



---

Symposium on “Shifting Boundaries: Cartography in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries”  
Portsmouth University, Portsmouth, United Kingdom, 10-12 September 2008

ICA Commission on the History of Cartography  
International Cartographic Association (ICA-ACI)

---

## **Before and after the splitting-up of Sweden-Finland: 19<sup>th</sup> century Military Maps of Finland in the Swedish Military Archives**

**Maria Gussarsson-Wijk**

Military Archives, Stockholm, Sweden

[maria.gussarsson-wijk@krigsarkivet.ra.se](mailto:maria.gussarsson-wijk@krigsarkivet.ra.se)

### **ABSTRACT**

The Military Archives of Sweden owns an important collection of historical maps. Amongst these, there are approximately 14 200 maps of Finland. This paper focuses on the 19<sup>th</sup> century maps of Finland in the Military Archives and attempts to explain the variations in quantity and type over this period. The land area that now makes up Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden until 1809, when it was ceded to the Russian Empire to become the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. This arrangement was obviously a watershed in the Swedish military mapping of Finland: What had been the eastern part of the Kingdom now became a foreign country. However, knowledge of this area, both as a neighbour and as part of the great power Russia, remained important to the Swedish military. The number of maps decreased after 1809, but increased again at the end of the century. This decline can – apart from the loss itself - be explained by a foreign policy aiming at good relations with Russia from 1812 onwards, as well as a new defence policy. To this should also be added the fact that the Swedish military already had accurate maps of Finland which were compiled long before 1809; why should they then make or buy new ones? The increase in maps at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be attributed to mass production and an international exchange of maps. Variations within the collections also reflect the Military Archives’ emphasis on the actual military activity at the beginning of the century, and the increasingly more important scientific commission by the end of it. Finally, the organisation of military map procurement also had an important effect on the collections. For instance, most land maps compiled after the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century stem from the mainly civil General Map Authority.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The Military Archives of Sweden was created in 1805 as the result of a general military reorganisation. Its main task at that time was to keep and preserve military maps, something which had become increasingly important. This collection of historical maps, which are both Swedish and foreign, has in the mean time grown considerably, and is today regarded as internationally important. The military had different ways of procuring maps. They could either compile the maps themselves, or they could buy them. Some maps have been donated to the Archives or transferred there from other state institutions.

As a result of the 1808-1809 war between Sweden and Russia, a more than 600 year Swedish-Finnish state unity was dissolved when Finland became part of Russia. Swedish-Russian relationships had often been tense before this war. With its victory in 1809, Russia clearly proved itself a stronger military force than Sweden. Moreover, the new border moved noticeably closer to the Swedish capital and mainland. A strong defence against the eastern neighbour was, thus, deemed necessary both before and after the loss of Finland, and part of this defence was military

map-making. There are, for instance, in total approximately 14 200 maps of Finland in the Military Archives. By taking the collections of the Military Archives as a point of departure, the topic of this presentation is the Swedish military procurement of 19<sup>th</sup> century military maps of Finland.



The battle of Oravais on 14 September 1808 was decisive for the Finnish war. After their loss, the Swedish troops retreated and, in November of the same year, left Finland for good. *Stockholm, Military Archives, Sveriges krig 18:282.*

## 2. AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN DIFFERENT PHASES OF MILITARY MAP PROCUREMENT

On viewing the 19<sup>th</sup> century military maps of Finland in the Military Archives in Stockholm, one can quickly establish that there are significant differences in the collections depending on which part of the century one considers. The reasons for this are manifold. The Military Archives has to work within its organisational frameworks (of which instructions naturally form a fundamental part) for map procurement. These frameworks are, in turn, to a high extent the result of geopolitical changes and the development in warfare which continuously compelled the Swedish military to revise its defence strategy. In some cases economic and political explanations may also have been relevant as fundamental military reorganisation has to be politically anchored. This

paper will focus on two explanatory perspectives: (1) the external, structural geopolitical and military conditions for, and (2), the organisation, of military map procurement. As such this study has been divided into two main phases, namely the period before, and the period after, the split of the Swedish kingdom. To adequately describe the characteristics of each of these phases, important facets such as the origin and purpose of the collections, as well as the individual maps, will be discussed. In which collections can 19<sup>th</sup> century maps of Finland be found? Which type of maps do these collections contain? How many maps are there in the various collections? Are these maps manuscript or printed maps? Are they Swedish or foreign? Were they made by the military itself or by other institutions? How did maps that were not made by the Military end up in the Military Archives? By departing from the two mentioned perspectives and the collections themselves, the characteristics of the different phases will be emphasized and explained. The focus of the study is, as mentioned, the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In some cases, however, it will be relevant to make certain comparisons extending across these time limits.

