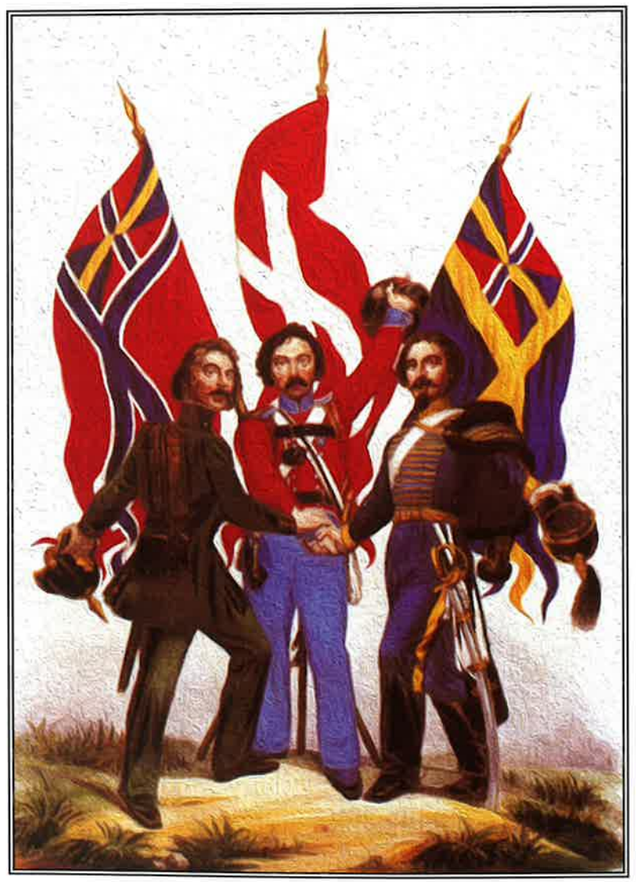
The History of Scandinavia

by Stewart Oakley and Julie K. Allen



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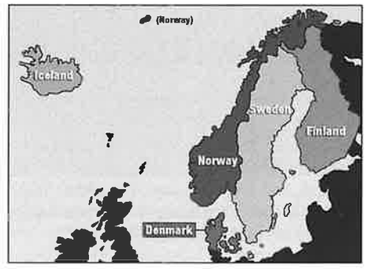
Introduction

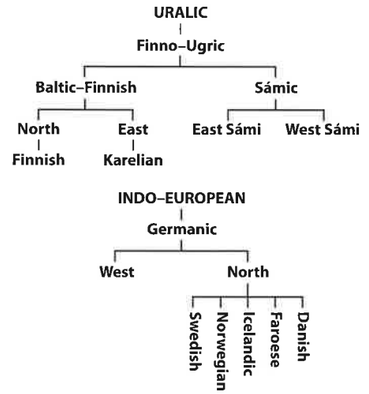
With regard to culture, history, and politics, Scandinavia consists of the five modern independent states of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland. Although Norway played a leading role during the Viking Age, Sweden and Denmark dominated Scandinavian politics from the late medieval period through the mid–19th century. At the end of the Middle Ages, the whole of Scandinavia so defined was nominally politically united in the so-called Kalmar Union (1397–1523) under a monarch residing in Copenhagen. This was followed by a period of nearly three hundred years (1520–1809) when the area was split into two political units: a western—made up of Denmark, Norway, and Iceland—ruled from Copenhagen, and an eastern—consisting of Sweden and Finland—ruled from Stockholm. Norway ceased to be independent in the fourteenth century and was ruled first from Copenhagen until 1814 and then from Stockholm until 1905. Iceland lost its independence to the Norwegian crown in the middle of the thirteenth century and did not regain it fully until its separation from Denmark in 1944. Finnish does not belong to the Scandinavian language family, but the political and cultural ties between Finland and its western neighbor, Sweden, have historically been close enough to justify Finland's inclusion as part of Scandinavia. Finland was part of the Swedish realm from the mid–12th century until 1809, when it became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, finally gaining its independence in 1919.

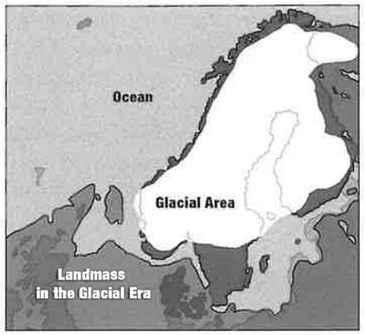
In the later seventeenth century both these units became absolute monarchies, but after defeat in the Great Northern War (1700–21) and the consequent loss of the empire built up since the middle of the sixteenth century, Sweden-Finland adopted a unique constitution that reduced the power of the monarch drastically. Royal control was restored under Gustavus III (1771–92), but a new constitution in 1809 (in force until 1975) established a new balance between king and parliament. Denmark retained absolute monarchy until 1848–49, when it adopted a singularly liberal constitution. Norway still enjoys the constitution that it adopted in 1814, at the time that it passed from the Danish to the Swedish crown. Finland crafted itself



Scandinavia consists of three constitutional monarchies (Denmark, Norway and Sweden), two republics (Iceland and Finland), two Danish self-governing North Atlantic territories (Faroe Islands, Greenland) as well as the indigenous area known as Sápmi (Northern Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia).

Scandinavian Language Families





This map illustrates the ice coverage of Northern Europe circa 8000 BCE. Around this time the ice began to recede rapidly, allowing a few settlements to emerge along the Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish coasts. The oldest Stone Age finds have been made in the Norwegian counties of Nord-Troms and Finnmark.

The Tollund Man, a body that dates to the 4th century BCE, was found in a peat bog in Jutland, Denmark in 1950. The bog naturally mummified the corpse, making it one of the most well preserved bodies from prehistoric times. The Tollund Man was found with a rope around his neck, a belt around his hips, and a pointed leather hat on his head. Archaeologists theorize that he was hanged as a ritual sacrifice.

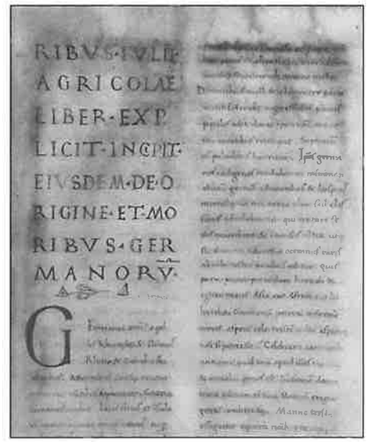
as a constitutional republic in the wake of its civil war (1918–19), while Iceland's republican form of government, instituted in 1944, harks back to the medieval system established during the Age of Settlement (874–930). The present democratic political systems of the Scandinavian countries have thus been arrived at by quite varied routes.

Economically, Scandinavia has been counted for most of its history among the poorer areas of Europe, but the entire region has experienced widespread prosperity since the mid–20th century. Only Denmark traditionally enjoyed conditions favorable for the development of agriculture, and although Norway and Finland have been able to exploit their timber resources and Sweden its mineral deposits in modern times, their small populations have dictated a rather minor role in European politics. It was only in the seventeenth century that Sweden-Finland was able to take advantage of its favorable situation in the Baltic to acquire the status of a power on the international stage. The rise of Russia reduced it once more to the second rank. Poverty did, however, bring certain advantages. Only in Denmark was rural society dominated by a nobility able to reduce the ordinary farmer to a condition of near serfdom; in the rest of Scandinavia a vigorous land-owning peasantry survived, and in Sweden-Finland it even retained a voice in national affairs.

Prehistory

Humans did not begin to inhabit Scandinavia in any numbers until the end of the last Ice Age, around 15,000 years ago. Small groups of hunters then followed the retreating ice northward in quest of animals which provided them with food, clothing, and tools of bone. The disappearance of the ice cap in the far north about seven millennia later resulted eventually in Scandinavia's gaining something of the physical shape we know today. Soon after this, primitive agriculture appeared in the southern part of the region, probably introduced by a new wave of immigrants from the south. More permanent settlement was then developing. Tools and weapons began to be made of copper and bronze around 1500 BCE, just as the climate also improved; the summers at least were warm and dry. In what was to become Denmark a high standard of material culture was attained. A lively trade, in which Baltic amber played a large part, developed with the peoples of the Mediterranean and brought both much wealth and numerous objects that were copied and improved upon by native craftsmen, who proved the equal of more advanced civilizations. Society was hierarchical, headed by a ruling elite in possession of precious weapons made of metal. About 500 BCE, however, there began a material decline. The climate

became cooler and wetter, and links with the Mediterranean were broken. However, the introduction of iron, which—unlike copper and tin—was readily available in native bogs, enabled a much greater variety of tools and weapons to be made of metal. After a period of great unrest, links with the south were re-established. Some tribes located in Scandinavia are mentioned in Roman writings; Tacitus, for example, refers to one called the Svear, who inhabited part of what was to become central Sweden. Scandinavian peoples certainly played a part in the great migrations across Europe that are associated with the fall of the Roman Empire in the West around the middle of the first millennium. Little is then known of Scandinavia for about three hundred years. The many gold hoards, which appear to have been booty, and the large earthern forts found in southern Scandinavia suggest much unrest. In the region of Lake Malar, however, there is also evidence of the existence, during the fifth and sixth centuries, of a rich organized state that had trade links with the southeastern Baltic and beyond.



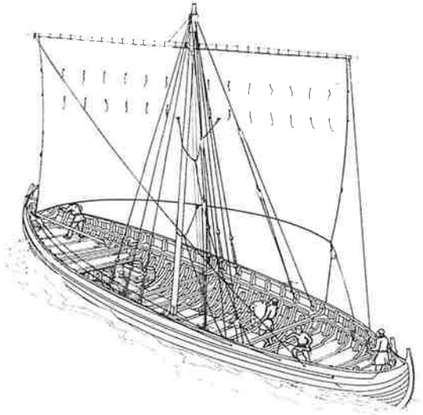
The Roman historian Tacitus wrote *Germania*, the earliest known text that depicts the Germanic tribes, at the end of the first century CE. Tacitus's ethnographic work contrasts the people, lands, customs and laws of northern Europe with those of Rome, with the result that *Germania* can be read as both an ethnography of the German tribes and a cultural critique of the Roman society of Tacitus' day.

The Viking Age

Towards the end of the eighth century bands of Scandinavians began to launch raids on the coasts of Britain and France. About the same time groups from Norway colonized the Faroe Islands and the islands off the coast of northern Scotland. The reasons for this growth of activity have long been the subject of dispute. Behind that activity, however, lay an expansion of population that created a shortage of good farming land, especially in Norway; the extension of political authority in Denmark; and weaknesses in the kingdoms of western Europe, of which the Scandinavians had become aware through trading contacts.

The raids intensified, and in the middle of the ninth century large forces of Scandinavians began to spend the winter on the Atlantic coast of France and at the mouth of the Thames. From such bases they were able to penetrate deep inland. In England an army made up largely of Danes swept across all the small kingdoms except Wessex in the south, where King Alfred finally compelled the Danish leaders to sign a treaty leaving the northeastern part of the country (the so-called Danelaw) under Danish control. In France, at the beginning of the tenth century, the king granted a body of Scandinavians land at the mouth of the river Seine, land that eventually became the duchy of Normandy.

It is notable that the Danish armies that launched these operations were generally larger and better organized than were those originating in Norway, where political development was less advanced. Indeed, the territory that was to become the kingdom of



The longship is a early medieval Scandinavian invention that demonstrates the Vikings' advanced understanding of navigation. They invented the keel (a central fore-and-aft structural member in the bottom of a hull), increased the size of the sail and, via the use of stars or the sun, figured out the concept of sailing along latitudinal lines. The sleek, sturdy longships were integral to the Vikings' successful raids on England and continental Europe in the 8th to 11th centuries CE.

The Jelling stones are a pair of runestones erected by in the 10th century CE by the Danish kings Gorm the Old and his son Harald Bluetooth, which provide the oldest known textual reference to Denmark. The smaller and older of the two stones reads: "King Gorm made this monument in memory of Thorvi (Thyre), his wife, Denmark's adornment." The larger stone, depicted above, reads: "King Haraldr ordered this monument to be made in memory of his father Gormr and his mother Thorvi. This was the Haraldr who won all Denmark for himself and Norway, and made the Danes Christian."

This statue represents Olav Haraldsson, or St. Olaf, who was king of Norway from 1015 to 1028 CE. He is considered to be one of the main agents of Norway's conversion to Christianity. He died in the Battle of Stiklestad in 1030 CE and was granted sainthood a year after his death. St. Olaf is the patron saint of Norway.

Denmark (which included much of what is now southern Sweden) may well have been united under a single ruler at the beginning of the Viking Age. Harald Fairhair ruled over at least the coastal regions of Norway at the end of the ninth century, but it was not until many years later that the interior of the country was firmly under the control of one king.

Swedes undoubtedly participated in the Viking expeditions to western Europe, but their main activities were directed eastward and were more peaceful in character. Attracted by the wealth of Byzantium and the Arab world, Swedish traders penetrated down the great Russian rivers to the Black and the Caspian Seas, through lands where Slavic tribes accepted their leaders as rulers. At Novgorod in the north and Kiev in the south principalities were set up, but there was no large-scale settlement, and even before the end of the Viking period in the middle of the eleventh century links between Russia and Scandinavia had become tenuous.

From the earliest days a number of Scandinavians who had visited western Europe had adopted the Christian faith, either from conviction or for convenience. And the Church began to see in Scandinavia a challenging new field of activity. Denmark was visited by missionaries from Germany in the early tenth century, and about 960 King Harald Bluetooth was baptized. Olav Tryggvason of Norway, who was converted during a stay in England, returned to his native land determined that its inhabitants should follow his lead. He undertook his missionary work with enthusiasm, relying on force as much as on persuasion. He turned also to Iceland. The Icelanders, fearful of losing their independence, agreed to abandon their old gods at a dramatic meeting of the *Althing* in 1000. Olav Tryggvason's work in Norway was completed by King Olav Haraldsson. After Olav Haraldsson's death at the battle of Stiklestad near Trondheim in 1030, while fighting against rebellious subjects, he was made Norway's patron saint. Sweden proved the hardest nut to crack for the missionaries. Not until the end of the eleventh century was the great pagan temple at Uppsala destroyed and a firm ecclesiastical organization set up in the land of the Svear.

