in Lund, the Royal Society for Publishing Manuscripts on the History of Scandinavia and the Royal Humanist Science Society in Lund, among others.<sup>181</sup> *Historia kring trettioåriga kriget* takes up several problems surrounding the Thirty Year's War and includes 4 chapters on Sweden's participation. These chapters are split into 18 subchapters and take up 100 pages. The relevant chapters are written by the aforementioned Rystad, as well as the famed English historian Michael Roberts, who is famous for his works on Sweden in their Era of Great Power, and Sverker Arnoldsson. Arnoldsson was a Swedish historian who received his doctorate at the Gothenburg University, before working as an associate professor in history. He was first focused on Sweden's political history in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>182</sup>

The book's chapters give us an indication that it is focused on events and individuals, as the titles of the chapters seems to be centred around Gustav Adolf and Sweden's actions in and before the Thirty Year's War, which is natural as the book itself is centred around the war. Only a few of the book's subchapters have titles, so in order to understand it's focus we need to look within the text itself. When looking deeper, we see that 15 of the 18 subchapters are focused on events and individuals, taking up 79 of the 100 pages. This is a larger than expected focus for the time period, however, as the book itself is centred around the Thirty Year's War this is unsurprising. Despite the large focus on events and individuals, there is also a sizeable presence of structural history. 10 of the chapters, taking up 73 pages, include structural descriptions of circumstances.<sup>183</sup> This is expected for the time period. In the subchapters focused on individuals and events, we can find detailed descriptions of events, often through the actions of individuals, which can be seen in examples such as "Den 15

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<sup>181</sup> Torstendahl, 2021, 55-62

<sup>182</sup> Mörner, 1960, p. 72-74

<sup>183</sup> Rystad, 1963, p. 15-114

november vände sig Gustav Horn till Maximilian med en anhållan om pass för sin “Auffwarter” Mattias Küchel”.<sup>184</sup> On the other hand, in the subchapters focused on circumstances, we find descriptions such as “Dessa administrative förändringar och taktiska reformer i forening skulle omkring 1630 ge Sverige en armè, långt bättre rustad än nogon av samtidens i fråga m eldkraft och stötverkan”.<sup>185</sup> Overall, there is a larger focus on individuals and events, however, we still see a presence of structural history.

When it comes to the book’s geographic focus, the findings are not surprising. The book is not centred around Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark, and it is expected that this focus is lower in this period. The findings in this analysis live up to these expectations as we see that there are no subchapters centred around these conflicts, and we only find descriptions of them on 5 of the 100 pages. As the book is centred around the Thirty Year’s War, it is expected that the focus on Sweden’s conflicts in Germany is dominant, and we see that this is indeed the case. 17 of the 18 subchapters are centred around these conflicts, taking up 86 of the 100 pages. Lastly, we do expect to see a fair focus on the conflicts with the eastern powers as well, and this is also the case. None of the subchapters are centred around them, however, we do find descriptions of them on 18 pages.<sup>186</sup> Overall, the geographic focus is as expected, both in terms of the expectations relating to both the book’s theme and the time period it was published in.

When it comes to the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects, the findings are also unsurprising. We see that 17 of the 18 subchapters are centred around the political aspect, additionally, political descriptions can be found on 89 of the 100 pages.<sup>187</sup> This is unsurprising as the book is centred around a major political event. These descriptions are fairly detailed. “Han önskade införliva Brandenburg med sin permanenta nordtyska säkerhetspakt, men han ville också ha ekonomisk hjälp, möjlighet att värva soldater och kontroll av strategiska punkter inom kurfurstendömet”<sup>188</sup> is a typical example of the descriptions that can be found. As the book is centred around the Thirty Year’s War, it is also unsurprising that the military aspect receives a large focus. 12 of the subchapters are centred around the military aspect, however, descriptions can be found on 92 pages.<sup>189</sup> These

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<sup>184</sup> Rystad, 1963, p. 89

<sup>185</sup> Roberts, 1963, p. 75

<sup>186</sup> Rystad, 1963, p. 15-114

<sup>187</sup> Rystad, 1963, p. 15-114

<sup>188</sup> Roberts, 1963, p. 46

<sup>189</sup> Rystad, 1963, p. 15-114

descriptions tend to be detailed, especially in chapter 3 and 4. We see this in examples such as “Karakollen övergavs, åtminstone av inhemska svenska ryttare; och kavalleriet avancerade i trav, medan främsta ledet, och endast detta, fyrade av pistolerna på lämpligt avstånd, varefter anfallet gjordes med sverd”.<sup>190</sup>

When it comes to the social and economic aspects, we see that only 1 of the subchapters is centred around the social aspect, and none are centred around the economic aspect.

Additionally, we see that there are descriptions of issues relating to the social aspect on 21 pages and issues relating to the economic aspect on 20 pages.<sup>191</sup> This might be lower than expected in relation to the expectations from this time period, however, as the book is rather short and centred around a war, this focus is not unsurprising. These descriptions are not very detailed. We see this in examples such as “Detta tog sig under sommaren 1628 oroande uttryck i Västergötland och Småland, där bönderna vägrade att betala en tillfällig krigsskatt, 3-markshjælpen”<sup>192</sup> and “Det minskade sålunda svårigheten att betala trupperna, vilket så ofta lamslog kontinentens generaler, ty Gustav Adolf kunde betala sitt inhemska uppååd in nautra, genom anvisngar på statsinkomster eller genom att indela gemman til dess försörjning”.<sup>193</sup>

Overall, the focus on these expectations is close to what is expected, with a large focus on the political and military aspects, as well as a presence of a focus on the social and economic aspects.

In conclusion, the book has a large focus on individuals and events, but there is also a significant presence of structural history. The book’s geographic focus is as expected, as the focus on the conflicts with Denmark is small, as well as a fair focus on the conflicts in the east, and finally a large focus on the conflicts in Germany. Lastly, we also see a large focus on the political and military aspects, as well as a fair focus on the social and economic aspects.

*Sweden’s age of greatness, 1632-1718* is a book edited by the English historian Michael Roberts and published in 1973. Roberts was educated at Brighton College and Worcester College in Oxford and eventually went on to teach at Rhodes University College in South Africa before becoming a professor of modern history at Queen’s University of Belfast. Roberts specialised in the early modern period and is famous for his works on Swedish

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<sup>190</sup> Roberts, 1963, p. 73

<sup>191</sup> Rystad, 1963, p. 15-114

<sup>192</sup> Arnoldsson, 1963, p. 26

<sup>193</sup> Roberts, 1963, p. 69



history and introducing the idea of a military revolution in early modern Europe. He went on to receive Swedish honours such as an honorary doctorate from Stockholm University and was elected to the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities.<sup>194</sup> He is famous for his works such as *Sweden as a great power 1611-1697*, *The early Vasas: a history of Sweden 1523-1611* and *Gustavus Adolphus and the Rise of Sweden. Sweden's age of greatness, 1632-1718* takes up the different aspects behind Sweden as a great power in Europe between the Thirty Year's War and the Great Northern War.

In addition to Roberts, the chapters are written by six other authors, including Rystad and Lundkvist who were introduced earlier. Two of the chapters were written by Stellan Dahlgren. Dahlgren was a Swedish historian and lecturer in History at the University of Uppsala. He is known for his works on Swedish history, often focusing on economic history as well as the Swedish Era of Great Power. His bibliography includes *Karl X Gustav och reduktionen* from 1964.<sup>195</sup> Alf Åberg also contributed to the book. He was a Swedish historian, professor and archivist. Åberg received his education in Helsingborg as well as the University of Lund. He went on to work as an archivist at the War Archives before being awarded the title of professor by the government for his scientific contributions. He has published over 80 books and was awarded the Helsingborg Medal.<sup>196</sup> Kurt Ågren wrote the book's chapter *The reduction*. He was a lecturer at the University of Uppsala and has published several works on the social aspect of Swedish history, including *Adelns bonder och kronans. Skatter och besvar i Uppland 1650-1680* from 1964.<sup>197</sup> The final author who contributed to the book was Sven-Erik Åström. Åström was a Finnish historian who is known for his contributions to social and economic history. He received a doctorate in history, as well as a master's degree in sociology from the University of Helsinki where he was appointed professor of social and economic history. He specialised in the finances and resources in Sweden during the Era of Great Power.<sup>198</sup>

As the book was published in 1973, it is expected that the focus on individuals and events is slashed in favour of structural history. This expectation is reaffirmed when we look at the table of contents. Out of the eight chapters, only four directly refer to either events or

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<sup>194</sup> Parker, 2002

<sup>195</sup> Roberts, 1973, p. 304

<sup>196</sup> Helsingborg stadslexikon, n.d.

<sup>197</sup> Roberts, 1973, p. 304

<sup>198</sup> Schybergson, n.d.

individuals.<sup>199</sup> When we dive into the chapters, we see that the book is split in two. The first four chapters, none of which includes references to events or individuals in their titles, are completely focused on structural history and describing circumstances. The final four chapters, which do include references to events in their titles, tend to include descriptions of events, as well as circumstances. The first four chapters are as mentioned completely dominated by structural history and take up 155 of the book's 268 pages. Throughout these chapters we find detailed descriptions of the circumstances behind Sweden's age of greatness. Examples such as "The ability to sustain the part of a great power is at bottom essentially a question of economic potential; and the problem to be discussed must therefore be how far Sweden possessed the necessary resources, and how they were utilised to maintain her great international position"<sup>200</sup> shows this. We also see tables rather than illustrations in these chapters, such as a table of Sweden revenues in 1699 on page 23.<sup>201</sup>

In the final four chapters, which take up the remaining 113 pages, include more descriptions of events, in addition to circumstances. The descriptions of events tend not to be detailed and are typically short. Additionally, they are often used as examples to earlier descriptions of circumstances. We see this in examples such as "The reference her is to the battle of Pultava, on 28 June 1709, when Charles XII allowed his guns to remain idle in the baggage-train, while horse and foot were sent to attack 200 Russian cannon with swords and bayonets", this description followed a description of how artillery played a small part in the army of Charles XII during his reign.<sup>202</sup> When it comes to the focus on individuals, we can find descriptions throughout the book, however these descriptions also tend to be short and in little detail. We see this in examples such as "The sudden irruption of Gustavus Adolphus into the politics of Europe was something which Sweden and Finland could achieve only through a system of finance based on money economy".<sup>203</sup> Overall, there is clearly a larger focus on structural history than on individuals and events. Despite this we still find descriptions of events and individuals, however often these descriptions are short and lack in detail.

When it comes to the geographic aspect, there are no chapters dedicated to specific geographic regions. In order to understand Roberts' geographic focus, we must see how often conflicts with Denmark, the German states and the eastern states are mentioned. The conflicts

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<sup>199</sup> Roberts, 1973

<sup>200</sup> Åström, 1973, p. 59

<sup>201</sup> Lundkvist, 1973, p. 23

<sup>202</sup> Åberg, 1973, p. 283

<sup>203</sup> Åström, 1973, p. 96

with Denmark are mentioned surprisingly often, we can find descriptions of these conflicts on 49 of the 268 pages. Unsurprisingly, the conflicts in Germany are mentioned more often. In total we find mentions of these conflicts on 59 pages. Lastly, the conflicts with the eastern powers are mentioned on 84 pages. This clearly shows that Roberts has a larger focus on the conflicts in Germany and in the east rather than on the conflicts with Denmark, which is expected from a book published within this timeframe.

Where the book's table of contents fails to help us understand Roberts' geographic focus, it helps us understand his focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects. When it comes to the political aspect, we can find descriptions of political issues throughout the book. Even though not every chapter is based around political issues, we still find detailed descriptions within them. For instance in the chapter "Estates and Classes", which discusses the different estates within Sweden during its era of greatness, we still find descriptions of government actions, such as "In the course of the seventeenth century, the crown's great need for revenue (particularly in cash), and also its need to pay its servants and officers, resulted in the sale, pawning and donation of a large number of farms to the nobility".<sup>204</sup> Such examples can be found throughout the book. When it comes to the military aspect, one of the eight chapters is dedicated to the Swedish army. Simultaneously we find descriptions of wars throughout four other chapters. In total these chapters take up 172 of the 268 pages, which is a larger focus than expected. The description, however, tend not to describe battles in detail, and rather focuses on the economic and political sides of the wars. We see this in examples such as "Even though a part of the proceeds was swallowed up in the expense of garrisons, fortifications and administration in occupied Prussia, the major portion was available for use in the German theatre of war, for repayment of war debts and for the needs of the central government".<sup>205</sup>

When it comes to the social and economic aspects, we see that these also have chapters dedicated to them. The social aspect is discussed in three chapters, taking up 103 pages. Within these chapters we find detailed descriptions of social issues and the state of the peasantry and the other estates. This is shown in examples such as "The 'tax-peasant' was a freeholder, paying taxes to the king, while the farm of a crown-peasant was the property of the crown, and that of a frälse-peasant was owned by his noble landlord".<sup>206</sup> It is clear that

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<sup>204</sup> Dahlgren, 1973, p. 106

<sup>205</sup> Åström, 1973, p. 93

<sup>206</sup> Dahlgren, 1973, p. 106

Roberts has a large focus on this aspect. Similarly, the economic aspect is discussed in two chapters taking up 74 pages. This is also a rather large focus. Within these chapters we find detailed economic descriptions, as well as economic tables. In total there are 8 such tables. Descriptions within the text tend to be detailed, and often entail other aspects such as politics and the military. A typical economic description can for instance look like “Among this new type of taxes was for instance a poll-tax (mantalspengar) which was assessed not upon the land but per capita”.<sup>207</sup> Throughout these chapters we can find such descriptions. In total it is clear that Roberts finds both the social and economic aspects important and puts a large focus on them, despite dedicating more pages to the political and military aspects.