Initially the main task of the Military Archives was to keep military maps; later it became an archival institution serving the entire national defence force. Two remarks need to be made here. It was not until the 1940's that this arrangement was extended to also include the Navy; before this date the Military Archives only kept Army documents and maps. Secondly, many maps that were made or acquired by the military, never ended up in the Military Archives. In this study I can of course only concentrate on the military procurement of the maps that are still in the Archives.

### 3. A SYSTEMATIZATION OF THE MAPS

The maps of Finland which are relevant to this paper are to be found in special collections, such as *Finnish manuscript maps*; *Finnish Reconnaissance Authority*; *Foreign maps, Finland*; and *Foreign town- and fortress plans, Finland*; but also in broader collections such as *Sweden's wars*; *the Modern map collection*; *Sea Chart Authority archives*; *Foreign sea charts*; *Historical charts*; and *Foreign war plans*. Some can be found in other collections like, for instance, *Sweden, topographic maps, border maps*; or private archives. Most, but not all, are Swedish in origin. In later years, the Archives often chose to place maps in the archive to which they belong according to the principle of provenance instead of in special collections. To find out whether this also happened in the case of Finnish maps of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, written documents in archives such as the *General Staff*, various commissions, the *Sea Chart Authority*, and *Documents of War* have been studied.

To get an overview and understanding of 19<sup>th</sup> century maps of Finland in the Military Archives, some kind of basic structure is necessary. There are different ways of classifying military maps. In this paper two points of departure feature: *the motive* for compiling the maps, and *the purpose* of the maps.

As regards the motive, I have divided the 19<sup>th</sup> century maps of Finland in the Military Archives into four different categories: topographic maps; sea charts; town- and fortress plans, and war plans. In my study, I have used the following definitions of these types:

The concept "topographic map" refers to four different types of map: general topographic maps where the topographic information which is depicted is in itself the motive; thematic maps focusing on special aspects (such as, for instance, roads; border-defining maps; and political maps showing the extension of a state's or region's power. The category is, therefore, rather wide. The common denominator of the different types is that all four cover large areas, and depict topographic information such as height levels, distances, built-up areas, and waters. A sea chart is a map for navigation. It includes nautical and topographical/hydrographical information such as light houses and waterways which indicate distances and water depths respectively. A town- or

fortress plan is a plan of an existing or planned built-up area or construction. War plans are maps that show the area of a battle, and the military or naval formations that take part in it. These plans can depict camps, marches, sieges or the battle itself and are often supplemented by an explanatory text.

Concerning the purpose of the maps, the cartographical documents referred to in this article have been divided into four categories. Three of these have been well established in both military vocabulary and academic research: strategic, operational and tactical maps. Strategic maps provide information which is fundamental to a military defence or attack, and are often made beforehand. One could almost say that these maps have little to do with the war itself, but with the preconditions for it. They supply the military with knowledge of purely military structures like, for instance, fortress systems, the location of regiments etc, but also of civilian activity such as, for example, built-up areas and roads. An operational map shows how a military strategy could be put to use, that is, how the defence or attack – in a wider sense - should be performed in practice. In other words, they show how armies, divisions, or other large units, should or did move. Consequently, they cover a large area. A tactical map deals with a specific situation, how the troops should be used in a certain battle. The fourth category of purpose must simply be called “uncertain”. The Military Archives has quite a few maps of which the military provenance is unclear, except for the fact that these maps are now kept in the Archives. Civilian maps and propagandistic maps of also fall in this category.

It is often difficult to allocate a map to a certain category. A map might, for instance, show both land and sea, or it might have been intended to serve several purposes. In my opinion this does not need to be a problem. The value of the categorisation is in itself secondary; the aim is not to force all maps into fixed “boxes”, but to get an overview of them. The individual maps have, therefore, either been placed in the category which seemed most relevant, or in several categories, and the numbers of maps are in many instances approximate.

#### **4. MILITARY PROCUREMENT OF FINLAND MAPS: FINLAND AS PART OF THE SWEDISH KINGDOM (1800-1809)**

The Swedish-Finnish state unit originated in the Middle Ages and was, from approximately 1620 until 1720, the strongest state in Northern Europe. However, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia developed into a great power and became an increasing threat to the Swedish kingdom. In 1721 Sweden, during the Great Nordic war, lost all its Baltic territories as well as the counties of Ingermanland and Kexholm to Russia. In 1743 the Finnish border was moved westwards after another defeat by Russia, while the so-called Russian war of 1788-1790 was concluded without any territorial changes. The experiences of these conflicts urged Sweden to renew and reinforce its military defence of Finland, but its efforts were inadequate. In 1808 Sweden and Russia were on different sides during the Napoleonic wars, and on 21 February this set yet another Swedish-Russian war in motion – a war which had fatal consequences for Sweden. With the peace of Fredrikshamn on 17 September 1809, Sweden had to sacrifice its entire eastern part as Finland was made a Grand Duchy of Russia.

