

Chapter 59 : “Beskow”, Life and Other Schools (I) (1858-1876).

Prince Oscar Gustaf Adolf, Duke of Värmland - in his circle of acquaintances Gustaf - was born at Drottningholm Castle on June 16, 1858, as the son of the Prince Couple (from 1859 the Crown Prince Couple) Oscar (II) of Sweden-Norway & Sofia of Nassau. Gustaf himself became Crown Prince in 1872, of age in 1876, married in 1881, king in 1907 and died October 29, 1950. This chapter about his childhood and youth extends until his baccalaureate December 16, 1876. The next chapter about his university years extends until the end of 1880.

The source situation is so-so. Virtually all information about Gustaf's youth originates in royal bulletins & court employee statements (Sjöberg red. 1881; NFB 1883; SBHL 1906; NFB 1909; Åsbrink 1918; Swahn 1938; Lundebeck 1952). There are also some newspaper reports, diaries, letters & memories. Great importance has over the years been given to the cultural curator Fritz von Dardel's, politician Louis De Geer's & UD chief Carl Fleetwood's memories and diaries (von Dardel 1911; De Geer 1892, 1926 & 1929; Fleetwood 1968). Over time, the gaps in the story have been filled with second hand information and guesswork. This and the next chapter is an inventory, a culling and a reconstruction.

Lundebeck's biography raises questions. He appears to have had access to Queen Sophie's private archives with Gustaf's letters & diaries, reports from court & education officials, etc. from the years 1864-1881. He explained this by saying that when he finished the preparatory work for a biography about Queen Sophie, the publisher instead proposed a biography about King Gustaf V, who he according to Hagberg (1983: s. 204) even interviewed. He reused a variety of information that was originally intended to highlight Sophie's relationships with the son. Now they were used to highlight Gustaf's relationships with the mother.¹ It is unclear how he got access to the archive. It should have been covered by confidentiality and no subsequent biographer has had access to it. During Lundebeck's lifetime, there were rumours that he got access to it because he was Gustaf's illegitimate son. It is more likely that it happened by mistake because no one knew what it contained. The ongoing inventory was not completed until 1952. It was then probably burned according to the instructions in Gustaf's will. Lundebeck's own archive at the Royal Library does not provide any clues. It contains only an outline of the biography.

*

Gustaf was born in the mid of the usual excitement this time. Due to an ongoing epidemic of puerperal fever, the birth took place at Drottningholm Castle. After having his umbilical cord cut, he was placed on a silver tray², and carried out to the adjacent room to be seen by the witnesses - about 50 relatives, court officials and politicians. King Oscar I was still king, Charles XV was Crown Prince-Regent, and his brother Oscar II was heir apparent. It seemed unlikely that Gustaf would ever ascend the throne. No salute was fired. Stockholm Castle received the news through flares and there were thanksgiving services.

In the beginning, Gustaf was breastfed by his mother, then by the nurse Wilhelmina Westerling (1833-1911; “Myna”). Gustaf's health was closely monitored.³ He was slightly

¹ Lundebeck 1952: ss. 7-10. [Förordet.]

² De Geer 1892: del 2, ss. 178-179; Lundebeck 1952: s. 51. [Silverbrickan är troligen ett påhitt av Lundebeck.]

³ Kock 1963: ss. 155-164.

thin, had a mucus formation in one lung and suffered several times from childhood cramp. (These usually occur in the first years of life in the event of fever or severe emotions. They are not dangerous but the child may even lose consciousness.) Mina also took care of his initial upbringing. At 14 months Gustaf was able to walk. At three years he could use cutlery. His mother's instructions were that he must learn unconditional obedience before three years of age. Gustaf was perceived as slow and uninterested - probably some kind of protest - but did what he was told. The pedagogy was that if he did not finish eating in the allotted time, the food was taken away from him. If he cried, he was soft. If he failed, he was shamed. This was interspersed with games and pranks.

There are reports that Gustaf also had a nanny Johanna and a servant Nordström or Norström. These have been impossible to identify. There is a Johanna Charlotta Johansdotter (1854-1901) and an Ernst Gustaf Norström (1856-1923), but these have the wrong age. Maybe they were playmates.