In conclusion, Roberts has a larger focus on structural history than on events and individuals. We also see a larger focus on the conflicts in Germany and in the east than on the Danish conflicts. The political aspect is discussed throughout the book, and there is also a large focus on the military aspect. Simultaneously, however, there is also a large focus on the social and economic aspects. This is expected from a book from this period.

*Sweden: the Nation's History* is a book published in 1977 by the American historian Franklin Daniel Scott. Scott has both a Ph.D. in social sciences and an M.A. in American history from the University of Chicago. After his graduation he worked by teaching history in high school. Furthermore, Scott went to Harvard and received a Ph.D. in European History. Scott went on to teach history at Superior State Teachers' College and eventually at Northwestern University as a professor of history. Scott specialised in Swedish history and is famous for his works in these field. His bibliography includes works such as *The United States and Scandinavia from 1950* and *Bernadotte and the Fall of Napoleon* from 1935. Scott received the Swedish Order of the North Star and an honorary degree of Doctor at Uppsala University.<sup>208</sup> *Sweden: the Nation's History* discusses Sweden's history from its earliest inhabitants to the twentieth century. There are three chapters, taking up 114 pages, centred around the Swedish Era of Great Power.

Looking at the book's table of contents leaves us with an impression that Scott focuses more on structural history, rather than individuals and events. In total there are 28 subchapters within the three chapters we are looking at. Out of these, 13 are centred around individuals or events, taking up 58 pages. In all, the table of contents tells us that half of the book is focused

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<sup>207</sup> Åström, 1973, p. 79

<sup>208</sup> Northwestern, n.d.

on structural history, whilst the other half is focused on individuals and events.<sup>209</sup> However, the table of contents does not tell the whole story and we must look deeper into the chapters. When looking within the chapters we find that 7 subchapters are focused on individuals and events, 16 are split and 5 are focused on structural history. In total 95 of the 114 pages are taken up by the focus on individuals and events, whilst 84 pages are taken up by the focus on structural history, including several pages that overlap. Within the subchapters focused on individuals and events, we typically find descriptions of events through individuals, and often in detail, this is seen in examples such as “Gustav Adolf’s raids in Skåne had no decisive effect, and on his return he was almost captured and his hours went through the this ice of Vittsjö”.<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, in subchapters focused on structural history we find detailed descriptions of circumstances, seen in examples such as “Although the trading potential was not enough to enthuse officials in Stockholm agriculture flourished and the colonists prospered”.<sup>211</sup> We also see an economic table on page 219,<sup>212</sup> which is typical in structural history writing. As we can see, the focus on individuals, events and structural history tend to overlap in Scott’s work. Even though there is a large presence of structural history, there is also a larger than expected focus on individuals and events.

Scott’s table of contents also helps us understand his geographic focus. Of the 28 subchapters, one is centred around Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark.<sup>213</sup> Additionally, these conflicts are mentioned in other subchapters, and in total take up 34 of 114 pages. This is a surprisingly large focus on these conflicts. In the table of contents, we also see that there are subchapters dedicated to Sweden’s conflicts in Germany. There are two such subchapters.<sup>214</sup> We also see them mentioned in other subchapters. In total this focus takes up 18 pages, which is less than expected. Finally, we see that there are two subchapters dedicated to the Swedish conflicts to the east.<sup>215</sup> Additionally, these conflicts are mentioned in other chapters, and in total take up 44 pages, which is expected. In all, we see that the conflicts in the east has the largest focus, with the conflicts in Denmark not far behind, and with a smaller than expected focus on the conflicts in Germany. This goes against my hypothesis as it expects there to be a larger focus on the German conflicts. However, we see that the conflicts in Denmark only has

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<sup>209</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

<sup>210</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 167

<sup>211</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 193

<sup>212</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 219

<sup>213</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

<sup>214</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

<sup>215</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

one subchapter dedicated to them, whilst the other geographic regions have two subchapters each, this could be an indication that Scott finds them more important.

The table of contents also gives us an indication on Scott's focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects. Firstly, we see that there is a large focus on the political aspect. Of the 28 subchapters, 22 are centred around political events or circumstances.<sup>216</sup>

Additionally, we see this aspect mentioned in the other subchapters. Even though this aspect is not the main focus in every subchapter, we still see political descriptions throughout them, and often in detail. Descriptions such as "But it was in his regime that the administrative structure of the modern Swedish state was constructed, one of the most efficient and well-organized governments in Europe, and Sweden's progress was dependent on political organization as well as on military conquest"<sup>217</sup> exemplifies this. The military aspect also receives a large focus. 8 subchapters are centred around wars and the military. Additionally, we find descriptions within other chapters.<sup>218</sup> In total this focus takes up 82 of the 114 pages, which is slightly more than expected. Throughout these pages we can find fairly detailed descriptions of wars and the Swedish armies, seen in examples such as "Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt with 11,000 Swedish reinforcements would gather supplies and catch up with the main army enroute to Moscow; he was opposed by Rudolf Baur with 16,000 Russians".<sup>219</sup>

The subchapter's titles also tell us that there is a focus on the social and economic aspects. We see that 7 subchapters are centred around social issues, whilst 2 are centred around economic issues.<sup>220</sup> Issues relating to these aspects are also described in other subchapters as well. In total the focus on the social aspect takes up 52 pages. Within these pages we find detailed descriptions, such as "Although legally free, those who owned less than three marks' worth of property were subject to laws requiring them to take whatever employment was offered".<sup>221</sup> Finally, the focus on the economic aspect takes up 57 pages. Within these pages we find descriptions of the Swedish economy, industry and trade, including an economic table.<sup>222</sup> These descriptions are often quite detailed, shown in examples such as "Territorial conquests in the Baltic lands provided 1 million riksdaler in annual tolls, and the Truce of

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<sup>216</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

<sup>217</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 182

<sup>218</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

<sup>219</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 232

<sup>220</sup> Scott, 1977, p. xiv

<sup>221</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 159

<sup>222</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 219

Altmark guaranteed six years of safety from Polish attack”.<sup>223</sup> As expected, there is a large focus on the social and economic aspects, however, there is also a larger than expected focus on the military aspect.

In conclusion, Scott has a split focus on individuals, events and structural history, although the focus on individuals and events is larger than expected, we still see a large focus on structural history. When it comes to Scott’s geographic focus, there is a larger than expected focus on the conflicts with Denmark, a lower-than-expected focus on the conflicts in Germany, and finally, an expectedly large focus on the conflicts in the east. There is a large focus on the political aspect which can be found throughout the three chapters. We also see a larger than expected focus on the military aspect, however, we also see a large focus on the social and economic aspects.

*Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* is a book written by the British historian Anthony F. Upton and published in 1998. 13 chapters 261 pages. Upton was a distinguished historian who specialised in Scandinavian history, and he was educated at the Queen’s College, Oxford and Duke University. Upton went on to lecture at the University of Leeds and later the University of St Andrews, where he was appointed Professor of Nordic History. He is known for his many works on Scandinavian history, as well as his studies on Finnish history and his textbook *Europe 1600-1789* from 2001. Additionally, he was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, given an honorary degree at the University of Helsinki and made a Knight Commander of the Order of the White Rose of Finland.<sup>224</sup> His book *Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* takes up the changes in Sweden’s political structure leading to absolutism during the reign of Charles XI.

The book’s table of contents does not help us much in determining its focus on events, individuals and structural history, so we must look within the chapters. When looking through these chapters, we find that 8 of the 13 chapters have a significant focus on events and individuals, taking up 179 of the 261 pages. As the book is centred around the reign of Charles XI this is not surprising. One would imagine that there would not be a large focus on structural history, given the large focus on events and individuals, as well as the book’s focus on Charles XI. However, this is not the case. We find that most of the chapters have an overlapping focus and that 12 chapters have a large focus on structural history, taking up 231

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<sup>223</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 174

<sup>224</sup> Rogister, 2016, p. 254-255

pages.<sup>225</sup> Although there is an expectation that literature from this period has a large focus on structure, it is still surprising given the fact that the book is centred around an individual. We can find detailed descriptions relating to both focuses. This can be seen in examples such as “Charles XI had fulfilled his duties as head of the family, and trustee for his dynasty and could rest satisfied”<sup>226</sup> and “At first Sweden was on the defensive against possible attackers, but her position improved gradually until, at the end of 1686 it seemed possible to take the initiative”.<sup>227</sup> Overall, there is a large focus on both events and individuals, as well as structural history, however, the focus on structural history is larger.

The book’s geographic focus is harder to analyse, first of all because the book has no chapters centred around specific events or conflicts. The second reason is the book’s chronological delimitation. The book includes few descriptions of events that took place before or after the reign of Charles XI. The conflicts with Denmark are mentioned on 26 pages, which is mostly centred around the Scanian War, which was one of few major conflicts Sweden was involved in during Charles XI’s reign. The conflicts with the German states are described on 20 pages. This is also due to the conflicts that took place during this time. Lastly, the conflicts with the eastern powers are only mentioned on 9 pages.<sup>228</sup> This is a result of Sweden not participating in major conflicts with these powers during this time, which Upton refers to when he mentions that Russia had given Sweden no serious trouble for forty years.<sup>229</sup> In all, it is hard to understand whether the book’s geographic focus is affected by the changing historiography in this period as there is a limited chronological delimitation. However, we can see that there is a larger focus on the conflicts with Denmark and Germany than on the conflicts with the eastern powers.

When it comes to the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects, it is much simpler to analyse. The focus on the political aspect is dominant. We find that all 13 chapters are centred around the political picture and developments within politics. Naturally as all the chapters are centred around it, all 261 pages include political descriptions.<sup>230</sup> These descriptions tend to be detailed, seen in examples such as “Through 1694 the king pursued his mediation effort, and resisted offers of Louis XIV for the full restitution of Zweibrücken,

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<sup>225</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 1-261

<sup>226</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 213

<sup>227</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 99

<sup>228</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 1-261

<sup>229</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 230

<sup>230</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 1-261



in return for collaborating with France and Denmark to pursue joint grievances against William of Orange”.<sup>231</sup> This dominant focus is expected as the book is centred around Charles XI and the advancement of Swedish absolutism during his reign. We also find a fair focus on the military aspect. Only 2 of the chapters are centred around military events, and descriptions can be found on 84 pages. The descriptions found of this focus tend not to be detailed.<sup>232</sup> We can find examples such as “The king’s tireless labours had created an army of high quality, recruited from native subjects, with its discipline based on professionalism and close ties between officers and men”<sup>233</sup> on these pages. This focus is close to what is expected.

When it comes to the social and economic aspects, we find that there is a large focus on both. Despite this large focus, there are no chapters centred around the social aspect, and only 1 centred around the economic aspect. Regardless, we can find descriptions of issues related to these aspects in other chapters. There are descriptions of social issues on 150 pages and there are descriptions of economic issues on 146 pages.<sup>234</sup> The descriptions of social issues tend to be detailed, seen in examples such as “On 23 October the Clergy yielded to pressure and agreed, reluctantly, to join the Peasants and the Burghers in a joint letter to the king urging a full reduction of all donations”.<sup>235</sup> Similarly, descriptions of economic issues tend to be fairly detailed. “In 1680 hr had enjoyed a revenue of 14,860 dsm. from his extensive properties, 12,159 dsm. from lending out surplus funds, much of them in mortgages to the crown, for which he got up to 20% interest, and 9,787 dsm. in official salary, which, exceptionally, was paid up to date”<sup>236</sup> is an example of this. Overall, there is a usurpingly dominant focus on the political aspect. Simultaneously we see a fair focus on the military aspect and a large focus on both the social and economic aspects. This focus is unsurprising.

In conclusion, Upton’s book has a large focus on both individuals and events, as well as structural history, however the focus on the latter is larger. The geographic focus in the book is largely affected by its chronological delimitation, however we see that there is a larger focus on the conflicts with Denmark and the German states than on the conflicts with the eastern powers. Lastly, we see a dominant focus on the political aspect, as well as a fair focus

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<sup>231</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 210

<sup>232</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 1-261

<sup>233</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 83

<sup>234</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 1-261

<sup>235</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 34

<sup>236</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 65

on the military aspect and finally a large focus on both the social and economic aspects. For the most part, the book's focus lives up to the hypothesis' expectations.

### 5.3 Discussion

As we have analysed the 7 works from this time period, we can see several similarities and differences, as with the previous time period. There are certain elements from this period that live up to the expectations of the hypothesis, and there are elements that do not. The first thing we take note of, is the prominent increase in the focus on structural history. Despite this, we still also see a large focus on both events and individuals, although significantly lower than the focus in the works from the period before 1940. We can still find descriptions of events through individuals in some of the works, as was common in the previous period, however, not nearly as often. We see this in examples such as "I mars 1536 hade den preussiske hertigen med anledning av de förekommande ryktena om at Gustav Vasa mördats av sina undersåtar, sänt en beskickning till Sverige"<sup>237</sup> and "Gustav Adolf's raids in Skåne had no decisive effect, and on his return he was almost captured and his hours went through the this ice of Vittsjö"<sup>238</sup>.

How much focus is given to events and individuals varies by a large margin in this period. In Hornborg's book from 1945 186 out of 196 pages have a focus on individuals and events. Furthermore, we see that the numbers in the other works are 96 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund's book, 245 of 384 in Lundkvist's dissertation, 79 of 100 in Rystad's book, 113 of 268 in Roberts' book, 95 of 114 in Scott's book and finally 179 of 261 in Upton's book. As we can see, in the works included in this analysis there is still a large focus on events and individuals, however, there is a clear decrease from the earlier time period. This focus can only be found throughout one of the works, meaning there are portions of all the other works that have a different focus, including all four works that are centred around either events or individuals. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find varies. For instance, we can find detailed descriptions such as "Charles XI had fulfilled his duties as head of the family, and trustee for his dynasty and could rest satisfied"<sup>239</sup> from Upton's book. We can also find less detailed descriptions such as "Vid ett tillfälle lyckades en dansk här under Daniel Rantzau

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<sup>237</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 135

<sup>238</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 167

<sup>239</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 213

tränge ända in I Östergötland, som härjades och brändes, men den måste snart draga sig tillbaka”<sup>240</sup> from Tunberg & Söderlund’s book.