Various types of map important to the military had been made long before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century this was systematically done, mainly by the Fortification, the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority (*Finska rekognosceringsverket*, established in 1776), and individual officers.

In 1805 the Swedish military leadership was extensively reorganised and modernised. The reason for this was that King Gustavus IV Adolphus was considering participating in the Napoleonic wars which would demand a more efficient military leadership. As part of this reorganisation, the Swedish Field Survey Corps (*Fältmätningsskåren*) was established with the Royal Military

Archives (*Kungliga krigsarkivet*) being part of it. In April 1805 King Gustavus VI Adolphus clearly expressed the purpose with this Corps in a written order which stated that

*...to make maps for military needs, as well as including all that is required for diplomatic and economic knowledge of the country is necessary. A new warfare, which makes a thorough knowledge of the country indispensable, and the difficulty for the officers of our Fortification to have time for the wide reconnaissance missions that are needed to fully know our own borders, and compile the best maps of the neighbours', together with the progress within topography has made lately in question of the invention of more precise instruments, which demand a good hand to use, has made it a necessity to establish a special Corps, which besides the reconnaissance for the statistic and military knowledge of the country, shall write the history of war. (Topografiska kåren. Fältmätningsskåren 1805-1811. Kungliga bref, ordres...)*

The above words reflect the line of reasoning of Major General Gustaf Wilhelm af Tibell who, having been the main promoter of a topographic corps, became the first Director of the new body. For Tibell, who had served in the French Army in the Italian Republic (among others as Director of the Field Engineer Corps), high-quality map making was fundamental to a modern military organisation. The main task of the Swedish Field Survey Corps was to compile maps based on trigonometric and astronomic measuring, and to render geographic descriptions of the country. As regards Finland, it took over the functions of the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority, which thereby came to an end. The officers of the Field Survey Corps were called in to map the borders of Finland and Norway. In times of war it was expected of the Corps to suggest possible locations for camps, to plan for march routes, and to scout the enemy's movements and positions, etc.

The original task of the Military Archives was to collect and maintain maps that were useful for the military. Already existing collections were to be taken to the Archives where they were then supplemented by new maps compiled by the Field Survey Corps, and by purchases and gifts. From the autumn of 1805 map collections from the Fortification, the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority and part of the Royal map collection were transferred to the Military Archives, soon to be followed by others. From the start foreign maps also formed an important part of the map collections.

The outbreak of the Finnish war had a significant impact on the Field Survey Corps and the Military Archives. The officers of the Corps were sent to Finland and Norway, where the Swedish army had to wage war on a second front against Denmark-Norway. The Military Archives also bought maps of strategic value of, for instance, Finland. In 1809 the peace of Fredrikshamn stipulated that Sweden should hand over a large number of maps of Finland. This instruction was executed the following year when the Military Archives handed over almost 500 maps from the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority.

#### 4.1 Topographic maps

Until 1809 the Military Archives' topographic maps of Finland were procured to enable military – mainly strategic and operational - planning. Most maps portray a rather limited area of Finland, such as a county or a parish, in fine detail, whereas a small number depicts Finland as a whole. These maps mainly occur in three collections. *Finnish manuscript maps* is a collection which was created around 1930 by transferring maps of Russia, compiled until 1808, from *Foreign maps, Finland*. (The few maps from this period which are still in *Foreign maps, Finland* are printed.) These maps stem mainly from the Fortification, that is, they were compiled by Swedish officers.

In 1776 the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority was created as part of the built-up of a strong defence against Russia. Its objective was to compile the very first detailed map of Finland. To achieve this, smaller, already existing maps from the Swedish Land Survey Office (*Lantmäteriet*),

were copied and new maps compiled by the military themselves. This work stopped during the war of 1788-90 to be continued in the 1790's. After the war the mapping was concentrated in the archipelago and coastline. The establishment of the Field Survey Corps in 1805 meant that the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority had come to an end.

The Military Archives has only a few topographic maps of Finland of the period 1800 to 1809. In total there are approximately 2 100 maps in the *Finnish Reconnaissance Authority* collection, whereas the collection of *Finnish manuscript maps* comprises about 700. The vast majority of maps in these two collections date back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. *Foreign maps Finland* contains approximately 60 maps more or less equally divided over the period 1742-1931.

## 4.2 Sea charts

The sea charts in the Military Archives were also made for military planning, mainly strategic and operational. The wars against Russia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century meant that Sweden's hitherto dominant position in the Baltic Sea was undermined. The loss against Russia in the war of 1741-43 therefore resulted in a new naval strategy. New Swedish fortifications were built and the archipelago fleet was developed which required new and better sea charts. In 1756 the Swedish Parliament ordered the Admiralty to upgrade all existing hydrographic charts. The resultant mapping was performed by naval officers in cooperation with academics. Modern cartographic methods were used and soundings were made.