The consolidation of the larger kingdoms in Scandinavia and their conversion, together with the more effective defense of the western European states (by the late tenth century the English kings had reconquered the Danelaw), brought about a lessening of Viking activity. A final burst came in the early eleventh century, when King Sweyn Forkbeard of Denmark led a large army to England, where his son Canute was adopted as king. For a time Canute ruled over a great North Sea Empire, embracing not only England and Denmark but Norway as well. But with Canute's death in 1035 each component regained its independence. Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, tried to

gain the throne of England in 1066 but was defeated and killed at the battle of Stamford Bridge near York.

All this activity abroad does not appear to have been accompanied by any dramatic changes in the lives of the vast majority of Scandinavians who stayed at home. Most continued to farm the land as their forefathers had. The intensification of overseas trade, which was as important an aspect of the Viking period as was raiding and settlement, did, however, lead to the growth of the earliest towns in the area. The most important of those was Hedeby, at the base of the Jutish peninsula.

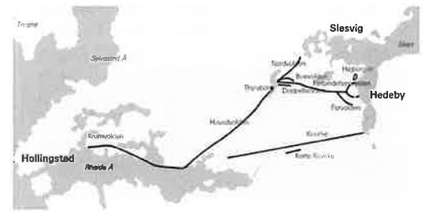
In all of the countries—except Iceland—that had been formed by the middle of the eleventh century, kings stood at the head of a hierarchical society. They were elected from among a small number of noble families and were expected to be brave leaders in battle, generous to those immediate followers who made up their primitive courts, and just interpreters of the law. Their powers were limited by custom, and authority in the local districts was shared between the king's representatives and the body of freemen gathered from time to time in *things* (legislative assemblies). At the bottom of the social scale were large numbers of slaves; they had either been captured in war, bought at one of the great slave markets or born of slave parents. The Church encouraged their emancipation, and that fact, together with the drying up of supplies of slaves after the end of the Viking period, led to the disappearance of the class.

The Early Middle Ages

Within the three monarchies of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the centuries following the end of the Viking Age saw the development of royal power at the expense of the old self-governing local communities. Each monarchy extended its power into surrounding territories. Under the guise of a crusade, the Swedes, from the twelfth century on, gradually extended control over more and more of Finland, on whose coast a large number of Swedish settlers were already established. In the same period the kings of Denmark, the wealthiest of the kingdoms, began expanding eastward along the southern coast of the Baltic, in a series of campaigns against the still heathen Wends. In 1262–64 Iceland, where power had fallen into the hands of a small number of families, submitted to the Norwegian crown. The Norwegian king had to abandon his claims to the western isles of Scotland soon after but managed to retain control of Orkney and Shetland until the fifteenth century.

The power of the Church grew parallel with the power of the monarchy. In 1103 Scandinavia was made an independent archepiscopal see centered on Lund, but half a century later Norway and

Canute the Great, or Knud den Store, was king of Denmark, Norway, parts of Sweden, and England, 1016–35 CE. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* from which this image of Canute is taken documents Canute's conquest of England.



This map shows the approximate location of the series of defensive earthworks known collectively as Dannevirke that were built across the southern end of the Jutish peninsula, from the western marshes to Hedeby in the east. Dannevirke was built between 737 and 968 CE.

The Icelandic poet Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) is best known for the *Prose Edda* and *Heimskringla*. Snorri settled in Reykholt and managed that estate, where his bath (pictured above) still exists today.

Built over the gravesite of St. Olaf, Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim, Norway is one of the most significant and imposing religious buildings in Scandinavia, as well as the northernmost cathedral in the world. From the 11th century until the Reformation, Nidaros Cathedral was the home of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Nidaros and an important destination for Christian pilgrims. As part of the Lutheran Church of Norway, Nidaros Cathedral continues to play a central role in Norwegian life as the traditional location for royal consecrations, as well as a working house of worship and a popular Trondheim tourist attraction. The elaborate Gothic west façade was painstakingly restored between 1869 and 1983.

The bubonic plague, known as the Black Death, ravaged Scandinavia in 1349, killing more than a third of the population. It was particularly devastating in Norway, leading to the collapse of the Norwegian aristocracy and the eventual union of Norway and Denmark under Queen Margrete I. This image from the Toggenburg Bible depicts the physical symptoms of the plague, but it also had profound social and political effects on the Nordic world.

Sweden were granted their own archbishoprics, in Trondheim and Uppsala, respectively. The Church acquired much land, the most important form of wealth at the time, and monasteries were founded throughout the region. The kings were often given considerable support by the Church; and churchmen, the most highly educated of their subjects, were prized by them as councilors, administrators, and diplomats. In the early thirteenth century, Bishop Absalon, who assisted in the campaigns of King Valdemar against the Wends, was the most important political figure in Denmark. His castle, overlooking the Sound, formed the nucleus for the future city of Copenhagen.

The main challenge to royal power came from an increasingly self-conscious class of hereditary nobles. They were granted such privileges as exemption of their land from taxes in exchange for their services, especially military services, to the crown, and the more favored among them acquired large estates. They came to claim not only an exclusive right to advise the king in his council chamber but also to elect his successor to the throne. In Norway hereditary monarchy became established early. But in Denmark and Sweden, although certain families were recognized as having the right to provide candidates, there was no strict law of succession, a fact which often led to civil war. Nevertheless, it was only in Denmark—more open than Norway or Sweden to continental influences—that anything like a feudal system developed, and the Scandinavian peasant did not become a serf bound to the soil as in most of the rest of northern Europe.

The Later Middle Ages and the Union of Kalmar

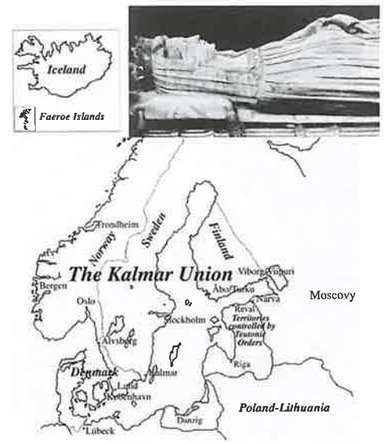
The fourteenth century witnessed in many respects a decline from the previous period. Even before the heavy mortality caused by the Black Death in the middle decades, population growth was slowing down, cultivated land was allowed to return to wild, and economic enterprise was losing its former vigor. The margins of the Scandinavian world suffered most. Links between the remaining settlement on Greenland and Europe were broken, and Iceland seemed threatened with a similar fate from the traders who had been granted a monopoly of commerce with the island by the Norwegian crown. Rulers in all the countries were faced with financial difficulties, which they tried to solve by imposing heavier and heavier taxes on those of their subjects who could bear them least. This in turn brought civil unrest. In Denmark an increasing number of peasant freeholders lost their lands to nobles, the crown, or the church. More and more Scandinavia drew in on itself, and its contacts with the outside world, especially its commercial contacts, fell into German hands.

Denmark was even threatened by German political control, when King Erik Menved was forced to mortgage much of his land to German nobles led by the Count of Holstein. Recovery came with the accession in 1340 of Erik's nephew Valdemar Atterdag ("New Day"). Little by little he was able to win back the royal estates and build up royal power. However, he had to make fresh concessions to the Hanseatic League of German merchants, and on his death in 1375 the Danish nobles were able to impose strict preconditions for the election of his grandson Oluf (Olav). German pressure was also felt in Sweden. In 1363 King Magnus Eriksson, the first ruler to issue a law code for the whole country, was deposed and replaced by the German Prince Albert of Mecklenburg. Albert brought with him to Sweden many of his countrymen, to whom he granted offices and land, to the growing alarm of the Swedish nobles who had invited him.

In 1380 King Oluf of Denmark succeeded his father also on the throne of Norway, beginning a process by which a union of the whole of Scandinavia was to emerge. This was carried a stage further when, two years after Oluf's death in 1387, the Swedish nobles finally deposed Albert and recognized Oluf's mother Margrete as regent. The union was completed in 1397, when an agreement was reached in the town of Kalmar between all the Scandinavian nobilities recognizing Margrete's nephew Erik of Pomerania as joint sovereign.

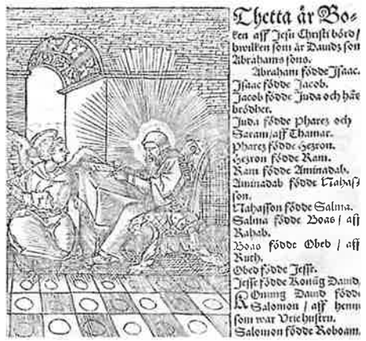
For the first years of the Union, policy was in the hands of Queen Margrete, and there was little trouble. But after her death in 1412, Erik made himself unpopular with the Swedish nobility by employing Danish and German officials in the country and by waging a war with the Hanseatic League, which interrupted trade. He was deposed and an agreement reached with the Danish nobility for the election of his nephew Christopher of Bavaria in his place. Christopher's death in 1448 caused the first serious breach in the Union. While the Danes and Norwegians chose Christian of Oldenburg to be their king, the Swedes elected Karl Knutsson, one of their own number. When Karl died, Christian tried to assert his claims to the Swedish throne. But he was defied by a large number of Swedes who did not wish the Union to be re-established and was defeated at the Battle of Brunkeberg outside Stockholm in 1471. The victorious party was led by the noble Sten Sture, who assumed the title Guardian of the Realm. Christian I's grandson Christian II saw an opportunity to resume control of Sweden when the new guardian, Sten Sture (the Younger), quarreled with the Archbishop of Uppsala, Gustav Trolle. Christian II invaded Sweden, ostensibly to defend the rights of the Church. Sten was mortally wounded in battle, and Stockholm fell after a gallant defense by Sten's wife. In spite of a promise of amnesty, as soon as Christian had been crowned king of Sweden, he turned on his former opponents and had some sixty of them (including two

This map shows the Hanseatic towns of Scandinavia. The Hanseatic League was created in order to protect the economic interests of merchants' trade routes throughout the North and Baltic Seas. While Lübeck, in present-day Germany, was the leading Hanseatic city, where many trade routes intersected, all Hansa towns were powerful because of their economic dominance and often influenced royal elections in Denmark and Sweden.



Queen Margrete I of Denmark, daughter of King Valdemar IV of Denmark, whose sarcophagus is pictured above, is credited with the creation of the Kalmar Union. Enduring from 1397–1523, the Kalmar Union was an ambitious but unstable attempt at gathering all of the Nordic countries under one crown. This map shows the Union's vast geographic scope. Although Sweden broke loose in the early 16th century, Danish control of Norway (until 1815), Iceland (until 1944), Greenland, and the Faroe Islands derived from this union.

Frederick I was the last Roman Catholic monarch to rule Denmark. This drawing depicts a common legal practice, where a common man-in this illustration, a farmer-is taking his case directly to the King Frederick I.



The first Swedish translation of the New Testament appeared in 1526, concurrent with the introduction of Lutheranism as a state religion. The 1541 translation of the full Bible, known as the Gustav Vasa Bible, used the Stockholm vernacular.

The Sámi, the indigenous peoples of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, did not convert to Lutheranism until the 1700s. This illustration shows the Sámi's religious drum which a *noidi*, or shaman, would use to assist in a shamanistic trance. During the forced conversion of the Sámi to Lutheranism, many of these drums were outlawed and burned and their owners were killed.

bishops) executed in the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath. The young noble Gustav Vasa, whose father had been one of the king's victims in Stockholm, raised the flag of rebellion and succeeded, with the help of the great German Hansa city of Lübeck, in capturing all the royal castles, including, finally, Stockholm itself. In Denmark Christian had also made himself unpopular with his nobles by favoring the middle classes and the peasants. In 1523 he was compelled to go into exile, and in his place the Danish and Norwegian nobles elected his uncle, Frederick of Holstein. In the same year Gustav Vasa assumed the crown of Sweden. The Union of Kalmar was no more.

The Reformation

There was little popular dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church in Scandinavia at this time. The rulers of Denmark and Sweden, however, were attracted by the political implications of the doctrines preached by Martin Luther in Germany and, in particular, by the financial gains to be made from control of Church property.

In Denmark and Norway the break with Rome came swiftly and dramatically. Kings Christian II and Frederick I both protected reformers from persecution by the bishops, and the new teachings gained considerable support within Danish towns during their reigns. But the final step was not taken until after the death of Frederick in 1533, which was followed by a dispute over the succession to the throne, and by civil war. From this war Frederick's son Christian III, an avowed Lutheran, emerged victorious. He immediately arrested the bishops, who were accused of bearing the responsibility for the conflict, confiscated Church lands, and persuaded the Estates to introduce a Lutheran settlement. The new order was rapidly introduced into Norway after Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson, its main opponent, had fled the country in 1537. Lutheranism could not, however, be firmly established in Iceland until the militant Bishop Jon Arason had been executed in 1550.

In Sweden, Gustav Vasa was heavily in debt to the city of Lübeck for the help it had rendered him during the war that brought him to the throne and was soon pressuring the Church to assist him with its wealth. Finally, at a meeting of the Estates (*Riksdag*) in Vasterås in 1527, he persuaded the nobles, burghers, and peasants to agree to the confiscation of most church property. No clear doctrinal breach was made with the old faith, but the king cultivated a number of Swedish reformers, led by Olaus Petri. In 1531 Olaus' brother Laurentius (i.e. Lars) was appointed to the vacant archbishopric of Uppsala, and ten years later a bible in Swedish was printed. Although many Catholic practices were abandoned during that period (priests were allowed to marry and monks to leave their monasteries) fully fledged

Lutheran doctrine was not officially adopted in Sweden until the end of the century.