The focus on structural history also varies by a large margin, however there is a clear increase in focus. We can find descriptions of circumstances in all the works used in this analysis, many of which are detailed. We can for example find examples such as “Eftersom Sveriges befolkning alltjämt til största delen utgjordes av bönder, av vilka de flesta blott med svårighet kunde finna avsättning för sina produkter, utgingo skatterna även under 1600-talet övervägande in nautra”<sup>241</sup> and “The ability to sustain the part of a great power is at bottom essentially a question of economic potential; and the problem to be discussed must therefore be how far Sweden possessed the necessary resources, and how they were utilised to maintain her great international position”.<sup>242</sup> Overall, the number of pages focused on structural history in the works range from 71 of 196 in Hornborg’s book, 98 of 112 in Tunberg and Söderlund’s book, 272 of 384 in Lundkvist’s dissertation, 73 of 100 in Rystad’s book, all 268 in Roberts’ book, 84 of 114 in Scott’s book and finally 231 of 261 in Upton’s book. Clearly there is a large focus on structural history in this period. There is still a noticeably large focus on individuals and events, however. We find there is a larger focus on structural history in four of the seven works, including two works centred around individuals or events. With that in mind, the increase in this focus is not as large as perhaps expected as three works still have a larger focus on individuals and events. We can also note that we see the use of tables in three of the works. This is an indication that the author has a focus on structural history. In conclusion, we see a clear increase in the focus on structural history, however, we still see a larger than expected focus on individuals and events.

The geographic focus is also varied in the works used in this analysis. The focus on Sweden’s conflicts with Denmark ranges from 104 of 196 pages in Hornborg’s book to 27 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund’s book, 75 of 384 in Lundkvist’s dissertation, 5 of 100 in Rystad’s book, 49 of 268 in Roberts’ book, 34 of 114 in Scott’s book and finally 26 of 261 in Upton’s book. This focus is larger than expected, however, it is important to note that both Hornborg and Upton’s books are centred around events or time periods in which these conflicts were more prominent. The focus is fairly similar to the previous period. When it comes to the conflicts with Germany, we expect an increase in focus. We find that the number of pages

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<sup>240</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 109

<sup>241</sup> Tunberg & Söderlund, 1955, p. 136-7

<sup>242</sup> Åström, 1973, p. 59

these conflicts are mentioned on is 52 of 196 in Hornborg's book, 26 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund's book, 85 of 384 in Lundkvist's dissertation, 86 of 100 in Rystad's book, 59 of 268 in Roberts' book, 18 of 114 in Scott's book and 20 of 261 in Upton's book. This focus is unexpectedly small, especially considering Rystad's book is centred around the Thirty Year's War. The focus appears to be smaller than the focus in the book's used in the previous chapter. However, three of those books were centred around the Thirty Year's War. If we only look at the books that take up the entirety of Sweden's Era of Great Power, we see that the focus is slightly larger. This is an expected increase, however not as large as expected.

Sweden's conflicts in the east are also expected to receive more focus, and we see that they are mentioned on 88 of 196 pages in Hornborg's book, 28 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund's book, 83 of 384 in Lundkvist's dissertation, 18 of 100 in Rystad's book, 84 of 268 in Roberts' book, 44 of 114 in Scott's book and 9 of 261 in Upton's book. If we only look at the works that take up the entirety of the Swedish Era of Great Power, we see that these works receive the largest geographic focus in all three. Compared to the previous period there is a slight increase in focus, which is expected. Overall, the geographic focus has not changed as much as was expected. There is still a fairly large focus on the conflicts with Denmark, and only small increases in focus on the conflicts with Germany and the eastern powers.

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects we do see more change. The focus on the political aspect is still dominant, however to as much. We can find descriptions of politics throughout most of the works in this period, however there are exceptions. In Tunberg and Söderlund's book 16 of the 128 pages do not include such descriptions. We also see this in Rystad's book, where 11 of the 100 pages lack such descriptions. The detail within the descriptions is also slightly varied, with some book's including more detail in political descriptions than others, all though these descriptions tend to be at least fairly detailed. We see this in examples such as "Through 1694 the king pursued his mediation effort, and resisted offers of Louis XIV for the full restitution of Zweibrücken, in return for collaborating with France and Denmark to pursue joint grievances against William of Orange"<sup>243</sup> and "But it was in his regime that the administrative structure of the modern Swedish state was constructed, one of the most efficient and well-organized governments in Europe, and Sweden's progress was dependent on political organization as well as on military conquest".<sup>244</sup> Overall, this focus is not surprising. We see that there is

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<sup>243</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 210

<sup>244</sup> Scott, 1977, p. 182

slightly less focus on this aspect than in the previous period, which is necessary to give room to other aspects.

We also see a large focus on the military focus in this period. The number of pages dedicated to it is all 196 in Hornborg's book, 66 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund's book, 235 of 384 in Lundkvist's dissertation, 92 of 100 in Rystad's book, 172 of 268 in Roberts' book, 82 of 114 in Scott's book and 84 of 261 in Upton's book. This focus is surprising but is however slightly larger than expected. It is important to note that both Hornborg' and Rystad's books both have wars as a major theme, thus the number of pages increases. It is clear however, that the focus on the military aspect has drastically decreased from the previous period. The level of detail in the descriptions found in these works also vary from descriptions with very high levels of detail in Hornborg's book, seen in examples such as "Ett skepp, bestyckat med 24- och 18-pundingar, var vida starkare æn två lätta enheter bestyckade med 12- och 6-pundingar, æven om dessa två sammenlagt førfogade øver hælften flera kanoner",<sup>245</sup> to descriptions which are not very detailed in Lundkvist's dissertation, seen in examples such as "Kungen menade, att Sveriges 6 000-7 000 man førutom ryttarna inte var mycket att komma med mot ryssarnas 150 000 – denna uppskattning var naturligvis alltför hög, och uppgiften hade förmodligen sprits av ryssarna i vilseldeande syfte".<sup>246</sup>

The number of pages on which we can find descriptions of the social aspect within these works also vary. We see such descriptions on 14 of 196 pages in Hornborg's book, 68 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund's book, 65 of 384 in Lundkvist's dissertation, 21 of 100 in Rystad's book, 103 of 268 in Roberts' book, 52 of 114 in Scott's book and 150 of 261 in Upton's book. This is close to what is expected from this period. The level of detail in the descriptions found also vary. We see detailed descriptions such as "On 23 October the Clergy yielded to pressure and agreed, reluctantly, to join the Peasants and the Burghers in a joint letter to the king urging a full reduction of all donations",<sup>247</sup> however we also see works with smaller levels of detail in the descriptions, such as "Detta tog sig under sommaren 1628 oroande uttryck i Västergötland och Småland, där bönderna vägrade att betala en tillfällig krigsskatt, 3-markshjælpen".<sup>248</sup> Overall, we see the increase in focus that was expected.

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<sup>245</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 158

<sup>246</sup> Lundkvist, 1960, p. 353

<sup>247</sup> Upton, 1998, p. 34

<sup>248</sup> Arnoldsson, 1963, p. 26

When it comes to the economic aspect, the findings of the analysis are close to what is expected as well. The number of pages that include descriptions of the aspect also vary. We see such descriptions on 29 of 196 pages in Hornborg's book, 68 of 128 in Tunberg and Söderlund's book, 229 of 384 in Lundkvist's dissertation, 20 of 100 in Rystad's book, 74 of 268 in Roberts' book, 57 of 114 in Scott's book and 146 of 261 in Upton's book. It is important to note that trade is a major theme in Lundkvist's dissertation, thus the number of pages with such descriptions, as well as their detail, is increased. If we look at the other works, we still see a fairly large focus that has increased from the previous period, which was expected. The level of detail also varies. We see descriptions with less detail in for example Hornborg's book, seen in examples such as "Utan skyddet av en stark sjömacht kunde den Svenska handelssjöfarten icke uppblomstra".<sup>249</sup> However, we also find detailed descriptions in some of the works, for example "Among this new type of taxes was for instance a poll-tax (mantalspengar) which was assessed not upon the land but per capita"<sup>250</sup> from Roberts' book.

In conclusion, the findings in the works from this period are close to what was expected in some aspects, and not quite as expected in others. We still see a large focus on individuals and events that larger than what was expected. However, we still see the increased focus on structural history which we expected. Despite the increased focus, it has not increased as much as was expected, as it was expected to be larger than the focus on individuals and events, however, we come to find that they are fairly similar. The geographic focus is also not quite what was expected. We still see a fairly large focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark, which did not decrease as expected. The focus on the conflicts with Germany is smaller than expected. We come to find that it is only slightly larger than the focus in the previous period. The focus on the eastern conflicts, however, is closer to what was expected as we see a slight increase from the previous period. Lastly, we still see a large focus on the political aspect, which as only decreased slightly, which is not surprising. There is still a fairly large focus on the military aspect, however, it has decreased significantly from the previous period. This is not surprising as it was expected that there would be a larger focus on other aspects in this period. We see this is the case as we see significant increase in the focus on the social and economic aspects. There is a fairly large focus on both in this period, which is expected.

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<sup>249</sup> Hornborg, 1945, p. 98

<sup>250</sup> Åström, 1973, p. 79

## 6. After 2000

### 6.1 Introduction to the chapter

Most of the major historiographical changes that took place during the previous period still influence history writing today. As a result of this, we do not expect major changes in focus between these periods. One of the most prominent elements of history writing on the Swedish Era of Great Power from this period is the idea of Sweden as a fiscal-military state, which is furthered by historians such as Jan Glete.<sup>251</sup> As a result of this, the expectations for the focus in this period is fairly similar to the expectations for the previous period. We expect to find a large focus on both individuals and events as well as structure, however, with a slight decrease in the focus of the latter from the previous period. We also still expect a large focus on the political and military aspects. The focus on the social and economic aspects is expected to decrease slightly, however, remain fairly large. The geographic focus is expected to shift further east, meaning that the conflicts in the east are expected to receive the largest focus.

For the analysis seven varied works have been selected from this period. These works were published in the years between 2000 and 2021 by authors with three different nationalities. The selected works are as following: *Skånska kriget 1675-1679* by the Swedish historian Claes-Göran Isacson from 2000. *War and The State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal Military States, 1500–1660* by the Swedish historian Jan Glete from 2002, *A concise history of Sweden* by the British historian Neil Kent from 2008, *Stormaktens sista krig: Sverige och stora nordiska kriget 1700-1721* by the Swedish historian Olle Larsson from 2009, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* by the British historian Peter Wilson first published in 2009, *Napoleon, Charles XII and Hitler Challenge and Calamity in Russia* by the American author Adolf Af Jochnick from 2017 and *Sveriges Stormaktstid* by the Swedish historian Dick Harrison from 2021.

### 6.2 Analysis

*Skånska kriget 1675-1679* is a book published in 2000 by the Swedish historian Claes-Göran Isacson. Isacson received a Bachelor of Arts and worked as a director in several companies and has worked as a senior advisor at Chalmers Lindholmen University College.<sup>252</sup> He is known for works such as *Karl X Gustavs krig* from 2002 and *Vägen till stormakt* from 2006.

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<sup>251</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 1

<sup>252</sup> Isacson, 2000

His book *Skånska kriget 1675-1679* takes up the Scanian War and is split into 45 subchapters that make up 102 pages.

Even though the book is centred around an event, we still expect a presence of structural history in addition to a large focus on individuals and events. When looking at the titles of the subchapters, it appears that 28 are centred around individuals and events, however, when we look deeper, we find that 44 of the 45 subchapters are focused on either. This focus takes up 98 of the 102 pages. On these pages we can find detailed descriptions.<sup>253</sup> “Kungen och hans drabanter tar sig dock igenom hålet i muren medan efterföljande ryttare börjar riva i muren för att få ytterligare öppningar”<sup>254</sup> is an example of this. The focus on structural history is much smaller than expected. Only 6 subchapters taking up 10 pages are focused on structure. The descriptions found on these pages tend to not be very detailed.<sup>255</sup> We see this in examples such as “Eftersom Sverige före Roskildefreden bara haft kontakt med havet i väster genom en kort kustremsa runt Göta älvs mynning vid Västerhavet, hade ett öppet Öresund länge varit en viktig fråga”.<sup>256</sup> Overall, we find a dominant focus on individuals and events and a small focus on structural history. Even though the book is centred around an event, the margin between the focuses is much larger than expected.

Even though we expect works from this period to generally have a smaller focus on the conflicts in Denmark than on the conflicts in the east, this book is centred around the Scanian War, which was mostly fought between Sweden and Denmark, making it natural to expect a large focus on the conflicts with Denmark. When we read through the book, we find that this is indeed the case. The focus on the conflicts with Denmark is dominant. We find that 40 of the 45 subchapters are centred around these conflicts, and descriptions can be found on 100 of the 102 pages. Although we expected a large focus on these conflicts, this is larger than expected. German states such as Brandenburg took part in the war, so it is expected that the conflicts with such states are mentioned. None of the subchapters are centred around these conflicts, however we can find descriptions on 7 pages. Finally, there are no mentions of the conflicts with the eastern powers. Overall, we find a dominant focus on the conflicts with Denmark that is slightly larger than expected despite the book’s focus on the Scanian War. There is a small focus on the conflicts in Germany, which is slightly smaller than expected

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<sup>253</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9-110

<sup>254</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 86

<sup>255</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9-110

<sup>256</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9



and finally there is no focus on the eastern conflicts, which is unsurprising as the war was mostly fought between Sweden and Denmark.