In the autumn of 1861 the family visited Nice and stayed until August 1862. Upon his return to Sweden, Gustaf was four years old and considered ready to learn the alphabet. The teachers were the two ladies-in-waiting Swedish Augusta Jegerhjelm (1834-1902; m. von Arbin) & Norwegian Kathinka Due (1831-1909; m. Peyron), later also the mother. It didn't go well but he learned some "letter stories". In the summer of 1863 he accompanied his mother to Germany. Gustaf is described during a visit to his aunt Helena:

Gustaf is much longer than is usual for his age. Due to the disease [possibly a cold] he may be weak, but you don't notice, unless some restraint of the movements, such as the merry Oscar and the nimble Carl do not seem to suffer from. Gustaf is comically, very comically solemn when they every morning enter my room to greet me. On the doorstep he first asks, if they *may* enter, then makes sure that even the little Carl stands still, after which he bows deeply. When I address Oscar or Carl, Gustaf looks carefully on as if he wants to impress them to keep still and try to answer. He acts as protector and he asks me three and four times a day, if he can tell his mother, when he meets her, that I am satisfied with him and his brothers ...⁴

In November 1863, Gustaf contracted scarlet fever. In January 1864 he also contracted double-sided pneumonia. He was bedridden for several months and cared for by Myna, the servants and his female relatives. They read aloud to him while Gustaf drew and painted. By late spring, he was on his feet again but rather weak. The family spent the summer in Scania. His birthday was celebrated with a military parade of schoolboys armed with floral-decorated rifle dummies. Later in the summer Gustaf & the brothers stayed with their aunt.

His parents enjoyed Scania and built a summer castle in Sofiero. Summer life was as simple as possible. Everyone was involved in their work, the protocol was kept to a minimum and - contrary to city life - they ate together. Gustaf and the brothers each had a pony and received riding lessons one hour before breakfast. "The brothers also roamed the neighbourhood fields and hunted birds They thought they would be able to exterminate all the local magpies and crows in the area but were disappointed. No matter how many they shot, there was still plenty left. Mother did not like this much shooting, but allowed it, when she understood how much fun they had."⁵ In the beginning Gustaf played with the neighbouring children Tornérhjelm, Cederström & Wachmeister. In his teens he invited Stockholm friends. Swahn has some

⁴ Lundebeck 1952: ss. 74-75.

⁵ Jövinger 1949: s. 8.

flattering words from an unknown source: "Prince Gustaf is described by his peers as an ideal playmate. Though not the strongest, he always took the lead. Already in childhood, he impressed us by his righteousness and sense of fair play, which followed him throughout life, but above all his good, caring heart and compassion."⁶ At Drottningholm in the forests of Lovö and Kersö, Gustaf later learned to hunt "for real". He enjoyed the silence and solitude.

1864-1874, Gustaf's parents employed Carl Erik Johan Rogberg (1829-1905) as informant and pedagogical adviser. 1866-1872 also doctor of theology Ernst Julius Östrand (1844-1885) who supervised the homework. Rogberg had received his doctorate on Karl IX's campaign in Livland. Östrand his on the biblical concept cosmos. Perhaps not the best preparation for teaching little boys. During the first two academic years 1864/66 Gustaf received individual instruction in reading and writing by the seminarian Lilly Engström (1843-1921). Gustaf's at the same time precocious and docile behaviour - it had gotten worse during his illness - worried his mother. She arranged a children's party and invited the acquaintance's somewhat older children whom she hoped would counter it. The effect was doubtful. The visitors followed the court etiquette - bowed deep on arrival and avoided contradicting him.

In the academic years 1866/69 Gustaf, the brothers and a number of children from the parents' circle of acquaintance attended the "castle school". Among the students were Herman Wrangel (1859-1938), Erik Oxenstierna (1859-1913), Gustaf Leijonhufvud (1859-1898), Oscar Holterman (1859-1932) & Axel Ribbing (1859-1935). (All but Wrangel later joined Gustaf at the Beskow school.) Formally, the castle school was a preparatory elementary school and followed that study plan. Gustaf was also taught German by a Miss Sehlhorst. In his youth he spoke Swedish with a German accent: His u sounded like the y and he rasped the "r"-s.