Gustav Vasa ruled Sweden-Finland like a private estate and took a great interest in the development of its economy, especially in the iron industry of the region of Bergslagen, northwest of Stockholm, which provided one of Sweden's most valuable exports. In the early part of his long reign (1523–60) he had to deal with a number of revolts by discontented nobles and peasants who entertained both economic and religious grievances. The most serious revolt was led by Nils Dacke in 1542. This was put down only with considerable difficulty, and the king was persuaded to introduce a number of reforms, including, in 1544, the institution of hereditary monarchy.

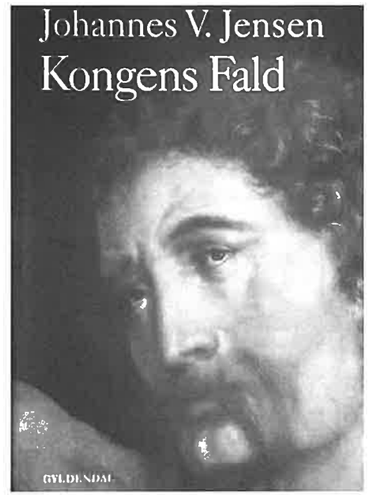
In Denmark the political power of the crown was considerably enhanced by the acquisition of church lands. But the king remained bound by the charter to which he had to subscribe at the time of his accession. It obliged him to consult with the nobles of his council on all important matters of state. The power and wealth of the nobility in the later sixteenth century is reflected in the great brick manor houses from the period that still grace the Danish countryside.

Relations between the two monarchies remained peaceful for forty years after the breakup of the Kalmar Union. This was so partly because their rulers were preoccupied with internal problems and partly because they were both faced for a long time with a threat from Christian II and his supporters. The exiled king finally landed in Norway in 1531 and received considerable support there. He was, however, inveigled into entering into negotiations in Copenhagen under a promise of safe conduct. Instead he was taken to the castle of Sønderborg and there made prisoner. He remained a prisoner until his death in 1559, while his children sought in vain to gain support for his cause among the rulers of Europe.

The Struggle for the Baltic 1560–1660

In the middle of the sixteenth century a number of events coincided to inaugurate a century of warfare in the Baltic, from which Sweden emerged as a leading European power. Political authority in the lands to the southeast of the Baltic Sea (the later Baltic states) collapsed, and Russia under Ivan the Terrible sought to take control of the valuable trade routes that ran through them. At the same time two young and ambitious rulers came to the thrones of Denmark and Sweden: Frederick II in the former and Gustav Vasa's eldest son, Erik XIV, in the latter. In 1561 Erik accepted an offer from the city of Reval (Tallinn), on the south coast of the Gulf of Finland, to recognize Swedish overlordship in exchange for Swedish help against Russia. Fear that Sweden would thereby establish its power in the area was one

This portrait of Gustav Vasa was painted by Jacob Binck, a German portrait painter, in 1542 and was restored in the 1900s by Anders Zorn. The portrait is housed at Universitetshuset at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, along with the portraits of all the Swedish rulers from Gustav Vasa to Gustaf VI Adolf.



Christian II remains a figure of considerable interest in Danish society. The modernist historical novel *Kongens Fald* (The Fall of the King), written by Johannes V. Jensen in 1900–01, explores the final years of Christian's reign through the life of a character named Mikkel Thøgersen. Although it is written in an approximation of Old Danish, it was one of the most popular Danish novels of the 20th century.

Gustav II Adolf was given the posthumous designation by the Swedish parliament of "Magnus," or "the Great," in recognition of both his military prowess and his decisive contribution to elevating Sweden to the position of a powerful state and regional force, inaugurating a period known as *Stormaktstiden* (the era of great power).

The Swedish parliament or *Riksdag*, which dates back to 1435, was historically the highest authority in Sweden after the monarch and occasionally influenced the Swedish succession, as when it elected Duke Charles (later Charles IX) to be regent in place of his Catholic nephew Sigismund in 1595. It was made up of representatives from the four social Estates: nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants. The *Riksdag* of the Estates was dissolved in 1866 and replaced with a new bicameral assembly elected without regard to class, which became a unicameral assembly in 1970.

of the reasons for the outbreak of war between the two Scandinavian monarchs in 1563. The so-called Northern Seven Years War, in which the young Swedish navy more than held its own, ended in 1570 with no territorial changes, but with Denmark exhausted and for the rest of the century forced to withdraw from the struggle.

While the war still raged, King Erik, who suffered from fits of insanity, was deposed by his nobles led by his half-brother, John, who took the throne. John III, married to a Polish princess, favored a close alliance with his wife's country against Russia and in 1587 got his son Sigismund elected to the Polish throne. But Sigismund's accession also to the throne of Sweden five years later led to a fresh revolt by the Swedish nobility. John III had negotiated with Rome about a possible return of Sweden to the Catholic fold, and his son was raised a Catholic. The Protestant party in Sweden, led by Sigismund's uncle Charles, feared that the new king would reintroduce his faith. After the *Riksdag* had finally agreed to recognize the Lutheran doctrine as embodied in the Confession of Augsburg as that of the Swedish Church, Sigismund was compelled to retire to Poland, without, however, abandoning his claim to the Swedish crown. In 1603, John's brother Charles ascended the throne as Charles IX. Sweden had thus added Poland to its list of enemies, and Denmark, under the young King Christian IV, sought to take advantage of its embarrassments. In 1611 he attacked the Swedish town of Kalmar.

In the midst of a war on three fronts, King Charles died. He was succeeded by his son Gustav Adolf (usually known in the Anglo-Saxon world as Gustavus Adolphus). Although only sixteen, Gustavus was declared of age in exchange for concessions to his nobles, led by the able chancellor Axel Oxenstierna; he had to promise to rule only with their consent and to appoint only nobles to high office. Peace with Denmark was made in 1613 at the cost of a huge indemnity for the return of the fortress of Älvsborg (on the site of modern Gothenburg). A more favorable peace with Russia in 1617 cut off that country once more from the Baltic. Gustavus, who soon proved himself to be a warrior of exceptional ability and resourcefulness, could turn all his attention to the war with Poland, while Oxenstierna reformed the administration at home. Stockholm became for the first time the administrative capital of the kingdom. There were stationed the new 'colleges' or committees, each of which was headed by one of the great officers of state who looked after one particular branch of administration. The *Riksdag* with its four estates, which had played an increasingly important role in political life in the sixteenth century, was given a regular organization, and its powers to consent to all important legislation and to the raising of new taxes were confirmed.

The capture by the Swedes of the great port of Riga in 1621 first attracted Europe's attention to the rising power in the North.

Three years previously the Thirty Years War had broken out in Germany. By 1624, the victories of the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II over his Protestant opponents was causing considerable alarm in Denmark and Sweden. But it was Christian IV alone who agreed to lead a Protestant army in an attempt to stem the tide. In 1626 he was defeated at the battle of Lutter in north Germany and forced to retreat onto the Danish islands. In 1629 he had to withdraw from the war, while Imperial forces under Albrecht von Wallenstein occupied the Baltic coast of Germany. Sweden now felt directly threatened. Gustavus concluded a truce with Poland and in 1630 landed with a small army on that coast. Fortunately for him Wallenstein was dismissed by the Emperor at that time, and the Swedes were able to build a bridgehead from which to launch an attack the following year. It was not, however, until they won a decisive victory at Breitenfeld in Saxony that many German princes dared to join them. With Vienna threatened, the Emperor recalled Wallenstein. He lured Gustavus northwards again and brought him to battle at Lützen, also in Saxony, in 1632. The Swedish king was killed, but his troops remained in command of the field.

Gustavus left behind him only a young daughter, Christina, who did not come of age until 1644. Until then Oxenstierna headed a regency council and directed Sweden's war in Germany. After experiencing varied fortunes the country, at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, won small but important bases in northern Germany which gave her control of the mouths of all the major northerly flowing rivers. These bases were added to the gains that had been made from Denmark three years previously.

The latter part of Christian IV's reign contrasted sharply with the promise of its beginnings. Before his humiliating German campaign, he had devoted considerable energy to developing the economy of both Denmark and Norway (which he visited frequently); to beautifying the city of Copenhagen, where many of the most important historical buildings, like the Exchange, date from his reign; and to building up his fleet. In the 1630s, however, financial difficulties multiplied, and his noble councilors became increasingly obstreperous. Finally in 1643 the Swedes, losing patience with Danish attempts to undermine their position diplomatically, suddenly attacked and, when peace returned in 1645, forced Christian to yield the island of Gotland and part of central Norway. He attempted to improve his position at home by building up his own party within the Council led by his sons-in-law. But one of them, Corfitz Ulfeldt, turned against him, and he failed to get his own son elected to succeed him before his death in 1648. Consequently Frederick III had to agree to a charter that bound his hands to an unprecedented extent.

This drawing, a study by the Norwegian painter Adolf Tidemand for a painting commissioned by Swedish king Oscar II, shows the Danish king Christian IV directing the relocation and re-establishment of the Norwegian capital city of Christiania, present-day Oslo, in 1624.

Queen Christina was the only surviving legitimate child of Gustavus Adolphus when her father was killed on the battlefield in Germany. Ascending to the throne at the age of 6, Christina was Queen regnant of Sweden from 1633–54. In an attempt to establish Stockholm as the "Athens of the North," Christina filled her court with artists, scientists, and thinkers, including Rousseau, who died there of pneumonia.

The Swedish army's daring invasion across the frozen Great Belt to invade Copenhagen in 1658 forced the Danes to make significant territorial concessions to Sweden. However, Charles X's subsequent decision to besiege Copenhagen in late 1658 was a failure, as the Dutch navy came to Denmark's aid and the citizens of Copenhagen took up arms to defend their city, as this 1889 painting by Vilhelm Rosenstand illustrates. The Swedes suffered a painful defeat, losing more than 1,700 soldiers to the Danes' 150 casualties.

Jammers Minde (A Record of the Sufferings of the Imprisoned Countess Leonora Christina) is the autobiography of King Christian IV's daughter, Leonora Christina, who was imprisoned in Blåtårn (Blue Tower) in Copenhagen Castle for 22 years, after her husband Corfitz Ulfeldt was convicted of committing treason against her father. Her original manuscript of *Jammers Minde*, shown above, is housed in Frederiksborg Castle in Hillerød, Denmark.

Queen Christina of Sweden was a forceful woman, able to hold her own against Oxenstierna. But her decision never to marry and her secret conversion to Catholicism led her to abdicate in favor of her cousin Charles X in 1654 and to leave Sweden to spend most of the rest of her life in Rome. Charles was a soldier. In 1655 he opened hostilities in Poland, whose king still entertained claims on the Swedish throne. But Charles found it easier to win battles than to hold the country under control, and Frederick III of Denmark, seeing an opportunity for revenge for the losses his realm had sustained, declared war in 1657.

By this time Charles had managed to free himself from most of the restrictions placed on him at his accession by exploiting divisions within the Council and by bringing about Ulfeldt's disgrace. The war did not, however, turn out well. Charles disentangled himself from Poland and in the particularly severe winter of 1658 succeeded in marching his army across the frozen sea lanes between the Danish islands to threaten Copenhagen. The Danes sued for peace. But hardly was the ink dry on the treaty when Charles attacked again. This time, however, Copenhagen was bravely defended, and suddenly the Swedish king died, leaving his young son Charles to succeed him. The regency council made a series of peace treaties by which Denmark surrendered all its possession in what is now southern Sweden and Poland gave up its claims to the Swedish throne.

The Later Seventeenth Century and the Great Northern War

Although the war ended for Denmark with loss of territory and heavy financial burdens, the prestige of the monarchy was strengthened by the prominent role that King Frederick III had played in the defense of Copenhagen, whereas the prestige of the nobility was diminished. Frederick had already improved his position by installing men dependent on him in key posts, and he had advisers around him who urged him to go further in asserting his authority against the privileged upper classes. At a meeting of the Estates to discuss the financial situation immediately after the end of the war, an alliance was forged between the burghers of Copenhagen and the clergy, who approached the king with an offer of hereditary succession to the throne for his descendants. Thus the charter restricting the king's power would become superfluous. The nobles were cowed into submission, and the Estates dispersed. In 1661 the monarchy was proclaimed to be absolute. The Estates were never summoned again, but the burghers were rewarded for their support by being granted equal rights with the nobles in the ownership of land and the holding of public office. In 1665 the King's Law regulated the succession to the crown and elaborated the

king's powers. Financial difficulties were temporarily relieved by the removal of the nobles' tax privileges and by large-scale sale of crown lands, many of which passed into the hands of the middle class.

The sale of crown lands, however, had its greatest impact in Norway, where many peasants, especially in the eastern part of the country, were thereby able to become freeholders. The old Norwegian nobility had by then almost disappeared, and its place had been taken by wealthy urban merchants and officials. Many of them acquired their fortunes from control of Norway's greatest natural resource, its forests. In Denmark the peasantry gained very little from the change of system. The vast majority had by then become tenants on crown or noble estates and often had to perform heavy labor services for their landlords.

Absolutism came to Sweden some twenty years later and in a somewhat different form. With the regency for Charles XI the nobility was again in the ascendant. The leading figure among the regents was the chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, a former favorite of Queen Christina and one whose pretensions made him many enemies. In 1672 he concluded an alliance with France, which two years later drew Sweden into war in Germany. A Swedish army was defeated at the battle of Fehrbellin, and the *Riksdag* called for an enquiry into the conduct of the Regents before Charles came of age in 1672. As a result the Regents were disgraced and de la Gardie ruined. At the same time there came a call for a resumption by the crown of the lands and its rights to enjoy tax revenue, which had been granted away during the previous half century. Only in that way did it seem possible to remedy the financial situation. Men around Charles also sought to strengthen royal power to the same extent that it had been strengthened in Denmark. Divisions within the nobility enabled a drastic *reduktion* ("return") of royal lands and an increase of taxes to be carried through. The increased revenues with which this provided the crown made it less dependent on the *Riksdag*, which was now called only infrequently and which was led to surrender most of its former powers to the monarch.