As the book is centred around a war, we would expect a large focus on the political and military aspects, however, as the book was published in 2000, we also expect a fair focus on the social and economic aspects. When reading through the book we find that 25 of the 45 subchapters are centred around the political aspect. In addition, we can find description relating to the aspect on 95 of the 102 pages. These descriptions tend to be detailed.<sup>257</sup> “Den 26 januari 1679 skrevs ett fredsavtal mellan Sverige och det tysk-romerska riket under I Nijmegen av de svesnak delegaterna Oxenstierna och Olivecrantz”<sup>258</sup> is an example of such a description. This focus is unsurprising. The focus on the military aspect is even larger. 36 of the subchapters are centred around it and descriptions can be found on 100 pages. These descriptions are often very detailed.<sup>259</sup> This can be seen in examples such as “Danska soldater tar sig upp på vallarna under sträng bevakning och drar ner sina stupade från vallarna samtidigt som andra bär upp de lik som ligger i vallgraven”.<sup>260</sup> This focus is larger than expected.

Despite the dominant focus on the political and military aspects, we still expect a fair focus on the social and economic aspects. However, we find that this is not the case. No subchapters are centred around either the social aspect or the economic aspect. There are however a few descriptions of both aspects. There are descriptions relating to the social aspect on 12 pages, however these descriptions tend to not be very detailed.<sup>261</sup> This can be seen in examples such as “och av lantbefolkningen i de härjade områdena fanns knappt något produktivt manskap kvar”.<sup>262</sup> Descriptions relating to the economic aspect can only be found on 6 pages. These descriptions also tend to be less detailed.<sup>263</sup> This can be seen in examples such as “För von Galen var soldaterna delvis en handelsvara. 52 000 riksdaler kostade det danskarna att hyra dessa 4 260 man til och med oktober samma år”.<sup>264</sup> In short, there is a dominant focus on the political and military aspects and a small focus on the social and economic aspects.

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<sup>257</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9-110

<sup>258</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 108

<sup>259</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9-110

<sup>260</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 74

<sup>261</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9-110

<sup>262</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 110

<sup>263</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9-110

<sup>264</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 79

In conclusion, Isacson's book has a dominant focus on individuals and events and a small focus on structural history. Even though we expected a large focus on individuals and events, it is larger than expected, and the focus on structure is much smaller than expected. We also expected a large focus on the conflicts with Denmark as the book is centred around the Scanian War, however it was also dominant and larger than expected. The focus on the conflicts with Germany is smaller than expected. There is no focus on the conflicts with the eastern powers, however this is unsurprising as these powers did not take part in the war.

*War and The State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal Military States, 1500–1660* is a book written by Jan Glete and published in 2002. Jan Glete was a Swedish historian who received his PhD in history at Stockholm University where he also spent his entire academic career. Glete wrote several books and papers and specialised in naval history, but also wrote papers on military history, business history and state-building. He is most famous for his work on naval history and his theory stating there was a connection between the development of navies and state-building.<sup>265</sup> His bibliography includes works such as *Warfare at sea, 1500-1650: Maritime conflicts and the transformation of Europe* from 2000 and *Swedish Naval Administration 1521-1721: Resource Flows and Organizational Capabilities* from 2010. His book *War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal Military States, 1500– 1660* takes up the military development in Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in light of the political, social and economic changes. It includes 12 subchapters that span 37 pages on Swedish history.

As the book is not centred around either individuals or events, it is expected that there is a large focus on structural history. When we look through the book, we find that only 2 of the 12 subchapters are focused on individuals and events, taking up 12 of the 37 pages. The descriptions of both individuals and events tend to be less detailed.<sup>266</sup> We see this in examples such as “At the same time, his arrogant behaviour against Denmark—Norway provoked Christian IV to attack Sweden”.<sup>267</sup> When it comes to structural history, we can find it throughout the portion of the book discussing Sweden. We can find detailed descriptions of circumstances on all 37 pages.<sup>268</sup> We see this in examples such as “The existence of the peasants as a fourth estate in the parliament was unusual in a European context, and it is

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<sup>265</sup> Bellamy, 2013

<sup>266</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

<sup>267</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 186

<sup>268</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

especially interesting that the Swedish state could extract more resources from free peasants with parliamentary representation than contemporary European states could extract from unrepresented and often unfree peasant”.<sup>269</sup> Overall, there is a smaller focus on individuals and a dominant focus on structural history. With the book’s theme in mind, this is unsurprising.

The book is not centred around events, so the geographic focus is expected to be fairly balanced, with the conflicts in the east receiving the largest focus. When looking through the book, we see that that is also the case. There are no subchapters centred around the conflicts with Denmark, however, they are mentioned on 14 of the 37 pages. This is not very surprising. We do find, however, that 1 of the 12 subchapters is centred around the conflicts in Germany. In addition, they are mentioned on 14 pages as well. This is also not surprising. On the other hand, there are no subchapters centred around the conflicts with the eastern powers. Descriptions of these conflicts can be found on 12 pages.<sup>270</sup> It is surprising that these conflicts receive the smallest focus. Overall, the geographic focus is balanced.

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects, the military aspect is expected to receive a large focus as a result of the book’s theme. When reading through the book we find that 6 of the 12 subchapters are centred around the political aspect, however, descriptions can be found on all 37 pages. The descriptions also tend to be fairly detailed.<sup>271</sup> We see this in examples such as “Sweden’s entry into the war and its major role in it until 1648 can from our perspective be explained as the result of long experience in military organisation and the maturing Swedish fiscal-military state”.<sup>272</sup> We also find a large focus on the military aspect that can almost be found throughout the book. 8 of the subchapters are centred around this aspect and descriptions can be found on 36 pages. These descriptions also tend to be fairly detailed.<sup>273</sup> We see this in examples such as “In practice, it became a new type of army: conscripted peasants paid by the state and organised into infantry formations commanded by officers appointed by the king”.<sup>274</sup>

In addition to the large focus on the political and military aspects, we also find a large focus on both the social and economic aspects. There are 6 subchapters centred around the social

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<sup>269</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 194

<sup>270</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

<sup>271</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

<sup>272</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 207

<sup>273</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

<sup>274</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 202

aspect, and descriptions can be found on 30 pages. As with the previously mentioned aspects, the descriptions we can find tend to be fairly detailed.<sup>275</sup> This is exemplified by examples such as “Sea blockades had hit Swedish foreign trade, and even the peasants suffered from a lack of imported salt for food preservation”.<sup>276</sup> When it comes to the economic aspect, there is a subchapter centred around it. Economical descriptions can also be found on 30 pages, these descriptions, however, tend to not be very detailed.<sup>277</sup> We see this in examples such as “If they supplied these new instruments of power and organised modern armed forces they might improve their ability to raise taxes, increase control over territories, raise more taxes and pay for even more instruments of armed power”.<sup>278</sup> Overall, the focus on these aspects is fairly balanced.

In conclusion, Glete’s book has a fairly balanced focus. There is a dominant focus on structural history, however, there is still a fair focus on individuals and events. The geographic focus is balanced as all the conflicts in all three regions of interest are mentioned on a similar number of pages. Lastly, the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects is also fairly balanced. All four aspects receive a large focus, however, the political and military aspects are described on slightly more pages.

*A concise history of Sweden* is a book published in 2008 by the British historian and author Neil Kent. Kent received his D.Fil. at the Uppsala University and his B.A. and M.A. Magdalene College, University of Cambridge. Among other things Kent has worked as Professor of European History and Culture at St Petersburg State Academic Institute of Art, Sculpture and Architecture and Associate Professor at Scott Polar Research Institute at the University of Cambridge. During his career he also worked as a council member of the Anglo-Swedish Society and as a Scientific Board Member of Presses universitaires Rhin & Danube. His bibliography includes works such as *Crimea. A History* from 2016 and *The Sámi Peoples of the North* from 2014.<sup>279</sup> His book *A concise history of Sweden* takes up Swedish history from prehistory to the modern Swedish welfare state and includes 28 subchapters and 52 pages on the period surrounding the Swedish Era of Great Power.

The works in this period are expected to have a fairly balanced focus on individuals, events and structure, and Kent’s book is no different. When reading through the relevant portion of

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<sup>275</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

<sup>276</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 194

<sup>277</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-210

<sup>278</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 181

<sup>279</sup> Scott Polar Research Institute, n.d.

the book, we find that this is indeed the case. We find that 10 of the 28 subchapters are centred around individuals and events, 7 of which have titles that reference either events or include names. In total this focus takes up 30 of the 52 pages.<sup>280</sup> The descriptions we can find within these chapters tend to not be very detailed, which can be seen in examples such as “Their first major battle, though, took place the following year, at Breitenfeld, in Saxony, a major victory for Sweden against the Habsburg General Tilly, which enabled Gustaf Adolph, from a position of strength, to forge alliances with the major Protestant powers of northern Germany”.<sup>281</sup> The focus on structural history, on the other hand, is larger. We find that 19 subchapters are focused on structure, which is almost double the number of chapters focused on individuals and events. The number of pages this focus takes up, however, is only slightly higher. In total the focus takes up 38 pages. The descriptions we can find within these chapters tend to be fairly detailed, making it clear that Kent’s work has a larger focus on structural history.<sup>282</sup> We can see this in examples such as “While rural life thereby underwent significant changes administratively, the mining industry continued to function smoothly and remain lucrative”.<sup>283</sup> The focus we can find here is not surprising. Overall, there is a large focus on both individuals and events, as well as structural history, however the focus on the latter is slightly larger. This is practically as expected.

The geographic focus within the book is expected to favour the eastern conflicts. When we look through the book, we find that this is indeed the case, however it can also be confusing. The focus on the conflicts with Denmark is fair, however, none of the 28 subchapters are dedicated to them. We do, however, find descriptions on 17 of the pages. The focus on the conflicts in Germany, on the other hand, have 2 subchapters centred around them. The number of pages on which we can find descriptions of these conflicts is lower, as it is only 13. Lastly, we find that there is 1 subchapter centred around the conflicts in the east. Descriptions of them can be found on 16 pages.<sup>284</sup> It is interesting to note that the conflicts with Denmark are described on the most pages but is the only focus point with zero subchapters centred around it. On the other hand, the conflicts with Germany have the most subchapters centred around them, but the least number of pages describing them. And lastly the conflicts in the east are in the middle. In short, we can say that the focus is fairly

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<sup>280</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

<sup>281</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 72

<sup>282</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

<sup>283</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 77

<sup>284</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

balanced, however, one could argue that the focus on the conflicts with Germany is the largest, given they have the most subchapters centred around them and the differentials in the number of pages including descriptions is small. In all, it is surprising that the conflicts with Denmark are described on the highest number of pages, but the differences are small, and thus we could say the focus is balanced, which is what was expected.

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects we expect a slight decrease in the social and economic aspects. Similarly, to the geographic aspect, the findings in this portion of the analysis also indicate that the focus is fairly balanced. Unsurprisingly, there is a large focus on the political aspect, however it is not found throughout the entire portion of the book used in this analysis. We find that 14 of the 28 subchapters are centred around the political aspect. Descriptions, however, can be found on 50 of the 52 pages. These findings are unsurprising. The descriptions we can find tend to be fairly detailed.<sup>285</sup> “After the death of Gustaf Vasa, Sweden underwent a lengthy period of turbulence which eventually gave way in the following century to a period of consolidation, on a wide variety of levels”<sup>286</sup> is an example of this. There is also a large focus on the military aspect. 3 of the subchapters are centred around this aspect, and additionally we can find descriptions on 34 pages. These descriptions, however, tend to not be very detailed.<sup>287</sup> “By 1700, on the eve of war, Sweden’s military forces boasted a total of some 90,000 men, most of whom were mercenaries, but 36,000 native soldiers”<sup>288</sup> is an example of such a description. These findings are not surprising.

Even though the focus on the military and political aspects is large, we also find a large focus on both the social and economic aspects. There are 8 subchapters centred around the social aspect, as well as descriptions on 29 pages. These descriptions are also not very detailed.<sup>289</sup> This can be seen in examples such as “Finally, there was the Fourth Estate, which served the interests of the peasants, whose leader was chosen from their number”.<sup>290</sup> Similarly, we find that there are 5 subchapters centred around the economic aspect, as well as descriptions on 30 pages. These descriptions, however, are more detailed.<sup>291</sup> This can be seen in examples such as “Yet, while the export of copper grew markedly in the 1580s, it was the iron industry and

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<sup>285</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

<sup>286</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 61

<sup>287</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

<sup>288</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 90

<sup>289</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

<sup>290</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 82

<sup>291</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 49-100

its mining sector that proved over the longer term to be the more significant”.<sup>292</sup> These findings are also not surprising. Overall, we find a fairly balanced focus, with the political aspect receiving the largest focus.

In conclusion, we can find a large focus on individuals and events, as well as on structural history, with the latter slightly larger. This is as expected. We also find a balanced geographic focus where we see that the conflicts with Denmark are described on the most pages, but do not have any subchapters centred around them, and on the other hand, the conflicts with Germany have the most subchapters centred around them but are described on the lowest number of pages. This balanced geographic focus is unsurprising. Finally, there is also a fairly balanced focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects. There is a large focus on all these aspects, however, the focus on the political aspect is the largest. This is also not surprising.

