

Chapter 30 : "It needs to be bent early..." (I) (1826-1846). [...that which crooked shall be.]

Prince Charles Ludvig Eugen, later known as Charles XV, was born May 3, 1826, at Stockholm Castle as the first child of the Crown Prince couple Oscar (I) & Josephine of Sweden-Norway. In 1865, during the reign of Charles XV, the Estate based Parliament was abolished, and he therefore has a reputation as Sweden-Norway's last king of the old style.

There are six longer biographies (Bäckström 1877: ss. 129-264; Bååth-Holmberg 1891 & 1892; Almén 1893: ss. 141-179; Thyselius 1910; Hallendorff 1924; Eriksson 1954a) and 25 short ditto (Bergström 1874: ss. 64-67; NFB 1884; Starbäck & Bäckström 1885: del 11, pp. 66-112; SBHL 1906; NFB 1910; Hallendorff 1923: ss. 219-232; Koht 1936; Thermaenius 1943; Lande & Gran 1945: ss. 144-145; Nerman et al. 1952: ss. 351-354; Hagberg 1953: ss. 187-195; Ohlmarks et al. 1956: ss. 444-464; Holmberg 1973; Elgklou 1978: ss. 30..101; Weibull 1991: ss. 52-60; Åberg 1991; Elgklou 1995: ss. 98-130; Skott 1996: ss. 57-70; Lagerqvist 1997: ss. 364-377; Lagerqvist & Åberg 2004: ss. 41-42; Liljegren 2004: ss. 104-105; Langslet 2005 & 2009; Lindqvist 2010: ss. 50-63; Mardal 2015; Norlin 2015: ss. 68-81).

In addition, there are obituaries & memorials (Bring 1872; Carlson 1872; Anonymous 1872a; Anonymous 1872b; Odhner 1872; Prince Oscar in 1872; Svedelius 1872; Svensson 1872; Eight newspapers (1872-09-19/21). Charles also appears in letters, diaries & memories (Hellberg 1870; De Geer 1892; Dietrichson 1901; Edholm 1906; Lindbæk 1910; Dardel 1911; Edholm 1919; Wrangel 1924; De Geer 1929; af Edholm 1944).

More in the spirit of this mini-biography is a special study of Charles' upbringing & education (Sandin 2011: ss. 228-268).

As before, I start by summarizing the longer biographies & add additional information. The focus is on Charles' social and intellectual development and his views on his office.

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As Charles's mother Josephine when arriving in Sweden only was 16 years old, it was stated in the marriage contract that the cohabitation could not begin until the following year. This seems to have been redacted and in the meantime there were both speculation about a miscarriage & prayers for a happy outcome. When Charles arrived May 8, 1826, at 15 o'clock he was the first Swedish-born heir prince in 50 years. He was praised both in the usual way with 128 cannon shots & great festivities and with a countrywide fundraising for charitable purposes. Three days later, the anniversary of Charles John's coronation, he was baptized in the Hall of State. His grandmother, Desirée, carried him to baptism while his mother, Josephine, was not allowed to attend, as she was regarded as unclean until six weeks after giving birth.

Charles' godfathers were: King Louis I of Bavaria, Crown Prince Maximilian (II) of Bavaria and Josephine's uncle Prince Karl Teodor of Bavaria. Charles's godmothers were: Desirée, Queen Therese of Bavaria, Josephine's mother the dowager queen of Leuchtenberg Augusta Ammalia and Gustav III's & Charles XIII's sister princess Sophia Albertina. After the baptism, he received the Seraphim Ribbon.

There is scant information about Charles' childhood:

- According to Brander & various anecdotes, Charles John took an interest in him and they often played soldier. Charles John, however, was anxious that Charles should be perceived as *Swedish* and when Desirée tried to teach him French, Charles John forbade her to play with her grandson, until French was on the schedule.¹ This with Charles John's interest in himself playing with Charles must have quickly faded because there is no additional information on the matter. Maybe he let the restraining order also apply to himself.
- As a 5-year-old, Charles attended children's balls. Desirée: "I got to dance the first quadrille with the cute little Prince Charles. If only you could imagine how sweet and polite he was! He danced all dances except the waltz." During the breaks, Charles drilled his peers in the gallery. It was straight talk: "If any of the boys ran away or wanted to dance, then immediately the little Prince said: If you leave, I will put you in prison."²
- During the summer of 1835, Charles accompanied his parents on Göta Canal to Skåne. The tributes along the way included the local farm boys parading for him with wooden guns, and he to command. There was much talk of his coming warlike feats & his duty to make himself popular with the people. During the drill, Charles advised a helpful bystander that he should not interfere in what he did not understand.³