Neither of the Scandinavian powers played a prominent part in the international conflicts of the later seventeenth century. Denmark's neutrality was largely a reflection of the weaknesses of its finances, which again deteriorated after the initial improvement at the time of the introduction of absolutism.

Danish monarchs did not, however, abandon all hope of taking revenge on Sweden. At the end of the century King Frederick IV concluded alliances with the Russia of Peter the Great and with Saxony, whose ruler was also king of Poland, with the aim of divesting Sweden of its empire. The attack was launched in 1700, three years after Charles XI's young son Charles XII had come to the throne.

The charter shown above, dated November 14, 1665, contains the declaration known as the *Lex Regia* (King's Law), which replaced Denmark-Norway's traditional elective monarchy with absolute monarchy, setting a precedent for the rest of the western world. Immensely popular after winning the Dano-Swedish war of 1658–60, Frederick III had instituted absolutism in 1661, but this law formally legitimized both hereditary succession to the throne and the king's absolute power, independent of the nobility. Denmark remained an absolute monarchy for nearly 200 years, until the shift to a constitutional monarchy in 1848–49.

The historical novel *Poltava*, written by noted Swedish author Peter Englund, chronicles the ill-fated Battle of Poltava in 1709, where Charles XII, attempting to reestablish Swedish control over the eastern Baltic provinces, unsuccessfully attacked the Russian army and was forced to flee to Turkey, where he lived in exile for five years.

The skull of Charles XII of Sweden shows the hole from the bullet to the head that killed him on November 30, 1718, while he was besieging the fortress of Frederikshald in Norway. Scholars have long debated whether he was killed by the Norwegians or by his own men.

This painting by Johan Starbus depicts Ulrika Eleanora, the younger sister of Charles XII, who was regent during his many prolonged military campaigns. She became queen regnant of Sweden upon his death in December 1718, but abdicated in favor of her husband, Frederick I of Hesse-Kassel, in February 1720 and was queen consort until her death in 1741.

Denmark was swiftly forced to withdraw from the struggle, and shortly afterwards the main Russian army was defeated by a much smaller Swedish force at the battle of Narva. Charles then turned south to deal with the duke of Saxony, but like his grandfather, Charles X, he soon became bogged down in a long Polish campaign. Not until 1706 could Saxony be forced to make peace, and meanwhile Tsar Peter had reformed his army. In 1708 Charles marched against the Russians, but had to turn southwards into the Ukraine, where the severe winter of 1709 greatly weakened his army. Having failed in an attack on the Russian camp at Poltava in the summer, he retreated southward to seek help from the Turks. But as Charles himself raced ahead, his army surrendered to the Russians. This defeat encouraged Denmark and Saxony to re-enter the struggle. While the king negotiated with the Turks, Sweden's power crumbled. By the time he finally returned home in 1715 few of his overseas possessions remained. He refused, however, to give up, hoping to divide his enemies, which now included the German states of Hanover and Brandenburg-Prussia. Twice he invaded Norway. On the second occasion, in 1718, he was shot dead in the trenches outside the fortress of Frederikshald. The government of his sister Ulrika Eleanora, who succeeded him, made peace in a series of treaties in 1720 and 1721. Through those Sweden surrendered most of her gains in Germany, and yielded to Russia all her holdings in the southeastern Baltic, together with a large slice of Finland.

The Eighteenth Century

The end of the Great Northern War found Denmark and Norway with their absolutist system of government intact, their frontiers little changed, and their economies severely strained. Sweden-Finland, however, replaced absolute monarchy with a constitution that left the ruler with little power; for the next fifty years the country was ruled in effect by the nobility, which controlled the *Riksdag* and the Council of State. Of Sweden's seventeenth-century empire only a small foothold on the Baltic coast of Germany in Pomerania and the port of Wismar remained. But the fact that the country had ceased to be an important European power one group of Swedes long refused to accept. In 1741, the Hats, as that party was nicknamed, having gained control of the *Riksdag* and Council, launched a war of revenge against Russia. When peace returned two years later, Sweden had to give up a further slice of southeastern Finland. For a time the Hats seemed to have learned their lesson and turned to the task of developing the country's economy. An East India Company made considerable profits; Swedish iron, because of its high quality, proved to be in great demand abroad, especially on

the British market; and attention began to be paid to agriculture, the source of livelihood for the vast majority of Swedes and Finns. In the middle of the century regular censuses, the first in Europe, began to be recorded. The period was indeed something of a golden age for Swedish science. An Academy of Science was founded in 1739, to be distinguished by the membership of, among others, the astronomer Anders Celsius and the botanist Carl Linnaeus.

In Denmark and Norway, where the government had no desire to embark on costly foreign adventures, there was also considerable economic progress in the eighteenth century; the Dano-Norwegian merchant fleet grew to be the third largest in the world. A number of enlightened ministers, who in effect ran the countries on behalf of the kings, also sought to improve the yield of the royal estates by introducing new methods of cultivation and landholding.

Sweden-Finland became involved in war with Brandenburg-Prussia in 1757 and was only saved from humiliation by its French ally at the peace settlement in 1762. The hold of the Hat party on the reins of government consequently slackened, and in 1765 they were finally overthrown by a rival party—the Younger Caps. The latter, with strong support in the non-noble estates, had adopted a radical program that alarmed a large number of nobles, who began to favor the granting of greater power to the crown as the bastion of their privileges. In that plan they had the full support of the monarch Adolf Fredrick, who had come to the throne in 1751, and of his dominating wife, Lovisa Ulrika, the sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Nothing had been settled, however, when Adolf died in 1771, to be succeeded by his son Gustavus III. The following year Gustavus carried through a successful coup and introduced a new constitution, which ended the so-called Era of Liberty and restored a measure of royal power. Using it, he instituted a series of reforms that improved the administration, humanized the penal code, and stabilized the currency. He also took a great interest in the development of his realm's cultural life: he founded a national theatre for the performance of plays in Swedish, patronized the poet Bellman, and in 1786 founded the Swedish Academy to help preserve and develop the Swedish language.

At the same time in Denmark even more drastic changes were being implemented in the king's name by Johann Friedrich Struensee, a German doctor who had risen rapidly to a position of supreme authority by exploiting the mental instability of the young King Christian VII. Struensee's reign was, however, brief. In 1772 he was arrested by his enemies, and condemned to death for abusing his powers and being the lover of Queen Caroline Matilda.

Ten years of reaction followed, but in 1784 Crown Prince Frederick carried through a coup d'etat which brought to power a

Swedish astronomer Anders Celsius is best known for devising the Celsius temperature scale and for his treatise on the *Nova Methodus distantiam solis a terra determinandi* (New Method for Determining the Distance from the Sun to the Earth).

Carl Linnaeus, also known as Carl von Linné, was a Swedish botanist. He is most famous as the father of taxonomy, or the naming of species of organisms. *Flora Lapponica* is one of his most significant works, in which he details his expedition to Lapland and his study of the Sámi people as well as the flora of Lapland (now Sápmi).

The Swedish poet and composer Carl Michael Bellman is one of the most important figures in Swedish song tradition and Swedish musical history. His songs have been extremely popular in Sweden for centuries, particularly his Biblical parodies, such as Gubben Noach, and his drinking songs.

The opulent Swedish Academy banquet hall is located within the Stock Exchange building in central Stockholm. The Swedish Academy was founded in 1786 by the Francophile king Gustavus III, based on the example of the prestigious French Academy *(Académie française)*.

The German doctor Johann Friederich Struensee was appointed royal physician to the mentally ill King Christian VII of Denmark in 1768. After gaining the king's confidence and embarking on an affair with Queen Caroline Matilda, Struensee seized power and instituted more than a thousand Enlightenment-inspired political and social reforms before being executed for treason in 1772.

council of enlightened ministers headed by Andreas Peter Bernstorff. In the following ten years the council executed a series of reforms, the most important of which transformed Danish rural society. The peasantry, which had effectively been bound to the soil since 1733, were freed after 1788, and the government encouraged the replacement of labor services by money rents. The enclosure of land, by which a large number of strips in open fields were replaced by small compact blocks of land, was speeded up. During the process, which was largely completed during the succeeding half century, many peasants acquired the freehold of the land they worked.

By this time the period of reform in Gustavus Ill's reign had come to an end in Sweden. His high-handed methods alienated a large body of nobles, and even the traditionally royalist peasantry of Sweden and Finland protested against the imposition of a state monopoly on distilling. In an attempt to restore his popularity, the king turned to foreign affairs. In 1788 he launched an attack on Russia, but his lack of success encouraged a group of nobles to mutiny. Gustavus was, however, able to rouse popular opinion against them, and in 1789 he carried through the *Riksdag* an amendment to the constitution giving him virtually absolute power. At the same time he reduced the privileges of the nobility with regard to the holding of office and land. Such concessions to the rising middle class did much to reduce social tension in Sweden-Finland. The war with Russia was concluded in 1790 on the basis of the status quo. The king's coup in 1789 had, however, set in motion against him a conspiracy by the nobility and in 1792 he was assassinated during a masked ball in his new opera house in Stockholm.

The French Revolution and Napoleon

Gustavus III had planned to intervene in France on behalf of the monarchy after the outbreak of the revolution there in 1789. Such plans died with him. After war broke out between Britain and France in 1793, both sides began to interfere with neutral trade. As in the past, that brought Denmark and Sweden together in defense of their shipping, and in 1800 they both joined the League of Armed Neutrality headed by Russia. But Britain replied by sending a fleet to bombard Copenhagen. Denmark withdrew from the League, which soon afterwards collapsed. Gustavus Ill's son, Gustavus IV, who had come of age in 1796, proved himself little able to lead his country through the difficult times that lay ahead. He acquired a pathological hatred of Napoleon Bonaparte and took Sweden into war against France in 1805. Two years later the agreement between the French emperor and the Russian tsar at Tilsit placed the whole of Scandinavia in a perilous situation. Britain's fears that the large Danish navy would

fall into French hands prompted it to send a further naval expedition to the Sound with a demand that Danish ships should be surrendered until the war was over. The Danes refused and put up a fierce resistance, giving way only after further damage had been done to Copenhagen and British troops had been landed. Now seemingly defenseless against the victorious French, Denmark concluded an alliance with Bonaparte and, as a result, most of Danish overseas trade was lost. But it was Norway, dependent as it was on imported grain, that suffered most. Its coasts were blockaded by British warships, and most of its ties with Copenhagen were cut. That separation led to a growth of feeling among the Norwegians that they would be better off as an independent country.

Sweden was meanwhile under pressure from Russia to join the French Continental System, which would deprive the Swedes of their valuable trade with Britain. When Gustavus refused, the tsar attacked Finland. Although that country was soon overrun and Sweden itself threatened, the king refused to contemplate making peace. A number of his officials and army officers, who regarded further resistance as purposeless, deposed him in favor of his uncle, Charles XIII. At the same time a new constitution (in force until 1975) restored the balance of power between monarch and *Riksdag*, the latter retaining, however, the form of four estates. Peace was then concluded with Russia, which gained Finland. Charles XIII had no children, and to please Napoleon one of his marshals, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, was chosen as Charles' successor. Bernadotte, who adopted the name Charles XIV John (Carl Johan), came immediately to Sweden and took charge of its foreign policy. Rather surprisingly, he guided his adopted country away from the country of his birth, whose eventual defeat he foresaw, and towards the last great coalition that was being formed against Bonaparte. In 1812 he concluded an alliance with Russia, now again France's enemy, and fought in the last campaign in Germany against his former master. In 1814 he forced Denmark to make peace at Kiel. Denmark had to surrender Norway to the Swedish crown. But the Norwegians declared their independence and adopted a liberal constitution at a meeting at Eidsvoll, north of Christiania (as Oslo was then called). Only when the Swedes agreed to recognize this Eidsvoll Constitution did they agree to recognize Charles XIII as king of Norway.

The Norwegians thereby won a considerable degree of autonomy. Their parliament (*Storting*) could pass laws for the country, and Norwegian ministers headed the administration in Christiania. A similar settlement was enjoyed by the Finns. Finland was not absorbed into the Russian empire but, as a grand duchy with the tsar as grand duke, was allowed to retain its own institutions, and a senate of Finnish

The British bombarded Copenhagen in 1801 and 1807 (depicted above by C. W. Eckersberg) in connection with the Napoleonic wars. Britain feared that Denmark would allow French troops to occupy the country and close the Baltic Sea to British shipping, so the British navy shelled the city, killing more than 2000 civilians, and confiscated the entire Danish fleet.

Suomenlinna (Sveaborg Fortress) is situated on a group of islands close to Helsinki, Finland. A key fortress during much of Finland's history, it was built during the Swedish era in the mid–18th century, came under Russian rule in 1809, and has been under Finnish control since Finland achieved independence in 1917.

Bernadotte's election to the kingship of Sweden required him to change his name and religion, be adopted by Charles XIII, and move his family from France to Sweden. He did not, however, learn to speak Swedish or Norwegian. His wife Desirée, who had once been engaged to Napoleon, never reconciled herself to living in the far north and spent most of her time in France.

Unemployed, painted by Sven Jørgensen in 1888, captures the misery of the Norwegian populace during the Napoleonic wars.

This 1885 painting by Oscar Wergeland, which currently hangs in the *Storting*, depicts the constituent assembly at Eidsvoll, Norway in 1814. Standing at the table is Christian Magnus Falsen, the father of the Norwegian constitution. To his right is secretary Wilhelm F.K. Christie. And between them, on the other side of the table, sits Herman Wedel Jarlsberg.

The prolonged conflict over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (known in Danish as Slesvig and Holsten) involved not only linguistic and ethnic differences, but also geopolitical maneuvering and archaic political restrictions based on the 1460 Ripener Privilege that the two duchies should never be divided.

ministers in the new capital of Helsinki formed the government. The tsar, however, retained the right to call a meeting of the Estates when he chose. In fact they were not summoned for over fifty years.