*Stormaktens sista krig: Sverige och stora nordiska kriget 1700-1721* is a book by the Swedish author and historian Olle Larsson published in 2009. Larsson is a Fil. Dr. in history at the Lund University.<sup>293</sup> His bibliography includes works such as *Svensk historia* from 2012 and *Gustav Vasa: en furste bland furstar* from 2018. His book *Stormaktens sista krig: Sverige och stora nordiska kriget 1700-1721* discusses Sweden’s involvement in the Great Northern War and includes 61 subchapters and 318 pages.

As Larsson’s book is centred around an event, it would not be surprising if we find a large focus on individuals and events, however, we do still expect a presence of structural history. When looking through the book’s table of contents we find that 29 of the 61 subchapters appear to be centred around individuals and events.<sup>294</sup> However, when we look deeper into the subchapters, we find that 33 of them are focused on individuals and events, taking up 180 of the 318 pages.<sup>295</sup> This focus is unsurprising. The descriptions we can find within these subchapters tend to be detailed, as seen in examples such as “Så tidigt som i mars, kort efter det att den svenske kungen nåtts av nyheten om det sachsiska anfallet mot Riga, sände Karl XII brev till den svenske kommandanten i Narva, översten Henning Rudolf Horn, med en instruction om att hålla sig à jour med vad som hände i området”.<sup>296</sup> When it comes to

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<sup>292</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 67

<sup>293</sup> Larsson, 2009

<sup>294</sup> Larsson, 2009

<sup>295</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>296</sup> Larsson, 2009. p. 90

structural history, we find that 28 of the subchapters are focused on it, taking up 132 pages.<sup>297</sup> This is also unsurprising. Descriptions within these subchapters also tend to be detailed, as seen in examples such as “Omkring 95 procent av befolkningen kunde räknas till allmogen, det vill säga en grupp bestående av bönder, torpare, tjänstefolk och egendomslösa som bodde på landsbygden”.<sup>298</sup> Overall, we find a fairly balanced focus. The focus on individuals and events is slightly larger, however this makes sense as the book is centred around the Great Northern War.

The table of contents also gives an indication on the book’s geographic focus, however, it is necessary to dive deeper into the subchapters to understand it. We find that 6 of the 61 subchapters are centred around the conflicts with Denmark. We can find descriptions of these conflicts on 57 of the 318 pages. This is not a small focus, however, it is not large. This is not surprising given Denmark’s involvement in the Great Northern War. The focus on the conflicts with the German states is also fair. There are only 2 subchapters centred around them, however, descriptions can be found on 49 pages. This is also unsurprising given the German states’ involvement in the war. Finally, there is a large focus on the conflicts in the east. There are 15 subchapters centred around them and we can find descriptions on 165 pages.<sup>299</sup> This is not surprising as Russia and Poland were two of the most important belligerents in the war. Overall, we find a fair focus on the conflicts with Denmark and the German states, as well as a large focus on the conflicts in the east. This is unsurprising given the book is centred around the Great Northern War.

As the book is centred around a war, it would not be surprising to find a large focus on the political and military aspects, however, we also expect to find a fairly large focus on the social and economic aspects. When we go through the subchapters, we find a dominant focus on the political aspect. 18 of the 61 subchapters are centred around politics, however, we can find descriptions throughout the 318 pages. These descriptions are also often detailed.<sup>300</sup> “Kungen begärde och fick riksdagens stöd för uppfattningen att rådet endast skulle yttra sig när och om kungen så önskade”<sup>301</sup> is an example of this. This focus is unsurprising. We also find a large focus on the military aspect, although it is not as dominant. There are 24 subchapters centred around and descriptions can be found on 258 pages. These descriptions

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<sup>297</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>298</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 40

<sup>299</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>300</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>301</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 45



tend to be detailed as well.<sup>302</sup> This is also unsurprising. “Så bestod exempelvis Kalmar regemente av 1 100 man, Vasterbottens regemente utgjordes av 1 056 soldater medan Narke-Varmlands regemente och Livgardet råkade 1 674 respektive 1 900 man under sina fanor”<sup>303</sup> is an example of such a description.

Despite the large focus on the political and military aspects, we still expect a fairly large focus on both the social and economic aspects. When it comes to the social aspect, we do indeed find a fairly large focus. 3 of the subchapters are centred around it, which is not many, but we can, however, find descriptions on 77 pages.<sup>304</sup> These descriptions are not very detailed however, which we can see in examples such as “Stora delar av landsbygdsbefolkningen hade sökt sin tillflykt i staden, vars sammanlagda befolkning nu uppgick till mellan 45 000 och 50 000 personer”. This focus is not surprising. The economic aspect, on the other hand, receives a smaller focus. Only 2 of the subchapters are centred around it. There are also descriptions on fewer pages, as we can only find them on 48 pages.<sup>305</sup> The descriptions we can find, however, are fairly detailed, which is seen in examples such as “Inte mindre än 80 procent av värdet på den svenska exporten kom från handel med dessa varor vid seklets mitt”.<sup>306</sup> Overall, we find a slightly larger than expected focus on the political and military aspects, a fairly large focus on the social aspect, which was expected, and a smaller than expected focus on the economic aspect.

In conclusion, we find a large focus on both individuals and events as well as structural history, all though the latter is slightly larger which is unsurprising given the book’s theme. When it comes to the geographic aspect, we find a fair focus on both the conflicts with Denmark and in Germany as well as a large focus on the conflicts in the east. This is unsurprising given the book is centred around the Great Northern War. We find a slightly larger than expected focus on the political and military aspect, a fairly large focus on the social aspect and lastly, a smaller than expected focus on the economic aspect.

*The Thirty Years War: Europe’s Tragedy* is a book first published in 2009 by the British historian Peter H. Wilson. Wilson is Chichele Professor of the History of War at All Souls College, University of Oxford and has had a long career of teaching history at different universities. He is most famous for his research on war in Europe and the Holy Roman

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<sup>302</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>303</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 67

<sup>304</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>305</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 11-328

<sup>306</sup> Larsson, 2009, p. 42

Empire in the early modern period. He is famous for works such as *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* from 2016 and *Great Battles: Lützen* from 2018.<sup>307</sup> His book *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* discusses the entirety of the Thirty Years War and includes 75 subchapters centred around Sweden's participation, taking up 182 pages.

As the book is centred around the Thirty Year's War, it would not be surprising to find a large focus on individuals and events. When we read through the book, we see that that is indeed the case. Out of the 75 subchapters discussing Sweden, 68 are focused on individuals and events, taking up 171 of the 182 pages. Within these subchapters we can find very detailed descriptions of both individuals and events, and often together.<sup>308</sup> We see this in examples such as "Gustavus deliberately kept his own army separated from the raw Saxons who were deployed in a relatively deep formation east of the Leipzig-Düben road".<sup>309</sup> Despite the large focus on individuals and events, we still find a large presence of structural history, and they often overlap. Overall, the focus on structure takes up 32 subchapters and 80 pages. Within these subchapters we can find detailed descriptions of circumstances.<sup>310</sup> This is shown by examples such as "Nine out every ten Swedes were peasants, and virtually all economic activity was organized at household level because there were no manorial estates like those in Denmark or Poland".<sup>311</sup> Additionally, we can find tables, for example on page 717 where we find a table showing Sweden's territorial gains in the war.<sup>312</sup> Overall, the focus is unsurprising. There is a large focus on individuals and events, however there is a presence of structural history as well.

The book's geographic focus is also unsurprising. We find that 5 of the 75 subchapters are centred around Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. In total, they are described on 17 of the 182 pages. This focus is small but is, however, not surprising given the book's theme. When it comes to the conflicts in Germany, the focus is naturally large. There are 36 subchapters centred around them, and they are in total mentioned on 137 pages. Lastly, the focus on the conflicts with the eastern powers takes up 3 subchapters and 21 pages.<sup>313</sup> Overall, we find a large focus on the conflicts in Germany and a small focus on the conflicts with Denmark and

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<sup>307</sup> All Souls College, n.d.

<sup>308</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 168-851

<sup>309</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 473

<sup>310</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 168-851

<sup>311</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 178

<sup>312</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 717

<sup>313</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 168-851

the eastern powers. This focus, however, is explained by the book's focus on the Thirty Year's War.

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects, the findings in this analysis are also not surprising. As the book is centred around a major conflict with significant geopolitical consequences, namely the Thirty Year's War, it is no surprise that there is a large focus on both the political and military aspects. The focus on the political aspect is dominant. 58 of the 75 subchapters are centred around politics, and descriptions can be found throughout the 182 pages.<sup>314</sup> The descriptions we can find are often very detailed, seen in examples such as "The largely aristocratic regents were not wholeheartedly behind Oxenstierna, but all recognized him as indispensable and he was confirmed as Sweden's high chancellor and legate in Germany in January 1633".<sup>315</sup> When it comes to the military aspect, the focus is not as dominant. There 30 subchapters centred around this aspect, and descriptions can be found on 159 pages.<sup>316</sup> As the book is centred around a war, this is expected. The descriptions found on these pages are also very detailed at times, seen in examples such as "The best infantry were in the first line, while the king commanded most of the Swedish and Finnish horse on the right and Bernhard of Weimar led the 3,000 mainly German troops on the left".<sup>317</sup>

Given the large focus on the political and military aspects, one would think that there is little space left for the social and economic aspects. When we look through the book, we see that this is the case, especially in the portions covering Sweden's participation. There are no subchapters centred around either of these aspects, and descriptions of the social aspect can be found on 23 pages, whilst descriptions of the economic aspect can be found on 36 pages.<sup>318</sup> This is a small focus, and even though it was not expected that they would receive a large focus, it is smaller than expected. Additionally, the descriptions we can find tend to be fairly detailed. We see this in examples such as "Social stratification was less extreme, and though life was relatively hard of all the inhabitant, the poor were not as impoverished as they were elsewhere"<sup>319</sup> and "The new tax registers permitted permanent taxes from 1620 that no longer needed to be negotiated with the Riksdag".<sup>320</sup> Overall, it is unsurprising that

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<sup>314</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 168-851

<sup>315</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 513

<sup>316</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 168-851

<sup>317</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 508

<sup>318</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 168-851

<sup>319</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 178

<sup>320</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 185

the political and military aspects receive a large focus, however, the focus on the social and economic aspects is slightly smaller than expected.

In conclusion, Wilson's book has an unsurprisingly large focus on individuals and events, as well as a presence of structural history. The geographic focus is also unsurprising given the book's focus on the Thirty Year's War. There is a large focus on the conflicts in Germany and a small focus on the conflicts with Denmark and the eastern powers. Unsurprisingly there is also a dominant focus on the political aspect and a large focus on the military aspect. There is a slightly smaller than expected focus on the social and economic aspects.

*Napoleon, Charles XII and Hitler Challenge and Calamity in Russia* is a book published by the American author Adolf Af Jochnick and was published in 2017. Jochnick is an American with dual American-Swedish citizenship and has studied military history, often relating to Swedish military history. He has a law degree from Harvard and has spent much of his career in law.<sup>321</sup> He is famous for works such as *Hannibal, Scipio, and the Emergence of Rome* from 2020. His book *Napoleon, Charles XII and Hitler Challenge and Calamity in Russia* discusses the attempted invasions of Russia by Napoleon, Charles XII and Hitler and compares them. This includes 14 subchapters taking up 27 pages on Charles XII.

The book is centred around individuals and events, thus it is natural that much of the focus will be taken up by this. Despite this we still expect a presence of structural history. When looking at the titles of the subchapters we see that 11 of the 14 include references to either events or individuals. However, when we inspect the subchapters in greater detail, we find that 10 of them are focused on individuals and events, rather than 11. This focus takes up 21 of the 27 pages. The descriptions we find within these chapters tend to be fairly detailed.<sup>322</sup> We see this in examples such as "At 6:00 a.m. on July 4, Charles, at the head of eight thousand infantry soldiers, waded across the Babich and through the marsh-land and attacked Repnin's force".<sup>323</sup> With this large focus on individuals and events it would be easy to assume that there is a small focus on structural history. This is not the case, however. Several of the subchapters have an overlapping focus and we find that 7 of them are focused on structure, taking up 15 pages. Within these subchapters we can find fairly detailed descriptions of circumstances.<sup>324</sup> This is shown by examples such as "Sweden had a well-

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<sup>321</sup> Jochnick, 2017

<sup>322</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

<sup>323</sup> Jochnick, 2017p. 62

<sup>324</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

trained army based on an unusual system, under which big landowners had to supply and support a certain number of soldiers for the king”.<sup>325</sup> In all, we find that the focus is close to what is expected as there is a large focus on individuals and events, but also a presence of structural history.

The portion of the book we are looking at is centred around Charles XII and his struggles against Russia, which naturally will impact the geographic focus. With this in mind it is not surprising that we find a small focus on the conflicts with Denmark. Only 1 of the 14 subchapters is centred around these conflicts and we can only find descriptions of them on 4 of the 27 pages. It is also not surprising that the focus on the conflicts in Germany is insignificant. None of the subchapters are centred around them and we can only find descriptions on 1 page, making the focus negligible. Given the book’s theme and the earlier findings, it is not surprising to find a dominant focus on the conflicts in the east. 7 of the subchapters are centred around them and we can find descriptions of them on 24 pages.<sup>326</sup> The geographic focus overall is dominated by the conflicts with the eastern powers. This is not surprising given the book’s theme. With this in mind it would perhaps be an expectation that the other conflicts were mentioned more often. Additionally, it is important to note that the portion of the book relevant to this analysis is small, which in turn means that there is little space for these conflicts.