Gustaf's moral education was through Christian charity: "New Year's Eve [1865], the Duke and Duchess of Östergötland brought twelve poor children into their palace at Gustaf Adolfs torg, who, after being washed etc., received new cloths, and were dressed up. The children then had to sit down at the table and eat their fish and porridge, etc. After the meal, the princely children distributed their Christmas gifts from last year to these poor and when parting they received both money and a splendid Christmas bun."⁷

Gustaf's upbringing was in all essentials identical to the upbringing of the English heir to the throne, Edward VII (1841-1910). Edward's parents reportedly followed the advice of the German physician Baron Christian Fredrik Stockmar (1787-1863). He wrote a number of memos that were later published: The most important advice was that in the early years the child's natural [selfish] instincts were to be suppressed in favour of obedience, purity of the soul and sense of duty - "honest, truthful and high minded". The school education had be designed in such a way that the monarchy as a form of government appeared to be the only reasonable option. In addition to this, a comprehensive training was necessary because nobody knew what the future was like. "The proper duty of the Sovereign of England, was not to take the lead in change, but to act as a balance-wheel on the movement of the social body."⁸ To do so, the monarch must know his kingdom in detail.

⁶ Swahn 1938: s. 25-26.

⁷ Post- och Inrikes Tidningar, 1865. I: Wennerholm 1982: s. 15.

⁸ The Press, 1910-05-09, s. 11.

*

In 1869, Gustaf and his two eldest brothers entered the Beskow school - Mäster Samuelsgatan 39 on the corner of Malmskillnadsgatan. The alternative would have been continued castle school, the New Elementary School in Klara parish or some other public school. "Beskow" had been founded in 1867 by the clergyman and politician Gustaf Beskow (1834-1899) who did not want his own son to attend the existing public schools that he considered too undisciplined. He had initially intended to home school a class of his acquaintance's children of the same age. This was step by step expanded with additional classes and turned into a business. The cause seems to have been his strained economy. In the spring of 1869, Gustaf's parents informed themselves about the teaching, the discipline and the enrolled students, made study visits and sat in at classes. "The royals desired that their sons should know life as other boys know it, and not be brought up in isolation behind lock and key."⁹ Sophie: "...as the boys in the future will socialize and work with their subjects, why then not let them meet them already during school, all the more so to release them from their shyness and alienation?"¹⁰ It has afterwards been made much of the princes' broadened intercourse and it is possible that it also had some democratic effect but since "Beskow" was an upper class school it was no radical change.

"Beskow" was a high school, which meant that you first attended three or four years at some preparatory elementary school or received home education. The school also had its own preparatory classes. In "Beskow" they then went five years in the lower high "realskola" & four years in upper high. When Gustaf was enrolled he had 1864-1869 done the required five years of preparatory elementary school. At "Beskow" he was placed in 3rd class - where also Hjalmar Branting (later social democratic party leader) went - but was in the spring semester demoted to 2nd class that better suited his level. This has later been interpreted as that he was late developed but according to Branting it was due to Gustaf, because of the school's teaching plan, was ahead in certain subjects (Gustaf already knew the German) but lagged in others.¹¹ Gustaf's two brothers started in 1st class. It was the right level for Prince Oscar while Prince Carl was allowed to repeat a year. In 1872/73, the class designations were changed so that 5th class became 4th class etc. and Gustaf was this way yet again demoted.

The curriculum of classes 2-4 included Swedish, Christianity, geography, natural history, mathematics, drawing, penmanship, singing & gymnastics. However, no handicraft because the school lacked suitable premises. Foreign languages were German (from 1st class) & Latin (from 2nd class). The last year (autumn 1872) Gustaf, because of the voice-break, was relieved from singing. The students were graded as to conduct, attention, diligence & "knowledge" (an average score). The grades were read at the school's end each spring - but not Gustaf's. He was also treated differently: His name did not appear in the school catalogue and he was addressed as the Prince, later the Crown Prince. Otherwise, the teachers sought to treat him as the others. If he misbehaved, he was told so. The parents sat in on some classes to convince themselves that the sons were treated as "boys among other boys". Beskow had been worried about what would happen, but the princes kept a low profile and played along. The newspapers kept quiet so they were not bothered by curious onlookers.

⁹ Beskow 1899: s. 81.

¹⁰ Lundebeck 1952: s. 79.

¹¹ Swahn 1938: ss. 32-33; Lundebeck 1952: s. 90.

Gustav's second year at "Beskow" happened to coincide with the First Vatican Council and the decision on Pius IX's infallibility, which was a major topic of discussion during the Christian classes. A welcome break because the "Christian teaching" otherwise consisted of learning the catechism and bible by heart. During the breaks there were discussions (=fist fights) about the Franco-German war. Most of them supported France and disliked Bismarck. Gustaf also disliked Bismarck but for family reasons. In 1866, after the war of German unity or civil war if you like, Bismarck had annexed the Duchy of Nassau, which was ruled by Gustaf's uncle. Over time (probably because of all the visits) he became more German-friendly.