The Nineteenth Century

The period of the Napoleonic Wars had thus wrought great changes in Scandinavia: Denmark had retained its absolutist system of government but had lost the link with Norway that had given it some pretensions to the status of a European power; Sweden had lost control of Finland but had gained a new dynasty and a new constitution; Norway had secured a constitution for the first time and a large degree of control over its internal affairs; whereas Finland, although having fallen under the sceptre of an old enemy, maintained most of its traditional institutions. The fifteen years following the end of the war were marked both by a gradual recovery from its economic effects—which had been especially deleterious for Denmark and Norway—and by the slow growth of a liberal opposition to royal power, which was most evident in Sweden, where it could express itself through the estates of the *Riksdag*, especially that of the nobility.

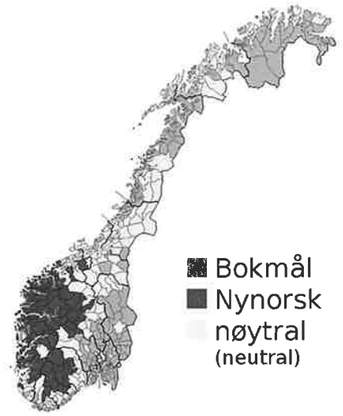
It was, however, in Denmark that political change came first. In 1830, revolutions broke out in a number of German states. The call went out for the granting of liberal constitutions, a call that was echoed among the German-speaking population of Schleswig and Holstein, states ruled by the king of Denmark as their duke. In 1831 King Frederick VI finally agreed to the setting up of four consultative assemblies within his realms—one for each of the duchies, one for Jutland, and one for the islands. Although these assemblies lacked power, they did provide, for the first time since the seventeenth century, a public forum for the discussion of political affairs, thereby encouraging hopes of further advance. But it was again external affairs which furnished the catalyst for reforms. In 1848 revolts occurred on an even larger scale in central Europe. In Germany liberals called for the unification of the country, and the German-speakers of Schleswig and Holstein demanded membership in the new Germany that seemed to be emerging. Their call for a severing of links with Denmark brought on a strong reaction within that country, where liberals came to the defense of the Danish-speakers in north Schleswig and demanded union between that duchy and the kingdom. The new king agreed to the calling of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution, and when his new liberal ministers refused to countenance the demands of the German Schleswig Holsteiners, they set up their own government in Kiel, and in the war which followed in 1848–49, that government was backed by the

German states to the south. But as the tide of revolution ebbed, their support was withdrawn, and Britain and France were able to bring about a settlement that left the duchies under the control of the Danish king, but in an uncertain relationship to his kingdom.

The Schleswig-Holstein War was a result of the rising sentiment of nationalism in Europe during the Age of Romanticism the in early nineteenth century. This nationalism was evident not only in Denmark, where it also manifested itself in the founding of so-called Folk High Schools for the rural population, but also in Norway, where all attempts by the king in Stockholm to strengthen the ties between the two countries were strongly resisted. Attempts were made, led by Ivar Aasen, to evolve a Norwegian language to replace both the form of Danish used in the towns and the many dialects of the countryside. In Finland the spirit was best expressed by the phrase "We are no longer Swedes, we cannot be Russians, we must be Finns." Again, language played a major role. The demand was for the development of Finnish as a cultural language that could wholly replace the Swedish which was still the language of the upper classes and administration. But the Romantic Movement also led to a consciousness of a common Scandinavian past and to a call for closer ties, even for political union, between the Nordic countries. Such feelings were strongest in Denmark, Danes being fully conscious of the country's weakness in the face of the rising power of Germany, and in Sweden, where many still smarted from the loss of Finland and were fearful of Russian expansionism. The resultant so-called Pan-Scandinavian Movement received comparatively little official encouragement; it was largely confined to students and to literary circles, and its weakness was revealed when it was faced by its first real test in the 1860s.

The constituent assembly that met in 1849 in Copenhagen produced a constitution of a markedly democratic character; a two-chamber assembly (*Rigsdag*) was to be elected on a very wide male franchise. The constitution, however, applied only to the kingdom, not to the duchies. The liberals who formed the cabinets under the new constitution had not abandoned hopes of uniting at least Schleswig to the kingdom, but any move in that direction was immediately opposed by the German-speaking population and threatened to cause international complications. Finally in 1863 a new constitution that did unite Schleswig and the kingdom was promulgated. The Prussian chancellor Bismarck demanded its withdrawal under threat of war, and when the Danish government professed itself unable to act, Prussian and allied Austrian troops occupied the duchies, precipitating the second Schleswig-Holstein War in 1864. The Danish army fought bravely, but the Danes were finally compelled to sue for peace. They had to surrender both duchies, which were eventually absorbed

The folklorist and pastor Nikolaj Frederik Severin (N.F.S.) Grundtvig was the ideological father of the folk high school, which aimed to educate common people to be active members of society.



The language created by Ivar Aasen became known as *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian) and is one of two official forms of Norwegian in use today and is spoken primarily in western parts of Norway.

The Defense of the Sampo by Akseli Gallen-Kallela illustrates a central scene in the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland, which was compiled by Elias Lönnrot from Finnish folk singers between 1833 and 1848.

Known as the "Father of the Modern Breakthrough," the Danish literary critic Georg Brandes spearheaded the shift to a realistic, socially engaged literature throughout Scandinavia.

Henrik Ibsen is Norway's most famous playwright, but his socially realistic plays, including *A Doll's House* and *Ghosts*, were quite controversial in his time.

The Swedish author August Strindberg possessed enormous talent, a radical worldview, and a fierce temper. His psychologically probing, naturalistic plays, from *Miss Julie* to *Ghost Sonata*, are still internationally influential.

into Prussia. The failure of the Swedish-Norwegian government to send any assistance marked the end of political Pan-Scandinavianism.

The Danish liberals were thoroughly discredited by the defeat and had to make way for their conservative rivals. The Conservatives formed the ministries in Denmark for the rest of the nineteenth century and in 1866 introduced a new constitution that made the upper house of the *Rigsdag* a bastion of their party. They were faced, however, by an increasingly vociferous new Liberal Party, made up of an alliance between small and middle-sized farmers and urban radicals. Although, from 1870 on, the alliance secured a growing majority of seats in the lower house, the Liberals could not form a government without the support of the king, and the Conservatives, led by Jacob Estrup, remained in power, even though for a time they had to rule by emergency decree. Political life in Denmark gradually came to a standstill. Only in the 1890s did moderates on both sides succeed in reaching a compromise settlement that enabled necessary legislation to be passed. In 1901 the Liberals won such an overwhelming victory at the polls that the king agreed to invite them to form a cabinet. This transition became known in Danish history as the System Change.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Sweden still had its antiquated *Riksdag* of four estates, which left large sections even of the middle class unrepresented. In 1865, however, a ministry led by Louis de Geer introduced a proposal for a bicameral assembly, which was approved the following year. The solution was still more conservative than that which had been reached in either Denmark or Norway. Of the two houses, the first was indirectly elected by local councils and contained a large number of nobles; the second was chosen directly, but on a narrow property franchise and was dominated by well-to-do farmers. Unlike the situation in Denmark, however, there was no serious clash between the two houses. Party organization was more fluid because of divisions among farmers and landowners over the issues of free trade and protection and of defense. A Liberal Party was eventually founded in 1900 and came to power in 1905 through support of the growing number of Social Democrats in the second chamber.

For most of the nineteenth century Norwegian political life was dominated by opposition between a party of urban bureaucrats, from whom the Swedish Union king generally chose his ministers, and one of liberal farmers. The latter was not, however, effectively organized until the 1860s, when a Liberal Party was formed under Johan Sverdrup. After a crisis in 1884, the king was compelled to accept parliamentary government and appoint a liberal ministry. During the remaining years of the union, relations with the Swedish crown tended to dominate the scene. By the end of the century many Norwegians were beginning to consider complete independence as

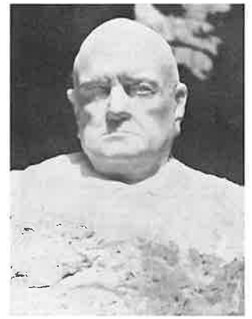
the best solution, and in the first decade of the twentieth century Norwegian demands for a separate consular service brought matters to a head. When the Swedes refused to yield, the Norwegian ministry unilaterally declared the Union at an end. For a time war between the two countries seemed possible, but moderate views prevailed, and after a referendum the Swedes agreed to recognize Norwegian independence. In 1905, Prince Carl of Denmark, the younger brother of the future King Christian X of Denmark, became King Haakon VII of Norway, reestablishing Norway's royal house.

Industrialization, Emigration, and Popular Movements

Even at the end of the nineteenth century the majority of Scandinavians still lived in the countryside and depended on agriculture for their livelihood. But after 1850 the importance of industry grew rapidly, if somewhat unevenly. An expanding demand from the economically more advanced countries of western Europe encouraged an exploitation of the resources of the area on a hitherto unprecedented scale. In Sweden the forests in the north of the country provided timber, pulp, and paper for the world's presses, while production of the country's high-grade iron was improved, and from the 1890s new sources of ore were opened in the far north. In Norway capital was provided by exports of fish, timber, and by shipping services, although not until the end of the century did hydroelectric power from the fast-flowing rivers enable the development of heavy industry, which was largely dependent on foreign capital. In Finland, where timber was exported in great quantities, no real industrialization occurred before the twentieth century. Denmark was exceptional in relying as heavily as it did on the export of butter and bacon to the British market; its industry was otherwise largely meant for home consumption and tended to be small in scale. The spread of railways, especially in Denmark (after 1847) and Sweden (after 1856), ended the isolation of many areas, reduced transportation costs, encouraged the concentration of enterprises, and helped to mobilize capital—besides creating a new type of urban center: the railway town. In Norway, where topography limited railway construction, the steamboat was a major factor in linking the many coastal communities.

Economic growth in Scandinavia was not rapid enough to absorb an accelerating growth of population, especially marked among the lower classes in the countryside. Beginning on a small scale as early as 1825, emigration overseas—mainly to the United States—grew into a flood from Norway and Sweden in the five decades before the First World War. Fewer left Denmark, where population growth was more

This painting by Halfdan Strøm depicts Norway's newly-elected King Haakon with the Crown Prince in his arms being welcomed by Prime Minister Christian Michelsen on the deck of the "Heimdal."



Best known for his symphony *Finlandia*, the Finnish composer Jean Sibelius was a strong proponent of Finnish culture and Finnish independence.

This 1898 painting by P.S. Krøyer shows the Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg accompanying his wife. Grieg's most widely recognized piece is "In the Hall of the Mountain King" from *Peer Gynt*.

This statue of Karl Oskar and Kristina Nilsson, the protagonists of Vilhelm Moberg's quadrilogy *The Emigrants*, in Lindstrom, Minnesota, celebrates Swedish immigration to North America.

In this 1990 photograph, Icelandic women wearing national costumes commemorate 75 years of women's suffrage.

Although Denmark was neutral during WWI, German U-boats sank sank 178 Danish merchant ships and a great naval battle between the British and German navies was fought in the Danish waters of the Kattegat Sea.

even, and from Finland emigration before the turn of the century was largely from the western province of Ostrobothnia.

Emigration encouraged demands for social and political reform; that so many chose to leave the country seemed to reflect badly on conditions there. Many, especially in Sweden, flocked to join "popular movements." Such movements included those who sought to limit or even prohibit altogether the production and consumption of alcohol, those who saw the solution to society's ills in a revival of personal religion inside and outside the official Lutheran churches, and those who aimed to unite the working classes behind the banner of socialism. Only the latter enjoyed more than passing successes. Prohibition was finally adopted in Norway and Finland at the time of the First World War but had to be abandoned in both countries in the 1930s, even though restrictions were imposed on the sale of alcohol in the two countries, as in Sweden, by making the selling of it a state monopoly. The Free Church Movement attracted many adherents in the countryside but could do little to halt the growing secularization of society. Social Democratic (in Norway Labor) parties benefited from extensions of the franchise which meant that by 1914 all adult males—and in Finland and Norway all adult females (from 1906 and 1913, respectively)—enjoyed the vote. But even the Labor Movement suffered setbacks. The failure of a general strike in Sweden in 1909 caused a sharp fall in membership of trade unions in the country.

The Twentieth Century and the First World War

The early years of the twentieth century were marked by considerable political and social unrest in Scandinavia. Employers' confederations were formed to face the nationally organized labor unions, and strikes and lockouts, often conducted with considerable bitterness, were frequent. The confrontation that led to the breakup of the union between Norway and Sweden threatened to bring the intervention of the great European powers in Scandinavian affairs, and attempts by the Russian government to undermine Finnish autonomy led to the growth of a desire by many Finns for complete independence. Under the circumstances it was not surprising that in both Denmark and Sweden questions of defense played a large role in public debate.

The Scandinavian countries remained neutral throughout the First World War, but they were not unaffected by it. While there were strong pro-German sympathies in the Swedish upper classes, the sentiments of most of the population lay with the Allies. In Denmark anti-German feelings, dating back to the Schleswig-Holstein Wars, had been kept alive by the attempts to germanize the Danish minority in Schleswig.

Sympathies for the Allies were, however, often tested by the repercussions on Scandinavia of the Allied blockade of Germany, which involved putting pressure on neutral countries to prevent their supplying the enemy with food and war materials; the stopping of neutral ships to search for "forbidden goods"; and the withholding of supplies of coal, on which Scandinavian industry relied heavily. The pressure became more intense when the United States entered the war in 1917. Unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany, which had helped to bring about this broadening of the war, also caused heavy losses to Scandinavian shipping, especially that of Norway, which lost a third of its tonnage.

Shortages grew towards the end of the war, and rationing had to be introduced. Government controls of economic life had to be increased, much against the will of the predominantly liberal administrations, still wedded to laissez-faire doctrines. Such difficulties exacerbated social unrest, and the Bolshevik coup in Russia in 1917, followed by radical uprisings in central Europe at the end of the war, led to fears of a breakdown in the social system. Only in Finland, however, did the Socialist Party contemplate seizing power by force.