The book’s focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects is also impacted by its theme as it is centred around Charles XII’s military conflicts with Russia during his reign. With this in mind, it is not surprising to find a large focus on the political and military aspects. 11 of the 14 subchapters are centred around the political aspect, and we can find detailed descriptions throughout the 27 pages.<sup>327</sup> “Within months of the attacks, he invaded the Danish Islands, aided by British and Dutch fleets, and forced Denmark to sign a peace treaty”<sup>328</sup> is a typical example of such a description. There is a similar focus on the military aspect. 10 subchapters are centred around it. Additionally, we can find descriptions on 25 pages. These descriptions however are fairly detailed compared to the more detailed description of the political aspect.<sup>329</sup> We see this in examples such as “However, a small Swedish cavalry troop, returning from Propolsk, again turned the battle into a stalemate

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<sup>325</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-56

<sup>326</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

<sup>327</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

<sup>328</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 57

<sup>329</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

before darkness caused fighting to end”.<sup>330</sup> This focus is not surprising given the book’s theme, it is however, larger than expected.

Despite the fairly dominant focus on the political and military aspects, there is still a presence of a focus on the social and economic aspects, which is rather small. There are no subchapters dedicated to the social aspect, but we do, however, find descriptions on 5 pages. These descriptions are not very detailed, however.<sup>331</sup> Descriptions such as “Sweden had a small population – only around two million inhabitants”<sup>332</sup> showcases this. When it comes to the economic aspect, we do find that 1 subchapter is centred around it. Despite this, we only find descriptions on 4 pages, making the focus small. These descriptions are also not very detailed.<sup>333</sup> This is seen in examples such as “However, Sweden was a poor country with meager agricultural conditions, so severe that occasionally peasants were forced to mix bark in the bread to feed themselves”.<sup>334</sup> In all, the focus is not surprising given the book’s theme, it is however not as balanced as expected as the focus on the political and military aspects is dominant. We still expected a fairly large focus on the social and economic aspects, which this work does not have.

In conclusion, the findings within the book go against the. There is a large focus on individuals and events, however, we simultaneously see a fairly large focus on structure, however, the focus on structure is slightly smaller than expected. The geographic focus is dominated by the eastern conflicts. This is not surprising with the book’s theme in mind, but it does, however, indicate that the focus is not as balanced as expected for works from this period. Similarly, we find a dominant focus on the political and military aspects. The focus on the social and economic aspects is small. This is also less balanced than expected.

*Sveriges stormaktstid* was published in 2021 by the Swedish historian Dick Harrison. Harrison is a professor of history at the Lund University and has published over a hundred works on both Swedish and international history. He has also written chronicles in *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Populär Historia*. He is famous for works such as *Kalmars historia* from 2017 and *Sveriges medeltid* from 2020.<sup>335</sup> His book *Sveriges Stormaktstid* takes up the Swedish Era

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<sup>330</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 67

<sup>331</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

<sup>332</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 56

<sup>333</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 55-81

<sup>334</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 56

<sup>335</sup> Harrison, 2021

of Great Power from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century to the death of Charles XII. Within the book there are 72 subchapters that take up 402 pages.

As the book is from 2021 and not centred around a specific event or individual, it is expected that there is a balanced focus split between individuals and events and structural history, with a slightly smaller focus on structure. The book's table of contents helps us understand this focus as it shows us that 28 of the subchapters are centred around either individuals or events. However, when we read through the book, we see that 42 of the 72 subchapters are focused on individuals and events, taking up 239 of the 402 pages. Within these subchapters we can find detailed descriptions.<sup>336</sup> We see this in examples such as "Det var i denna situation, när den Svenska sidan behövde stärkas genom resolute handling, som Gustav II Adolf gjorde ett ödesdigert personligt ingripande".<sup>337</sup> We also find that the focus on structural history is slightly smaller. 33 of the subchapters focus on structure, taking up 198 pages.<sup>338</sup> On these pages we can find detailed descriptions of circumstances, seen in examples such as "En svensk bonde hade mycket större möjligheter att göra sin röst hörd än en fransk, spansk eller tysk".<sup>339</sup> Overall, this focus is close to what is expected as it is fairly balanced and is therefore unsurprising.

As the book is centred around the entire Swedish Era of Great Power, we also expect to find a balanced geographic focus with the conflicts in the east receiving the largest focus. The book's table of contents helps us understand this focus as well. We see that 5 of the 72 subchapters are centred around Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. In total, we can find descriptions of these conflicts on 64 of the 402 pages. This focus is unsurprising given the book's theme. When it comes to the conflicts in Germany, the focus is expected to be slightly larger, and we see that this is the case. There are 6 subchapters centred around these conflicts, and we can find descriptions of them on 66 pages. Finally, we see that there are 8 subchapters centred around the conflicts with the eastern powers and we can find descriptions of them on 92 pages.<sup>340</sup> It is not surprising that these conflicts receive the largest focus, however, it is slightly larger than expected compared to the focus on the conflicts with Denmark and in Germany. Overall, the geographic focus is fairly balanced, however the conflicts in the east receive the largest focus with a fairly large margin.

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<sup>336</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413

<sup>337</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 118

<sup>338</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413

<sup>339</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 49

<sup>340</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects the findings are fairly close to what was expected. When we look at the book's table of contents, we see that there are a number of subchapters centred around each of these aspects which gives us an indication towards the focus given to them. When we dive into the subchapters, we see that 42 of the 72 subchapters are centred around the political aspect. Beyond these subchapters we can find political descriptions on 329 of the 402 pages.<sup>341</sup> These descriptions tend to be detailed, which can be seen in examples such as "Förutom den pommerska landsvisnten lyckades de Svenska delegaterna förhandla sig till ett flertal nordtyske territorier: Wismar, Neukloster och ön Poel i Mecklenburg, Bremens och Verdens biskopsdömen (men inte staden Bremen) samt de två områdena Wildeshausen och Thedinghausen".<sup>342</sup> This is a large focus, which is not surprising, however, it is smaller than the focus seen in most of the other works used in this analysis. We also find a large focus on the military aspect. We find that there are 17 subchapters centred around it, as well as descriptions on 212 pages. This is also unsurprising. The descriptions we can find tend to be fairly detailed.<sup>343</sup> "Medan de ryska kanonerna fyrade av sina projektiler över slagfältet gav Rehnskiöld order om attack"<sup>344</sup> is an example of such the descriptions we can find.

Looking at the table of contents also shows us that there is a fairly large focus on the social and economic aspects, although not as large as the political and military aspects. Similarly, to the focus on the military aspect, there are 16 subchapters centred around the social aspect. Despite the similar number of subchapters focused on these aspects, however, the number of pages which includes descriptions of the social aspect is smaller as we can find them on 151 pages.<sup>345</sup> This is still a large focus and unsurprising. The descriptions we can find tend to be detailed, which we can see in examples such as "Böndernas beredvillighet att acceptera förändringarna, både de militära och de civila, är en av de tyngst vägande orsakerna till att Sverige kunde bli en stormakt".<sup>346</sup> The focus on the economic aspect is smaller, however it is still fairly large. There are 6 subchapters centred around it and we can find descriptions on 119 pages. These descriptions are also often detailed.<sup>347</sup> This can be seen in examples such as "Tullarna togs ut på varor som passerade landets gräns, medan acciser var skatter som togs ut

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<sup>341</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413

<sup>342</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 148

<sup>343</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413

<sup>344</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 376

<sup>345</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413

<sup>346</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 50

<sup>347</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 12-413



på varor som producerades eller omsattes inom landet”.<sup>348</sup> This focus is also unsurprising. All in all, the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects is close to what is expected.

In short, the findings in this work for the most part lives up to the expectations of the hypothesis. The focus on individuals and events is slightly larger than the focus on structure, however it is fairly balanced and not surprising. The geographic focus is also fairly balanced, which is not surprising. The focus on the conflicts in the east is, however, larger than the focus on the conflicts with Denmark and in Germany by a slightly surprisingly large margin. Finally, the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects is also not surprising. The focus on the political aspect is the largest, however smaller than in most of the other Works we have looked at. The focus on the military and social aspects is also large, with the latter slightly smaller. Finally, the focus on the economic aspect is fairly large.

### 6.3 Discussion

Going through the works from this period we see much variation. This variation is prevalent in the portion of the analysis where we looked at the focus on individuals and events and on structure. Even with the prominent variation in focus, we still generally see a large focus on both individuals and events as well as on structure. As in the previous periods, descriptions of events through individuals can still be found, however, how often they can be found varies greatly. “At 6:00 a.m. on July 4, Charles, at the head of eight thousand infantry soldiers, waded across the Babich and through the marsh- land and attacked Repnin’s force”<sup>349</sup> from Jochnick’s book is an example of such a description that can be found in this period.

The focus on individuals and events ranges from 98 of 102 pages in Isacson’s book, 12 of 37 in Glete’s book, 30 of 52 in Kent’s book, 180 of 318 in Larsson’s book, 171 of 182 in Wilson’s book, 21 of 27 in Jochnick’s book to 239 of 402 in Harrison’s book. As we can see, the focus varies from book to book. It is natural that the four books centred around either events or individuals has a large focus on either, however, in the three works that are not centred around either, we still see a large focus, namely in the works of Glete, Kent and Harrison. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find also vary. It varies from detailed descriptions such as “Kungen och hans drabanter tar sig dock igenom hålet i muren medan efterföljande ryttare börjar riva i muren för att få ytterligare öppningar”<sup>350</sup> from Isacson’s

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<sup>348</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 66

<sup>349</sup> Jochnick, 2017, p. 62

<sup>350</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 86

book to less detailed descriptions such as “At the same time, his arrogant behaviour against Denmark-Norway provoked Christian IV to attack Sweden”<sup>351</sup> from Glete’s book. Even though there is a large focus on individuals and events in this period, it surprisingly seems to have decreased, rather than increased. This is mostly surprising as a result of the larger than expected focus in the previous period and the expectation that the focus would increase in this period to balance the focus on structure.

The focus on structure is also varied. It ranges from 10 of 102 pages in Isacson’s book, all 37 in Glete’s book, 38 of 52 in Kent’s book, 132 of 318 in Larsson’s book, 80 of 182 in Wilson’s book, 15 of 27 in Jochnick’s book to 198 of 402 in Harrison’s book. For the most part, the focus on structure is large, with the exceptions of Isacson’s book where it is small and Glete’s book where it is dominant. We also see a fairly large focus on structure in three of the books centred around individuals and events, namely the works of Larsson, Wilson and Jochnick. Overall, the focus on structure is smaller than the focus on individuals and events, however the margin is fairly small, and we can say that the focus is fairly balanced. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find are also varied. It varies from detailed descriptions such as “En svensk bonde hade mycket större möjligheter att göra sin röst hörd än en fransk, spansk eller tysk”<sup>352</sup> from Harrison’s book to not very detailed descriptions such as “Eftersom Sverige före Roskildefreden bara haft kontakt med havet i väster genom en kort kustremsa runt Göta älvs mynning vid Västerhavet, hade ett öppet Öresund länge varit en viktig fråga”<sup>353</sup> from Isacson’s book. We can also find tables in some of the works from this period, for example in Wilson’s book.<sup>354</sup> The focus on structural history has seemingly decreased slightly from the previous period, which was expected. We can also note that all seven works in the previous period had at least a fairly large presence of structural history, whereas this is not the case in this period. Overall, we find a fairly balanced focus on individuals and events and on structural history. The focus on individuals and events is slightly larger, however this makes sense as both focuses seems to have decreased from the previous period. It may seem odd that both focuses decrease, however, this is likely due to chapters having an overlapping focus.

We expected a fairly balanced geographic focus in the works from this period, with the conflicts in the east receiving the largest focus and the conflicts with Denmark receiving the

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<sup>351</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 186

<sup>352</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 49

<sup>353</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 9

<sup>354</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 717

smallest. However, the focus is largely varied. The focus on the conflicts with Denmark range from 100 of 102 pages in Isacson's book, 14 of 37 in Glete's book, 17 of 52 in Kent's book, 57 of 318 in Larsson's book, 17 of the 182 in Wilson's book, 4 of 27 in Jochnick's book to 64 of 402 in Harrison's book. This focus is overall slightly larger than expected. We can also note that it is fairly similar to the previous period if we exclude the works that are centred around either individuals or events. The focus was not expected to increase so this is unsurprising. On the other hand, the focus on the conflicts with Germany were expected to decrease slightly to make room for an increased focus on the conflicts in the east, however they were still expected to receive a larger focus than the conflicts with Denmark. We find that the focus given to these conflicts ranges from 7 of 102 pages in Isacson's book, 14 of 37 in Glete's book, 13 of 52 in Kent's book, 49 of 318 in Larsson's book, 137 of 182 in Wilson's book, 1 of 27 in Jochnick's book to 66 of 402 in Harrison's book. This focus is slightly smaller than expected, even if we only look at the books that are not centred around events. The focus is very similar to the focus on the Danish conflicts in these the works of Glete, Kent and Harrison. It is also fairly similar to the focus in the previous period.

The conflicts in the east are expected to receive the largest focus in this period. The focus they receive range from 0 of 102 in Isacson's book, 12 of 37 in Glete's book, 16 of 52 in Kent's book, 165 of 318 in Larsson's book, 21 of 182 in Wilson's book, 24 of 27 in Jochnick's book to 92 of 402 in Harrison's book. If we only look at the three books not centred around events or individuals, we find that these conflicts receive the largest focus, although the margin is small. Despite this, the focus is fairly similar to the focus on the previous period. Overall, the geographic focus is fairly similar to the focus in the previous period for all three geographic focus points. However, the focus was expected to be fairly balanced which we find that it indeed is. We also expected that the eastern powers received the most focus, which is also the case.