The school quickly grew out of its premises. It was housed in a single floor. During the breaks, the students stayed in a narrow, paved indoor yard (17*7 meters!) that was also used to park horses and to dry laundry. If you wanted to sit you did so on the ground. The teachers were academics but inexperienced. The "pedagogy" was to teach students to speak in complete sentences like a book. The demands were excessive and homework often took 3-4 hours to complete. There was a lot of lectern teaching in the sense that the teaching of general subjects such as history consisted of anecdotes. "Gymnastics" was walking to & from Djurgården, sledge and skating. The spring semester ended with a joint excursion to Haga Park with lunchpack and soda. Very popular. In 1872, the school moved to larger premises at Malmskillnadsgatan 46 but there Gustaf only spent half a year.

The Parents' upbringing emphasized that the sons should learn simple habits, for example they got no markup on the sandwiches, the pocket money was stingy and the treats few: pastry shops, circus and the like were not everyday occurrences but were used as rewards for diligence and good behaviour. However, they were very well dressed, both more elegant (and more fragile) than the others. A clear minus given the dirt, the snowball wars and the violent games where you often rolled around on the ground. The school life was also in otherwise very violent: The classes and schools fought each other. They were also attacked by street urchins. Gustaf is said to have been noticeably passive during the school breaks, which may be partly blamed on his delicate attire and partly on his shyness. Long afterwards, Gustaf's classmates remembered him as friendly but "withdrawn, quiet and difficult to get to know."¹² At the beginning the princes were followed to school by some court employee, later they received a discreet police guard. In the spring the family moved out to Rosendal Castle on Djurgården and the princes were driven back and forth to the school in a carriage. The youngest boys in the preparatory classes had for sport to form a cortège: trail, jump up on the foot steps and holler to the surroundings. The classmates were invited home (the palace of the heir Prince) where they got to roam in the premises and try Gustaf's toys. The palace of the heir prince lacked bathrooms, so the brothers from 1869 visited Malmtorgsbadet once a week. They had dinner for themselves, but then changed clothes to visit the red parlour upstairs and greet their parents and any guests.

During a ball game in March 1871, Gustaf fell and injured his right hip joint. An inflammation set in and for several months he limped around with first a cane and then crutches. Since no treatments helped - he even received electromassage with pulsating DC - Gustaf's mother hired a foreign specialist J G Metzger with successful results. However, by then it had been so long - more than eight months - that the injury had probably healed itself, but Gustaf probably enjoyed the attention. Medical historian Wolfram Kock describes the Metzger treatment as follows:

¹² Swahn 1930: s. 16.

Doctor Metzger, was at this time completely unknown by the Swedish colleagues but a knowledgeable doctor and not a charlatan, arrived and explained after a short consultation, that the boy “will walk on his own two legs without crutches after three weeks of treatment”. In a poetic-religious spirit, the period of treatment began by Princess Marie, who organized a service in the chapel as a thank-you for Metzger's promise. The Duke [Gustaf's father], who at the beginning was completely opposed to the treatment, authorized it by letter. The massage was in the form of a light friction treatment which Metzger gave, not in Bonn but in Amsterdam, where he demanded that the now 13-year-old patient be taken. In Amsterdam they stayed in a hotel and between treatments made excursions in a horse carriage provided by the Dutch court. Metzger gave his massage twice a day, while recounting interesting experiences. After ten days, the prince was able to walk, and mid December, the Duchess [Gustaf's mother], at her husband's insistence, returned home, while Gustav spent the winter in Bonn.¹³

Gustaf then spent Christmas in Bonn with his aunt Marie - the spring at her summer castle Segenhaus in Neuwid and other places - and did not return to Sweden until the summer of 1872. He was privately educated by Östrand so as not to fall behind, but otherwise seems to have managed himself. He participated in Aunt Marie's spiritist séances, “toured sights”, went to circus and met other young people. He filled several albums with sketches of the area's picturesque forts and castles. Aunt Helena arranged a spring party in his honour. A Swedish chamberlain: “The fact that he is a little too much fêted will not please the high mother in the palace, but in my eyes the great courtesy and attention shown to him does not seem to affect H. R. H. to excess. In addition, he is too shy and not able to judge the significance of all this...”.¹⁴