The Castle school began in the autumn of 1833 when Charles turned seven. Josephine's ladies-in-waiting had spoiled him, but now he was to get accustomed to the harsh school of life. Who decided what is unclear. Since the goal was to eliminate all female influence, it was not Josephine. Sandin refers to a brochure by Ernst Moritz Arndt "Plan for the upbringing and teaching of a prince." (1819).⁴ Charles John forbade outside classmates because he feared a future rule of political patronage, a sort of old-boys network of Royal favourites. The first two years Charles & Gustaf were alone in the classroom. In early 1835, the three years younger Oscar, was added. The schedule and discipline was rigorous. They would be accustomed to diligence, order, courtesy, obedience & polite language: Rising at 7 o'clock, teaching at 8 o'clock, outing in a carriage at 12 o'clock when they also practised waving to the subjects, dinner at 14 o'clock with their two main teachers and a companion, further instruction at 15, evening meal & meet the siblings at 18, socializing with the parents in the salon at 20, in bed at 21.⁵ Later an hour of gymnastics was introduced around 18 o'clock and the parental time was extended by half an hour.

The main teachers were Christoffer Johan Boström (1797-1866; employed 1833-1837) and Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson (1811-1887; employed 1837-1846). In 1824, Boström received his doctorate in philosophy, then studied theology and in 1827 became assistant professor in practical philosophy at Uppsala University. In 1834 Carlson had received his doctorate on historical source criticism and the following year he too became assistant professor at Uppsala University, but in general history. Both belonged to Erik Gustaf Geijer's research group and were employed as teachers on his recommendation. It has not been possible to find

¹ Rydberg 1872: ss. 5-6; Brander 1923: ss. 167-171.

² af Edholm 1944: del 1, ss. 18-19; Eriksson 1954: s. 20. [Brev från af Edholms syster Minna, 1831-05-06.]

³ Eriksson 1954: ss. 25-26.

⁴ Sandin 2011: s. 230.

⁵ Thyselius 1910: s. 24.

out anything about their qualifications to teach school children, but Carlson taught at a school in Uppsala, probably the cathedral school. At the Castle school Boström & Carlson taught Christianity, Swedish language, Swedish & general history, political science and Latin.

The Norwegian element was Otto Gilbert David Aubert (1809-1838; employed 1834-1837). He was hired on the recommendation of his father Benoni Aubert, who knew Oscar. Aubert was a mathematical prodigy of the group around Nils Henrik Abel who had written a dissertation in spherical geometry in 1833 and worked as a teacher at the cathedral school in Kristiania. He was also a good linguist. Aubert was succeeded by First Lieutenant of the Royal Norwegian Navy Wolfgang Wenzel Haffner (1806-1892: employed 1839-1843). Aubert taught mathematics, Norwegian language, Norwegian history & Norwegian geography. Haffner taught mathematics & Norwegian language. Aubert's health deteriorated. Like his brother, he is supposed to have suffered from tuberculosis, and shortly after leaving, he died of a haemorrhage. His brother had died in 1832 in the same way. Since Aubert sometimes slept in the same room as his students, it is believed that their later illness was due to him infecting them.

Further teachers were Professor Elias Magnus Fries (1794-1878; botany), Axel Samuel Stål (1787-1875; modern languages), Theodor Silfversköld (1803-1888; French & German), MA Johan Gustaf Lundberg (1800-1880; Christianity), genre- & history painter Anders Lundquist (1803-1853; drawing), marine painter captain Johan Christian Berger (1803-1871; painting), composer Adolf Fredrik Lindblad (1801-1878; music), Lieutenant Carl August Georgii (1801-1881; gymnastics), captain John Ehrengranat (riding). In addition the companions - combined bodyguards, adjutants & after-school teachers who followed the royal children wherever they went, took turns to eat with them, sleep in the same room and be go-betweens with the lackeys & chambermaids. The children were not allowed to speak to the servants in order to prevent "inappropriate insights". That must have been later. At first, it was about proper language. Charles was very curious and always tried to take a detour into their domains.