When it comes to the political, military, social and economic aspects we expected a large focus on all however with a slight decrease in the focus on the social and economic aspects from the previous period. The political aspect does receive the largest focus in most of the works. One thing we can note is that we can find descriptions of this aspect on all pages in only four of the works. This is less than in the other periods, which could indicate a decrease in focus. The number of pages on which we can find descriptions of issues relating to the political aspects ranges from 95 of 102 in Isacson's book, all 37 in Glete's book, 50 of 52 in Kent's book, all 318 in Larsson's book, all 182 in Wilson's book, all 27 in Jochnick's book to

329 of 402 in Harrison's book. The descriptions we can find of this aspect also varies slightly in detail. It ranges from very detailed which can be seen in examples such as "The largely aristocratic regents were not wholeheartedly behind Oxenstierna, but all recognized him as indispensable and he was confirmed as Sweden's high chancellor and legate in Germany in January 1633"<sup>355</sup> from Wilson's book to fairly detailed descriptions such as "After the death of Gustaf Vasa, Sweden underwent a lengthy period of turbulence which eventually gave way in the following century to a period of consolidation, on a wide variety of levels"<sup>356</sup> from Kent's book. Overall, we find a large focus which has slightly decreased from the previous period, which is not surprising.

We also expect a large focus on the military aspect, but as with the political aspect, we expect it to receive a similar focus to the other aspects. We find that the focus ranges from 100 of 102 pages in Isacson's book, 36 of 37 in Glete's book, 34 of 52 in Kent's book, 258 of 318 in Larsson's book, 159 of 182 in Wilson's book, 25 of 27 in Jochnick's book and 212 of 402 in Harrison's book. There is clearly a large focus on the military aspect in this period, and it is slightly larger than expected. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find varies greatly and ranges from very detailed such as "Danska soldater tar sig upp på vallarna under sträng bevakning och drar ner sina stupade från vallarna samtidigt som andra bär upp de lik som ligger i vallgraven"<sup>357</sup> from Isacson's book to not very detailed such as "By 1700, on the eve of war, Sweden's military forces boasted a total of some 90,000 men, most of whom were mercenaries, but 36,000 native soldiers"<sup>358</sup> from Kent's book. The focus in this period seems to be larger than the focus in the previous period. This is not surprising as it was expected that the focus on the military aspect in that period was expected to decrease to make room for other aspects. However, despite this the focus is larger than expected in this period.

We expect a large focus on the social aspect in this period as well, however, not as large as in the previous period. We find that the focus in the works from this period varies and ranges from 12 of 102 pages in Isacson's book, 30 of 37 in Glete's book, 29 of 52 in Kent's book, 77 of 318 in Larsson's book, 23 of 182 in Wilson's book, 5 of 27 in Jochnick's book to 151 of 402 in Harrison's book. This shows that there is generally a fairly large focus on the social aspect. The descriptions we can find vary in the level of detail. We see less detailed descriptions such as "och av lantbefolkningen i de härjade områdena fanns knappt något

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<sup>355</sup> Wilson, 2011, p. 513

<sup>356</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 61

<sup>357</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 74

<sup>358</sup> Kent, 2008, p. 90

produktivt manskap kvar”<sup>359</sup> from Isacson’s book as well as detailed descriptions such as “Böndernas beredvillighet att acceptera förändringarna, både de militära och de civila, är en av de tyngst vägande orsakerna till att Sverige kunde bli en stormakt”<sup>360</sup> from Harrison’s book. These findings are not surprising. The focus seems to be slightly smaller than the focus in the previous period.

The economic aspect is expected to be similar to the social aspect and the findings also vary. The focus ranges from 6 of 102 pages in Isacson’s book, 30 of 37 in Glete’s book, 30 of 52 in Kent’s book, 48 of 318 in Larsson’s book, 36 of 182 in Wilson’s book, 4 of 27 in Jochnick’s book to 119 of 402 in Harrison’s book. This focus is smaller than the focus on the social aspect, by a slightly surprising margin, however, the focus is still fairly large. It also varies in the detail of descriptions. The detail in descriptions ranges from detailed seen in examples such as “Tullarna togs ut på varor som passerade landets gräns, medan acciser var skatter som togs ut på varor som producerades eller omsattes inom landet”<sup>361</sup> from Harrison’s book to less detailed seen in examples such as “If they supplied these new instruments of power and organised modern armed forces they might improve their ability to raise taxes, increase control over territories, raise more taxes and pay for even more instruments of armed power”<sup>362</sup> from Glete’s work. The focus on this aspect has also slightly decreased from the previous period which was expected. Overall, the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects is close to what is expected. We find that the focus on the political aspect has slightly decreased but is still large. The focus on the military aspect has slightly increased. Lastly, the focus on both the social and the economic aspects has decreased slightly whilst remaining large and fairly large respectively. This is what was expected from this period.

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<sup>359</sup> Isacson, 2000, p. 110

<sup>360</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 50

<sup>361</sup> Harrison, 2021, p. 66

<sup>362</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 181

## 7. Comparison and discussion

### 7.1 Individuals and events versus structure

| Before 1940 | Total pages | Individuals and events | Structural history |
|-------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Voltaire    | 215         | 215                    | 0                  |
| Crichton    | 145         | 145                    | 0                  |
| Ålund       | 348         | 348                    | 0                  |
| Ottosen     | 122         | 100                    | 34                 |
| Acton       | 64          | 64                     | 0                  |
| Ahnlund     | 367         | 367                    | 0                  |
| Stomberg    | 275         | 275                    | 24                 |

| 1940 to 1990's      | Total pages | Individuals and events | Structural history |
|---------------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Hornborg            | 196         | 186                    | 71                 |
| Tunberg & Söderlund | 128         | 96                     | 98                 |
| Lundkvist           | 384         | 245                    | 272                |
| Rystad              | 100         | 79                     | 73                 |
| Roberts             | 268         | 113                    | 268                |
| Scott               | 114         | 95                     | 84                 |
| Upton               | 261         | 179                    | 231                |

| After 2000 | Total pages | Individuals and events | Structural history |
|------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Isacson    | 102         | 98                     | 10                 |
| Glete      | 37          | 12                     | 37                 |
| Kent       | 52          | 30                     | 38                 |
| Larsson    | 318         | 180                    | 132                |
| Wilson     | 182         | 171                    | 80                 |
| Jochnick   | 27          | 21                     | 15                 |
| Harrison   | 402         | 239                    | 198                |

Table 1: Number of pages with a focus on individuals and events and structural history within the different works.

In the tables above we see the focus on individual and events compared to the focus on structure in the works from the different periods. As we know the historiographical picture before the 1940's is dominated by a focus on individuals and events. This is influenced by the prominence of the Great Man Theory. The works from the period before 1940 showcase this as we see a dominant focus on individuals and events. This focus can be found throughout a majority of the works. We also find that the descriptions of events and individuals in these works tend to be detailed. This is not surprising given the historiographical picture surrounding the period. The focus on individuals and events decreases in the works from the

period between 1940 and the 1990's. Despite this decrease, however, we still find a large focus on individuals and events in the works from the period. The focus is at minimum fairly large in all the selected works, even the works that are not centred around an event or an individual. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find of this focus in the works, however, is varied. The focus on individuals and events decreases slightly in works from the period after 2000. The works from this period also tend to have a large focus on individuals and events, however, it is more varied. Also, here the level of detail in the descriptions we can find is varied. Jan Glete stated that the focus in Swedish history often fell on important individuals.<sup>363</sup> These findings support that statement as the focus on individuals and events for the most part remains large throughout the periods.

As historians after World War II moved away from the Great Man Theory under the influence of approaches such as Marxist historiography, the focus on structures and circumstances grew. We see this in the findings of this analysis. The focus on structure is negligible in five of the seven works from the period before 1940, and even in the two works where we can find a focus on structure, the focus is still not very large. In the works from the period between 1940 and the 1990's we see a significant increase in the focus on structure. The focus clearly increases from being almost negligible to in the previous period to large in this period. Many of the descriptions in the sections of the works focused on structure are detailed. The focus on structure decreases in the works from the period after 2000. The focus still tends to be fairly large, but it is however, more varied. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find in this period is also varied. Overall, all the works in this period do have a focus on structure to some extent.

Overall, the period before 1940 is completely dominated by a focus on individuals and events. Only two of the works in this period has a substantial focus on structure, and even so, the focus is smaller than the focus on individuals and events. In the period between 1940 and the 1990's the focus shifts. Several of the works in this period have a larger focus on structure than on individuals and events, which is still quite large. When it comes to the period after 2000 the focus is again larger on individuals and events than on structure. Despite this we still see a large focus on structure in this period as well, and two to the seven works from this period has a larger focus on structure. In conclusion, the focus on individuals and events is dominant before 1940 and remains large throughout the periods. The focus on structure is

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<sup>363</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174

almost negligible in the works from before 1940 before the focus significantly increases in after 1940. The focus slightly decreases after 2000, but still remains large.

## 7.2 The geographic focus

| Before 1940 | Total pages | Denmark | Germany | East |
|-------------|-------------|---------|---------|------|
| Voltaire    | 215         | 40      | 70      | 150  |
| Crichton    | 145         | 65      | 35      | 56   |
| Ålund       | 345         | 9       | 296     | 24   |
| Ottosen     | 122         | 38      | 18      | 24   |
| Acton       | 64          | 4       | 33      | 15   |
| Ahnlund     | 367         | 50      | 250     | 40   |
| Stomberg    | 275         | 75      | 52      | 81   |

| 1940 to 1990's      | Total pages | Denmark | Germany | East |
|---------------------|-------------|---------|---------|------|
| Hornborg            | 196         | 104     | 52      | 88   |
| Tunberg & Söderlund | 128         | 27      | 26      | 28   |
| Lundkvist           | 384         | 75      | 85      | 83   |
| Rystad              | 100         | 5       | 86      | 18   |
| Roberts             | 268         | 49      | 59      | 84   |
| Scott               | 114         | 34      | 18      | 44   |
| Upton               | 261         | 26      | 20      | 9    |

| After 2000 | Total pages | Denmark | Germany | East |
|------------|-------------|---------|---------|------|
| Isacson    | 102         | 100     | 7       | 0    |
| Glete      | 37          | 14      | 14      | 12   |
| Kent       | 52          | 17      | 13      | 16   |
| Larsson    | 318         | 57      | 49      | 165  |
| Wilson     | 182         | 17      | 137     | 21   |
| Jochnick   | 27          | 4       | 1       | 24   |
| Harrison   | 402         | 64      | 66      | 92   |

Table 2: The number of pages on which we can find descriptions of Sweden's conflicts with Denmark, in Germany and in the east within the selected works.

In the tables above we see the geographic focus of the selected works from each period. In the works from the period before 1940 we find a fairly large focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark. This focus is especially large in works not centred around an event or an individual, such as the works by Crichton, Ottosen and Stomberg. We must note however, that Ottosen is Danish which could influence this focus. Crichton's works is centred around Scandinavian history as a whole, not just Swedish, this could also influence its focus. The focus on these conflicts is smaller in the period between 1940 and the 1990's, however, in some of the works it is still fairly large. This focus remains fairly similar in the period after



2000. Isacson's book, however, has a dominant focus on these conflicts. This focus though, is influenced by the fact the book is centred around the Scanian War.

The focus on the conflicts in Germany in the works from the period before 1940 is more varied. The focus is large in both the works of Ahnlund and Ålund, however, these works are centred around Gustav II Adolf and the Thirty Years' War. In the works not centred around either events or individuals the focus tends to be fair. The focus on these conflicts increases slightly in the works from the period between 1940 and the 1990's. The works from this period tend to have a fair focus on these conflicts. Rystad's book is an exception to this as its focus on these conflicts is very large, however, this book is centred around the Thirty Years' War which influences its focus. The focus in the period after 2000 remains fairly similar. We also see one exception here, which is Wilson's book. This book, however, is also centred around the Thirty Years' War. The focus in the works not centred around either events or individuals in both this and the previous period tend to be somewhere between fair and fairly large.

The focus on Sweden's conflicts with the eastern powers in the works from before 1940 is also varied. If we look at the works not centred around events or individuals, we see that the focus on these conflicts we find a large focus in Stomberg's book, a fairly large focus in Crichton's book and a fair focus in Ottosen's book. This would indicate that the focus is overall fair or fairly large. The focus on these conflicts increases slightly in the period between 1940 and the 1990's. This increase in focus is clearly seen in the works not centred around individuals or events, as it takes up a large portion of the works by Scott and Roberts. The focus on these conflicts in the works from after 2000 is fairly similar to the focus in the works from between 1940 and the 1990's.

Overall, we see that the geographical focus in the works from before 1940 tends to favour Sweden's conflicts with Denmark and the eastern powers. In the works not centred around individuals and events, namely the works of Crichton, Ottosen and Stomberg, the conflicts with Denmark receive the largest focus in two of them, whilst the focus on the conflicts with the eastern powers is the largest in one. The focus on the conflicts in Germany is the smallest in all of these three works. When we look at the focus in the works from the period between 1940 and the 1990's we see a larger focus on the conflicts with Germany and in the east, as well as a slightly smaller focus on the conflicts with Denmark. All three works from this period that are not centred around either events or individuals places the largest focus on the

conflicts in the east and a fairly similar focus on the conflicts with Denmark and in Germany. The focus in the works from after 2000 is fairly balanced. The focus placed on the conflicts with Denmark and in Germany is fairly similar. The conflicts in the east receive the largest focus.