During the war most Finnish patriots saw the best hope for their country to lie in the defeat of Russia, and a number went to Germany to receive military training in preparation for a revolt. This group, known as the Jäger Battalion, would later play a decisive role in the Finnish Civil War. The Bolshevik coup in Russia led the non-socialist majority in the Finnish parliament to hurry through a declaration of independence (1917), while the socialists looked to the new Russia for help. A coup by radicals in the party in Helsinki at the beginning of 1918 began a civil war, during which the "Reds" received considerable aid from the large number of Russian troops still in the country. "White" forces, organized by Gustav Mannerheim, proved to be better trained and led and also obtained German help. The "Reds" were crushed, suffering imprisonment and execution by the "Whites."

Both sides of the Finnish Civil War recruited child soldiers into their armies, including more than 2,000 girls recruited from domestic service and factories in southern Finland. One of the young boys who fought for the Whites was Urho Kekkonen, who went on to become the longest-serving President of Finland.

Fridtjof Nansen, a Norwegian humanist and explorer, was the first person to cross Greenland on skis and led a North Pole Expedition that reached a record-breaking northern latitude. He was named the League of Nation's first High Commissioner for Refugees in 1921.

The 1920s

One of the declared aims of the peace settlement that ended World War I in 1918 was self-determination for all nationalities. This goal affected the future of the Danish-speaking population of Schleswig. In 1920 a referendum was held that resulted in the return of the northern part of the duchy to Denmark. Two years before this Iceland had been granted home rule within the Danish monarchy and promised the right to opt for full independence in twenty-five years.

After 1920 foreign affairs tended to fall into the background of Nordic politics, although none of the countries became isolationist. Each played a full part in the League of Nations throughout the

As the first Social Democrat Prime Minister of Denmark, Thorvald Stauning oversaw the establishment of the Danish social welfare system and steered a cautious course during the Nazi occupation of Denmark during WWII.

Det Norske Arbeiderpartiet (The Norwegian Labor Party) was founded in 1887, but has been particularly influential since WWI. This is a Labor Party election poster for the *stortingsvalg* (parliamentary election) of 1945.

following decade, and individual Scandinavians made important contributions to its work; the Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen did valiant work for the refugees who had been displaced by the war and for famine relief in the Soviet Union. Inter-Scandinavian cooperation was also intensified officially and through private initiative. But it was internal politics and the state of the economy that attracted most attention. Politically the decade was an unstable one. No one party in any country was able to win decisive enough support from the electorate to ensure strong administrations, nor were conditions favorable for stable coalitions. The result was a rapid succession of weak minority governments or loose combinations of center parties. One of the earliest signs that the situation might be improving in that respect came in 1929 with the formation in Denmark of a majority coalition headed by the Social Democrat Thorvald Stauning. But hardly had that coalition taken office when it had to face a grave economic crisis that affected to a greater or lesser extent all the Nordic countries.

The 1930s: Economic Depression and International Tension

The brief post-war boom had been succeeded in the early 1920s by a much longer slump, during which unemployment rose sharply and relations between capital and labor deteriorated. It cannot really be said that Denmark, Norway, or Finland had fully recovered from this before a more serious blow fell at the beginning of the succeeding decade, and Scandinavian farmers were in difficulties for most of the 1920s. However, towards 1930 Sweden enjoyed much improved conditions, based on increased foreign demand for its exports, especially lumber products, which made up over forty percent of the total. In the same period Swedish artistic design began to enjoy an international reputation.

The effects of the Great Depression, which began with the Wall Street crash in 1929, were first felt in Scandinavia at the end of 1930. As with the earlier depression, it struck the different economies in different ways and with differing degrees of intensity. Norway, for example, was comparatively less affected because it had only partially recovered from the earlier slump, although the stagnation in world trade compelled the laying up of much of its merchant fleet, on which it relied for much of its foreign earnings. As in the early 1920s, however, unemployment rose sharply; the number of foreclosures on farms increased; and there was rising social unrest. In Finland economic difficulties put wind into the sails of the Lapuan Movement, a rural-based anti-communist demonstration that swept the country and forced the government to ban all communist activities. Elsewhere the

political consequences were less alarming, and incidents like that in Aadalen in northern Sweden in 1931, during which a number of striking sawmill workers were fired on by troops, caused a sensation because they were exceptional. In Denmark a serious confrontation between workers and employers was resolved by the intervention of the Social Democratic government, which banned strikes and froze wages. Denmark, however, recovered only slowly, partly because of its dependence on the sale of its bacon and dairy produce to Britain, whose Imperial Preference policy favored goods from its empire overseas.

In the other Scandinavian countries non-socialist governments offered little but such palliatives as cuts in state expenditure and limited relief work for the unemployed. Growing dissatisfaction was translated into increased electoral support for the socialist parties. In Sweden the Social Democrats were able to form a government in 1932, but, as in Denmark, they had to rely on the support of other parties and, as in Denmark, had to agree with the farmers to support agriculture in exchange for support for a program of social welfare.

The basis of the modern welfare state had already been laid by the 1930s. The Depression did, however, give a new boost to social legislation, of which there had been comparatively little in the 1920s. In Denmark the socialist minister Carl Steincke drew up in 1933 a code that established the citizen's right to assistance in certain specified cases and put his country ahead in the field. But it was Sweden, under the leadership of Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson, that in the later years of the decade stole the limelight, with family allowances, compulsory annual paid leave for all, and greatly increased old-age pensions. Sweden was able to acquire that lead partly because of a bolder progressive taxation policy and partly, too, because it was a richer country. Its recovery from the Depression was, as in the late 1920s, to a great extent owing to an international demand for what it could produce, notably iron ore, which was needed for the rearmament gathering pace in Europe after 1936.

The growing international tension that followed upon the Nazis' coming to power in Germany in 1933 was most directly felt in Denmark, where there was considerable Nazi activity among the German-speaking minority in the south of Jutland. The government, however, fearing that a strengthening of defenses might provoke Berlin without providing any sort of adequate protection against an attack from the south, even signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939, the only Scandinavian state to do so. Only Sweden began a serious rearmament program.

Per Albin Hansson was the leader of the Social Democrats and Sweden's Prime Minister from 1932–46. He was the PM during WWII and led Sweden in a policy of neutrality. Hansson is the creator of the "Swedish Model" of the welfare state known as *Folkhemmet* (the People's Home).

The son of Sweden's prime minister during WWI, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, Dag Hammarskjöld was a Swedish diplomat, economist and author. He was the second Secretary-General of the United Nations and died in a plane crash in 1961. Hammarskjöld received the Nobel Peace Prize posthumously in 1961.

Finnish ski troops were deployed creatively and effectively to "chop up" Russian troop columns into *motti* (firewood) during the Winter War.

Denmark's King Christian X rode out on horseback through Copenhagen every day during the Nazi occupation of Denmark to lift the people's morale.

Vidkun Quisling was the leader of the *Nasjonal Samling* (National Unity) Party, Norway's fascist party. Here, Quisling is saluting his followers at the Grand Hotel in Oslo, February 1942, after creating a new cooperation government with the German occupiers. "Quisling" is now used as a synonym for "traitor."

Scandinavia in the Second World War

The outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 brought an immediate declaration of neutrality by all the Nordic countries. The Russian attack on Finland three months later aroused strong feelings of sympathy, especially in Sweden. There, the government authorized the sending of both military and non-military aid to its neighbor, and many Swedes fought as volunteers during the Winter War. While that war was in progress, the Western Allies requested permission of the Norwegians and Swedes to send troops through their territories in order to assist the Finns. Both governments refused, and in March 1940, after Soviet forces had finally broken through the Finnish defenses, peace was signed. Finland had to surrender a large swath of territory in Karelia to the Soviet Union and agree to the occupation of the port of Hanko in the extreme southwest of the country.

Less than a month later, on 9 April, German troops invaded Denmark and Norway. Norway was valued as providing bases for the German navy, and it was feared in Berlin that it might be used by the Allies to open a northern front. Denmark was necessary to protect communications with Norway, but its agricultural produce would also provide a useful supplement to the German larder. In Denmark there was little resistance; under threat of aerial bombardment of Copenhagen, the king ordered the army to abandon the struggle. Consequently the Germans allowed the Danes to continue to control their internal affairs for the following three years and sought to make of Denmark a model protectorate. In Norway, King Haakon and his government managed to escape from Oslo before the German forces arrived. Stiff resistance enabled a British and French expeditionary force to be landed in northern Norway, where the port of Narvik was briefly recaptured from the Germans.

The full-scale German offensive against France and the Low Countries in May, however, forced the withdrawal of Allied troops from Norway. The king and government withdrew with them to Britain. After unsuccessful attempts to cajole the Norwegian parliament into accepting a new government dominated by Norwegian Nazis under Vidkun Quisling, the Germans imposed one by force majeure, although Quisling did not become prime minister for another two years. There was nothing of the model protectorate about Norway. Efforts to nazify Norwegian life were met by fierce passive resistance. In Denmark the continuance of a legitimate government in power complicated the situation. The Allies long treated Denmark with a good deal of suspicion. From the beginning, however, there were many Danes who opposed the government's policy of appeasement and concessions to the occupying forces and who began to organize active resistance. The German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 brought Communists to the forefront of this resistance in both Denmark and Norway. Acts of sabotage against German military installations, communications, and factories working for the Germans grew. Such attacks were condemned by the Danish coalition government, and the Germans even allowed elections to be held in Denmark in 1943. These elections failed, however, to give the Germans the support they had hoped for, and in August the government was faced with an ultimatum, calling, among other things, for the introduction of the death penalty for sabotage. The ultimatum was rejected, and the government resigned. For the remainder of the war the civil service ran the country as best it could. The Danish armed forces were compelled to disband.

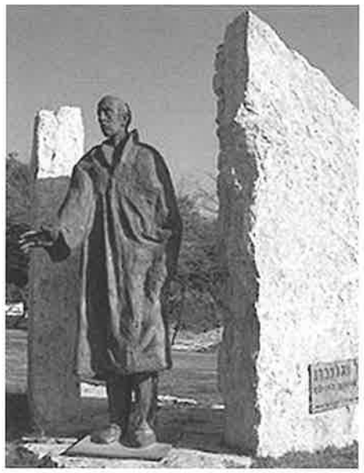
With the occupation of Denmark and Norway, Sweden found itself completely isolated. While the fighting was still raging in Norway, the Germans demanded of the Swedish government the right to transport troops and supplies across Swedish territory to northern Norway. The Swedes gave way and signed a series of transit agreements. The German attack on Russia brought fresh problems. The Finns chose to seek revenge for their defeat in the Winter War by fighting side by side with the Germans as co-belligerents in the Continuation War, and, under German pressure the Swedish government had to agree, to the transfer of a whole German division from northern Norway to the Finnish front. As the tide of battle turned, the concessions were withdrawn, and Sweden not only offered refuge to many Danes and Norwegians fleeing from the Germans but also provided much humanitarian aid to fellow Scandinavians.

In one of the most successful operations of the Danish Underground, nearly all Danish Jews were rescued from seizure by the Germans and ferried across the Sound to Sweden. With the help of Allied agents and supplies the Danish underground intensified its activities after the German takeover in 1943. In June of the following year the whole city of Copenhagen went on strike in protest against German policy and forced concessions from the occupying forces.

The Finns were compelled to conclude an armistice in 1944 before being overrun by superior Russian forces. According to this armistice further modifications were made in the frontier to Soviet benefit; the Russians were provided with a temporary base at Porkkala near Helsinki; heavy reparations in kind were promised them; and an engagement was made to drive out the German troops stationed in northern Finland. These forces retreated into northern Norway, where they caused much devastation before surrendering with other occupying forces at the end of the war in Europe in May 1945.

Norwegians used humor as a subtle but effective form of retaliation against Nazi occupation, as Kathy Stokker has documented in her book, *Folklore Fights the Nazis*. In this image, a boy vandalizes a Quisling poster to read "scoundrel" and receives "Norwegian Justice."

The Danish pastor and playwright Kaj Munk was an outspoken opponent of the Nazi occupation of Denmark. After asserting in a sermon that it was a Christian's duty to kill Nazis, he was executed by the Gestapo. He is commemorated as a martyr in the Calendar of Saints of the Lutheran Church.



Raoul Wallenberg was a Swedish businessman and diplomat who rescued tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews from the Holocaust. Wallenberg was captured by Soviet Union forces and transported to the infamous Ljubljanka prison in Moscow, where he was reported to have died in 1947. The 1990 film *Good Evening, Mr. Wallenberg*, starring the Swedish actor Stellan Skarsgård, dramatizes his courageous efforts in Nazi-occupied Budapest in 1944.

Denmark, Iceland, and Norway were founding members of NATO when it was established in 1949, although some Icelanders staged public protests and many Norwegians felt that they had been coerced into joining.

Post-War Scandinavia

Sweden emerged from the war economically and militarily strong, but internationally rather isolated. While Denmark and Norway became charter members of the United Nations, Sweden was not admitted until 1946. Norway in particular had suffered considerable material loss, and the socialist government that took office as the result of the first post-war election developed detailed plans for reconstruction under state aegis. As the Cold War intensified, many Scandinavians feared being drawn into the struggle between the super powers. Sweden was the prime mover in negotiations for a Scandinavian defense alliance. The Norwegians, however, wished to link it to the Western Allies in ways that threatened Sweden's neutral status. With the breakdown of talks, both Norway and Denmark joined NATO in 1949. Iceland, which had been occupied by first British and then American forces during the war and which had declared her complete independence from Denmark in 1944, joined NATO at the same time. The previous year Finland had signed a pact that bound it to cooperate with the Soviet Union in resisting any foreign attack. On the basis of that pact, President Paasikivi developed a foreign policy—the so-called Paasikivi line—aimed at avoiding any move that might provide the Russians with an excuse to intervene in Finland, as they had intervened in all the other states on their western borders.