In 1798 the Naval officer Gustaf af Klint was commissioned to undertake the compilation of a "Nautical Atlas of Sweden". Even though Finland was lost to Russia in 1809, charts made of Finnish waters before this year were included in this atlas. Because the King was of the opinion that the work of af Klint was of a private nature, it was decided that a new sea chart institution should be established, and in 1809 the Hydrographical Corps (*Sjömåtningskåren*) was established. At its inception it was pointed out that the military only had access to vague, or even deceptive, charts of the coast which they had to defend against a superior enemy. The new corps was therefore given the task to compile charts and descriptions of the coast and keep an archive of sea charts. New measurements and soundings were made to update the knowledge of the waters around Sweden and to effect the production of adequate hydrographic charts. Meanwhile Gustaf af Klint continued his work on the Nautical Atlas.

In 1854 af Klint's project joined up with the Hydrographical Corps to form the Sea Chart Bureau, which, in 1872, was transformed into the Sea Chart Authority (*Sjökarteverket*). In 1956 the archives of the latter were deposited with the Military Archives. There are approximately 880 marine charts of the Finnish coast in the Military Archives, mainly in the Sea Chart Authority archives. The majority of these date back to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 4.3 Maps and plans of towns and fortresses

The difference between a map or plan, and a drawing, is often narrow and indelible. Town and fortress plans were made for defence purposes. A functioning defence system was imperative for towns, and part of this defence was knowledge of how the town had been constructed. Vital information of this kind was therefore emphasised, whereas less important detail was often omitted. While walls of fortresses, waterways, coastal lines, roads, etc., are of the first category, the interior of the fortress walls was often portrayed rather vaguely. There exist, however, numerous exceptions on which civilian buildings and areas are also clearly shown. The strategic value of these maps is obvious.

The compilers of the town and fortress plans were mostly military officers. For an officer in the Fortification, a knowledge of map-making and drawing was fundamental and from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century onwards it was part of his education.

Most of the maps and plans of Finnish towns and fortresses can be found in the collection *Foreign town- and fortress plans*, which derived mainly from the Fortification. It contains more than 2 000 Finnish town- and fortress plans, most of them in manuscript form and dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Only about 195 are from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the plans which had been compiled some decades earlier were at that time still sufficiently accurate to be useful.

#### 4.4 War plans

Although war plans were often compiled before a battle took place, many of those that have been preserved were drawn afterwards. Their purpose was either pedagogic, propagandistic or for operational or tactical planning. The person who compiled the war plan was usually an officer. The increasing professionalization of the military in the 18<sup>th</sup> century necessitated education, of which map-making was an essential part. The maps could not only be used for the above-mentioned purposes; but their actual drawing was also an important skill for army officers to develop.

Operational and tactical maps of the Finnish war of 1808-1809 are mainly to be found in the collection *Sweden's wars*. They are of both Swedish and Russian origin; the latter were copied, probably around 1909, from Russian originals. Almost all of them were drawn after the war. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century very few soldiers in battle had access to maps as most maps were usually compiled for planning purposes at headquarters, or on a staff level.

Maps which could be called "action maps" - that is, maps that were made in action, as a reaction to the development of events, and for quick information on a hasty basis - are rare in the ordinary map collections of the Military Archives. Although there might occur some in "ordinary volumes", for instance in correspondence, to date none has been found in either incoming correspondence to the Royal headquarters, or in private archives.

Generally speaking, war plans could also have a propagandistic purpose. However, in the case of the Finland maps of 1808-09, the fact that they are rather simple in their presentation suggests that this secondary purpose was of marginal importance. An important reason why there were few propagandistic Swedish maps of the war 1808-09, was because the war yielded few victories. When King Gustavus IV Adolphus was overthrown in 1809, the subsequent regime also refused to give him credit for the military victories that actually did take place.

No less than 279 war plans in the Military Archives belong to the collection *Sweden's wars*. Some can also be found in private archives. *Sweden's wars* is one of the original collections in the Archives and derives partly from the map collection of the Fortification, and partly from other private and public archives.

### 5. MILITARY PROCUREMENT OF FINLAND MAPS: FINLAND AS PART OF RUSSIA (1809-1900)

The loss of Finland was a national disaster to Sweden. In one blow, one third of the kingdom's territory and one fourth of its population were lost to Russia which, from then onwards, together with Prussia/Germany, would be the strongest state fronting on the Baltic Sea.

At the end of the Finnish war, King Gustavus IV Adolphus was overthrown by the military and replaced by his uncle, Charles XIII. It was, however, the latter's adopted son, the French Marshal

Jean Baptiste Bernadotte who, in 1810, took over the real power as Crown Prince Karl Johan. He immediately set a new strategy in motion which aimed at taking Norway away from Denmark as this would compensate Sweden for the loss of Finland. Although he was a former French Marshal, Karl Johan joined the alliance against Napoleon and his Danish allies which, in 1814, made the co-operation with Norway a reality. The Swedish-Norwegian personal union remained a reality until 1905.