There was talk of a miracle cure but Gustaf still used a cane (or snobbed with it) when he in the autumn was back in “Beskow”. The German court treatment appears to have changed him, despite assurances to the contrary from the chamberlain. He at last seemed to have realized or accepted his social position and its consequences. On September 18, 1872, Charles XV died and Gustaf became Crown Prince, dramatically changing his status in the eyes of the surroundings. There were many Princes but only one Crown Prince! Newcomer Carl Fahlstedt - later teacher at “Beskow” - tells about a school break after the elevation:

From one of these breaks [autumn 1872], Professor Fahlstedt can tell an episode, a real strix story [a humour magazine] from living life. The Prince had become Crown Prince and it was, as if that dignity - though he was not himself affected - greatly impressed the comrades, especially the younger such.

“Mom, Mom”, the young Fahlstedt came running home one day out of breath, “The Crown Prince spoke to me during the break.”

“What did he say?” asked the mother eager and interested.

“Well Mom, I happened to fall over in front of him, and then he poked at me with his foot and said: 'out of the way boy!'”¹⁵

Others were not quite so impressed: “A classmate came to blows with him. The Prince first used the stick for defence, then for assault. The opponent turned his back and was thoroughly

¹³ Kock 1963: s. 157.

¹⁴ Swahn 1938: ss. 33-34; Lundebeck 1952: ss. 119-125.

¹⁵ Wolodja. [Waldemar Swahn] Kung Gustaf på skolbänken. Vecko Journalen 1924:52, ss. 1454-1455.

flogged.”¹⁶ This seems like a whitewash. The classmate can be identified as future MP Jonathan Olsson (1858-1943), known for his hard fists, and that Gustaf would best him was not likely. A more likely version is that Olsson - no friend of royalty - made fun of how he was treated and when Gustaf attacked him with the stick, contemptuously turned his back.

There is a last “Beskow” episode from Mårten Goose day November 10, 1872. It was tradition to this day give the headmaster or teacher a live goose. The teacher Ludvig Lindroth had become engaged and the students therefore thought he this year should receive it. A large white and gray goose was brought in, wrapped in bright silk ribbons and forced into a basket. Gustaf led a procession of classmates through the city, delivered the cackling goose with great cheers and a small speech. According to what he later claimed, it was his first speech ever.¹⁷

The initiative to place the children at the Beskow school is usually attributed to mother Sophie because until the “small baccalaureate” in the 5th grade she was apparently responsible for their education. Her wisdom has been praised in the fact that Gustaf already from young age came face to face with his subjects and his future political opponents: Liberals like Hjalmar Branting, Jonathan Olsson & Harald Sohlman. Oscar II later regretted though that he had exposed his sons to such¹⁸, and Gustaf put his own children in the castle school. Prince Carl much later summed up their schooling at Beskow as saying “There was no fawning, neither by the teachers nor the school boys, and that was good for us.” Maybe good but obviously both stressful and a bit artificial. Contemporaries perceived the schooling as a form of theatre, and anecdotes were told about how those involved tried to live up to their expected roles. The greatest benefit for Gustaf was probably that he learned to keep a low profile and to switch between his royal and popular role. It was of great use to him later in life. The fact that Gustaf & the brothers attended upper high at the castle instead of in “Beskow” has been interpreted by Anders Lundebeck¹⁹ in several ways: that the study plan did not fit; that Sophie wanted to avoid Beskow's uncouth “servants quarter's mentality” and instead inculcate courteous virtues & lastly the sons' difficulties in dealing with the conflicts related to their social position.

*

In 1873, Gustaf, Prince Oscar and Gustaf's classmates Gustaf Leijonhufvud, Axel Ribbing and Georg Svedelius returned to the Castle School - now renamed the Prince School. Prince Oscar was enrolled at the Naval Academy where he followed certain subjects. Gustaf had once again injured his right leg - this time sprained it - and was in February bedridden for a couple of weeks. The family situation was continued messy: On March 4, Gustaf's uncle Prince August died, on May 12 the parents were crowned at Storkyrkan and preparations were made for moving to the castle. Since the prince school did not start until autumn, the departed students must spring 1873 have received instructions from Östberg or not at all. Prince Carl continued in Beskow until 5th grade 1875/76. Prince Eugen started in 1874 but only spent three years.

¹⁶ Svedelius 1938: s. 23.

¹⁷ Svedelius 1938: s. 69.

¹⁸ Svedelius 1938: s. 35.