Judging by the schedule, Oscar wanted to give his children a humanist education similar to his own. The most striking element is the lack of physics & chemistry. The children would not be pampered, so Boström and Aubert were allowed to chastise them. Aubert had a lot of ideas in this vein, cold baths etc., to make men out of boys. There are some stories:

- B[oström] had the promise of the high parents to chastise them and once he gave little Charles a slap. But then he clenched his seven-year-old hand and said, "Wait for me, School Master, until I become King!" Once Josephine (his mother) saw that he put his legs on the couch and when she held him for it, she was told: "So does B[oström]!"⁶ There is a longer version of this anecdote:

Once, Prince Charles visited his mother, where he, without any further ado, sat down on the silk-lined couch and rested his legs on it. "You cannot do that," said the mother. "But so does Master Boström," objected the Prince. The Crown Princess bit her lip and shut her mouth for a moment; She then said : "Yes, when you are as learned as Master Boström, you may do so too."⁷

⁶ Florell 2000.

⁷ Rydberg 1872: s. 11.

- Boström also locked Charles into a dark space: "Whip, rod and brushwood were the most common educational means of the time in the teaching below the high school level, and it is clear, that Boström only abstained from such with regret, but the darkroom arrest remained and he used it at least once, when Charles demonstrated a striking inability to remember geographical names. The sinner was trapped between a pair of double doors, and the object was achieved, for he ended up moaning for mercy and assured Boström of his repentance, and when Boström believed that the arrest had lasted long enough, he let the prince out and called for a servant, who washed his red-eyed face. It failed, however, when they moved out to Drottningholm, for when Boström again threatened the prince with dark arrest, the prince answered him cheerfully that it was impossible, for there were no gaps between the doors!"⁸ However, there was isolation. One of the anecdotes is about how Charles, after having broken a vase, sits in his room, is bored, and persuades Gustaf to break a vase he too so that he has company.⁹
- Aubert wrote home about how he disciplined his royal students: "Prince C. is trying to establish a dignity and seriousness as if he was already king." - "I notice that whenever he sees someone crying or threatened with punishment, he always starts to cry or look ill at ease himself." - "He practices looking brave but it is just a facade to hide his innate cowardice." - "He keeps asking me if I am satisfied with him or if he can tell his mother that I am satisfied with him." - "He is curious and wants to learn everything from scratch. It is a good ambition for a powerless prince. Such a man must assert himself through his virtues, be able to make himself loved by the majority, but also be hard enough to endure the hatred of the minority."¹⁰
- In later days Charles claimed that Aubert used beatings to teach them the principle that "everything is allowed; nothing is in itself bad – unless you get *caught*" - "In this way I learned to lie".¹¹ Oskar had similar experiences: "The king said that this man had the virtue of hardening him and his brothers, all of whom, especially Charles (XV), were very spoiled. But besides this, there had been something very wild in their upbringing. Among other things Aubert had trained them to ignore their parents' commands. When he for a while with great zeal had read with his students at Drottningholm, he took his hat and followed by the princes, plunged into the open air. On such an excursion they met a furious bull, who attacked them. Aubert took Oscar on his shoulders, Charles and Gustaf one in each hand, and ran for the fence. He reached this at the last moment, threw Oscar over it and saved himself with the other two by climbing it. Afterwards he took a boat and rowed over to the castle. The king said that he himself was an overly proud little man in those years; But Aubert took it out of him by beating him in the head with the sharp edge on a ruler, saying, 'I am stronger than you, little fellow.'¹²

In 1892 there were protests against Bååth-Holmberg's depiction of Charles's schooling. Especially against Aubert supposedly having taught Charles to lie. Since Bååth-Holmberg based his portrayal on Charles's private, now destroyed, diaries, on second-hand information & on anonymous sources, it's

⁸ Eriksson 1954: s. 31.

⁹ Rydberg 1872: ss. 10-11.