The year 1814 was special to Sweden as the country, since then, has not taken part in any war. The Swedish security policy which was announced in 1814 and which was valid throughout the rest of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can, from an outside perspective, be regarded as prudent and pragmatic. It was, at least in the beginning of the period, a fine political balancing act, both as regards foreign relations and as regards national political actors. Good relations with both Russia and Great Britain were seen as important, and Karl Johan accepted that the loss of Finland was definite. However, by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the relationship with Russia became more complicated. This was due not least to Sweden's actions during the Crimean war. The King often had a different and more adventurous opinion than the government and the Swedish Parliament of how Swedish foreign politics should be run. During the war in the 1850s, King Oscar I tried, against the wish of the Government, and without success, to join the Western powers to force Russia to hand over the Finnish archipelago Åland to Sweden. The sensitive geographical position of the archipelago which is situated not far from Stockholm, made its affiliation to Russia a sensitive issue in Swedish politics and military strategy. However, in 1856 this challenge became less pronounced as Russia had to demilitarize the archipelago. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Sweden moved closer to Germany. The political leadership was, however, anxious to convince the other great powers that this action did not imply that the country took side against them. As a result of this, Sweden adopted a foreign policy of neutrality.

The Swedish military strategic planning underwent several considerable changes during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although Karl Johan saw friendly relations to Russia as imperative, it was clear that the eastern neighbour had become so strong that if the Russians would attack, it would be difficult to stop them. Russia was one of the strongest states around the Baltic Sea, and Sweden with its long coastlines, poor communications and small population was difficult to defend. To protect Sweden's neutrality, Karl Johan introduced a whole new defence strategy, called *the central defence-doctrine*. According to this plan, the main defence force should be concentrated in the centre of the country instead of spreaded out around its fringes. Any enemy attacking the country would then have to reach deep into the interior, which meant that their forces would be harassed and weakened by smaller defending units. This would, in turn, give the central, main defence forces the possibility to defeat the enemy in one decisive battle.

It was not just the military in general that was transformed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The organisation for compiling or procuring military maps also changed. In 1811 the Field Survey Corps was merged with the Fortification into a new body called the Engineer Corps (*Ingenjörskåren*). In 1831 yet another reform transformed the latter into the Topographic Corps (*Topografiska kåren*). The Military Archives remained part of the Topographic Corps through all these changes.

As time passed, the map collections kept growing as maps were not only produced, but also bought. For instance, the private *Hermelin collection*, consisting of some 1 600 maps of Sweden and Finland from the period 1654 to 1821, was purchased in the 1830s. From the 1850s onwards an exchange of non-secret maps took place with countries such as Great Britain, France, Denmark, Prussia and Austria. Finally, maps were also donated to the Archives.

In 1873 the Swedish military leadership was once again reorganized when the German-French war of 1870-1871 exposed the Swedish defence system as being outdated. A completely new type of General Staff was established in which the highest military leadership was closely integrated. The Topographic Corps remained part of it, but was transformed into a topographic department.

For the Military Archives, this reform had two important consequences. The first was that the Archives was placed under the new Military Historical Department (*Militärhistoriska avdelningen*), which meant that its connection with the Topographic Corps and its forerunners was terminated. The second consequence was that the Archives became an archival institution for the entire Army. It was also decided that the Archives should not only serve the military, but science in general. In giving effect to this, a development was concluded that had already started some decades earlier.

## 5.1 Topographic maps

The Military Archives' topographic maps of Finland made after 1809 are mainly to be found in the *Modern map collection*. In *Foreign maps, Finland*, there are only about 10 maps in total. The *Modern map collection* consists of printed, foreign topographic maps dating from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1937 these maps were transferred to the Military Archives from the mainly civil Swedish General Map Authority (*Rikets allmänna kartverk*). In total, this collection today consists of approximately 6 900 maps of Finland. The majority of maps date back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but about 100 are from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Topographic maps from the period 1809-1900 are more diverse than the maps mentioned above and many depict general topographic information. Political and border-drawing maps abound, a fact which can be attributed to several historical explanations. Two parallel developments in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, both reinforced by the scientific development of map making, made these maps important: The centralisation of the European states implied that they needed and acquired control over their own territories and, at the same time, new attitudes in diplomatic relations implied that the question of borders became more technical. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century political maps became even more important, a development which can be partly attributed to growing nationalism. I suggest one should also add growing mobility and a higher level of education to this development. Hence, political maps were compiled to clarify the geo-political relations between states or to teach the public good citizenship. The fact that the maps could be printed also made them more widely available.