The Nordic world seemed in danger of breaking up. But centripetal as well as centrifugal forces were operating within it. On the initiative of the Danish Prime Minister Hans Hedtoft, the Nordic Council was set up in 1952 to discuss common problems other than those involving foreign policy and defense and to make recommendations for closer inter-Scandinavian cooperation. The Council thus supplemented the already frequent meetings between politicians and professional men and women in the Scandinavian countries, and from these meetings emerged such measures as the creation of a common labor market, the abolition of passports, and the setting up of a Nordic investment fund. The Nordic Council became an advisory body to the Nordic Council of Ministers, which was established in 1971 to collaborate on joint Nordic institutions and projects in such fields as investment finance, scientific research and development, culture, environment, education, social welfare, and health.

The Scandinavian countries participated in the post-war trend toward pan-European economic cooperation to varying degrees. All the Scandinavian countries joined the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) after it was established in 1959, but negotiations for a Nordic economic union (NORDEK) collapsed in the late 1960s after Finland withdrew in order to avoid antagonizing the Soviet Union by pursuing closer ties to the West. In 1972, Denmark, which has close trade relationships with Britain and Germany, joined the European Economic Community (EEC, later EC), though Greenland withdrew from the EC in 1985. In 1992, the EC was subsumed by the European Union (EU), which Sweden and Finland joined in 1995. Finland also joined the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in 1999, becoming the only Scandinavian country to replace its national currency with the euro. Despite governmental support for the project, Norwegian referendums on EEC/EU membership were defeated in 1972 and 1994. However, as a member of the European Economic Area (EEA), which was created in 1994, Norway has full access to EU markets, is bound by many EU regulations, and contributes significantly to the EU's operating budget (188 million euros in 2008). Iceland became a member of the EEA in 1994 but reached no consensus among its leading political parties about possible EU membership. In the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008, during which several Icelandic banks failed and the Icelandic currency was devalued, Iceland applied to join the EU on July 16, 2009, but negotiations were put on hold indefinitely by the Icelandic government, pending a popular referendum, in 2013.

Domestic Scandinavian politics since the end of World War II have largely been dominated by left-leaning political parties, despite far-reaching changes in the social and economic landscapes of each of the Nordic countries. Extensive in-migration from non-Western countries has brought both economic and population growth, as well as increasing ethnic heterogeneity and religious diversity. Relaxed censorship laws in the 1960s sparked a boom in pornography that gave Scandinavia an international reputation for permissiveness and sexual liberality. Gender equality has made significant progress throughout Scandinavia, with women occupying a larger percentage of government posts than in any other part of the world. In Norway, for instance, the number of elected women in local and national assemblies rose from less than ten percent in the 1960s to 35 percent by the early 1980s. As a result of quota legislation mandating that corporate boards be at least 40% female, Norwegian companies have the highest average female board membership in the world, at 44.2%. Effective January 1, 2010, Finland followed suit, mandating that every corporate board have at least one female member. Welfare state measures, such as mandatory paid parental leave and state-subsidized daycares and preschools, have also contributed to Scandinavia's women- and family-friendly image. Energy policy in Scandinavia has moved decisively toward sustainability, with Denmark leading the world in wind-power production.

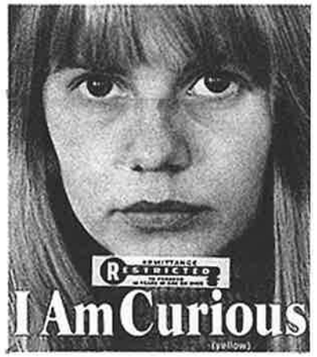
During post–WWII reconstruction, Norwegian stores were filled with goods that were produced with machines and raw materials acquired via American Marshall Plan assistance.

The sign in this picture reads: "Norske varer gjennem Marshall-plannen" (Norwegian goods through the Marshall Plan).

EUROPEAN UNION AND SCANDINAVIAN MEMBERSHIP

Country	Member EU	Member Eurozone
Denmark	YES (1973)	NO
Finland	YES (1995)	YES (1995)
Iceland	Candidate (July 2010)	NO
Norway	NO (1972, 1994)	NO
Sweden	YES (1995)	NO

The heavily leveraged Icelandic banking sector collapsed during the global financial crisis of 2008, leading to a spike in emigration from Iceland, punitive measures by Great Britain, and frequent popular protests.



Jag är nyfiken (I am Curious Yellow), released in 1967, is an innovative Swedish film that follows the life of Lena and her curiosity about life, sexuality, and reality. Because of explicit sexual content and nudity, the film was initially banned in the United States.

Sweden was outspoken in its opposition to American involvement in Vietnam. *De Förenade FNL Grupperna* (United NLF Groups) was a Swedish social movement organized to support the Vietnamese National Liberation Front (FNL). *De Förenade FNL Grupperna* introduced new protest methods to Swedish politics.

Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's assassination in downtown Stockholm in 1986 was a shock to Swedish society.

The Social Democratic Party held power almost continuously in Sweden, with the exception of 1976–84 and 1991–94, until being ousted by the center-right Alliance for Sweden in 2006. The Social Democrats returned to power in 1994 on a mandate to resolve the economic crisis of the early 1990s, which they accomplished by scaling back the welfare state and privatizing certain public services, in addition to facilitating Sweden's entry into the EU. Sweden has often voiced public disagreement with U.S. military engagements overseas, including Prime Minister Olof Palme's denunciation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Foreign Minister Anna Lindh's opposition to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. The assassinations of both Palme, in 1986, and Lindh, in 2003, exposed tensions simmering beneath the otherwise placid surface of Swedish society, due in part to the increasingly multi-ethnic composition of the Swedish population as a result of large-scale immigration from Turkey, the Middle East, southeast Asia, and Africa since the 1960s. The cabinet of Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt formed in 2006, made up of 9 women and 13 men, also contains the first Swedish minister of African descent, Nyamko Sabuni.

Although the Social Democrats have consistently formed the largest party in post-war Denmark, they have rarely been able to secure a majority, which has led to a succession of coalition governments. In the 1960s, a new party on the left, the Socialist People's Party, challenged the Social Democratic dominance, while Mogens Glistrup's anti-tax Progressive Party posed a threat from the right in the mid–1970s, exploiting widespread dissatisfaction with the cost of the elaborate welfare state that had emerged in both Denmark and the other Nordic countries after 1945. Domestic unrest over biker gangs and immigration grew during the 1990s and by 2001, the right-wing, populist Danish People's Party, led by Pia Kjærsgaard, had become the third-largest party in Denmark, supporting a coalition government drawn from the Liberal and Conservative parties in exchange for stricter limitations on immigration. Denmark has been a consistent ally of the US, contributing troops to the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan in 2001 and supporting the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Danish relations with Greenland have changed significantly during the postwar period, with the 1953 granting of equal status for Greenland within the Danish kingdom, home rule in 1979, and complete domestic self-rule in 2009, paving the way for the increasing likelihood of Greenlandic independence.

Except for three brief periods, Norway was ruled by Labor party governments from 1945 to 1981, followed by a series of minority and coalition governments. The discovery of North Sea oil in Norwegian waters in 1969 led to a dramatic increase in national wealth for Norway, as well as the self-sufficiency to enable Norway

to remain aloof from membership in the EU. Labor leader Gro Harlem Brundtland served as prime minister three times, in 1981, from 1986–89, and from 1990–96, earning herself the nickname "the national mother." Since 1997, leadership has alternated between Magne Bondevik of the Christian Democrats and Jens Stoltenberg of the Labor party. Although Norway has also experienced large-scale foreign immigration similar to Denmark and Sweden, it has also undergone a significant reevaluation of the status of the indigenous ethnic Sámi population of northern Norway. The Norwegian constitution was amended in 1988 to recognize Sámi rights as indigenous inhabitants, paving the way for the establishment of a Sámi parliament in 1989. In 1995, the Norwegian-Sámi politician Helga Pedersen was appointed Minister for Fisheries and Coastal Affairs, thereby becoming the first member of an ethnic minority in a Norwegian government and the first politician of Sámi descent in any national government.

Since achieving independence, Iceland has traditionally been governed by primarily moderate coalition governments. Central issues dominating Icelandic politics have included inflation and the expansion of Icelandic territorial waters, especially the resulting conflicts with Britain known as the "Cod Wars" during the 1960s and 70s. With economic growth averaging 4% a year from the mid–1990s onward, Iceland became one of the wealthiest countries in Europe, only to see that prosperity evaporate in 2008 with the expansion of the global liquidity crisis. In 2009, Icelanders elected their first majority left-wing government under the leadership of Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir.

Although Finland experienced frequent turnover of coalition governments during this period, postwar Finnish politics until 1991 followed the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, guided by the charismatic Urho Kekkonen for more than 25 years and relying heavily on Kekkonen's brand of so-called "sauna diplomacy." During the 1970s, this non-confrontational political stance was dubbed "Finlandization" by Western critics, who believed that Finland had subordinated its foreign policy and media integrity to Russian interests. After the dissolution of the USSR, Finland endured a severe economic recession but also adopted a more Western orientation, entering a Partnership for Peace agreement with NATO in 1994 and wholeheartedly embracing EU and EMU membership in 1995. Finland began using the euro in 1999 and held the rotating presidency of the EU in 2006. In 2000, Finland elected Tarja Halonen as its first female president.

After the granting of complete domestic self-rule in 2009, Greenland divided into four municipalities. According to 2009 statistics, 89% of Greenland's population is Inuit and the remaining 11% is either Danish or of another European descent.

In the late 1970s–early 1980s, there was significant turmoil between the Norwegian government and the Sámi people. Sámi activist Niillas Somby, shown here in front of the Norwegian Parliament building protesting the construction of a hydroelectric power plant on the Alta River, lost his hand in an attempt to sabotage the construction of the plant.

Tarja Halonen was Finland's first female president, 2000–12. Halonen, a candidate of Finland's Social Democratic Party, was a respected president and became famous in the United States when she was endorsed during her reelection campaign in 2006 by talk show host Conan O'Brian, on the basis of their similar appearance.

For Further Reading

While T.K. Derry's *A History of Scandinavia* (London, 1979) remains the only complete chronological survey of pan-Nordic history in English, Byron J. Nordstrom's *Scandinavia since 1500* (Minneapolis, 2000) and Tony Griffiths *Scandinavia* (New York, 2004) are the most current treatments of modern Nordic history. The short essays in the first two volumes of *Scandinavia Past and Present* (ed. J. Bukdahl, Copenhagen, 1959) offer a helpful overview of the whole field. For Denmark, Knud J.V. Jespersen's *A History of Denmark* (New York, 2004) is the most up-to-date treatment, but outstanding older histories include S. Oakley's *A Short History of Denmark* (New York, 1972) and Palle Lauring's *A History of the Kingdom of Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1968). For Finland, Jason Lavery's *The History of Finland* (Westport, 2006) is both very concise and wide-ranging, while Frederick Singleton's *A Short History of Finland* (Cambridge, 1989) is also very useful. For Iceland, Gunnar Karlsson's *The History of Iceland* (Minneapolis, 2000) provides a comprehensive survey, while Sigurður A. Magnusson's *Northern Sphinx* (Montreal, 1977) is the liveliest treatment of Icelandic history. For Norway, Ivar Libæk and Øivind Stenersen's *History of Norway: From the Ice Age to the Oil Age* (Oslo, 1991) is the most current overview, but Karen Larsen's *A History of Norway* (Princeton, 1948) and T.K. Derry's *A History of Modern Norway* (Oxford, 1973) remain valuable comprehensive sources of detail and analysis. For Sweden, both Byron J. Nordstrom's *The History of Sweden* (Westport, 2002) and Herman Lindqvist's *A History of Sweden: From Ice Age to Our Age* (Stockholm, 2002) offer recent, concise but complete surveys, while F.D. Scott's *Sweden: The Nation's History* (Carbondale, 1988) is also highly recommended. Finally, *The Dictionary of Scandinavian History* (ed. B. Nordstrom, Westport, 1986) is an invaluable reference work.

Scandinavian Heads of State Since 1523

DENMARK–NORWAY

King	
Frederick I	1523–33
Christian III	1535–59
Frederick II	1559–88
Christian IV	1588–1648
Frederick III	1648–70
Christian V	1670–99
Christian VI	1730–46
Frederick V	1746–66
Christian VII	1766–1808
Frederick VI	1808–14

NORWAY AND SWEDEN

King	
Charles XIII	1814–18
Charles XIV Johan	1818–44
Oskar I	1844–59
Charles XV	1859–72
Oskar II	1872-1905

NORWAY

Monarchy	
Danish rule	1523–1814
Swedish rule	1814–1905
Haakon VII	1905–57
Olav V	1957–91
Harald V	1991–present

SWEDEN-FINLAND

King	
Gustav I (Vasa)	1523–60
Erik XIV	1560–68
Johan III	1568–92
Sigismund	1592–59
Charles IX	1603–11
Gustav II Adolf	1611–32
Christina	1632–54
Charles X	1654–60
Charles XI	1660–97
Charles XII	1697–1718

DENMARK

	Monarchy
Frederick I	1523–33
Christian	1535–59
Frederick II	1559–88
Christian IV	1588–1648
Frederick III	1648–70
Christian V	1670–99
Frederick IV	1699-1730
Christian VII	1766–08
Frederick VI	1808–14 + 1814–39
Christian VII	1839–48
Frederick VII	1848–63
Christian IX	1863–1906
Frederick VIII	1906–12
Christian X	1912–47
Frederick IX	1947–72
Margrethe II	1972–present

SWEDEN

Monarchy	
Gustav I (Vasa)	1523–60
Erik XIV	1560–68
Johan III	1568–92
Sigismund	1592–99
Charles IX – Viceroi – King	1599–1604 1604–11
Gustav II Adolf	1611–32
Kristina	1632–54
Charles X Gustav	1654–60
Charles XI	1660–97
Charles XII	1697–1718
Ulrika Eleonora	1719–20
Fredrick I	1720–51
Adolf Fredrick	1751–71
Gustav III	1771–92
Gustav IV Adolf	1792–1809
Charles XIII	1809–18
Charles XIV Johan	1818–44
Oskar I	1844–59
Charles XV	1859–72
Oskar II	1872-1907
Gustaf V	1907–50
Gustaf VI Adolf	1950–73
Carl XVI Gustaf	1973–present