¹⁹ Lundebeck 1952: ss. 135-136.

In the summer of 1873, Gustaf accompanied the father to his coronation in Norway and received a teacher in Norwegian language & history. The following year he accompanied the father to Denmark, where he was awarded their highest honour, the Order of the Elephant. Otherwise he had few duties. He attended the larger of the ceremonies - often as part of the Royal Guards - but had no representation, possibly with the exception of family reunions and that he and the brothers distributed Christmas gifts to the poor. In August 1875 he participated in Oscar II's national tour in Dalarna.

The director of the reorganized prince school was Dr. Carl August Lundberg (1843-1922). Supervisor of the homework was Dr. Carl Axel Brolén (1845-1939). Lundberg had a doctorate in Greek on Herodote's use of prepositions. Brolén had received his doctorate in Latin on Seneca's philosophy. Both prided themselves on having a good hand with teenagers. The schedule with some deviations followed the curriculum of the secondary school's semi-classical line. The teaching included Swedish, Latin, German, French, English, Christianity, History, Geography, Botany, Zoology, Physics, Mathematics & Statistics. Gustaf also received instruction in piano, singing, dance, drawing, painting, military subjects, gymnastics, political science & Norwegian. There are some details: Gustaf was amused by landscape painting, flowers & still life, was a mediocre pianist but had a pleasant bass or tenor baritone. His first theatre visit was in early 1874, when he saw two plays at the Royal dramatic theatre together with his parents.

For several of the teachers, the prince school came at a very inconvenient time, but because they were state officials they had to comply. Lundberg has told about the first time:

After me having arranged the first years schedule it was submitted to the Queen, who was the actual governor, and who very wisely supervised and directed the activities of the Palais School even during her stays abroad, when I was instructed every one or two weeks to provide a written account, often followed by small tickets from the Queen herself or one of her courtiers concerning one or other desire. - As long as the royals resided at Drottningholm, a small steamboat every morning departed to the city, where it landed below the Red Sheds, near the current City Hall. After school it returned to Drottningholm with its passengers. In the autumn, the frequent journeys because of the fog became quite difficult, and the navigation at times painful - much to the delight of young pupils, who thus spent less time at school, but not without concern among the elderly passengers, who had to bear the responsibility. ... After the move into the city, the work was driven vigorously in accordance with the arranged schedule. On the breaks, a lively ball game was played at the large court. I had my residence in the palace, where I had two rooms. In order to leave me the greatest possible freedom, I was not obliged to take my dinner at the castle, but was often invited ...²⁰

Also Brolén has told:

How did I get to the castle? answers Carl Axel Brolén. Well, I was "recommended" - as it is called - by Rogberg, I think. I had just that year received my doctorate in Latin and had taken a test as lecturer at the Ladugårdsland grammar school and also been hired. "It was an interesting task - I thought - that was given to me. I have always had an interest in youth, and as a tutor for boys from "better homes" at the same age as

²⁰ Lundberg 1919: s. 23-24.

Crown Prince Gustaf, I had also, as I thought, learned to understand young men in their teens. My daily work began in 1873, and I was the Crown Prince's teacher for seven years. I mainly taught him Swedish language and literature and in addition I supervised Gustaf's and his brothers' homework, i.e. helped them. And I want to say that the king's boys had at least as much homework as their peers, possibly more than today. Both the Crown Prince and his companions were very ambitious and diligent.

We started classes at eight o'clock in the morning - I lived in the palace - and continued until breakfast. After a short break, school work continued until dinner, when I went out with the Crown Prince - often accompanied by the other small princes. I tried to interest them in life in various forms, which met us, and I dare believe that I succeeded. The Crown Prince listened not only with well-educated interest - indeed, he was well educated by his excellent mother - but with a sense of wisdom, which boded well for the future. It was a really kind and good boy - always friendly and patient - even when he got tasks that did not exactly fit his nature. My instructions - which the Queen formulated in the wise way typical of her - in our days one would call her an excellent teacher - included that I at all times would be with Gustaf and his brothers. Follow them in work and play. In other words, I was their preceptor [mentor] and older friend, to whom they could confidently turn on all issues - the word governor was never mentioned.²¹

Leijonhufvud & Prince Oscar studied part-time at the prince school and graduated at Beskow and the Naval Academy. The other three graduated as private candidates. Gustaf graduated at the castle December 16, 1876. Ribbing & Svedelius graduated at Nya Elementar. The pace was high. Almost all of Gustaf's waking time Monday-Saturday was scheduled. His free time was also scheduled. Lundberg & Brolén was asked to keep him company during the activities. In the summer of 1874, Lundberg escorted Gustaf on a two month journey incognito through Germany, Switzerland and northern Italy. Gustaf met relatives, walked in the Alps, visited museums & attractions and was sometimes allowed to stroll around for himself.