In the *Modern map collection* there are also a few thematic maps of Finland showing roads and heights from the period 1809 until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of these maps can probably be explained by industrialism, growing mobility and an interest in natural science. Because the *Modern map collection* was derived from the General Map Authority, the fact that the individual maps were procured by a civilian authority makes it difficult to comment on the military purposes of the maps.

## 5.2. Sea charts

In the *Sea Chart Authority archives* there are no sea charts of Finland compiled after 1809. This is probably due to the fact that Swedish officers could not continue with the hydrographic charting of the Finnish coast after Sweden had lost Finland.

Sea charts of Finnish waters can be found in the collection *Foreign Sea Charts*, which originally derived from the Sea Chart Authority. This collection contains about 13 900 printed charts which have all been edited by non-Swedish chart authorities or publishing houses. About 280 of these foreign charts which date from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 1966, are of Finland. They can be found under three different headings: "The Finnish Bay inside of the waters at Dagö"; "The lakes of Finland"; and "The Bay of Bothnia, including the Åland archipelago". In the first group only 4 out of the 110 date from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in the second group 20 out of 28. In the

last group all 145 charts are older than 1900. (All figures are approximate, given that the charts are not always dated.) No charts of Finland in the collection predate the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 5.3. Maps and plans of towns and fortresses

In the collection *Foreign Town and Fortress Plans, Finland* there are about 30 maps from the period following the Swedish-Finnish split. It is impossible to be more precise as many maps are undated. About half of these maps show the towns of the Åland archipelago. Until 1856 this area was of particular importance to the Swedish military as Russia had to accept the demilitarization of the archipelago as a prerequisite of the peace settlement of the Crimean War.

It was not only the number of Finnish town and fortress plans that decreased during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the same was true for their Swedish equivalents. This phenomenon was linked to the development of warfare: The old kind of fortress lost its importance and the natural connection between the town and the fortress also went into a decline. From this period onwards one can therefore find *either* maps or plans of towns, *or* of military constructions. As all information concerning the latter was considered sensitive, the Swedish military could normally only have access to their own maps and plans. It is therefore logical that one cannot find any plans of Finnish fortresses made after 1809, neither in the Military Archives' map collections, nor amongst the 30 town and fortress plans mentioned above. What is even more surprising, is that there are also very few town maps in other collections. There is, for instance, none in the sizeable *Modern map collection*.

### 5.4 War plans

For obvious reasons, there are hardly any war plans of Finland from the period 1809-1900 (that is, as Finland wasn't part of Sweden any more) in *Sweden's wars*. Such war plans are included in a larger map of Russia in the Crimean war which can be found in the collection *Foreign War Plans*, and in *Plates of Historical Events* there are four charts depicting the Western allied bombing of the fortress of Sveaborg in the same war. It is also interesting to note that there likewise exist very few war plans dating from the Finnish civil war in 1918 which undoubtedly took place much closer to the Swedish borders.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The historical maps kept in the Military Archives derive from certain military or civilian bodies, foreign institutions, or individual officers. Maps compiled to be used on a grass-roots level are rare. This study therefore focuses on the procurement of maps on mainly a central level. As mentioned in Chapter 2, one can quickly establish that there are significant differences in the Archives' map material of Finland over the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Let us now look at these differences more in detail.

Topographic maps are found in different collections depending on the period under consideration. Until 1809 topographic maps were often compiled by the military themselves. Maps from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, dating from both before and after 1809, are fewer in number when compared with the number of maps produced during the 18<sup>th</sup> or the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An important reason for the low figure for the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is because Sweden was compelled to hand a significant number of maps from the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority to Russia as part of the Fredrikshamn peace treaty of 1809. Very few maps from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be found and there is a marked difference between the maps from the beginning and the maps from

the end of the century, in that the latter are more heterogeneous. A few thematic maps also occur among these.

As regards sea charts, the organised Swedish military mapping of the Finnish waters continued until the loss of Finland. Of the period 1809 until the end of the century, only a few hydrographic charts of Finnish waters have remained. However, sea charts compiled by foreign publishers or authorities were procured from the end of the century, and even more so during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (even if the increase in the number of charts is not as significant as for topographic maps).

Many of the maps in the collection *Foreign towns and fortresses*, and in the case of Finland the vast majority, were compiled by the military during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to topographic maps and sea charts, the number of maps belonging to this category stayed low during the rest of the century and beyond.

For obvious reasons there are numerous war plans dating from the 1808-1809 war, but to find the same kind of map for later periods is rare. Only a few maps from the Crimean war have survived and, likewise, there are only a few dating back to the Finnish civil war of 1818.