### 7.3 The political, military, social and economic aspects

| Before 1940 | Total pages | Political | Military | Social | Economic |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|
| Voltaire    | 215         | 215       | 215      | 10     | 5        |
| Crichton    | 145         | 145       | 145      | 8      | 13       |
| Ålund       | 348         | 348       | 348      | 15     | 31       |
| Ottosen     | 122         | 122       | 62       | 28     | 8        |
| Acton       | 64          | 64        | 62       | 11     | 11       |
| Ahnlund     | 367         | 367       | 367      | 0      | 8        |
| Stomberg    | 275         | 275       | 230      | 130    | 130      |

| 1940 to 1990's      | Total pages | Political | Military | Social | Economic |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|
| Hornborg            | 196         | 196       | 196      | 14     | 29       |
| Tunberg & Söderlund | 128         | 112       | 66       | 68     | 68       |
| Lundkvist           | 384         | 384       | 235      | 65     | 229      |
| Rystad              | 100         | 89        | 92       | 21     | 20       |
| Roberts             | 268         | 268       | 172      | 103    | 74       |
| Scott               | 114         | 114       | 82       | 52     | 57       |
| Upton               | 261         | 261       | 84       | 150    | 146      |

| After 2000 | Total pages | Political | Military | Social | Economic |
|------------|-------------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|
| Isacson    | 102         | 95        | 100      | 12     | 6        |
| Glete      | 37          | 37        | 36       | 30     | 30       |
| Kent       | 52          | 50        | 34       | 29     | 30       |
| Larsson    | 318         | 318       | 258      | 77     | 48       |
| Wilson     | 182         | 182       | 159      | 23     | 36       |
| Jochnick   | 27          | 27        | 25       | 5      | 4        |
| Harrison   | 402         | 329       | 212      | 151    | 119      |

Table 3: The number of pages in the different works where we can find descriptions of the political, military, social and economic aspects.

In the tables above we see the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects in the works from the different periods. In the works from the period before 1940 we see a dominant focus on the political aspect. This makes sense as prominent historians in this

period, such as Ranke, had a large focus on political history.<sup>364</sup> All the works analysed in this have a dominant focus on politics. These works also include detailed descriptions. As other aspects of history become more prominent after World War II, we see a slight decrease in the focus on the political aspect. The focus is still dominant in many of the works, however, there are sections of some of the works that are not focused on the political aspect. The works also tend to include descriptions that are detailed. The focus in the works from after 2000 is still large, however, it has decreased slightly from the earlier periods. More of the works from this period have sections that are not focused on the political aspect. The level of detail in the political descriptions we can find in this period vary slightly, but they do tend to be detailed.

Like the political aspect, the military aspect was often a focus point in history writing before World War II. When it comes to Swedish historiography, the military aspect remained important, influenced by theories such as Roberts' theory of a military revolution.<sup>365</sup> In more recent decades ideas of Sweden as a fiscal-military state became prominent, furthered by historians such as Jan Glete.<sup>366</sup> In the analysis we find that the focus in the works from before 1940 has a fairly dominant focus on the military aspect. Many of the works have descriptions of this aspect throughout all their pages. These descriptions tend to be detailed. The focus in the works from the period between 1940 and the 1990's is significantly smaller than in the works from before 1940. Despite this, we still find a large focus. All of the works from this period have at minimum a fairly large focus on the military aspect. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find however, is more varied. The focus in the works in the period after 2000 is larger than the focus in the previous period. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find varies in this period as well.

The focus on the social aspect in history writing increased in prominence through Enlightenment historiography, however, its prominence really started flourishing in the period after 1940 through Marxist historiography and sociology.<sup>367</sup> We see that the focus on the social aspect in the works from before 1940 is small. In a majority of the works the focus is very small, the works of Stomberg and Ottosen are exceptions to this. This two works have a fairly large focus on the social aspect. In these two works descriptions are often detailed, however, this is not the case in the other five works. When we look at the works from the period between 1940 and the 1990's we find a significantly larger focus. We can find a large

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<sup>364</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 109

<sup>365</sup> Thompson, 2011

<sup>366</sup> Glete, 2002, p. 174-175

<sup>367</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 174-180

focus in five of the works from this period. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find is varied, however, the descriptions are detailed in several of the works. When we look at the period after 2000, we see that the focus in the works has decreased slightly. The focus is, however, still fairly large. Some of the works have a larger focus on the social aspect, such as Glete's. We also see some works with a smaller focus, such as the works of Isacson and Jochnick. The level of detail in the descriptions in the works from this period varies greatly.

The focus on the economic aspect in history writing became prominent in the period after the World War II. One of the biggest reasons for this was the new-found prominence of social sciences such as economics.<sup>368</sup> We see that the focus on the economic aspect is small in the works from the period before 1940. Stomberg's work is the only one from this period that has a larger focus. The descriptions of this aspect in the works in this period tend to be less detailed. When we look at the works from the period between 1940 and the 1990's we find a much larger focus. The economic focus is large in many of the works in this period. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find also increased as we can find several works with detailed descriptions. The works from the period after 2000 have a fairly large focus on the economic aspect, however, it is smaller than the focus in the previous period. We see that the works centred around events or individuals from this period tend to have a smaller focus, this is seen in the works of both Isacson and Jochnick. The level of detail in the descriptions we can find of this aspect is varied.

Overall, we see that the focus in the works from the period before 1940 is dominated by the political and military aspects. In this period the focus on the social and economic aspects is small. However, we see significant change in the focus when we look at the works in the period between 1940 and the 1990's. In this period, we see a large focus on both the social and economic aspects. The focus on the political and military aspects decreases slightly in this period, however, it remains large. The focus in the period after 2000 changes slightly. The focus on the political aspect decreases slightly, however, it is also large in this period. The military aspect, however, increases slightly in focus. Lastly, the focus on both the social and economic aspects has slightly decreased as well, but does however, remain fairly large.

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<sup>368</sup> Melve, 2010, p. 187-188

#### 7.4 Comparing the findings to the hypothesis

Now that we have discussed the findings of the analysis, we will compare them to the expectations of the hypothesis. The hypothesis expected a large focus on individuals and events, the political and military aspects and Sweden's conflicts with Denmark in the works from the period before 1940. The findings in the analysis show us that there was a large focus on individuals and events as well as on the political and military aspects. We do find that the focus on the conflicts with Denmark is fairly large, however, smaller than expected. It was also expected that the focus on structure, the social aspect and the economic aspect would be small. The findings in the analysis lives up to this expectation. For the most part, the hypothesis' expectations for the period before 1940 is mostly in line with the findings of the analysis.

For the period between 1940 and the 1990's the hypothesis expected a large focus on structure, the social and economic aspects and Sweden's conflicts in Germany. As a result of these expectations, it is also expected that the focus on individuals and events as well as Sweden's conflicts with Denmark decreases. In the analysis we find that the works from the period indeed have a large focus on structure, the social aspect and the economic aspect. The focus on the conflicts with Germany also increases in focus, however, not as much as was expected. The conflicts with Denmark also decreased in focus, however, also not as much as expected and it remained fairly large. It was expected that the conflicts with Germany would receive the most focus in this period, however we find that the largest focus is placed on the conflicts in the east. The focus on the conflicts in Germany is fairly similar to the focus on the conflicts with Denmark, which is surprising. We do also find a decrease in the focus on individuals and events. In some of the works from this period the focus on structure is smaller than the focus on individuals and events. Overall, the findings of the analysis don't quite live up to the expectations as it expected a more significant decrease in the focus on individuals and events as well as the focus on the conflicts with Denmark. The focus on the conflicts with Germany also did not increase as much as expected.

For the period after 2000 the hypothesis expected a slight decrease in the focuses that increased in the period between 1940 and the 1990's, namely structure, the social aspect and the economic aspect. It still expected a large focus on structure and these aspects, however, the focus was expected to be slightly smaller than in the previous period. It was also expected that the conflicts in the east would have the largest geographical focus. In the analysis we find that the focus on structure indeed decreases slightly and still remains fairly large. This is

also the case with the focus on the social and economic aspects. We also see that the conflicts in the east receive the largest geographical focus. All in all, the findings of the analysis for this period mostly live up to the expectations of the hypothesis. In short, the findings of the analysis mostly live up to the expectations of the hypothesis in the periods before 1940 and after 2000. The findings from the period between 1940 and the 1990's on the other hand, do not quite live up to the expectations of the hypothesis as we find that the focus on structure was fairly similar to the focus on individuals and events, rather than being much larger. The focus on Sweden's conflicts in Germany was also not as large as expected.

## 8. Conclusion

In this thesis I have investigated the focus on individuals and events versus the focus on structure, the geographic focus and the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects in scholarly literature surrounding the Swedish Era of Great Power. This era of Swedish history has been a point of interest for historians interested in Swedish history for centuries, both domestically and internationally, including interest from famous philosophers from the Age of Enlightenment such as Voltaire. When asking the question of how a relatively minor nation in today's geopolitical landscape could become a great power many often think of Sweden's kings and its military, however, there are many important aspects behind Sweden's rise to power. The focus on these aspects, as well as its important individuals has undergone changes influenced by the changing historiographical landscape. Before World War II the focus was largely dominated by individuals and events, as well as on the political and military aspects, largely driven by the Great Man Theory. However, after the war through influences such as Marxist historiography and other social sciences we see an increased focus on structure, the social aspect and the economic aspect which still impact the modern historiographical picture.

The thesis explored this changing focus by analysing the focus in three different periods, namely before 1940, between 1940 and the 1990's and after 2000. The analysis consisted of analysing seven different works of scholarly literature centred around the Swedish Era of Great Power from each period. The analysis would first look at the focus on individuals and events and the focus on structure in the different works. It would then move on to analyse the focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark, in Germany and in the east against powers such as Russia and Poland. Finally, the analysis would look at the focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects. For the analysis I developed a hypothesis based on the changing historiographic picture. The hypothesis expected that the geographic focus of these works would shift east influenced by the changes in the focus on the other aspects. For the period before 1940 the hypothesis expected to find a large focus on individuals and events, a large focus on Sweden's conflicts with Denmark and a large focus on the political and military aspects. For the period between 1940 and the 1990's the hypothesis expected to find a large focus on structure, Sweden's conflicts with Germany and the social and economic aspects. Finally, for the period after 2000 the hypothesis expected to find a similar focus to the focus in the previous period, however, with a slight decrease in the focus on structure, the social

aspect and the economic aspect. It was also expected that the conflicts in the east would receive the largest geographic focus.

After analysing the seven works from the period before 1940, we found that the focus was similar to what was expected. As expected, we found a dominant focus on individuals and events, where six of the seven works had a dominant focus. The only exception to this was the focus in *Vor historie: Fra Margrete til Karl XII* by Johan Ottosen, where a sizeable portion of the book prioritized structure rather than individuals and events. Only one of the other six works included a substantial focus on structure. *A history of Sweden* by Andrew Stomberg also had a focus on structure, however, this focus was limited. The geographical focus in the works from this period was more varied. We found that there was typically a large focus on the conflicts with Denmark in these works, however, it was smaller than expected. We also found a fair focus on the conflicts with Germany and a fairly large focus on the conflicts in the east. The focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects also lived up to the expectations of the hypothesis as we found a dominant focus on the political and military aspects and only a small focus on the social and economic aspects.

After going through the seven selected works for the period between 1940 and the 1990's the findings were close to the expectations of the analysis. We expected to find a larger focus on structure than on individuals and events, however, we found that this was not the case. Four of the seven works had a larger focus on structure than on individuals and events. Overall, however, there was a large focus on both structure as well as individuals and events. This means that the focus on individuals and events did not decrease as much as expected. The expectations for the geographic focus were also not quite met. The focus on the conflicts with Denmark decreased slightly, however, not as much as expected. We also found an increase in the focus on the conflicts in Germany. However, the hypothesis expected a larger increase in focus. Additionally, it expected that these conflicts received the largest focus, which they did not. The conflicts in the east received the largest geographic focus in this period. The focus on the political, military, social and economic aspects, however, was more in line with the expectations of the analysis. There remained a large focus on the political and military aspects, however, we did find the expected significant increase in focus on the social and economic aspects.

Lastly, we looked at the works from the period after 2000. The focus in these works was similar to the focus in the works from the previous period. The focus on structure, the social



aspect and the military aspect was expected to slightly decrease in the works from this period, however, the focus was still expected to be fairly large. We found that this was the case in these works. The focus on individuals and events remained large. As expected, we still found a fairly large focus on structure and the expected slight decrease in focus. The geographic focus in this period was fairly balanced, however, as expected, the conflicts in the east received the largest focus. We also found a focus on the political focus that remained large. The military aspect, however, saw a slight increase in focus. As expected, the focus on the social and economic aspect was slightly smaller than the focus in the previous period, however, the focus remained fairly large.

We can conclude by saying that the findings in the analysis live up to the expectations of the hypothesis to some extent. The findings in the works from before 1940 mostly lived up to the expectations of the hypothesis. We expected to find a large focus on individuals and events, Sweden's conflicts with Denmark and the political and military aspects. The focus on individuals and events as well as the focus on the political and military aspects was dominant in this period, thus living up to the expectations. The focus on the conflicts with Denmark however was large, but was however, slightly smaller than expected as other geographic regions received a similar focus. The findings in the period between 1940 and the 1990's did not quite live up to the expectations. The focus on structure was large, however, the focus on individuals and events was fairly similar, thus the focus on structure was slightly smaller than expected. We did find that the focus on the conflicts in Germany had increased, however, not as much as expected as it was fairly similar to the focus on the other geographic regions. We did find the expected increase in focus on the social and economic aspects, however. Finally, the findings from the period after 2000 mostly lived up to the expectations. We found a slight decrease in focus on structure, the social aspect and the economic aspect. Additionally, the conflicts in the east received the largest focus as expected. In all, the hypothesis was mostly correct about the focus in the works from before 1940 and after 2000, however, the expected focus from the period between 1940 and the 1990's was slightly off.

It is important to note that this analysis serves as an indication on how the focus changes between the periods. As only seven works were analysed from each period, the analysis cannot offer completely conclusive evidence on how the focus is within each period and how it changes in all scholarly literature on the Swedish Era of Great Power. If we were to select seven completely different works for each period, it is possible that the result of the analysis

would be different. That being said, the analysis gives us an insight in the changing focus with a broad perspective.

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