¹⁰ Lindbæk 1910; Wrangel 1924: s. 181; Hallendorff 1924: ss. 13-16; Eriksson 1954: s.26. [Brev från Aubert hem 1834-11 & 1835-07-23.]

¹¹ Bååth-Holmberg 1891: s. 14.

¹² Hadenius & Nevéus 1960: ss. 15-16.

one word against the other.¹³ Aubert's successor Haffner had in any case not heard Charles or the others say anything unfavourable about Aubert or noticed any tendency of Charles to lie or make difficulties. He was amiability himself. According to an acquaintance, Aubert had initially sought to treat his royal pupils like other children, but was told by their parents to address them as Prince + the name in order to inculcate their unique position. We can sense the origin of a conflict. Charles would both be disciplined & be treated differently. It took him a while to come to grips with the situation. Aubert's advice to lie should probably be interpreted as advice to behave like a courtier – in every situation to adapt his behaviour to what was expected or most beneficial. Charles eventually became something of a social chameleon.

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With Boström & Aubert gone things calmed down. Carlson & Haffner, who dedicated themselves to teaching their students instead of threatening or beating them, got a positive legacy. Oscar II's contribution on Carlson to the Swedish Academy's memorial was:

Carlson understood to gain my affection and that of my brothers through his smooth and gentle being, but especially through his special insights and love for the historical studies. It was his great ability, through lively oral presentations, to arouse the interest of the audience in a concentrated way. Also his Swedish hours of history were real feasts for us, because they were truly patriotic. Not only the military achievements, but just as detailed the national historical development, he explained to us with warmth. - The written tests were an integral part of the teaching. The topics covered various historical events, minor ethical or speculative issues; and the task was at times writing a speech on a given subject or for a given occasion, wherein the works were most carefully scrutinized. - In Latin, the teaching was carried out in a strictly grammatical way, but with little writing, which facilitated the study of the modern languages. - Carlson, although a layman, was a good and warm religious teacher. Every morning began with biblical sermons, which were excellent and appealed to us greatly. - His mind was meditative and conciliatory. Rarely did he have a harsh word for us. If it did not go in one way, then he sought to obtain good result by another, according to what he believed the best way for the disciples. We looked up to him with reverence, never with fear.¹⁴

In my childhood and younger years, there were still remnants of the warlike spirit that characterized the 16th, 17th and 18th century Swedes, and that enabled our poor country to play the rôle of a great power. The anger and the grief over the loss of Finland was still felt in many minds, and the new association with Norway seemed, in many eyes, a rather meagre replacement. Even then, there were disputes about the Union, albeit not as bitter and as dangerous as recently. I and my brothers grew up under the influence of these feelings, the feelings of the whole nation, and, although our excellent teacher, the professor and historian F. F. Carlson, certainly was not what you call "chauvinist", our studies of Swedish history, which (for unknown reasons) stopped at Gustaf III reinforced these feelings and sanctified them. But remember that we ourselves were the descendants of great warriors on both the father and the mother.¹⁵

¹³ Aubert 1892.

¹⁴ Thyselius 1910: s. 20.

¹⁵ Oscar II 1960: del 1, ss. 285-286.

The disadvantage was an intellectual monoculture. Carlson lectured and his students took notes. Afterwards they wrote essays. Alternative approaches were rejected by Carlson as erroneous, impertinent, and/or malicious. They had the latest textbooks, e.g. Fryxell's history, but didn't read any newspapers. Since Carlson came from Geijer's research group he had adopted a similar position to him on the role of the king. After his notorious liberal reversal of 1838, Geijer, Boström or Carlson no longer considered Sweden's history to be their kings but their Parliament & Government. However, this was not reflected in the teaching:

Inga-Lisa Petersson summarizes Carlson's diaries as saying that the royal part of the teaching was a character education based on bible, catechism, patriotic love and historical & literary role models. Add to this knowledge of the country's laws, religion & history. Carlson's ideal prince is similar to Marcus Aurelius and his princely ideology of 2,000-year-old stoicism: "One is born into one's lot. Play the game, because nothing else exists." In 1838, Charles (speaking of the corresponding thoughts in the catechism) wondered. "If you are born in a high place, is it permissible, to desire a lower?" No, it wasn't.¹⁶