Some general observations can be made as regards the map material itself. Firstly, from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century manuscript maps and charts have, for obvious reasons, been increasingly replaced by printed maps. This means that mass production of maps was made possible. Secondly, the maps from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were often made by the military themselves, whereas many later maps were procured from elsewhere. Thirdly, the military purpose of maps belonging to the era before 1809 is much more evident than that of the maps compiled after this date.

The question which comes to mind, is: Why are the 19<sup>th</sup> century maps of Finland in the Military Archives so different from each other?

This study has departed from two explanatory perspectives: 1) the external, structural, geopolitical and military conditions for, and 2) the organisation of military map procurement.

The reason why there are fewer post-1809 maps of Finland than maps belonging to the period before 1809, is because of the split in the Swedish kingdom. Maps which were considered as national maps and sea charts before 1809, were afterwards referred to as foreign maps and charts. This did not, however, imply that Finland became unimportant to Sweden. As part of the significantly bigger and stronger Russian neighbour with which Sweden had been involved in several wars, one can assume that knowledge of Finland played an important role in Swedish military planning. However, after the loss of Finland, Crown Prince Karl Johan gave up all thoughts of taking Finland back and favoured good relations to Russia as part of a pragmatic and prudent policy which eventually led to the Swedish policy of non-alignment. With a minor setback during the Crimean War, a positive stance towards Russia continued more or less until the Russian revolution. Finally, the Swedish defence was reorganized just after the Finnish war, made central defence the leading theme in Swedish strategic thought.

With regards to the organisation of map procurement, the Military Archives was established in 1805 as the keeper of military maps. In the initial stage many of the maps were compiled by officers in the Fortification, the Finnish Reconnaissance Authority, and the Field Survey Corps. Outside the Archives, hydrographic chart procurement was done by the Hydrographical Corps, and by Gustav af Klint. Both were later replaced by the Sea Chart Authority. By then, charts of Finland were no longer made by the Swedish military; instead the Sea Chart Authority kept procuring maps and charts by means of acquisition and exchanges. Topographic maps were procured in the same way by the civilian General Map Authority which later transferred this task to the Military Archives. It therefore seems as if the Army (and not the Military Archives or a

Corps) did not procure maps of Finland in a systematic way after 1809, whereas the Sea Chart Authority did. Thus the Army did not build up a collection of more modern maps of Finland in the same way as the Sea Chart Authority.

To summarize: The Military Archives of Sweden was established in 1805, mainly to keep and procure military maps. The military need for maps did not *per se* diminish in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the number of new maps and sea charts of Finland, now kept in the Archives, decreased and their character changed over time. The main reason for the decrease after 1809 was that Finland was no longer part of Sweden. The military also had numerous good maps made long before 1809, which were still useful. There was therefore no immediate need to make new maps. Of one, on the other hand, look at the maps of other countries in the Military Archives' collections, one can easily establish that there was a general decline in collections until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the number of foreign sea charts and the maps in the *Modern map collection*, which initially was a civilian collection, increased considerably. The conclusions one can draw from these observations are as follows: 1) Maps of Finland before 1809 were compiled to make the defence of the Swedish kingdom, of which Finland was a part, possible. The new borders of 1809, the central defence philosophy and the security policy after 1814 which were aimed at good relations with Russia and the other great powers in the north, and to keep Sweden out of new wars, motivated military maps of mainly Swedish territory. 2) The early maps reflect the difficulties of map-making before the era of highly developed technology and mass production, whereas later maps are the result of this development. 3) The pre-1809 maps are not only unique in the sense that they are manuscript maps, but most of them were also classified. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the growing number of maps is mainly the result of international exchange, which means that many maps do not contain sensitive information and can therefore be freely available. 4) The early map collections kept in the Military Archives reflect traditional military activity, whereas the Archives' commission to assist research is evident in the later ones.

## 7. EPILOGUE

In 1917 two important events changed Sweden's foreign policy towards the east: the Russian revolution, and Finland became an independent state. Sweden's relations with Russia became more complicated when the new regime took over in Moscow, whereas Sweden's relations with Finland were both facilitated and encouraged; the eastern neighbour was seen as a Nordic fellow country which happened to be a buffer between Russia and Sweden. The political and technological developments during later years made this view even more pronounced and the already strained relationship with Russia reached a low point during the Cold War. Sweden's geographical location obviously had an impact on Swedish strategic thinking and made knowledge of the sea and of the land east of Sweden of paramount importance.