FINLAND

Monarchy	
Swedish rule	1523–1809
Russian rule	1809–1917
Tsar Alexander I	1809–25
Tsar Nicholas I	1825–55
Tsar Alexander II	1855–81
Tsar Alexander III	1881–94
Tsar Nicholas II	1894–1917
Republic 1917–present with President as Head of State	
Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg	1919–25
Lauri Kristian Relander	1925–31
Kyösti Kallio	1873–1940
Risto Heikki Ryti	1889–1956
Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim	1944–46
Juho Kusti Paasikivi	1946–56
Urho Kaleva Kekkonen	1956–82
Mauno Henrik Koivisto	1982–94
Martti Oiva Kalevi Ahtisaari	1994–2000
Tarja Kaarina Halonen	2000–2012
Sauli Niinistö	2012–present

ICELAND

Monarchy	
Danish rule	1523–1944
Republic	1944–present
Presidents, since 1944	
Sveinn Björnsson	1944–52
Ásgeir Ásgeirsson	1952–68
Kristján Eldjárn	1968–80
Vigdís Finnbogadóttir	1980–96
Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson	1996–present

GREENLAND

Danish rule	1523–present

FAROE ISLANDS

Danish rule	1523–present

Prime Ministers of Scandinavia

DEMARK

Prime Minister, since 1848:

Adam Wilhelm Moltke ... 1848–52
Christian Albrecht Bluhme ... 1852–53
Anders Sandøe Ørsted ... 1853–54
Peter Georg Bang ... 1854–56
Carl Christopher Georg Andræ ... 1856–57
Carl Christian Hall ... 1857–59
Carl Eduard Rotwitt ... 1859–60
Carl Christian Hall ... 1860–63
Ditlev Gothardt Monrad ... 1863–64
Christian Albrecht Bluhme ... 1864–65
Christian Emil Krag-Juel-Vind-Frijs ... 1865–70
Ludvig Holstein-Holsteinborg ... 1870–74
Christen Fonnesbech ... 1874–75
Jacob Brønnum Scavenius Estrup ... 1875–94
Tage Reedtz-Thott ... 1894–97
Hugo Egmont Hørring ... 1897–1900
Hannibal Sehested ... 1900–01
Johan Henrik Deuntzer ... 1901–05
Jens Christian Christensen ... 1905–08
Niels Neergaard ... 1908–09
Johan Ludvig Holsetin-Ledreborg ... 1909
Carl Theodor Zahle ... 1909–10
Klaus Berntsen ... 1910–13
Carl Theodor Zahle ... 1913–20
Otto Liebe ... 1920
Michael Petersen Friis ... 1920
Niels Neergaard ... 1920–24
Thorvald August Marinus Stauning ... 1924–26
Thomas Madsen-Mygdal ... 1926–29
Thorvald August Marinus Stauning ... 1929–42
Vilhelm Buhl ... 1942
Erik Scavenius ... 1942–43
Vilhelm Buhl ... 1945
Knud Kristensen ... 1945–47
Hans Hedtoft ... 1947–50
Erik Eriksen ... 1950–53
Hans Hedtoft ... 1953–55
Hans Christian Svane Hansen ... 1955–60
Viggo Kampmann ... 1960–62
Jens Otto Krag ... 1962–68
Hilmar Baunsgaard ... 1968–71
Jens Otto Krag ... 1971–72
Anker Jørgensen ... 1972–73
Poul Hartling ... 1973–75
Anker Jørgensen ... 1975–82
Poul Schlüter ... 1982–93
Poul Nyrup Rasmussen ... 1993–2001
Anders Fogh Rasmussen ... 2001–09
Lars Løkke Rasmussen ... 2009–11
Helle Thorning-Schmidt ... 2011–present

NORWAY

Prime Minister, since 1814:

Peder Anker ... 1814–22
Mathias Sommerhielm ... 1822–27
Poul Christiand Holst (acting) ... 1827
Jørgen Vogt (acting) ... 1827–28
Severin Løvenskiold ... 1828–36
Severin Løvenskiold ... 1836–41
Frederik Due ... 1841–58
Georg Sibbern ... 1858
Christian Bretteville (acting) ... 1858–59
Georg Sibbern ... 1861
Christian Bretteville (acting) ... 1861
Georg Sibbern ... 1861–71
Otto Richard Kierulf (Norwegian Prime Minister in Stockholm) ... 1873–84
Frederik Stang ... 1873–80
Christian Selmer (acting) ... 1880
Christian Selmer ... 1880–84
Ole Bachke (acting) ... 1884
Niels Rye (acting) ... 1884
Christian Schweigaard ... 1884
Johan Sverdrup ... 1884–89
Emil Stang ... 1889–91
Johannes Steen ... 1891–93
Emil Stang ... 1893–95
Francis Hagerup ... 1895–98
Johannes Steen ... 1898–02
Otto Blehr ... 1902–03
Francis Hagerup ... 1903–05
Christian Michelsen ... 1905
Sofus Arctander (acting) ... 1905
Christian Michelsen ... 1905–07
Jørgen Løvland ... 1907–08
Gunnar Knudsen ... 1908–10
Wollert Konow (S.B.) ... 1910–12
Jens Bratlie ... 1912–13
Gunnar Knudsen ... 1913–20
Otto B. Halvorsen ... 1920–12
Otto Blehr ... 1921–23
Otto B. Halvorsen ... 1923
Christian Michelet (acting) ... 1923
Abraham Berge ... 1923–24
Johan Ludwig Mowinckel ... 1924–26
Ivar Lykke ... 1926–28
Christopher Hornsrud ... 1928
Johan Ludwig Mowinckel ... 1928–31
Peder Kolstad ... 1931–32
Birger Braadland (acting) ... 1932
Nils Trædal (acting) ... 1932
Birger Braadland (acting) ... 1932
Jens Hundseid ... 1932–33
Johan Ludwig Mowinckel ... 1933–35
Johan Nygaardsvold ... 1935
Trygve Lie (acting in London) ... 1942
Oscar Torp (acting in Oslo) ... 1945
Johan Nygaardsvold ... 1945
Einar Gerhardsen ... 1945
Einar Gerhardsen ... 1945–51
Oscar Torp ... 1951–55
Einar Gerhardsen ... 1955–63
John Lyng ... 1963
Einar Gerhardsen ... 1963–65
Per Borten ... 1965–71
Trygve Bratteli ... 1971–72
Lars Korvald ... 1972–73
Trygve Bratteli ... 1973–76
Odvar Nordli ... 1976–81
Gro Harlem Brundtland ... 1981
Kåre Willoch ... 1981–86
Svenn Stray (acting) ... 1984
Gro Harlem Brundtland ... 1986–89
Jan P. Syse ... 1989–90
Gro Harlem Brundtland ... 1990–96
Thorbjørn Jagland ... 1996–97
Kjell Magne Bondevik ... 1997–2000
Anne Enger Lahnstein (acting) ... 1998
Jens Stoltenberg ... 2000–01
Kjell Magne Bondevik ... 2001–05
Jens Stoltenberg ... 2005–present

FAROE ISLANDS

Prime Minister, since 1948:

Andrass Samuelsen ... 1948–50
Kristian Djurhuus ... 1950–59
Peter Mohr Dam ... 1959–63
Hákun Djurhuus ... 1963–67
Peter Mohr Dam ... 1967–68
Kristian Djurhuus ... 1968–70
Atli Dam ... 1970–81
Pauli Ellefsen ... 1981–85
Atli Dam ... 1985–89
Marita Petersen ... 1993–94
Edmund Joensen ... 1994–98
Anfinn Kallsberg ... 1998–2004
Jóannes Eidesgaard ... 2004–08
Kaj Leo Holm Johannesen ... 2008–present

Prime Ministers of Scandinavia

SWEDEN

Prime Minister, since 1888:

D.A. Gillis Bildt ... 1888–89
Gustaf Åkerhielm ... 1889–91
Erik Gustaf Boström ... 1891–1900
Fredrik F von Otter ... 1900–02
Erik Gustaf Boström ... 1902–05
Johan O. Ramstedt ... 1905–05
Christian Lundeberg ... 1905–05
Karl Staaff ... 1905–06
Arvid Lindman ... 1906–11
Karl Staaff ... 1911–14
Hjalmar Hammarskjöld ... 1914–17
Carl Swartz ... 1917–17
Nils Edén ... 1917–20
Hjalmar Branting ... 1920–20
Gerhard Louis De Geer ... 1920–21
Oscar von Sydow ... 1921–21
Hjalmar Branting ... 1921–23
Ernst Trygger ... 1923–24
Hjalmar Branting ... 1924–25
Rickard Sandler ... 1925–26
Carl Gustaf Ekman ... 1926–28
Arvid Lindman ... 1928–30
Carl Gustaf Ekman ... 1930–32
Felix Hamrin ... 1932–32
Per Albin Hansson ... 1932–36
Axel Pehrsson-Bramstorp ... 1936–36
Per Albin Hansson ... 1936–46
Tage Erlander ... 1946–69
Olof Palme ... 1969–76
Thorbjörn Fälldin ... 1976–78
Ola Ullsten ... 1978–79
Thorbjörn Fälldin ... 1979–82
Olof Palme ... 1982–86
Ingvar Carlsson ... 1986–91
Carl Bildt ... 1991–94
Ingvar Carlsson ... 1994–96
Göran Persson ... 1996–2006
Fredrik Reinfeldt ... 2006–present

FINLAND

Prime Minister, since 1917:

Pehr Evind Svinhufvud ... 1917–18
Juho Kusti Paasikivi ... 1918
Lauri Ingman ... 1918–19
Kaarlo Castrén ... 1919
Juho Vennola ... 1919–20
Rafael Erich ... 1920–21
Juho Vennola ... 1921–22
Aimo Cajander ... 1922
Kyösti Kallio ... 1922–24
Aimo Cajander ... 1924
Lauri Ingman ... 1924–25
Antti Tulenheimo ... 1925
Kyösti Kallio ... 1925–26
Väinö Tanner ... 1926–27
Juho Sunila ... 1927–28
Oskari Mantere ... 1928–29
Kyösti Kallio ... 1929–30
Pehr Evind Svinhufvud ... 1930–31
Juho Sunila ... 1931–32
Toivo Mikael Kivimäki ... 1932–36
Kyösti Kallio ... 1936–37
Aimo Cajander ... 1937–39
Risto Ryti ... 1939–41
Johan Wilhelm Rangell ... 1941–43
Edwin Linkomies ... 1943–44
Antti Hackzell ... 1944
Urho Castrén ... 1944
Juho Kusti Paasikivi ... 1944–46
Mauno Pekkala ... 1946–48
Karl-August Fagerholm ... 1948–50
Urho Kekkonen ... 1950–53
Sakari Tuomioja ... 1953–54
Ralf Törngren ... 1954
Urho Kekkonen ... 1954–56
Karl-August Fagerholm ... 1956–57
Vieno Johannes Sukselainen ... 1957
Rainer von Fieandt ... 1957–58
Raino Kuuskoski ... 1958
Karl-August Fagerholm ... 1958–59
Vieno Johannes Sukselainen ... 1959–61
Martti Meittunen ... 1961–62
Ahti Karjalainen ... 1962–63
Raino Ragnar Lehto ... 1963–64
Johannes Virolainen ... 1964–66
Rafael Passio ... 1966–68
Mauno Koivisto ... 1968–70
Teuvo Aura ... 1970
Ahti Karjalainen ... 1970–71
Teuvo Aura ... 1971–72
Rafael Passio ... 1972
Kalevi Sorsa ... 1972–75
Keijo Liinamaa ... 1975
Martti Miettunen ... 1975–77
Kalevi Sorsa ... 1977–79
Mauno Koivisto ... 1979–82
Kalevi Sorsa ... 1982–87
Harri Holkeri ... 1987–91
Esko Aho ... 1991–95
Paavo Lipponen ... 1995–2003
Anneli Jäätteenmäki ... 2003
Matti Vanhanen ... 2003–10
Mari Kiviniemi ... 2010–11
Jyrki Katainen ... 2011–present

GREENLAND

Prime Minister, since 1979:

Jonathan Motzfeldt ... 1979–91
Lars Emil Johansen ... 1991–97
Jonathan Motzfeldt ... 1997–2002
Hans Enoksen ... 2002–09
Kuupik Kleist ... 2009–present

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2 Glacial Map (p. 8)

17 Painting of Jean Baptiste Bernadotte as Carl XIV Johan (p. 70)

23 Photograph of Fridtjof Nansen (p. 112)

24 1945 election poster for Det Norske Arbeiderpartiet (p.132)

26 Photograph of Vidkun Quisling (p. 126)

29 Photograph of "Norske varer gjennem Marshall-plannen" (p. 135)

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3 Sketch of Viking longship (p. 111)

5 Map of Dannevirke earthworks (p. 36)

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4 Wooden statue of St. Olaf (vol.1, p.167)

5 Photograph of Snorri Sturluson's bath (vol. 1, p. 202)

7 Photograph of Queen Margrete's I's sarcophagus in Roskilde cathedral (vol.1, p.345)

7 Map of Hanseatic Towns (vol. 1, p. 324)

12 The title page of Leonora Christina's *Jammers-Minde* (vol. 1, p. 497)

21 Photograph of "King Håkon with the Crown Prince in his arms received by Christian Michelsen on the deck of the *Heimdal*" by Halfdan Strøm (vol. 2, p. 757)

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11 Christian IV (vol. 2, p.233)

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22 Photograph of Danish boats during WWI

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11 David Beck, "Queen Christina" (1650)

14 Johan Starbus, "Ulrika Eleanora" (before 1724)

15 Alexander Roslin, "Carl von Linné" (1775)

16 Per Krafft the Elder, "Carl Michael Bellman" (1779)

17 Augustin Ehrensvärd, "View of Sveaborg" (before 1772)

21 P.S. Krøyer, "Edvard Grieg accompanying his wife" (1898)

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18 Sven Jørgensen, "Unemployed (1888)

20 Erik Werenskiold, "Henrik Ibsen" (1895)

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