When Charles had learned enough French, he was allowed to eat with his grandfather and account for his progress. Charles John used to interrogate him during the meal, which Charles looked forward to with trepidation.¹⁷ Perhaps grandfather also received reports from the teachers. In his diary & reports Carlson until his confirmation in 1841 described Charles as close to unteachable - lazy, unruly & unconcentrated - and then experiences a total reversal (den Lidnerska knäppen). When a teacher in this way commits character assassination on his pupil, one should probably take a break and sort out what is behind it. As far as I have been able to determine, there were six separate conflicts:

1. As regent-designate, Charles believed that he could demand a respect from the teachers that he did not receive.
2. As regent-designate, Charles was assumed by the teachers to show unrealistic personal maturity.
3. His father and grandfather jointly attempted to force him into a royal role corresponding to their own - a calculating power player - which did not suit his temperament, his teacher's views on kingship or the constitution: For Carlson, the monarch was the humble servant of the people. For Boström he symbolized the nation. For Aubert he was a power player.
4. Nor was Charles a particularly intelligent or diligent pupil, but a mediocre who was pushed beyond his abilities, which was always pointed out to him.
5. His own life and the siblings' was like living in a tin can, which led to endless conflicts between them, varying between squabbles and fights.
6. Because he was an educational project, his progress was closely monitored. Every attempt to evade the surveillance by staying away in the servants' regions, refusing to state "his true feelings" and/or not providing "correct" answers in the progress reports that Carlson forced him to write, led to further conflicts of obstinacy, disloyalty & lies.¹⁸

¹⁶ Petersson 1990.

¹⁷ Eriksson 1954: s. 22.

¹⁸ Eriksson 1954: ss. 58-78.

There is also later speculation that Charles' stuttering was more serious than revealed, that he suffered from dyslexia and/or that he had some mild cognitive disorder with concentration difficulties & overactivity, today diagnosed as MDB/DAMP/ADHD.¹⁹

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June 4 & 5, 1841, he was confirmed. The teaching and interrogation took place through Bishop Johan Albert Butsch. The confirmation was done by the archbishop. His mother afterwards called him "into her cabinet, admonished and counselled him, cried with all her heart and solemnly promised him help as far as her powers reached."²⁰ It would have hurt his mother that the confirmation seems to have made him anti-Catholic. Butsch's religious instruction continued the following year. Charles was so affected by it that he devoted himself to intense self-criticism. The alternative description of Charles's religion is that it stems from his later involvement with Freemasons. The Masonic Order had a history of Neoplatonism and esotericism that appealed to Charles's imagination. He had a small library on the subject that he kept locked up for unauthorized people. I quote from the hermetic scriptures to give an idea what it is about:

Unless you make yourself equal to God, you cannot understand God: for the like is not intelligible save to the like. Make yourself grow to a greatness beyond measure, by a bound free yourself from the body; raise yourself above all time, become Eternity; then you will understand God. Believe that nothing is impossible for you, think yourself immortal and capable of understanding all, all arts, all sciences, the nature of every living being. Mount higher than the highest height; descend lower than the lowest depth. Draw into yourself all sensations of everything created, fire and water, dry and moist, imagining that you are everywhere, on earth, in the sea, in the sky, that you are not yet born, in the maternal womb, adolescent, old, dead, beyond death. If you embrace in your thought all things at once, times, places, substances, qualities, quantities, you may understand God.

Charles later claimed that during the confirmation reading he lost his virginity: "One day, when he was reading the catechism, he had been interrupted by a maid with the order to appear before the crown princess. Charles got up and followed her. They came to a dark corridor and it turned out that the matter was fabricated..."²¹ Perhaps so. Midsummer 1841, Charles John appointed him officer in the Royal Guards (presumably a volunteer). The following year he attended his first ball. He danced the polonaise with Countess Aurora Brahe Sr. & the 1st waltz with his mother. He was also allowed to invite someone on his own initiative, who became the somewhat older Baroness Julie Banér (1821-1911). Charles was a lousy dancer, stiff & uncoordinated, but he was easy to converse. You just had to smile and listen. The court life was exhausting. High season consisted of was dinners, afternoon dances, balls, masquerades, excursions, music evenings, theatre & opera several times a week. Charles attended when he felt like it or was forced.