## REFERENCES

Archival material in the Military Archives, Stockholm, Sweden

### Map collections

*Hermelinska samlingen (Hermelin collection).*

*Finska handritade kartverk (Finnish hand drawn maps).*

*Finska rekognosceringsverkets arkiv (Finnish Reconnaissance Authority)*

*Utländska kartor, Finland (Foreign maps, Finland)*

*Utländska kartor, Ryssland (Foreign maps, Russia)*

*Utländska sjökort (Foreign sea charts)*

*Utländska stads- och fästningsplaner, Finland (Foreign town- and fortress plans, Finland)*

*Utländska krigsplaner (Foreign war plans)*  
*Historiska planscher (Plates of historical events).*  
*Moderna kartsamlingen (Modern map collection)*  
*Gustav Adolf von Siegroths kartsamling (Gustav Adolf von Siegroth map collection)*  
*Sverige, topografiska kartor, gränskartor (Sweden, topographic maps, border maps)*  
*Sveriges krig (Sweden's wars)*  
*Sjökarteverket (The Sea Chart Authority).*  
*Fredrik Adolf Wiblingens samling (Adolf Fredrik Wiblingen collection).*

## Archives

*Krigshandlingar (Documents of War)*  
*Sjökarteverket (Sea Chart Authority archives)*  
*Generalstaben (General Staff archives)*  
 Various private archives  
 Various commission archives  
*Topografiska kårens arkiv (The archives of the Topographic Corps)*  
*Finska rekognosceringsverkets arkiv*

## Literature

Nils Ahlberg. 2005. *Stadsgrundningar och planförändringar. Svensk stadsplanering 1521-1721*. Uppsala.  
*Amiralitetskollegiets historia 1803-1877, II*. 1977. Malmö, 1977.  
*Between the Imperial Eagles. Sweden's Armed Forces during the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars 1780-1820*. 2000. Stockholm.  
 Jeremy Black. 1997. *Maps and Politics*. London and New Haven: Yale.  
 Lloyd A. Brown. 1950. *The Story of Maps*. Boston.  
 Ewald Diemler-Willroda 1942. *Schwert und Zirkel. Gedanken über alte kriegskarten*. Potsdam.  
 Ulla Ehrensward and Hugo Frithz. 1993. *Sveriges sjökarteväsende*.  
 P. H. Enger 1952. *Kungliga fortifikationens historia, V:I*. Filipstad.  
 Christoffer H Ericsson and John Nurminen Oy. 1988. *The Routes of the Sea: sea charts from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to present times*. Helsinki.  
 Åke Gustafsson, *Riksgränshistoria och gränsöversyner. Från Svinesund till Haparanda*. 1995. ORT.  
 Björn Gäfvert. 1999. "Militär kartering och militära kartor under karolinsk tid", in *Att illustrera stormakten. Den svenska fortifikationens bilder 1654-1719*. Stockholm.  
 Ulf Jansson (ed.). 2007. *Kartlagt land. Kartan som källa till de areella näringarnas geografi och histori*. Stockholm, 2007.  
*Kartor*. 1991. *Fem seklers svensk kartografi*. Stockholm.  
 Janis Kreslins, Steven A. Mansbach and Robert Schweitzer (ed.). 2003. *Gränsländer. Östersjön i ny gestalt*. Stockholm, 2003.  
*Krigsarkivet 200 år*. 2005. Stockholm.  
*Krigsarkivets beståndsöversikt*. 1999. Stockholm.  
 Bertil Runnberg (ed.). 1986. *Fortifikationen 350 år: 1635-1985*. Stockholm.  
 Ulf Sporrang and Hans-Fredrik Wennström. 1990. *Maps and Mapping*. Stockholm.

## BIOGRAPHY

**Dr Maria Gussarsson Wijk** was born in 1964. She is an historian and received her PhD degree from Stockholm University in 2001. From 2001 until 2006 she was a Lecturer at Stockholm

University and Södertörn University College.. From 2006 she is an archivist at the Military Archives, the Department of Maps, Drawings and Photos.

Published work: "Theodor Anckarcrona – amiral, vetenskapsman, landshövding", in Maria Gussarsson & Bo Lundström (ed.), *Det förgångnas närvaro. 14 historiska essäer* (in the Military Archive's edition *Meddelanden från Krigsarkivet*, Stockholm, 2008); *Mellan europeiska visioner och nationellt egenintresse. Framväxten av den europeiska unionen 1945 - 2000* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2005); "To keep the issues apart: The Swedish Social Democracy, the plans on West European economic cooperation and international party cooperation, 1955 -58". *Journal of European Integration History*, no. 1, volume 11 (2005); "Combining dependence with distance", in Jürgen Elvert & Wolfram Kaiser (ed.), *European Union Enlargement* (London: Routledge, 2004); "Realpolitik, ideologi, samarbete. Sveriges EEC-ansökningar 1961 och 1967 ur tre olika tolkningsperspektiv", in Ragnar Björk & Alf W. Johansson (ed.) *Samtidshistoria och politik. Vänbok till Karl Molin* (Stockholm: 2004); *En socialdemokratisk Europapolitik. Den svenska socialdemokratins hållning till de brittiska, västtyska och franska broderpartierna, och upprättandet av ett västeuropeiskt ekonomiskt samarbete, 1955 - 58* (Stockholm, 2001).