Gustaf continued to socialize with his old classmates who were often invited to the castle (the heir Prince palace) for games, birthday parties and the like. In autumn and spring, mother organized boat trips to Drottningholm. Among the recreations were ball games, croquet, ring throwing, bowling, cycling & swimming. Gustaf was very skilled in the ballgame "Three hits och run". This was played with two teams of 5-6 people and the object was to hit the ball so high that you and your teammates could run the course without being burned.

Gustaf's development during high school is difficult to get a grip on. Waldemar Swahn²² writes absolutely nothing about it while Anders Lundebeck²³ spends 2 ½ chapters on mainly Sophie's detailed control. The sources appear to be her private archives & an interview with Gustaf's schoolmate - later tutor of his children - Carl Svedelius (1861-1951) who in turn appears to quote his brother George - Gustaf's classmate in "Beskow" and prince school.

So what does Lundebeck know that no one else knows and how does he know it?
Answer: Gustaf was never left alone and everyone wrote reports about him. During

²¹ Swahn 1938: s. 41-42.

²² Swahn 1938.

²³ Lundebeck 1952: ss. 140-196.

his time abroad Gustaf also wrote letters home and diaries. In spite of this, Gustaf's inner life is hard to discern. He appears to have been equal to the Stasi-atmosphere and lived in inner exile. There is no record of him ever entrusting himself to anyone - neither parents, teachers, brothers or peers - and that can be seen in the sources.

According to the reports, Gustaf was mediocre: Ambitious but slow. Promising but inhibited. Receptive but unimaginative. He did what he was told but took no initiative of his own. Intelligent but not intellectual. Intellectual but not a reader. Competent but difficult to express himself. Etc. There was also much self-praise from Lundberg about how he had won Gustaf's trust and adapted the pedagogy to the student's needs & limitations. For example, he urged Gustaf to read newspapers. Gustaf seems to have followed the advice as far as reading the crime pages.

Gustaf's teacher in political science was Professor Fredrik Ferdinand Carlsson (1811-1887), appointed by Lundebeck to be Gustaf's mentor. It is difficult to determine on what basis. Carlsson had 1837-1846 taught Oscar I's children: Princes Karl (XV), Gustaf & Oscar (II). However, he did not have the same responsibility 1873-1876 for Gustaf's education. Lundebeck states that Carlsson presented an entire royal mirror to Gustaf to follow: For example, waiting for the right time to act and never to reveal your intentions. Maybe he did that. Maybe not. Carlsson kept a diary of his first three princes²⁴, but not of Gustaf. But perhaps he also wrote reports.

Gustaf's personality caused concern. Rogberg stated that he was "absolutely not as a boy should be of his age". His governor Gustaf Uggla said that "the Crown Prince lacked normal boyishness and initiative". Lundebeck summarized: "If he was forced into a game, he played it correctly and loyally ... laughed a little, but no inner joy. ... If he was informed of any home work, he nodded silently, did not question it and disappeared after a polite bow. ... When he was criticized, he promised amends, but the next time it was the same." Lundebeck also speculated extensively about the effect on Gustaf's personality of the home relations - Oscar II's supposed adultery & Sophie's religion - which I here skip. There are also a number of negative, frequently cited reviews by the art curator Fritz Dardel in his journal 1875-1876: Gustaf seemed shy, tired, awkward, insecure, passive, weak in body & spirit: girly rather than male.

An attempt to summarize is that Gustaf was constantly exhausted but recovered somewhat during the stays abroad. Those under him in rank competed to fulfil his wishes even before he expressed them. Those who were above him never asked what he wanted. Taking the initiative was thus at the same time impossible, unnecessary and pointless. Everyone also had conflicting expectations about what his upbringing was about: Gustaf would be both proactive and cooperative. Trusting and independent. Worldly and pure of heart. Mature and boyish. Royal and folksy.