1843 was the last school year. af Edholm comments on his performance at the Innocence Ball on January 7: "He carries himself reasonably well considering his age, waltzes conscientiously [there were 50 recipients] and speaks to much, but looks royal enough."²²

¹⁹ Skott 1996: s. 55; Lindqvist 2010: s. 51.

²⁰ Eriksson 1954: ss. 40-41.

²¹ Eriksson 1954: s. 78. [Enligt Bernard von Beskow efterlämnade papper.]

²² af Edholm 1944: del 1, s. 54.

During the summer he & Gustaf underwent basic weapons training in sabre, lance & gun. In the autumn they toured the southern parts of the country, to get to know Sweden. The reception was good. There is a satirical summary:

The small princes have happily returned to the capital from their excursion to the countryside. They are supposed to have received no less than 70 gates of honour, 534 balls, slightly over 2000 bouquets of 16 crowns à piece, as well as nearly 800 welcomes, toasts and speeches in all formats. This may not seem much for 15 à 16 year old princes, but they lick it up. And there is more to come.²³

[More concretely, in the company of the gentleman companion and future governor Henning Hamilton, they visited castles, mansions, mills & attractions. It seems a repetition of their visit to Mälardalen in 1839 in the company of Carlson. Charles also participated in the work of the farm people: Mowing, harvest, milking, hunting, fishing, picking berries & mushrooms.]

The rest of the semester was a repeat of old course elements. On December 19 & 20 they underwent an oral exam corresponding to the baccalaureate in the subjects of Latin, algebra, geometry, (geographical) statistics, and general & Swedish history. The examination was partly carried out by their own teachers Carlson & Haffner, partly by the three Uppsala professors Erik Gustaf Geijer (history), Jonas Sellén (law) & Carl Johan Malmsten (mathematics). Witnesses were their parents, Ecclesiastical Minister Bishop Heurlin, Norwegian State Councillor Holst, Norwegian Artillery Lieutenant-Colonel Foss and the Principal of the Stockholm gymnasium lecturer Eurén. The total time for interrogation was nine hours. The brothers were worried about the outcome but performed well. It seems strange though that they were not examined as to their knowledge of modern languages. There are reports that Charles English was incomprehensible.

Charles left school as a stately young man, with good basic knowledge, convinced of his royal mission, but lacking self-esteem - no achievement of his was good enough. All the brothers' social training was severely neglected. None of them behaved naturally in company. Carlson has received much praise for his teaching, but for Charles as a person, Carlson & the isolated "tabula rasa" pedagogy seems a disaster. It was not sufficient to fraternize with court officials, servants and siblings. You need peers. His brother Oscar later placed his children in a public school so that they would avoid his experience.

A comment: It seems incredible that even in high school, the brothers could have studied 43 hours à week. There are reports that Boström & Aubert grew tired and devoted themselves to playing chess instead of teaching. Boström was so disgruntled with their confined existence that he quit. There was no time put aside for homework, possibly it took place in the afternoons and/or weekends. The schedule seems wishful thinking, and must have been ignored or revised.

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October 10, 1844, shortly after his father's coronation, Charles and Gustaf moved to Uppsala to pursue their university studies. The Uppsala studies took place in two stages: October 10 to December 14, 1844, & October 13 to December 10, 1845. Mid-February to mid-April 1845 they were in Kristiania. The Uppsala suite consisted of their governor count Henning

²³ Odd, Orvar. [Oscar Patric Sturzen-Becker.] (1843.) Liten lefver än. I: Aftonbladet, 1843-08-24, s. 2.

Hamilton, their teacher Carlson & aide-de-camp Eketrä. And of course servants. In Uppsala, they were housed in a two-story building at Bäckensgränd 6, called "the prince house". This was 650 m² large & relatively stylish. They socialized with the academic community, received visits from fellow students and relaxed with music & balls. During the first year "Allmänna sången" (the student choir) was in recess, so Gustaf organized two "quartets". Charles had a strong but rather rough bass voice and sang in the larger of the quartets. Both brothers were reportedly diligent and well behaved. Charles was quite strenuous to deal with though:

These princes are rather sweet, simple, kind and natural. If only Prince Charles might talk a little less. He is so passionate that his mouth literally never rests and when he is to tell you something he does it with such zeal that the words really tumble over each other and in the end one hardly knows what it is about. He also constantly gesticulates and grimaces like a real actor. It sometimes gets a bit exhausting, but he is funny and lovable in his own way. Prince Gustaf is significantly quieter and more »douce».²⁴

The courses were designed for their needs, built on the castle school's teaching plan & emphasized width over depth. The Uppsala schedule was two lectures per day, four days a week, mixed public & private lectures: Geijer (Swedish history & European cultural development), Boethius (Swedish & Roman law), Bergfalk (public administration), Boström (practical philosophy), Atterbom (revelations & myths), Svedelius (political science), Schröder (literature & ancient knowledge). The Kristiania curriculum was in the same vein but still more sprawling: Thaulow (Chemistry & Physics), Keyser (Norwegian Antiquities), Keilhau (Norwegian Geology), Munch (Norwegian Geography & Saga-literature), Hallager (Norwegian Legal History, Procedural & Criminal Law), Platou (Norwegian Private Law), Collett (Norwegian Constitution) and Velhaven (Norwegian Literary History). Further lecturers were Lindblad (criminal and procedural law) & Nordström (civil law). From Lindblad's lecture sometime in 1846 there is a picture: Lindblad lectures in outdoor clothing & doctoral hat. Charles, Gustaf & their entourage bear outdoor clothing and hats they too. It is probably winter & the room unheated. Charles took careful notes but never did an exam. The effective duration of the three years was approximately 30 weeks.

In Kristiania, Charles & Gustaf were accompanied by the family. The invitations were so numerous that it is difficult to understand how they got something done. At the end Charles was ill for a month. There is a rather melancholy essay in his diary from that time when he philosophizes about his life situation. Most of it is about a cult of friendship - a simple & natural interaction beyond social positions & class boundaries. He wanted to avoid public life with its demands for a performance. What he disliked the most was never being able to trust people. That they sought him out to gain benefits, or out of sheer curiosity, not because they appreciated his person.²⁵

The Uppsala period, Charles made contact with an odd mentor - professor of theoretical & practical medicine Israel Hwasser (1790-1860). Hwasser represented the Romantic natural philosophy in medicine and derived most of it from imbalances between the spirit and the body. According to him, the teacher cum doctor should lead the student cum patient to the spiritual state required for a recovery. Probably he was even more dangerous to the patient than their disease but he was open to existential problems and he, Charles & Gustaf spent hours with Hwasser extemporizing on

²⁴ Hamilton Geete 1910: del 2, s. 298; Horn 1946: ss. 80-81; Braun 1950: s. 156. [Agnes Geijer]

²⁵ Hallendorff 1924: ss. 17-18.

everything possible. "He did not see his teaching task as primarily transmitting knowledge. The teacher should awaken a deeper insight, and also influence the adepts morally and religiously. Therefore, the relationship between teacher and student must be both comprehensive and personal."²⁶ Hwasser was popular with his students, at times worshipped, and in this spirit went as far as to call Charles & Gustaf "gentlemen". Charles addressed him as uncle. He later claimed that Hwasser was he "who made him human, who taught him to value the purely human part of himself."²⁷

[In 1848, Hwasser founded the still-existing Charles John Association. There are a number of commemorative speeches by his hand in 1848-59 where among the exaggerated praise of Charles John's brilliant career and admirable character it appears that Hwasser was a supporter of the politics of 1812, which he believed finally gave the Nordic countries the peace to cooperate, instead of fighting each other. Oscar I's reorientation of foreign policy was deeply disappointing.]

There is no information that Charles ever learned to manage his finances. That was done by his curator. From the age of 11, Charles every week received a small amount of pocket money, which was to be accounted for. Clothing, shaving, books, etc. appear to have been purchased through home visits of the shop's owner or such.

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A digression: At this time there were three modes of addressing someone: The informal "Du" (you) or first name. The civic "Ni" (you) based on trade or family. The formal "I" based on Estate membership or title within Estate. In practice there was a fourth mode: By addressing someone by his or her surname to emphasize your own higher status. As a sign of favour, it was common to discard the formal mode of address, which Charles permitted himself with Hwasser.

²⁶ Liedman 1971.

²⁷ Bååth-Holmberg 1891: s. 17.