Gustaf never wrote any thesis, why the final oral exam was a long and stressful story. He was grilled half a day by four professors on his knowledge of general, Swedish & Norwegian history and political science (his best subjects) and Latin, German, French, English & Mathematics. A number of Swedish and Norwegian politicians sat in to check that everything was right. Afterwards they were invited to dinner. Gustaf's grades have never been published, but Lundberg was awarded the Order of the Northstar, which must be interpreted as Oscar II being pleased with the outcome.

²⁴ Petersson 1990.

*

Sophie attached great importance to Gustaf's moral upbringing, which was to protect him from all the evils of this world. This included female acquaintances and Gustaf was initially strikingly awkwardly when it came to socializing and conversing them. However, there were many parties with youngsters invited so he got used to it. These youth parties were quite informal and consisted of a meal with the parents, quiz games, 1000-bit puzzles & tableaux, later also billiards, chess & whist. It has been taken for granted that Gustaf never had a relationship or a sexual experience before marriage. Of this we know nothing, however. The issue was sufficiently discussed to be commented upon at the time of the wedding: "Like all well-raised and well-educated youngsters, Crown Prince Gustaf has always found himself at ease with young women."²⁵ It is unclear who these young women were, but Gustaf was very fond of his German aunt Helena and the cousins - six girls and a boy. As the story goes, he wanted to marry one of these rather than one selected by his parents.

In the winter of 1874/75, Gustaf received individual religious instruction from the MP Bishop Ebbe Gustaf Bring (1814-1884) and on April 24, 1875, he went confirmed before a large crowd of visitors. He had a burgeoning moustache, was dressed in tails & pince-nez, answered all questions clearly and made a good overall impression. However, he has never shown any religion other than going to church. Gustaf seems this period not to have met any comrades but communicated with them via tickets. He sounds unusually pathetic:

One ticket: Stockholm Palace [Tuesday] 30/3 75, at 7 ½ fm. (The messenger is paid.) Dear George [Svedelius]. Do you want to come today to visit Drottningholm, sledge and have breakfast?! If you want to come, it has to be at half past ten (10 ½ a.m. We will be home at about 3 ½, after which we go our separate ways! I write this in bed but will soon rise to do my homework. Your devoted friend Gustaf.²⁶

*

Gustaf's Governor 1865-1868 was aide-de-camp baron Hjalmar Palmstierna (1836-1909). Gustaf had been enrolled as a volunteer in Svea Livgarde (the Royal Guards) already at one month of age. In the summer of 1866, at the 8th anniversary, he for the first time wore his uniform. There was a school instruction of January 9, 1863, on the preparatory training of soldiers in the form of a militarized school gymnastics. Gustaf's early "military education" seems to have followed that curriculum: physical education, exercise, riding and shooting training and some theory. Governor 1871-1876 was army officer lieutenant Gustaf Uggla (1846-1924). 1875-1879 he alternated with naval officer lieutenant Carl Posse (1844-1923). These two were also responsible for Gustaf's formal officer training. (See next chapter 60.)

*

January 19, 1876, Gustaf swore Oscar II his oath of allegiance - to obey his father the king in everything, respect the laws and serve the kingdom. This took place in the hall before the Swedish MPs. "The Bible lay open on a table in front of the crown prince. After he had risen

²⁵ Sjöberg red. 1881: ss. 8-9.

²⁶ Svedelius 1938: s. 52. [Brev till Georg Svedelius 1875-03-30.]

and removed the crown, he took the oath, administered by the Minister of Justice.”²⁷ Two days later, Gustaf committed his social debut and was seen dancing with both old and young. He was polite, danced well but was not very conversant. All the ladies were asked the same question “if they found the heat too strong and if he could invite them to refreshments”.

On June 16, Gustaf came of age. King Oscar II had called a joint Council of Swedish and Norwegian Ministers. He gave a brief speech. It was no beating around the bush: “Your objective shall be made the same as your father's: The welfare of both our countries! Love them, and you will be loved back! But never use flattery, and never listen to it. The king's word be honest; His promise never be in vain. His ear be open to truth, may it be uttered by high or low. Law and justice be his strength, duty his guide, work his joy.”²⁸ The atmosphere was somewhat depressed because Gustaf's grandmother had shortly before died and the court was in mourning. On February 3-8, 1877, Gustaf took a corresponding oath before the Norwegian Parliament. Such an oath was not provided for in the Norwegian Constitution, but his father wanted absolute justice.

²⁷ Sjöberg red. 1881: ss. 23-24.

²⁸ Åsbrink 1918: ss. 36-37.